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Antecedents and adaptations in the borderlands: a social history of informal socio-economic activities across the Rhodesia-Mozambique border with particular reference to the city of Umtali, 1900-1974

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ANTECEDENTS AND ADAPTATIONS IN THE BORDERLANDS: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF INFORMAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES ACROSS THE RHODESIA-MOZAMBIQUE BORDER WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE CITY OF UMTALI, 1900-1974

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work and that I am the sole author. It is submitted for the degree of PhD at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted in order to obtain any other qualifications with another university.

Fidelis Peter Thomas Duri

Signature…….

Date…….

ABSTRACT

This work explores the informal pursuits for a livelihood across the border separating the Rhodesian town of Umtali and the Portuguese colony of Mozambique by Africans marginalised by colonial rule during the period 1900-1974. Some of these activities pre-dated the advent of European colonisation while others were improvised during the colonial period. This study focuses on five forms of informal cross-border activities, namely: socio-cultural interactions, irregular labour mobility and practices, the theft of property in Umtali and its disposal in Mozambique, illicit alcohol brewing and commerce, and dagga trafficking. Without overlooking the role of other social networks based on gender, class and generation, it is the central contention of this thesis that family and kinship affiliations and dynamics dating back to the pre-colonial period and those that prevailed, and at times forged after the advent of colonisation, played a significant role in the development of informal cross-border pursuits for a livelihood by marginalised Africans. These activities in turn, together with other prevailing socio-economic dynamics, sometimes enhanced or destabilised family and kinship solidarity. Without necessarily deconstructing other analytical tools such as gender, class and generation, this thesis seeks to underline the importance of family and kinship dynamics as a tool of analysis in the study of informal cross-border activities.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AHM	Arquivo Historico de Mocambique
BSAC	British South Africa Company
BSAP	British South Africa Police
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CNC	Chief Native Commissioner
DA	District Administrator
DC	District Commissioner
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FGDB	Fundo do Governo Distrito da Berira
FISANI	Fundo do Inspeccao dos Servicos Administrativos dos Negocios Indigenas
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
NADA	Native Affairs Department Annual
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
NC	Native Commissioner
PEA	Portuguese East Africa
RNLB	Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Shona terms

apotera atya:	those who seek refuge should not be molested because they have backed down
bondwe/ chigadzamapfihwa:	a substitute wife
Changamire:	king
chawawana idya nehama, mutorwa ane hanganwa:	share with relatives because strangers are forgetful and may not reciprocate
chayamatako:	flog the buttocks
chibaro:	forced labour
chibheura:	tendency to open something forcefully
chigadzamapfihwa/ bondwe:	a substitute wife
chigebenga:	a brutal or cruel person
chikokiyana:	opaque beer that matures after a day or two
chisi:	holiday
fakamoto:	pierce with fire
gumwe:	taking turns when organising something
imba:	household
kachasu/ nipa/ tototo:	a strong home-brewed spirit
kudzika bango:	erecting a wooden peg in the ground
kugara nhaka:	widow inheritance
kuwanda huuya:	prospering through numbers
kuzvarira:	pledging a young girl into marriage
madzisahwira:	formal friends
mapoto:	literally ‘cooking pots.’ Figurative reference to marriages of convenience

mashizha matatu:	literally ‘three leaves.’ Figurative reference to dagga.
masvetu:	a boiled and unfermented mixture of water and grain
matiketi:	tickets
matunhu:	wards or subdivisions of chiefdoms
mbanje:	dagga
mhanje:	a barren woman
miganhu:	boundaries
mukadzi haasi hama yako:	a wife is not your relative
mutsunga:	highly concentrated and undiluted opaque beer
mutupo:	totem
*Mwar*i:	God
nhimbe:	labour-drinking party
nipa/ kachasu/ tototo:	a strong home-brewed spirit
ngozi:	avenging spirit
rooranai vematongo:	marry from the locality
situpa/ chitupa:	registration certificate
tototo/ nipa/ kachasu:	a strong home-brewed spirit
tsikombi:	a single woman past the age of being married
ukama:	kinship
ukama igasva, hunozadziswa nekudya:	kinship is hollow if it is not buttressed by sharing food
varoyi:	witches
varume vamuzvare:	husbands of the headwoman
vashambadzi:	pedlars

zumbani:	a plant with a strong smell. Its botanical name is *Lippia javanica*

Portuguese terms

cadernata: passbook	
chibalo/ shibalo:	forced labour
chefe de posto:	administrator villages
circunscricoes:	administrative units of districts
concelhos:	councils
contracto:	contract
feira:	market place
imposto:	taxation
musambaze:	pedlar
mussoco:	head tax
palmatoria:	a perforated paddle used to administer corporal punishment
portraria:	ordinance
posto:	sub-division of a district
prazo:	estate or farm
regedor:	village head
regulo:	chief
reis:	one shilling
sipais:	African policemen

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Borderland studies, particularly those focussing on the common people's struggles for survival, have increasingly become popular in contemporary academic discourse. As far as the Rhodesia-Mozambique border is concerned, there has not been considerable scholarly work to date that dwells on the way the common people exploited the borderline location of the city of Umtali[1] in an effort to earn a living during the colonial period. Instead, colonial newspapers, particularly the *Rhodesia Advertiser*, *Umtali Advertiser* and *Umtali Post*; police records and court documents are, so far, the major sources of information on the informal activities across the Umtali-Mozambique border mostly by marginalised Africans. These colonial documents always viewed African informal cross-border pursuits negatively and emphasised the criminal intent on the part of those who were involved. Socio-cultural interactions across the border, for example, were often perceived as conspiracies to commit crime.[2] The search for employment across the border without going through official channels, desertion from work, and theft by immigrants were viewed as epitomes of deceit and laziness.[3] The cross-border alcohol and dagga traffic and commerce were also viewed negatively as sources of lawlessness.[4]

[1] Someplace names used during the colonial era are no longer in current use. Colonial names will be used in order to place this study in its proper historical context. Mozambique will be used interchangeably with Portuguese East Africa since the name was in use during the colonial era. A list of some of the colonial place names followed by the current name in brackets are as follows: Fort Victoria (Masvingo), Gwelo (Gweru), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasaland (Malawi), Old Umtali (Old Mutare), Que Que (Kwekwe), Rhodesia/ Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Salisbury (Harare), Umtali (Mutare), Vila de Manica/ Masekesa/ Macequece (Manica), Vila Pery (Chimoio).
[2]See, for example, NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 25 April 1927.
[3]See, for example, *Umtali Post*: 'Work allergy hampering progress: Natives can get by without labouring', 10 January 1955.
[4]For these colonial sentiments see, for instance, NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 24-25 October 1928.

It is against this background that an integrative methodological approach becomes an urgent necessity. Such an approach, which this thesis takes, involves the vigorous interrogation of colonial documents and cross-checking their data with the content from oral sources. It is only by doing so that one can identify some moral considerations that made some Africans to engage in various forms of informal cross-border activities such as unofficial labour practices, theft, alcohol traffic and commerce, and dagga deals. The need to survive in a harsh colonial environment was basically the major driving force behind these creative pursuits and what shaped the dynamics of such activities were factors related to family-kinship affiliation as well as influences pertaining to the gender, class and generational status of the Africans involved.[1]What motivated this study, therefore, was the need to unravel the dynamics behind the African people's informal cross-border pursuits for survival by utililising a variety of sources.

1.2 Aim of study

This work seeks to interrogate the role of family and kinship affiliations and dynamics in influencing the rise and development of informal cross-border activities across the Umtali-Mozambique border by Africans marginalised by colonial rule and the extent to which such pursuits sometimes cultivated or disintegrated family and kinship solidarity. By so doing, this thesis also aims to illustrate the significance of family and kinship dynamics as a tool of analysis in studies on informal cross-border activities and interactions by marginalised African societies as they sought to survive under harsh colonial conditions.

[1]In this study, class considerations are being taken in simplistic sociological terms as the desire to enhance one's status in society by acquiring material possessions and being able to sustain oneself and the family (This definition is derived from A.S. Hornby, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, London: University College of London, 1963, p.151).This thesis does not employ the Marxian interpretation in which classes constitute distinct groups, for example, the exploiters and the exploited, whose members consciously and collectively mobilise themselves in order to take full advantage of the other classes in the struggle to accumulate wealth (see K. Marx, 'The usefulness of crime' and 'The labeling of crime', in D. Greenburg (ed.) *Crime and capitalism: Readings in Marxist criminology*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993, pp52-54).

Using Umtali as a case study and with reference to five forms of informal cross-border activities already noted above, the sub-aims of this thesis seek to:

- Explore the history of interaction by various sections of the African population, including family and kin within and across political boundaries, in pre-colonial south-east Africa in order to establish how these antecedents, together with adaptations over time, enabled marginalised Africans to negotiate the Umtali-Mozambique border for survival during the colonial period.
- Highlight the unique and ambiguous status of border towns like Umtali as centres of continuity and change as Africans sought a livelihood during the colonial era.
- Underline the central role played by family and kinship networks in the development of informal activities for survival across the Umtali-Mozambique border.
- Examine the impact of informal cross-border activities for survival on the solidarity of family and kinship structures.
- Examine the contribution of gender, class and generational influences in the development of informal cross-border pursuits for survival by Africans impoverished by colonial rule.

1.3 Justification of the study

As a tool of analysis in clandestine cross-border activities, family and kinship dynamics have not been utilised in depth in the academic literature.[1] Instead, there is abundant literature that dwells on the role of family and kinship affiliation in influencing spatial mobility decisions, mostly by formal labour migrants, during times of rapid socio-economic change and how such affiliations are in turn affected by such developments without specific reference to clandestine cross-border

[1]McGregor's recent work on the interactions across the border of Zimbabwe and Zambia during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods , for example, is rather silent in interrogating the influence of family and kinship dynamics on the development of informal cross-border activities (See J. McGregor, *Crossing the Zambezi: The politics of landscape on a Central African frontier*, Harare: Weaver Press, 2009).

activities for survival.[1] It was in this context that Agnes Andersson proposed the 'household' or 'household economics' approach as an explanation for an individual's decision to earn a living by seeking fortunes in local towns. She argued that a person's decision to seek fortunes elsewhere is often rooted within the household and its immediate surroundings rather than exogenous attractions.[2] Some studies of cross-border activities have explored class and age-group influences on mobility decisions. Gaidzanwa, for instance, examined the migration of Zimbabwean nurses and doctors, most of them in the 20-40-year age group, mainly to South Africa during the 1990s in search for employment.[3] There have also been attempts by some scholars to view cross-border movements from an ethnic dimension. Roberts, for example, noted that Portuguese colonial abuses in Mozambique resulted in the flight by the Yao and Makonde ethnic groups into Nyasaland, and the Makonde into Tanganyika between 1920 and 1931.[4] During the Angolan civil war from 1975, Solomon also observed that thousands of Angolans from the Hambukushu community teamed up and fled to north-western Botswana to seek refuge among their Hambukushu ethic group members.[5] Gender as a tool of analysis in studies on informal cross-border pursuits for survival has also been employed by some scholars. Muzvidziwa, for example, noted how women from the Southern African region negotiated

[1] Some of the earliest scholars in this field were the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute researchers from the early 1940s. Also see, for example, J. Connell, B. Dasgupta, R. Laishley and M. Lipton, *Migration from rural areas: The evidence from village studies*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1976; G.F. DeJong and R.W. Gardner (eds.) *Migration decision-making: Multi-disciplinary approaches to micro-level studies in developed and developing countries*, New York: Pergamon Press, 1981; and C. Murray, *Families divided: The impact of migrant labour in Lesotho*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981. These works will be examined in the Literature Review below.
[2] A. Andersson, *The bright lights grow fainter: Livelihoods, migration and a small town in Zimbabwe*, Stockholm: Stockholm University, Department of Geography, 2002, p.12.
[3] R. Gaidzanwa, *Voting with their feet: Migrant Zimbabwean nurses and doctors in the era of structural adjustment*, Uppsala: Nordic African Institute, 1999, p.5.
[4] See A. Roberts, 'Portuguese Africa', in J.D. Fage and R. Oliver (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Africa Volume 7, 1905-1940*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
[5] H. Solomon, *Of myths and migration: Illegal immigration into South Africa*, Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2003, p.63.

borders in order to earn a livelihood during the post-colonial era.[1] What is quite apparent, therefore, is that family and kinship dynamics as a tool of analysis have not been explored in depth in the academic literature on informal cross-border activities in particular. This thesis seeks to contribute towards the borderlands discourse by firmly positioning family and kinship dynamics as an analytical tool in informal cross-border pursuits for survival.

1.4 Delimitation of the study

Umtali, the capital of Rhodesia's eastern province of Manicaland, was situated 1.6 kilometres from the Mozambican border in 1955.[2] The period of study commences in 1900 when Umtali, whose settlement and construction at its present site began in 1897, had become established as Rhodesia's largest eastern border town.[3]Umtali has been selected for a case study largely because the region around the city has historically been a focal point and a busy gateway linking the pre-colonial societies in the coastal regions of Beira and central Mozambique with those in the interior.[4] During the colonial and post-independence periods, the city and its surrounding areas constituted an important transit zone within the region that afforded access to informal human traffic and a broad range of related socio-economic activities.[5]

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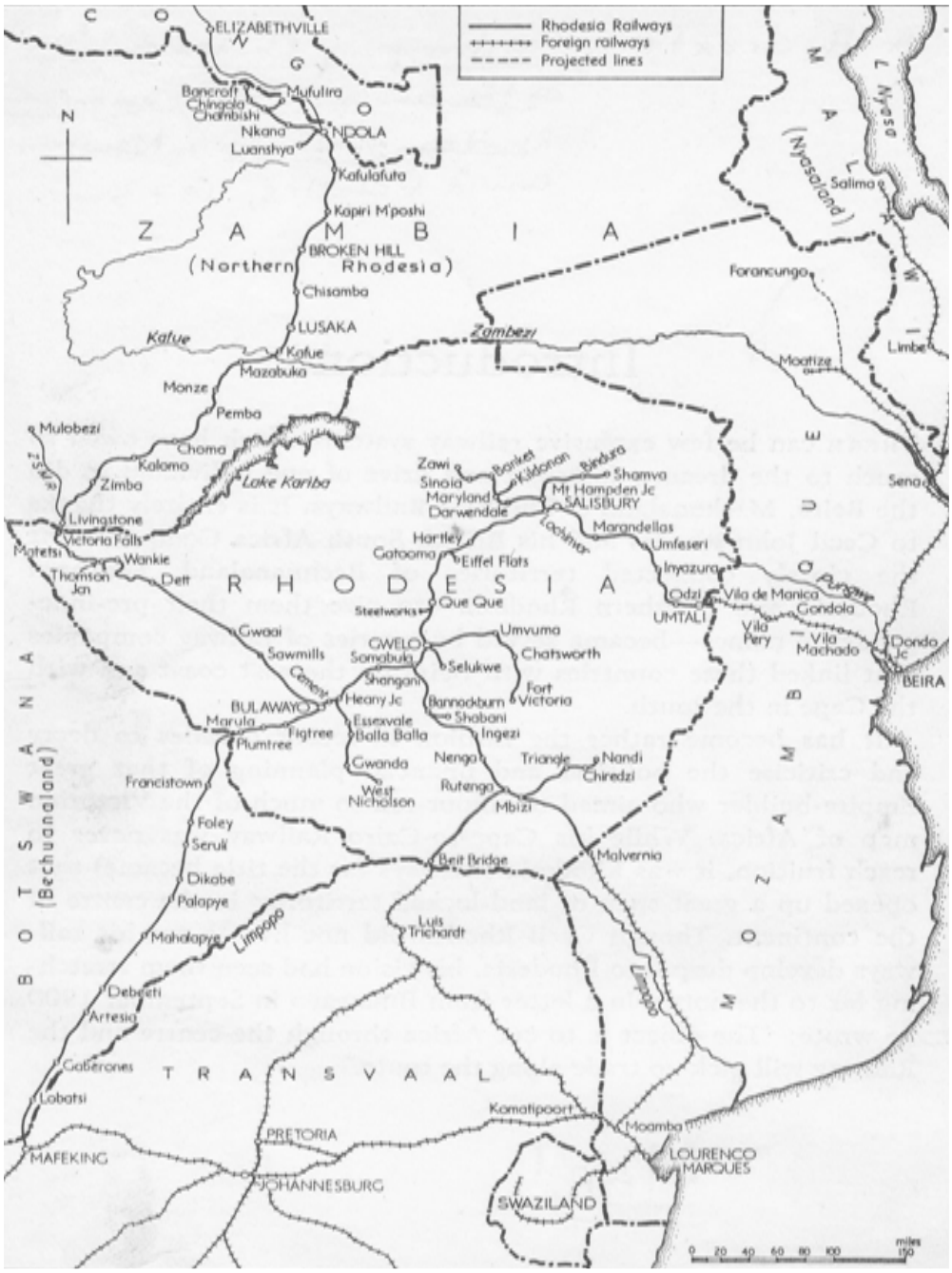
[1] V.N. Muzvidziwa, *Women without borders: Informal cross-border trade among women in the Southern African Development Community*, Addis Ababa: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2005. Also see E. Kofman, 'Female birds of passage a decade later: Gender and immigration in the European Union', in *International Migration Review*, Volume 33, Number 2, 1999, pp.269-299; and N. Yuval-Davis and M. Stoetzler, 'Imagined boundaries and borders: A gendered gaze', in *European Journal of Women's Studies*, Volume 9, Number 3, 2002, pp.329-344.

[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Natives take potent *nipa* from soft-drink bottles in sprees over the border', 7 October 1955, p.1.

[3] *Umtali Post Diamond Jubilee Supplement*: 'Our sixty years of progress: From shanties to a thriving modern town', 15 August 1950, p.1.

[4] For details on how the Umtali-Masekesa area became a focal point of migration and trade that linked societies in the coastal regions of Beira and central Mozambique with the interior during the pre-colonial era, see H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom; The Manyika and their Portuguese and African neighbours, 1575-1902*, Essex: Longman, 1982, chapters 1, 2, 4, 5 and 7.

[5] F. Duri, 'Informal negotiation of the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border for survival by Mutare's marginalized people, 2000-2008', in *Journal of Developing Societies Special Issue: The Zimbabwe Crisis Part II*, Volume 26, Number 2, June 2010, pp.125-163.



Map 1:Map of Southern Africa showing the location of Umtali along the Rhodesia-Mozambique Border (Source: A.H Croxton, *Railways of Rhodesia: The story of Beira, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways*, Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973, p.14).

The end of the Second World War in 1945 is an important historical marker for the period under study. 1945 marked a turning point in Rhodesia's urban history, a development which had significant implications for the social history of informal interactions across the Rhodesia-Mozambique border. There was a post-war industrial boom which attracted people, both indigenous and non-indigenous Africans, as well as European immigrants to the towns in search for employment and other business opportunities. It was in view of these developments that the Rhodesian government passed the Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act in 1946 to closely monitor the movement of Africans to and from towns, and across national borders.[1] This meant that African cross-border movements and related criminal(ised) activities were now under closer scrutiny by colonial authorities than ever before. On the Mozambican side in 1946, the Portuguese administration, desperate for labour, reversed the 1942 regulations which had restricted the movement of Africans within their *circunscricaos* (administrative units which made up a district). The 1946 regulation catalysed the clandestine flight across borders by Mozambican fortune-seekers since it relaxed restrictions on the freedom of movement, a development which made the Portuguese to revert to the 1942 regulations in 1948. This freedom of mobility within districts was again restored in 1959.[2]

The study ends in 1974 when informal cross-border activities were significantly affected by the insecurity posed by the Mozambican armed struggle for independence. From January 1974, the armed struggle, which had been restricted to the northern provinces since the 1960s, extended into Manica province which bordered Rhodesia. As a security measure, the Rhodesian authorities

[1] See, for example, R. Gray, *The two nations: Aspects of the development of race relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960, pp.279-280.
[2] C. Tornimbeni, 'The state, labour migration and the trans-national discourse - A historical perspective from Mozambique', in *Wiener Zeitshrift fur Kritische Afrikanstudien*, Number 8, 2005, p.315.

erected an eight-kilometre long fence along the eastern boundary of Umtali.[1] With the capitulation of the Portuguese colonial government in 1974 and the setting up of a transitional government that year to pave the way for elections, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) fortified the Rhodesia-Mozambique border area in an effort to stop Portuguese settlers fleeing the country from taking with them any economically-valuable commodities.[2] The attainment of Mozambican independence on 25 June 1975 and the new FRELIMO government's decision to support the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) in its anti-colonial struggle in Rhodesia further threatened informal cross-border movements. This is not to suggest that informal cross-border activities ceased completely as a result of the war situation. Some scholars have illustrated how such situations can actually spur irregular traffic across borders.[3] There is no doubt, however, that the liberation war in Mozambique's Manica province from 1974 significantly affected the nature and flow of informal cross-border activities. Future studies could be carried out to investigate the extent to which such activities were promoted or undermined by the war situation.

1.5 Theoretical framework

The analysis and interpretation of data is guided by the social history approach, popularly known in academic circles as history 'from below' or 'from the ground up.' It is a 'radical' approach that writes history from the perceptions of the ordinary people paying particular attention to the

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Fence cuts unauthorised border crossing', 30 January 1974, p.1.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Moz cars stopped at border', 29 January 1975, p.1.
[3] See, for example, J. McGregor, 'Violence and social change in a border economy: War in the Maputo hinterland, 1984-1992,' in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 24, Number 1, March 1998, pp.40, 51-52, 54-55; and K. Vlassenroot and K. Buscher, 'The city as frontier: Urban development and identity processes in Goma,' Cities and Fragile States Working Paper Number 61, University of Ghent: Conflict Research Group, November 2009, p.7.

peculiarities of time and place.[1] It essentialises the marginalised people, in terms of their experiences, interests, emotions and behaviour, and legitimises them as historical subjects and agents.[2] This study focuses on the initiatives of the marginalised Africans who informally crossed the Umtali-Mozambique border in order to earn a livelihood.

The social history analytical framework is quite flexible. It downplays major political events, elite decision-makers and institutions/ structures found in conventional history without necessarily delegitimising them. It looks at how ordinary people made creative choices to survive, sometimes contravening institutional dispensations (contexts/ structures) in the process.[3] In terms of periodisation, it does not always rely on conventional political markers or events. It attempts to move beyond epoch events and establish 'a socio-historical chronology',[4] which can be referred to as 'borderland time' in the borderlands discourse.[5]

Social history has evolved to become preoccupied with diversities within social groups and the need for complex analysis. [6] The colonially-marginalised Africans in Rhodesia and Mozambique who sometimes informally crossed the border to and from, or via Umtali for survival constitute the broad social realm of the sub-altern in this study. Despite some notable commonalities in their experiences of colonial exploitation and oppression, the complexities within the social realm of the sub-altern will be explored. This study acknowledges the existence of multiple identities based on socio-historical factors, nationality, gender, class and generation. Such an

[1]C. Kros, 'Considering the legacy of radical/ social history in South Africa,' in *African Historical Review*, Volume 39, Number 1, July 2007, p.41.
[2] P.N. Stearns, 'Social history: Present and future,' in *Journal of Social History*, Volume 37, Number 1, 2003, p.9.
[3] H. Kaelbe, 'Social history in Europe,' in *Journal of Social History*, Volume 37, Number 1, 2003, p.31.
[4] See Stearns, 'Social history: Present and future,' p.9; and E. Allina-Pisano, 'Resistance and the social history of Africa,' in *Journal of Social History*, Volume 37, Number 1, 2003, p.190.
[5] M. Baud and W. Van Schendel, 'Toward a comparative history of borderlands', in *Journal of World History*, Volume 8, Number 2, 1997, p.236.
[6] J. Kocka, 'Losses, gains and opportunism: Social history today,' in *Journal of Social History*, Volume 37, Number 1, 2003, p.25.

analysis of the multiplicity of identities within the social realm, and how such identities evolved in specific settings through time, exposes the similarities and differences in colonial experience some of which impacted immensely in determining the nature of involvement in informal cross-border activities by marginalised Africans.

1.6 Review of related literature

In exploring the literature related to this thesis, this section begins by examining the growing academic interest on borders and borderlands during the post-Cold War era and the models of analysis proposed by some scholars. This will be followed by an analysis of some scholarly views on the relevance of family and kinship dynamics as a tool of analysis in the study of mobility under conditions of rapid socio-economic change and how family and kinship solidarity is in turn affected by such developments.

1.6.1 Growing scholarly interest on borders and borderlands during the post-Cold War era

There has been growing scholarly interest on borders and borderlands from the late 1980s.[1] Concerning Africa, Asiwaju can be credited for pioneering border studies in which he concentrated mainly on Nigeria's borders.[2] Much of his work, however, focused on international cooperation across borders by nation-states rather than on the informal cross-border activities by the common people. Up to the mid-1990s, most scholars took the ruling elite conceptualisation of the border as a 'marker of statehood,'[3] a 'container...to orient the movement of people and

[1] See, for example, J.R.V. Prescott, *Political frontiers and boundaries*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1987.
[2] See, for instance, A.I. Asiwaju and P.O. Adeniyi, *Borderlands in Africa: A multi-disciplinary and comparative focus on Nigeria and West Africa*, Lagos: University of Lagos Press, 1989.
[3] A. Horstmann, 'Incorporation and resistance: Borderlands, transnational communities and social change in south-east Asia', Review paper, Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Research Institute of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, February 2004, p.8.

assets,'[1] and 'a sharp line, an impenetrable barrier' that is 'unchanging, uncontested, and unproblematic.'[2] The early post-Cold War literature can therefore be criticised for approaching the history of borders and borderlands 'from the centre' (where state-imposed borders were seen as regulating life in the borderlands with the ordinary people as passive victims) than 'from the periphery.'[3] Martinez was one of the earliest post-Cold War scholars to advocate for studies that concentrate on the 'border experience' in order to capture the various ways which the common people employed to exploit borders to their advantage.[4] Echoing these sentiments, Newman advised that borders should be studied not only from 'top-down' but also from 'bottom-up.'[5]

From the mid-1990s into the first decade of the 21st century, there was a paradigm shift as scholars began to focus on the agency of cross-border societies, and borderlands as contested spaces. Borders became viewed as 'fluid' or 'portable' and 'carried everywhere...at all times.'[6] This approach also regarded borderlands as 'bridges and points of contact'[7] and 'corridors of opportunity.'[8] Intellectuals exposed the big gap between the rhetoric of border maintenance and the reality of the daily lives of the common people in the borderlands.[9] Even though borders were primarily created to be restrictive mechanisms, various scholars illustrated how borderlands became vibrant spaces which the common people exploited for opportunities. To the common people in the borderlands, a border 'is not a fixed entity, but is always constructed on various

[1] M. Acuto, 'Edges of the conflict: A three-fold conceptualisation of national borders', in *Borderlands E- Journal*, Volume 7, Number 1, 2008 (unpaged).
[2]Baud and Van Schendel, 'Toward a comparative history of borderlands', p.216.
[3]Baud and Van Schendel, 'Toward a comparative history of borderlands', p.212.
[4] O. Martinez, *Border people: Life and society in the US-Mexico borderlands*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994, p.xviii.
[5] D. Newman, 'The lines that continue to separate us: Borders in our borderless world,' in *Progress in human geography*, Volume 30, Number 2, 2006, p.143.
[6] M. Dear and A. Burridge, 'Cultural integration and hybridization at the United States-Mexico borderlands,' in *Cahlers de Geographic de Quebec*, Volume 49, Number 138, December 2005, p.305.
[7]Newman, 'The lines that continue to separate us,' p.143.
[8] D.K. Flynn, 'We are the border: Identity, exchange and the state along the Benin-Nigeria border,' in *American Ethnologist*, Volume 24, Number 2, May 1997, p.313.
[9]Baud and Van Schendel, 'Toward a comparative history of borderlands', p.220.

levels of social orders and historically contested.'[1] Studies began to concentrate on how societies exploited borders as avenues of opportunity in a number of ways.[2] Baud and Van Schendel, for example, aptly summarised the creativity of the common people in manipulating borders:

> No matter how clearly borders are drawn on official maps, how many customs officials are appointed, or how many watchtowers are built, people will always ignore borders whenever it suits them...People also take advantage of borders in ways that are not intended or anticipated by their creators. Revolutionaries hide behind them; local inhabitants cross them whenever services or products are cheaper or more attractive on the other side; and traders are quick to take advantage of price and tax differentials. Because of such unintended and often subversive consequences, border regions have their own social dynamics and historical development.[3]

Post-Cold War literature has also been illuminating on the social dynamics in the borderlands. In their study of the United States-Mexico border, Dear and Burridge, for instance, noted the centrality of informal integration and hybridisation in the socio-economic dynamics of cross-border societies.[4] Parker also observed that interdependence between ethnically distinct societies across borders can result in hybridisation or ethno-genesis and the forging of new associations.[5] Raeymaekers reiterated that borderlands are terrains of inventiveness with their own social dynamics.[6] This literature informs this thesis that borderlands are arenas of socio-cultural changes and adaptations as people struggle to survive.

Some topical issues emerging in the literature during the post-Cold War era relevant to this thesis include cross-border crime, the socio-economic dynamics in border towns, and the increasing

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[1]Horstmann, 'Incorporation and resistance', p.23.
[2] See, for example, W. Chirwa, 'The changing migration and employment patterns in Malawi', in K. Matlosa (ed.) *Migration and development in Southern Africa: Some policy reflections*, Harare: SAPES Books, 2001, p.146; Horstmann, 'Incorporation and resistance', p.14; E. Tagliacozzo, 'Thinking marginally: Ethno-historical notes on the nature of smuggling in human societies,' in *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, Volume 18, Number 2, 2007, p.148; Baud and Van Schendel, 'Toward a comparative history of borderlands', p.220.
[3] Baud and Van Schendel, 'Toward a comparative history of borderlands', pp.211-212.
[4] Dear and Burridge, 'Cultural integration and hybridization at the United States-Mexico borderlands,' p.301.
[5]B.J. Parker, 'Toward an understanding of borderland processes,' in *American Antiquity*, Volume 71, Number 1, January 2006, pp.86-87. Also see Baud and Van Schendel, 'Toward a comparative history of borderlands', p.234.
[6] T. Raeymaekers, 'The silent encroachment of the border: A politics of trans-border trade in the Semliki Valley (Congo-Uganda)" in *Political Geography*, Volume 28, Number 1, 2009, p.1.

involvement of women in informal cross-border activities. Scholars have classified cross-border crimes into high and low order. High order crimes sometimes cut across continental regions and entire continents and involve semi-professional syndicates specialising in the trafficking of human beings, especially women and children;[1] stolen vehicles; dangerous drugs; precious minerals and arms.[2] Low order crimes usually involve ordinary people most of whom violate borders for routine social commitments and subsistence needs. Such pursuits are usually localised along and across borders. This category is of particular interest to this study which focuses on the common people. Coplan, for example, noted that the establishment of the South Africa-Lesotho border in 1869 saw the rise of an 'informal economy of illegality' between the two countries which involved the trafficking of guns, alcohol and stolen livestock by ordinary African people from Lesotho and the Free State.[3] In such circumstances, some marginalised people constituted their own 'moral communities' or 'other worlds of reference'[4] in the struggle for survival by exploiting borders. In most cases such people did not have a choice since central governments had failed to integrate borderland economies into the mainstream or national economy.[5] Thus, borderlands are often characterised by national governments as 'wild spaces'[6] or 'spaces of dissent.'[7] It is common for states to categorise much of the informal human traffic

[1] See, for example, J. Martens, M. Pieczkowski and B. Van Vuuren-Smyth (eds.) *Seduction, sale and slavery: Trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation in Southern Africa,* Pretoria: International Organisation for Migration, 2003; and C. Beyrer, 'Global trafficking', in *The Lancet*, Volume 364, Supplement 1, 2004, p.16.
[2] See, for example, P. Gastrow, 'The SADC region: A common market for criminals?' in *African Security Review,* Volume 10, Number 4, 2001, p.1; and F.J.C. Cronje, 'Transnational organised crime and small arms proliferation in the aftermath of the Cold War and the implications of such proliferation for the socio-economic development of Southern Africa and the southern cone of the Americas', Masters of Arts dissertation, Department of International Relations, Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, 2001.
[3] D.B. Coplan, 'A river runs through it: The meaning of the Lesotho-Free State border', in *African Affairs*, Issue 100, January 2001, pp.88-90.
[4]Horstmann, 'Incorporation and resistance,' p.10.
[5]Baud and Van Schendel, 'Toward a comparative history of borderlands,' p.229.
[6] E. Tagliacozzo, 'Smuggling and states along a south-east Asian frontier,' in *Ilas Newsletter*, Number 42, 2006, p.1.
[7]Tagliacozzo, 'Smuggling and states along a south-east Asian frontier,' p.1.

and trade as 'illicit.'[1] What the state may regard as 'smuggling' may actually be one's source of survival.[2] While there are criminal elements on a global scale who operate for profit regardless of the consequences to human and animal life and without consideration of any sort to moral calculus, 'there needs to be some recognition...that these flows also happen without criminal intent; in other words...people need to make a living whether it is criminalised by administrations or not,'[3] hence the moral economy of border transgression which is synonymous to border production.

The beginning of the 21st century also witnessed a significant growth in the literature on the socio-economic dynamics of borderline towns. These works are very relevant to a study of this nature which focuses on the border town of Umtali and the surrounding borderlands of Rhodesia and Mozambique. This literature presents border towns as terrains of struggle where central and local government authorities continuously define and redefine urban spatial limits to frustrate informal socio-economic activities that permeate from the rural and peri-urban areas within the state, and from neighbouring countries. Not to be outdone, the marginalised people either extend or deflate borderland space in order to earn a living. Being 'frenetic composites of race, class, and nationality,'[4] border towns have always been havens and transit zones for cross-border crime because this 'chaotic complexity' results in 'urban confusion where the state has difficulty seeing through the frenzy of activity.'[5] In their study of the Democratic Republic of Congo's (DRC) city of Goma during the post-independence period, Vlassenroot and Buscher illuminate our understanding of the social dynamics in border towns. Goma, like most border towns such as Umtali, experienced a remarkably high level of in and out migration, legal and illegal, with its

[1] N. Tapp, *The white Hmong of southern Thailand*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989, p.5.
[2]Tagliacozzo, 'Thinking marginally,' p.148.
[3]Tagliacozzo, 'Thinking marginally,' pp.162-163.
[4]Tagliacozzo, 'Thinking marginally,' p.157.
[5]Tagliacozzo, 'Smuggling and states along a south-east Asian frontier', p.1.

resident population significantly characterised by 'multiple, strongly pronounced social identities of contestation and mobility.'[1] The identification processes in Goma, the study noted, were largely determined by the town's borderline location; they lacked a single and strongly conspicuous urban identity. Instead, what largely prevailed was a 'fluid and weakly-defined border identity' so characteristic of borderland societies. Most young people consequently assumed a supra-national identity. During times of intense political and economic competition, however, notions of ethnicity or nationality often emerged as a strategy of inclusion and exclusion.[2]

The involvement of women in informal cross-border activities has also captured the attention of scholars during the post-Cold War era. Prior to the mid-1990s, women were largely invisible in the academic literature on borderlands worldwide. Where women were mentioned, they were acknowledged as dependants of men and participants in the domestic domain, a misconception which this thesis shall revise among other issues. During this period, most scholars adopted the model of cross-border processes which saw male bread-winners taking the initiative and female dependants following them at a later stage.[3] Since the late 1990s, there has been a growing body of literature viewing women as active participants in cross-border socio-economic activities. Gaidzanwa, for example, dwelt on the Zimbabwean socio-economic and political crisis from the

[1]Vlassenroot and Buscher, 'The city as frontier,' p.2.
[2] K. Vlassenroot and K. Buscher, 'The city as frontier: Urban development and identity processes in Goma,' Cities and Fragile States Working Paper Number 61, University of Ghent: Conflict Research Group, November 2009, pp.11-12.
[3] E. Kofman, 'Female birds of passage a decade later: Gender and immigration in the European Union,' in *International Migration Review*, Volume 33, Number 2, Summer 1999, p.270.

1990s which made thousands of male and female nurses to cross into neighbouring countries, especially South Africa, to earn a living.[1]

Models of analysis have been proposed by scholars of borderland socio-economic dynamics. Martinez, for instance, formulated four models. The first comprises 'alienated' borderlands where routine cross-border interaction is virtually non-existent because of antagonism between societies astride a border. His 'coexistent' borderlands are characterised by subdued cross-border contacts, despite unfriendly relations between neighbouring states. The 'interdependent' borderlands category is where there are cordial linkages that allow considerable traffic of goods and people. In 'integrated' borderlands, most restrictions to commerce and human traffic are lifted,[2] a situation resembling the European Union. The Rhodesia-Mozambique borderland largely fits into the 'interdependent' domain because the British and Portuguese administrators interacted well. In addition, the border had also separated African societies with a common history and culture.

In their analytical framework, Baud and Van Schendel asserted that borderlands are ever-changing spatial units that can be divided into three categories. The first one is the 'heartland' borderland which encompasses areas along the border where social networks are directly improvised in order to earn a livelihood. In the 'intermediate' borderland, people exploit the border in ways varying from moderate to weak due to circumstances, for example, during times when they have alternative means of survival. In the 'outer' borderland, people take advantage of borders only at given times.[3] Thus, borderlands are not spatially static since 'intermediate' and

[1] Gaidzanwa, *Voting with their feet*, p.5. Also see Chirwa, 'The changing migration and employment patterns in Malawi,' p.146.
[2]Martinez, *Border people*, pp.6-10.
[3]Baud and Van Schendel, 'Toward a comparative history of borderlands', p.222.

'outer' borderlands can become 'heartland' borderlands in times of crisis. In this study, the city of Umtali sometimes shifted between the 'heartland' and 'intermediate' categories partly because the initiatives of border-crossing societies were sometimes frustrated by the Rhodesian and Mozambican colonial governments.

In 2001, Frederick Cooper proposed the historical dimension as a distinct tool of analysis in African borderland studies. Dwelling on the post-Cold War period, he opined that interactions between communities across national borders are not formulated but are strongly determined by historical linkages.[1] Cooper's call was taken up by a number of scholars of post-Cold War borderland studies. Tagliacozzo, for example, noted that a sense of connection and trust based on critical historical factors such as common language, culture and religion are crucial in facilitating transnational operations.[2] Thus, as Horstmann noted about the social dynamics of the borderlands, 'the sovereignty of the state...is marginal and sometimes even abandoned...cultural boundaries between communities reach much further into the geo-body of the nation or beyond the territorial limitation of the nation.'[3]

The historical dimension ,as a tool of analysis, provides a firm historical base to this thesis given that the Rhodesia-Mozambique border cut across African communities, most of them Shona, with a common history and culture. However, as this thesis will show, this approach could be more inclusive by taking into account people's current adaptations and modifications to prevailing dispensations.

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[1] These arguments are central in F. Cooper, 'Networks, moral discourse, and history,' in T.M. Callaghy, R. Kassimir and R. Latham (eds.) *Intervention and trans-nationalism in Africa: Global-local networks of power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

[2]Tagliacozzo, 'Thinking marginally,' pp.146, 154. For similar views, see Horstmann, 'Incorporation and resistance,' p.10; and J.O.Oucho, 'Emigration dynamics in eastern African countries', in *International Migration*, Volume 33, 1995, p.394.

[3]Horstmann, 'Incorporation and resistance,' p.8.

1.6.2 Academic debate on the relevance of family and kinship dynamics as a tool of analysis in the study of mobility during times of rapid socio-economic change

This section discusses two dimensions. One involves mobility/migration decision-making, that is, whether decisions are reached by an individual on the move (what can be called an 'atomic' approach), or they are made by institutions that supersede individual initiatives (what can be referred to as an 'organic' approach). The other dimension pertains to the effects of migration/mobility on family and kinship organisation.

Some analysts considered mobility from the perspective of the individual migrant.[1] Connell, Dasgupta, Laishley and Lipton, for instance, argued that migration decisions can be reached at by the individual on his/her own even though family members can sometimes be influential.[2] This view was attacked by analysts from various disciplines who regarded households or families as principal agents of migration decision-making.[3] They asserted that family considerations, such as livelihood needs, are essential in reaching mobility decisions.[4] Agesa's opinion, informed by research in Kenya, for instance, is that the decision to migrate is largely influenced by household members.[5]

[1] These include L.A. Sjaastad, 'The costs and returns of human migration', in *Journal of Political Economy,* Volume 70, 1962, pp.80-93; M.P. Todaro, 'A model of labour migration and urban unemployment in less-developed countries', in *American Economic Review*, Volume 59, 1969, pp.138-148; and G.F. DeJong and R.W. Gardner (eds.) *Migration decision-making: Multi-disciplinary approaches to micro-level studies in developed and developing countries*, New York: Pergamon Press, 1981.
[2] J. Connell, B. Dasgupta, R. Laishley and M. Lipton, *Migration from rural areas: The evidence from village studies*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1976, p.86.
[3] See, for example, economist J. Mincer, 'Family migration decisions', in *Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 86, 1978, pp.749-773; anthropologist C.C. Wood, 'Structural changes and household changes: A conceptual framework for the study of rural migration', in *Human Organisation*, Volume 40, 1981, pp.338-344; and sociologists D.S. Massey, R. Alarcon, J. Durand and H. Gonzalez, *Return to Azilan: The social process of international migration from western Mexico*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
[4] See, for example, B. Banerjee, 'Rural-urban migration and family ties: An analysis of family considerations in migration behavior in India', in *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, Volume 43, Number 4, 1981, p.321.
[5] R.U. Agesa. 'One family, two households: Rural to urban migration in Kenya', in *Review of Economics of the Household*, Volume 2, 2004, p.161.

Some scholars proposed that while migration decisions can be made either individually or jointly by family members and kin, such critical decisions are usually determined by the prevailing socio-economic dispensation.[1] Massey, for example, argued that migration decisions are usually made jointly by family members within households but such decisions are largely influenced by the local socio-economic challenges (for example, marginalisation, poverty and the need to earn a livelihood) which are often determined by national and international socio-economic conditions.[2]

Some interesting questions relevant to this thesis emerge from this debate: Were family and kin members always consulted before an individual informally crossed borders to seek opportunities through ways which were criminalised by the colonial administration, for example, trafficking of dagga and illicit alcohol, property theft and seeking work without official papers? During these irregular pursuits for a livelihood, how prominent was the role of other social groups based on age-group, class (for example employment status) and gender in influencing an individual's decision to cross borders? To what extent did the prevailing circumstances, for example, the socio-economic dispensation, influence a person or groups of people to cross borders in order to earn a living?

Scholars also debated on models that explain the impact of spatial mobility brought about by colonial capitalism upon family and kinship solidarity. The 'decent' nuclear family model was posited by a number of analysts, some of whom included Rhodes-Livingstone Institute

[1] The proponents of this perspective include R.W. Gardner, 'Macro-level influences on the migration-decision process', in G.F. Dejong and R.W. Gardner (eds.) *Migration decision-making*; and S.E. Findley, 'An interactive contextual model of migration in Ilocos Norte, the Philippines', in *Demography*, Volume 24, 1987, pp.163-190.
[2] D.S. Massey, 'Social structure, household strategies, and the cumulative causation of migration', in *Population Index*, Volume 56, Number 1, 1990, p.5.

researchers, during the mid-20th century.[1] This model remained popular into the 1970s.[2] The central thesis of this model is that as migrants sought opportunities at colonial labour markets such as towns, they gradually became permanently urbanised. As men brought wives and children to their places of employment and severed most of their rural kinship ties, the extended family became insignificant in town leading to the emergence of 'modern' nuclear families (what Houghton and Walton called 'emigrant families').[3] It was also argued that Africans who built houses in towns did so primarily to accommodate their spouses and unmarried children; kin were to the landlord 'more of an economic liability than an asset' because besides shouldering the burden of feeding them, it was also very difficult and embarrassing to extract rent from them.[4] Powdermaker summed up this argument:

> On the Copperbelt, as in many other parts of Central Africa, the conjugal family, with the husband as the head of the household, is developing. This follows inevitably from the man's becoming a wage earner, from the absence of many members of the traditional lineage, and with the emphasis on the individual household rather than the extended family as the basic unit...[5]

The 'decent' nuclear family thesis overlooked a number of issues. Based on the assumption that a nuclear family comprises husband, wife and children, this argument fails to adequately acknowledge those nuclear families where members were forced by circumstances such as forced labour, taxation or imprisonment, to be apart leaving members of the extended family

[1] An example is G. Wilson, 'An essay on the economics of detribalisation in Northern Rhodesia, Part 1', Paper Number 6, Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1942, p.40.
[2] See, for example, A. Barker, 'Community of the careless', in F. Wilson and D. Perrot (eds.) *Outlook on a century*, South Africa: Lovedale Press, 1973, p.492; and S. Poulter, *Family law and litigation in Basotho society*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, pp.327-329.
[3] D.H. Houghton and E.M. Walton, *The economy of a native reserve*, Pietermaritzburg: Shutter and Shooter, 1952, p.118. Also see J.C. Mitchell, 'Social change and stability of African marriage in Northern Rhodesia', in A. Southall (ed.) *Social Change in Modern Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, pp.324, 328.
[4] See, for example, E. Schildkrout, 'Economics and kinship in multi-ethnic dwellings', in J. Goody (ed.) *Changing social structure in Ghana*, pp.172-173.
[5] H. Powdermaker, *Copper Town: Changing Africa: The human situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt*, New York: Harper and Row, 1962, p.201.

looking after those remaining.[1] This theory also fails to incorporate into the nuclear family category families of women who bore children but opted to remain unmarried and those presided over by widows or widowers. In addition, as this thesis will illustrate, some informal cross-border activities criminalised by the authorities actually demanded confidential cooperation among family members, kin and trusted accomplices in order to successfully circumvent the law, avoid arrest, and earn a living.

This model was attacked by a group of scholars, mostly anthropologists who argued that traditional kinship ties were not always destroyed by labour migration, but could at times be strengthened. Focussing on the colonial period Gordon, for example, asserted that mobility, and labour migration in particular, was a central aspect of African life in Lesotho throughout its entire history and it had become 'the normal course and families have adjusted to it...Wives function normally in their husbands' absence...Kinsmen take over the responsibilities of the absent migrant...'[2]

It was also argued that insecurity in the urban milieu actually buttressed kinship and extended family relations. Some studies revealed that most urban households were shared by both nuclear and extended family members.[3] In addition, rural-urban migration did not always involve the movement of all family members; despite the geographical separation, ties between family members and kin were not always weakened as evidenced by regular transfer of resources and

[1]Coplan also made this observation among Basotho migrant workers in post-Apartheid South Africa (see Coplan, 'A river runs through it', p.105).
[2] E. Gordon, 'The women left behind: A study of the wives of migrant workers of Lesotho', Working Paper Number 35, World Employment Programme, Geneva: International Labour Office, 1978, p.7.
[3] See, for example, P.O. Obadike, *Demographic perspectives in Zambia: Rural-urban growth and social change*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981, pp.102-105; and A.L. Epstein, *Urbanisation and kinship: The domestic domain on the Copperbelt of Zambia, 1950-1956*, New York: Academic Press, 1981, p.344.

visits.[1] An enduring feature of African migration processes and cross-border dynamics, as Adepuju noted, is that individuals who cross borders or move to and fro across borders rarely cut ties with home, and always hope to return.[2] In actual fact, as Tagliacozzo observed, the family (both nuclear and extended) is an important reference point and crucial facilitating factor in transnational operations.[3]

Other critics noted that some urban nuclear families were far from being 'descent' or stable. Ferguson, for example, argued that some nuclear families were fragile and characterised by suspicion and confrontation between husbands and wives resulting in high rates of divorce.[4] Even in the countryside, as Monica Wilson asserted, labour migrancy destroyed family life due to the prolonged absence of husbands and fathers that tended to promote infidelity, desertion and the neglect of children.[5]Agesa cited the tendency in some societies in sub-Saharan Africa for a man to migrate to town while his family remains 'without any chance of joining the migrant husband in the urban area, a trend that can be brought about by several factors such as the high cost of living in towns and infidelity.'[6]As a result of such situations, family members can be permanently separated, hence 'one family, two households.'[7] These sentiments are aptly

[1] See observations from India by Banerjee, 'Rural-urban migration and family ties', p.322.
[2]Adepoju, 'Leading issues in international migration in Sub-Saharan Africa', p.31.
[3] Tagliacozzo, 'Thinking marginally', pp.146 , 154.
[4] J. Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity: Myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, pp.178, 180-181.
[5] M. Wilson, 'So truth be in the field', The 1975 Alfred and Winifred Hoernle Memorial Lecture, Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1975, pp.17-18. This view is also shared by S. Young, 'Fertility and famine: Women's agricultural history in southern Mozambique', in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.) *The roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, London: Heinemann, 1977, p.75.
[6]Agesa.'One family, two households', p.161.
[7]Agesa.'One family, two households', p.162. Also see S.C. Lubkerman, 'The transformation of trans-nationality among Mozambican migrants in South Africa', in *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Volume 34, Number 1, 2000, pp.52-53; D. Moodie and V. Ndatshe, 'Town women and country wives: Housing preferences at Vaal Reefs mine', in J. Crush and W. James (eds.) *Crossing boundaries: Mine migrancy in a democratic South Africa*, Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 1995, p.72; and C. Van Onselen, *Chibaro: African mine labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1933*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1976, pp.177-178.

summarised by Murray's book titled *Families divided* in which he argued that labour migrancy destroyed family life.[1]

Some critics of the nuclear family model asserted that labour migrancy exposed the young generation to urban life and made them to be rebellious to their family elders. In her study of township families in Apartheid South Africa Campbell noted a transformed face of family life within many households characterised by changing power relations and intergenerational tension. Her research revealed that some parents complained about failing to control their children who lacked respect towards them. On the other hand, some young people regarded the older generation as old-fashioned and illiterate.[2] Campbell admitted, however, that besides the colonial conditions of mobility and rapid urbanisation that created rifts within households and among kindred, there were informal social groupings that sometimes influenced the young generation to undermine the 'traditional' family and kinship organisation. The social groups that competed with, and sometimes outcompeted, the family and kin in asserting control over younger generations included generational associations (age groups), friends, class-determined acquaintances (for example, residential, educational and employment status) and gender-determined groupings.[3] Thus, in advancing the 'African frontier thesis', Igor Kopytoff argued that African history has been characterised by 'ceaseless flux among populations' ranging from local to large-scale migrations during which the continent became a 'frontier' where social

[1] See C. Murray, *Families divided: The impact of migrant labour in Lesotho*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981.
[2] C. Campbell, *Township families and youth identity: The family's influence on the social identity of township youth in a rapidly changing South Africa*, Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1994, pp.1-2.
[3] Campbell, *Township families and youth identity*, pp.69-74.

orders underwent far-reaching modifications as migrants forged new identities and norms in order to adapt to the new environments they encountered.[1]

Even though these debates do not specifically refer to informal cross-border activities, they are quite useful to this thesis because they highlight the relevance of family-kinship dynamics as a tool of analysis in studies that focus on mobility during times of rapid socio-economic change. They also pose some thought-provoking questions which this thesis seeks to consider, for example: To what degree was the composition of informal cross-border networks in search for opportunities shaped by family and kinship affiliation as compared to those of informal social groups constituted by people of the same class, generation and gender? How complicit were family and kin members in the informal cross-border activities undertaken by some of their counterparts? To what extent did these activities by individuals or groups of people strengthen or sever family and kinship ties?

This section has exposed the growing interest of scholars in global mobility studies. It has examined trends in this literature and identified topical themes and models in the discourse on borders and borderlands. As already noted, this literature is valuable to the study of informal activities for survival across the Umtali-Mozambique border during the colonial period.

1.7 Methodology

1.7.1 Research framework

The methodological approach of this study is largely phenomenological or qualitative than statistical or quantitative. The qualitative approach afforded an in-depth analysis of a broad range

[1] I. Kopytoff, 'The internal African frontier: The making of African political culture', in I. Kopytoff (ed.) *The African frontier: The reproduction of traditional African societies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, p.7.

of interactions across the Rhodesia-Mozambique border. As Monkonnen observed, even though most historians rely on measurement and counting in the understanding of informal and criminal(ised) activities across borders, the people involved are very difficult to enumerate because they operate underground.[1] Thus, clandestine cross-border activities can best be studied by taking at best a qualitative and not just a quantitative approach.

Two research frameworks were employed to complement the case study approach. These are the historical and the patterns-of-activity designs. The historical research design involves examining the involvement of individuals, family members or other groups of people in cross-border activities and how they evolved in tandem with economic, social and political developments at particular spaces during the colonial period. The typical strength of historical research, according to Conklin, is that it provides a firm historical background to prevailing cross-border activities.[2] The patterns-of-activity research involves analysing events in terms of spatial distribution, backgrounds of participants (for example, family, age-group, gender and class), relationships between participants over time, circumstances leading to particular cross-border activities, nature of the activities or interactions, timing, and the common strategies used by the participants. This approach enabled me to establish general explanations on the dynamics of informal cross-border activities.

1.7.2 Research methods and sources

A pluralist methodological strategy was employed for purposes of verification or 'external criticism' where widely differing sources on the same subject were interrogated in an effort to

[1]E. Monkonnen, 'The quantitative historical study of crime and criminal justice', in J. Inciardi and C. Faupel (eds.) *History and crime: Implications for criminal justice policy*, London: Sage Publications, 1980, pp.53-54.
[2] J.E. Conklin, *Criminology*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1998, p.22.

identify possible inconsistencies, biases or errors in the data.[1] The methods used were based on a broad spectrum of primary and secondary sources with the core techniques of gathering evidence being document analysis and oral interviews.

Secondary sources analysed include academic literature found at various institutions. Even though library research constituted the initial phase of data collection, it was an on-going process during the research period (2008-2011) in order to capture the current trends in the literature. Library research was conducted at various academic institutions in South Africa and Zimbabwe. The South African institutions include the Law, Cullen Mullen and Wartenweiller libraries at the University of the Witwatersrand. In Zimbabwe, it was carried out at the Turner Memorial library in Mutare, Africa University near Mutare, the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies in Harare, and the University of Zimbabwe in Harare. The academic material mainly consisted of books, journals and unpublished papers, theses and dissertations. This literature was useful in providing a firm background to the study.

Academic literature on borders, borderlands and related criminal(ised) activities was consulted in order to obtain an in-depth understanding of the causes, development and dynamics of informal cross-border activities. Books and articles on the colonial history of Zimbabwe and Mozambique also provided a revealing picture of the socio-economic and political conditions in the two countries, their effects on household economies, and the extent to which they contributed to the emergence and development of informal cross-border activities. Literature on cross-border activities in the post-Cold War era was examined in order to draw comparisons between, and insights into, colonial and contemporary situations and establish continuities and discontinuities in trends from the past into the present. Scholarly debates on the role of family and kin structures

[1] Beach, *Mapondera*, p.6.

in influencing mobility decisions, and how mobility affects family and kinship solidarity were also explored. These debates were very useful in providing this thesis with a firm theoretical base.

Other secondary sources utilised were reports from newspapers that were based in Umtali during the colonial period. These are the *Umtali Advertiser*, the *Rhodesia Advertiser* and the *Umtali Post* issues for the period 1890-1975. These papers are available at the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) in Harare, and the Turner Memorial and Manica Post libraries in Mutare. The newspapers captured a wide range of issues in both public and official domains which included central government regulations; Umtali municipal bye-laws, reports and notices; first and second-hand accounts of informal cross-border activities involving the town and its surrounding areas; Umtali police reports, notices and anti-crime measures; and reports of criminal court sessions.

The major weakness I encountered with print media data is that it was primarily meant for a colonial audience. The editorial inclination of these papers was generally anti-African. Another limitation common with most newspaper reports is their incomplete coverage of some criminal cases. There was a common tendency by some journalists to abandon issues they had previously been pursuing in favour of emerging stories they considered to be more marketable. In an attempt to address such shortcomings, this study utilised a broad range of sources, for example, primary records at the NAZ in Harare and the Arquivo Historico de Mocambique (AHM) in Maputo to verify, corroborate, or challenge the content and interpretations of print media sources.

NAZ records in Harare were very informative primary sources. The archival documents I identified which were useful for this study can be divided into four categories, reached after an analysis of their content. These are police records, criminal and civil court documents, Umtali municipal records and labour reports. The police records I consulted consist of reports prepared by the British South Africa Police (BSAP) and the Criminal Investigations Department (CID). This collection consists of criminal registers and statistical records, investigation dockets, inspection reports and general correspondence. Umtali Criminal Registers found in the State ('S') 3388 files, for example, were vital to this study by providing specific details on cross-border criminal(ised) activities such as the names, gender, place of origin, age and employment status of some accused persons. Investigation reports and crime dockets also have detailed accounts of the movements of persons accused of taking part in informal cross-border activities. Statements made to the police by accused persons and witnesses provided valuable historical evidence, some of which was first-hand. Some of these accounts are informative on informal cross-border networks which sometimes involved family members and other groups of people on both sides of the border.

The court documents that I went through include magisterial periodic reports, records of proceedings of civil and criminal sessions at the Umtali High Court as well as magistrate and district courts, judgement books, and deportation orders. They contain both the official versions of allegations from the complainants, witnesses and state investigators on the one hand, and the personal testimonies and pleas by the accused persons on the other. Court records were very informative because most of them had personal details of accused persons in terms of family history, gender, employment status, nationality and age as well as the specificities of their cross-border activities. Even though court documents were useful as sources of historical evidence in

view of the fact that both parties presented their versions which could be cross-checked against each other, I observed that some versions by accused persons should not be taken at face value since most of them were on the defensive. As Amin rightly noted, court records require thorough interrogation because 'peasants in court cannot be taken at their word' since most accused persons are evasive.[1]

Umtali municipal records that I consulted consist of official correspondence, minutes of council meetings, bye-laws and periodic reports. They were quite illuminating on the development of Umtali since its formative years and the way of life of indigenous and non-indigenous Africans in the town. Reports by municipal officials in charge of African residential areas such as Sakubva were useful by articulating the existence of 'illegal' residents, informal cross-border activities involving the town, and the official strategies that were put in place to curb such developments.

Labour records that were useful to this research comprise official correspondence and periodic reports on the labour situation in Rhodesia. They covered official migrant labour issues but at times reported on clandestine labour recruitment practices across the Rhodesia-Mozambique. They were useful by providing details of conditions under which Africans were recruited and worked. Some of these conditions made them to resort to informal labour practices to earn a livelihood.

The major limitation I noted with official records is that they do not capture 'the dark figure'[2] of most informal cross-border activities, the majority of which were criminalised by the colonial administration. 'Dark figure' refers to the number of offenders and crime cases that were

[1] S. Amin, *Event, metaphor, memory: Chauri Chaura 1922-1992*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, p.193.
[2] J. Hagan, *Research methods in criminal justice and criminology*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000, p.189.

undetected, unreported and unrecorded. As Hagan noted, not all offences committed are discovered; not all crimes detected are reported; and not all crimes for which reports have been made to the police are recorded.[1]Again, some accused persons did not divulge their networks to the police for fear of betraying their accomplices.

Official crime statistics can also be conservative partly because some crimes were not discovered. Tagliacozzo alerted scholars to be mindful of the fact that archival data on informal cross-border activities, especially crime, may be both simple and very difficult to locate. On the one hand, he noted: 'The range of documentation available to a researcher...is likely to be vast, as states spend a lot of time, money, and ink trying to figure out who crosses their borders illegally and why.'[2] On the other, he continued, archival data on informal cross-border activities by the common people may be fragmentary because 'the job of peasants is to keep themselves out of the archives' and more often than not, 'most state records of smuggling are chronicles of failure, therefore: the specifics of many cases end up being written down only when contrabanders have been caught.'[3]

Another challenge with official records which was drawn to my attention by some oral informants is that some clandestine cross-border activities, for example property theft, were not detected partly because the police could only cover limited geographical space and failed to easily penetrate secluded and private localities as well as those across borders.[4] During my research, I was fully cognisant of other shortcomings of official crime records. Crime statistics, for example, can be fabricated to create an impression to the higher authorities that a police

[1]Hagan, *Research methods in criminal justice and criminology*, p.116.
[2]Tagliacozzo, 'Thinking marginally', p.149.
[3] E. Tagliacozzo, *Secret trades, porous borders: Smuggling and states along a south-east Asian frontier, 1865-1915*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, p.6.
[4] Separate interviews with Robert Fazenda, Dangamvura 'T' Section, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 20 November 2010; and Cephas Pombe, Redwing Mine compound, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 7 January 2011.

chief, establishment or department was performing well.[1] Some crime-reduction targets set by governments can be unattainable thereby creating pressure on police officers at the station level resulting in them deliberately manipulating crime statistics downwards regardless of what was taking place on the ground.[2] Again, it should not be taken for granted that an apparent increase in officially-recorded crime reflected a rise in lawlessness in society. It could actually be a manifestation of an improvement in law enforcement or in the reporting itself.[3] In view of these shortcomings, I used alternative sources of information to verify, complement and supplement data from official documents. Oral interviews, for example, were helpful in addressing some of the 'dark figure' features of informal cross-border pursuits and some shenanigans in official records.

With the aid of an interpreter fluent in both Portuguese and English, I carried out archival research at the AHM in Maputo from 17 August to 16 September 2010. My research targeted those documents on Manica e Sofala province because of its proximity to the Rhodesian border. The AHM files that I consulted consisted of three categories. These are *Fundo do Governo Distrito da Beira* (FGDB), *Fundo do Inspeccao dos Servicos Administrativos dos Negocios Indigenas* (FISANI) and *Seccao Especial* (SE). The content of FGDB documents dwelt on the situation that prevailed in the district of Beira, which together with Tete, made up the province of Manica e Sofala from 1942 onwards. FGDB files contain circulars from the Provincial Civil Administrator of Manica e Sofala. They also have routine reports from the administrators of various districts and towns. Some reports gave details of the major routes used by Mozambican

[1] R. Clark, *Crime in America: Observations on its nature, causes, prevention and control*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970, p.45.
[2] *Star*: 'Crime nightmare,' 23 September 2009, p.1.
[3] Clark, *Crime in America*, p.45.

Africans to slip into Rhodesia and some of the strategies they employed to elude the authorities.[1] Most FISANI files contain periodic reports by Portuguese officials in charge of rural areas. They covered the daily activities of Africans including crime and informal cross-border movements.[2] Other contents of these files include the official measures taken to curb the drift of Africans into neighbouring countries.[3]

Some SE files contain colonial official reports on the circular movement of Africans across the Rhodesia-Mozambique border. Others outlined the desperate attempts by the Portuguese administration to lure back African workers who had vanished into neighbouring Rhodesia.[4]It should be noted that for all their valuable data, AHM and NAZ material is largely embedded in colonial official discourses which tended to disguise, misrepresent or silence the real life experiences of the marginalised people which made them to engage in informal cross-border activities for survival.

I need to acknowledge the major challenge I experienced when handling Mozambican archival material. My mastery of the Portuguese language is shallow, if not poor. I had a brief course in Portuguese and also engaged a translator. It is quite possible that some nuances were lost during translation. It is in view of these challenges with Portuguese archival records that I utilised a variety of sources such oral interviews for purposes of complementing, supplementing and verifying data.

[1] See, for example, AHM: FGDB, Cx 683: Administracao da Concelho de Manica, No. 1761/B/17, Vila de Manica, 24 Setembro de 1948.
[2] See, for example, AHM: FISANI, Cx 39: Inspector Administrativo Cap. Abel de Souza Moutinho.Relarorio da Inspeccao Ordinaria a Circunscricao de Mossurize, 1943-1944.
[3] See, for example, AHM: FISANI, Cx 39: Joao Mesquita, Relatorio das Inspeccoes Ordinarias as Circunscricoes de Chemba, Sena, Marromeu, Gorongosa, Manica e Mossurize, do distrito da Beira, 1946.
[4] See, for instance, AHM: SE: Branquinho Jose Alberto Gomes de Melo: 'Prospeccao das forces traditionairs: Manica e Sofala', Relatorio Secreto para os Servicos de Centralizacao e Coodenacao de Informacoes, Provincial de Mocambique, Lourenco Marques, 1967.

Oral interviews in Zimbabwe and Mozambique constituted the fieldwork of this study. With the aid of two assistants, I managed to interview 75 men and women from Zimbabwe and 42 from Mozambique. Most of the informants had either lived in Umtali or the borderline areas during the colonial period. In Zimbabwe, I conducted oral interviews in Mutare's suburbs of Sakubva (1-14 August 2010), Fern Valley and Zimunya (18-30 September 2010), Dangamvura (1-30 November 2010) and Chikanga (12 February 2011) as well as the peri-urban areas of Penhalonga (4-10 January 2011), Chitakatira (1-5 February 2011) and Dora (5-10 February 2011). I also followed up some informants in the Mutasa district north of Mutare (which includes Honde Valley) who were either known to have lived in Umtali and the Umtali-Mozambique border area or had been recommended by other interviewees as being very knowledgeable on the content of the study.

Even though this thesis is a case study of the Rhodesian town of Umtali, the fieldwork operations were extended to the Mozambican towns of Chimoio (6-11 December 2010), Machipanda (16-18 December 2010) and Manica (27-28 December 2010) because they are close to the border. The fieldwork also covered the rural villages in Mozambique just across the border with Mutare which are Nyaronga (1-4 December 2010), Mugarandega (13-15 December 2010), Mugoriwondo (19-20 December 2010), Mutsinze (21-22 December 2010), Arufaso (23-24 December 2010), Chadzuka (29 December 2010), Nyamakari (30 December 2010) and Mukudu (17-20 April 2011). This was very necessary largely because informal cross-border activities by the residents of Umtali and the surrounding rural and peri-urban areas on the Rhodesian side also involved a significant number of the inhabitants of Mozambique's borderlands most of whom had close cultural and family ties. In addition, a considerable number of Africans born and bred

in Umtali took up residence in these borderline parts of Mozambique leaving their kith and kin in Rhodesia.

I implemented an area-cluster approach during the initial stage of the interviews. This involved identifying localities within Umtali from where potential informants were likely to be located. My first target was Sakubva, Umtali's oldest African residential area. I identified potential informants through a random search which involved consulting family elders known to have lived in Umtali and the border area during the colonial era. Having identified the first informants and interviewed them, the snowball approach was used to get more respondents for subsequent interviews.

The life-history approach was implemented during the first part of each interview. This involved a general conversation during which informants provided details of their historical background, for example, family origin and history; and the past and present employment experiences including those of family members, relatives and friends. This approach enabled respondents to be relaxed and be in a position to provide information more readily during the later stages of the interviews. Each interview proceeded through unstructured but focussed questions. These non-directive interviews sought open-ended reactions from the respondents on specific issues pertaining to informal cross-border activities. I captured oral interviews by a digital voice recorder after obtaining permission from the respondents. A detailed analysis of the recorded data was done after hours.

Oral interviews are an asset in social history because they reduce the 'distance between the researcher and the researched.'[1] Interviews were useful in identifying some activities that had not

[1]C.K. Adenaike and J. Vansina, 'Prologue', in C.K. Adenaike and J. Vansina (eds.) *In pursuit of history: Fieldwork in Africa*, Oxford: James Currey, 1996, p.xiv.

come to the attention of the authorities. It should be noted, however, that in an attempt to protect their images, most informants chose to report on clandestine cross-border activities of other people rather than themselves. This is where other sources such as archival documents and newspaper reports came in handy. The methodology for this thesis is therefore multi-faceted. This multi-dimensional approach provided depth and enabled data from various sources to be cross-checked in order to reduce prejudices, errors and contradictions.

1.8 Summary of chapter contents

Data findings are organised into seven chapters which follow the introductory chapter. Chapters 2 and 3 are in a chronological sequence starting with the pre-colonial socio-economic and political organisation in the region (which I call south-east Africa) that now makes up Zimbabwe and Mozambique, followed by colonisation. Chapters 4-8 take a thematic approach with each chapter focussing on a specific informal cross-border activity. Each of these thematic chapters traces the emergence and development of each activity paying particular attention to the influence of family and kinship networks. These chapters will also examine the extent to which other factors such as gender, class and generation were influential in the development of these activities.

Chapter 2 explores the social, political and economic links between various families and societies in south-east Africa during the pre-colonial period. It demonstrates that socially, most African societies in this region had a common history and culture at the time of colonial conquest during the late 19th century. It shows that politically, most families and societies that were to be separated by the Anglo-Portuguese border once constituted single political entities at different times during the pre-colonial period, for example, Mutapa, Rozvi, Chikanga, Mutasa and Gaza.

This chapter also illustrates how sections of the population from various pre-colonial African societies established commercial contacts throughout the region and beyond, an asset of survival in the family economy that was to be hijacked by the Portuguese. An examination of these historical contacts makes it possible to assess the extent to which the advent of colonial rule disrupted the pre-colonial set-up thereby forcing some Africans to devise various strategies of survival. In addition, the historical links between various societies in this region during the pre-colonial period (the antecedents), facilitated the pursuits for survival across the Umtali-Mozambique border during the colonial era to a great extent. This chapter therefore provides a firm historical background to the thesis.

Chapter 3, which is in three parts, dwells on the establishment of British and Portuguese colonialism in Rhodesia and Mozambique respectively. The first part focuses on the demarcation of the Rhodesia-Mozambique border and illustrates how it disrupted the pre-colonial African way of life, particularly the social and economic networks between various societies and families. The delimitation of the border did not consider African interests and settlement patterns. Instead, homogenous African societies were arbitrarily split. Thus, clandestine activities involving interactions by family members, kin and other groups of people across the border emerged during the colonial era and persisted into the post-independence period as Africans sought a livelihood.

The second part traces the development of Umtali during its formative years and examines the way of life of indigenous and non-indigenous Africans, paying particular attention to family problems in a colonial urban setting. This background is valuable since it articulates some of the circumstances in which informal activities across the Umtali-Mozambique border emerged and flourished. The last part is preoccupied with the harsh conditions of life which Africans endured

in Rhodesia and Mozambique during the colonial era. It illustrates how the Portuguese and the British monopolised political, social and economic space in Mozambique and Rhodesia respectively. Those who had lost out to the colonisers and a few fortunate Africans retreated to the margins of the state from where they negotiated national borders for survival through various informal means. This chapter provides a solid historical footing for the thesis by providing a revealing picture of the conditions in which clandestine cross-border activities mushroomed and developed,

Chapter 4 dwells on the continuities, discontinuities and adaptations pertaining to socio-cultural interactions across the Umtali-Mozambique border during the colonial period. These interactions included marital unions and kinship networks, some of which were to be important in facilitating surreptitious cross-border pursuits for a livelihood such as seeking employment without going through official channels (Chapter 5) and property theft (Chapter 6). This chapter also discusses socio-cultural conflicts in rural Mozambican communities which resulted in some men, women and children fleeing to Umtali. It also examines the ways in which the establishment of the border affected family and kinship solidarity. This chapter demonstrates the ambivalence of national borders as arenas of socio-cultural interaction on the one hand, and they being barriers in circumstances of conflict within family and kin groups where some members sought sanctuary across the border in Umtali on the other.

Chapter 5 focuses on clandestine cross-border labour mobility and practices. Informal cross-border labour mobility to and from Umtali was criminalised by Rhodesian and Mozambican authorities. This chapter explores the strategies put in place by the Rhodesian and Portuguese authorities to thwart such practices and some of the reasons why Africans shunned official labour-recruitment channels. Central to the discussion in this chapter are the various forms of

informal cross-border labour practices undertaken by Africans. These included clandestine border-crossing by work-seekers, individual search for jobs after circumventing labour bureaus, touting for labour, and violation of government-recognised labour contracts. This chapter asserts that networking during the informal pursuits for labour across the border was largely based on family and kinship links even though some influences based on the gender, generational and class status of the Africans involved have to be considered in given circumstances, for example, in settings where family members and relatives were not readily available. It also argues that these activities had both positive and negative effects on family and kinship solidarity depending on specific contexts.

Chapter 6 focuses on the trafficking of stolen goods across the Umtali-Mozambique and begins by investigating three issues that are pertinent in defining the nature of this traffic. These are: the nature of the stolen property; the direction of the flow of stolen goods, that is, why most goods were stolen in Umtali and disposed of in Mozambique; and the nationality of the majority of the participants, that is, why more Mozambican Africans were involved than their Rhodesian counterparts. Central to the discussion in this chapter are the social networks that were involved in the theft of property and its disposal across the border. This chapter acknowledges the prominence of family-kinship networks in the development of property theft across the Umtali-Mozambique border with other interactions based on gender, generational and class commonalities of the Africans involved playing significant complementary roles in given circumstances.

Chapter 7 traces the development of the alcohol traffic from Mozambique into Umtali. The brands that were trafficked were opaque cereal beer, an African home-made spirit known as

nipa,[1] and European-manufactured spirits. This chapter also shows how potent brews became an important source of leisure and an asset in the informal household economies of some sections of the African population in Umtali and the borderline villages of Mozambique. It again examines the reasons why most of Umtali's African drinkers shunned municipal beer outlets in favour of sources across the border in Mozambique. This chapter exposes the operations of family and kinship-based networks in the brewing process. It also discusses how these networks, together with those shaped along gender, generational and class commonalities and status played important roles in the trafficking of alcohol across the border, and its marketing and consumption in the Mozambican villages and Umtali.

Chapter 8 examines how Umtali became a market and transit zone for dagga that was sourced mainly from Mozambique. It firstly explores the significance of the drug in pre-colonial African societies, and how it gradually became a vital commodity in the informal family economies of the colonially-marginalised people in both Umtali and the Mozambican villages along the border. The various strategies used to conceal the drug at the source, in transit, and on the market, and how they evolved over time, constitute an essential part of this chapter. Without overlooking some factors related to class commonalities, gender dynamics and generational influences, this chapter highlights the importance family-kinship networks in the growing of dagga in Mozambique, its trafficking across the border, and its marketing in Umtali and beyond in other areas of the Rhodesian interior.

[1]*Nipa* is a home-brewed spirit of almost 100% alcohol content prepared from quantities of sugar, maize husks and water. The mixture is left to ferment for about a week. It is then boiled and the distilled liquid becomes the brew (see *Umtali Post*: 'Natives take potent *nipa* from soft-drink bottles in sprees over the border,' 7 October 1955, p.1).

CHAPTER 2

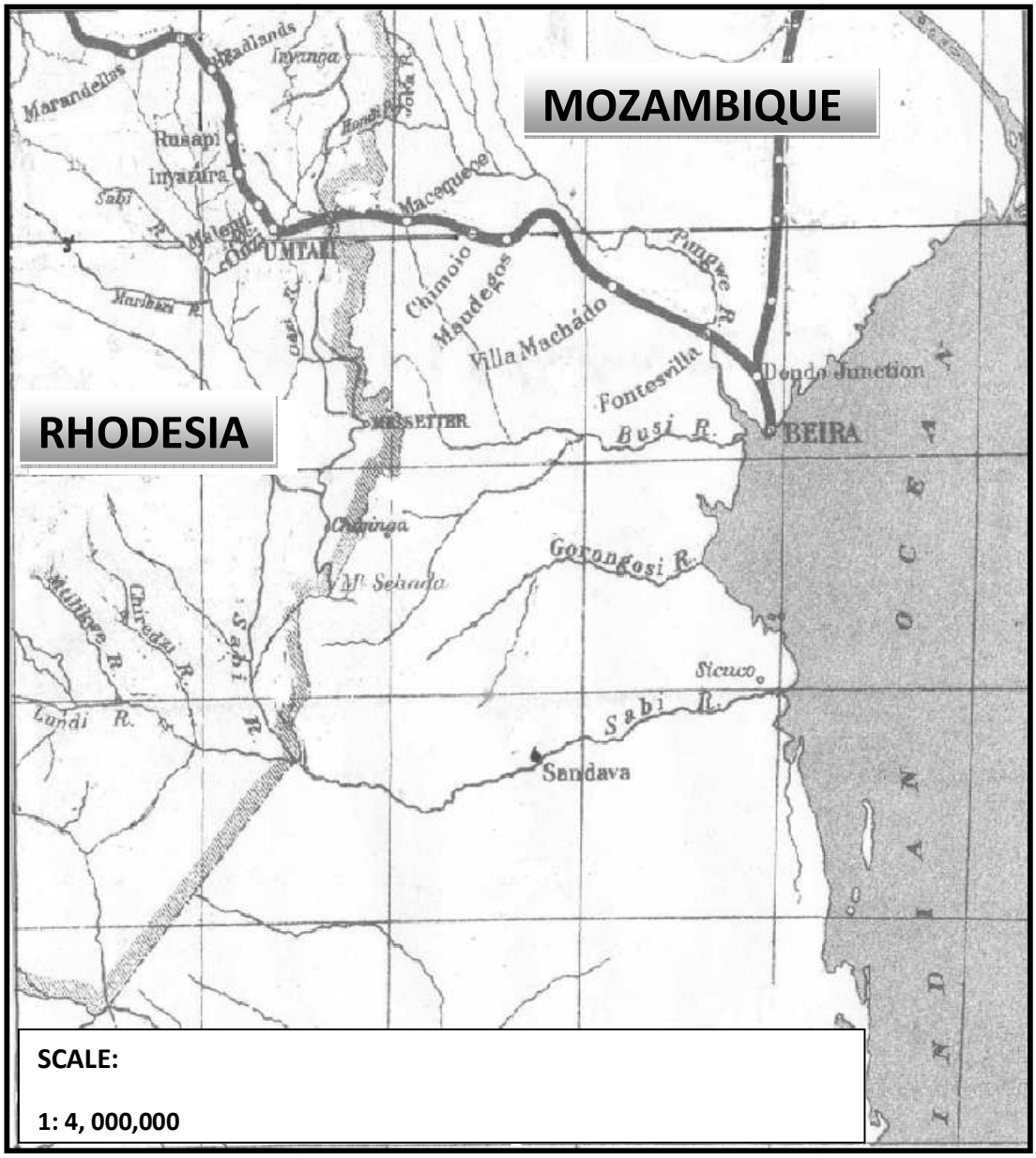
SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANISATION, MOBILITY AND THE POLITICS OF BORDERS IN PRE-COLONIAL SOUTH-EAST AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

Geographically, Mozambique and eastern Rhodesia fell in the region of south-east Africa. This area, largely inhabited by Bantu Shona-speaking people, is largely a plateau in the west, rising more than 1000 metres above sea level.[1] The Inyanga (Nyangani) Mountains constitute the eastern limits of the plateau from where the Mozambican plain gradually descends towards the Indian Ocean coast. The Nyangani Mountains are cut at various points by passes and rivers such as the Pungwe (Aruangwa), Nyangombe, Odzi, Odzani, Honde, Nyamukwarara and Munene.[2] This region is bound by the Zambezi and the Limpopo Rivers, to the north and south respectively, and its western limits are roughly the whole stretch of the Sabi (Save) River,[3] then from its source straight up to the Zambezi River, and from its confluence with the Lundi (Runde) River straight down to the Limpopo.

This chapter examines the organisation of African societies in general and family life in particular, in pre-colonial south-east Africa. It demonstrates that socially, the majority of African families in this region had a common history and socio-cultural system. It argues that shared historical experiences shaped the identity of people across political borders within the region to a great extent. This, however, in no way suggests the existence of a regional utopian community.

[1] W.G.L. Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century*, Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1979, p.1.
[2] A.E. Paup, 'The geology of the Umtali gold-belt', in *Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey Bulletin Number 32*, Salisbury: Geology Department, 1937, p.2.
[3] The name 'Save' was corrupted to 'Sabi' by the British during the colonial period.



Map 2: The geography of south-east Africa (Source: Adapted from Surveyor General, 'Map of Zimbabwe: Mutare', Harare: Government Printer, 1984).

This chapter also asserts that politically, Africans had a clear sense of borders and boundaries and within the relatively powerful states evolved institutions and practices which left some imprints in the history of the region that enabled some families, and even societies, to identify

with each other beyond the pre-colonial period. Furthermore, it illustrates that borderlands were sometimes contested resulting in wars, but relations between families of the ordinary people from different political entities were largely characterised by cordial socio-economic interactions. It again demonstrates that socio-economic interactions across state borders through local, regional and inter-regional trade were an important aspect of family life. It also shows how some notable cultural commonalities between people in this region are partly attributable to such contacts. Finally, it asserts that commercial activities during the pre-colonial period made some people to seek employment and other wealth-generating opportunities within and across borders, a trend that persisted in the colonial era. This chapter therefore provides a firm historical context for the thesis.

2.2 Historical background

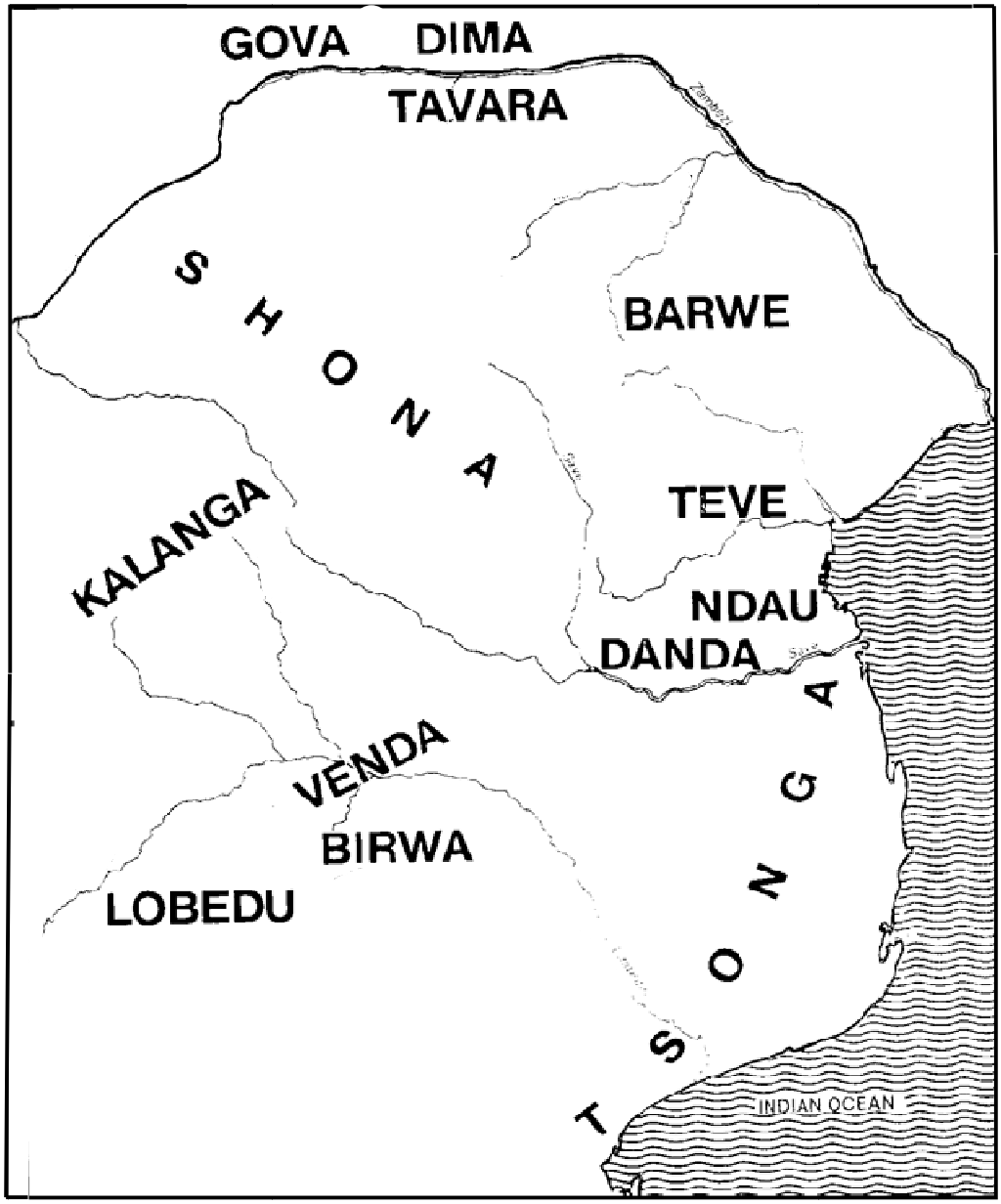
The majority of societies in south-east Africa originated from a Karanga branch of the Bantu people that spoke a common language which came to be known as Shona.[1] The term 'Shona' was first used during the 19th century by the Ndebele people to refer to the historic Karanga societies.[2] The British colonisers adopted the term during the early 20th century to refer to the majority of African societies between the Zambezi and the Limpopo Rivers which included the dialect clusters such as Korekore in the north, Karanga in the south, Zezuru in the centre, Kalanga in the south-west, Manyika in the east, and Ndau in the south-east.[3] Shona settlements

[1] M.F.C. Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples: An ethnography of the contemporary Shona, with special reference to their religion*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1998, p.7.
[2] S.I.G. Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa, c1400-1902*, Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1988, p.21.
[3] D.N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900-1850: An outline of Shona history*, London: Heinemann, 1980, p.18. Also see Bourdillon, *TheShona peoples*, p.17.

also overlapped beyond the borders of Rhodesia.[1]In Mozambique, for instance, Shona-speaking societies included the Barwe and the Ndau.[2] As early as 1560, there were numerous Karanga settlements near Inhambane in the coastal region Mozambique.[3] The histories of the majority of people in south-east Africa were therefore closely linked and there was no significant immigration of non-Shona speakers until the invasion of the Nguni during the 19th century.[4]

There were some notable exceptions however. Ethnic minority people in areas that were dominantly Shona-speaking were commonly referred to as 'Tonga',[5] a term commonly used to refer to subject people.[6] These included the Sena of the lower Zambezi and the Tsonga between the Save, the plateau and Delagoa Bay.[7] The Sena-speaking Tonga people lived in areas between the lower Zambezi and the Nyanga plateau, and between the Ruenya and Pungwe Rivers.[8] During the 16th century, the Tonga made up the majority of the mountain people in Manyika.[9] To the north of the Pungwe River also resided the Sena-speaking people, some of whom were absorbed by the Manyika before 1800, while the majority were found in present-day Mozambique.[10]

[1]By 1400, Shona-speaking people inhabited areas extending from the plateau as far south-west as the Shoshong Hills, and as far south as Mapungubwe across the Limpopo. The Venda-speaking people south of the Limpopo were also of Shona ancestry (see D.N. Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples, 1400-1900,' Henderson seminar paper, Number 52, Harare: University of Zimbabwe History Department, 1981, pp.5, 30). The Kalanga in eastern Botswana are a branch of the Karanga (see Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, pp.17-19).
[2] Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, pp.17-19.
[3] These observations were made by Father Andre Fernandes, a Portuguese priest, cited by Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.22.
[4]Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples', p.4.
[5] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.157.
[6] A. Marwodzi, 'Barozvi,' in *NADA*, Volume 2, 1924, p.89.
[7]C.S.Lancaster, 'Ethnic identity, history and the tribe in the middle Zambezi Valley,' in *American Ethnologist*, Volume 1, 1974, pp.123-125.
[8] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.158.
[9] Barros cited by Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa*, p.17.
[10]Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, pp.157-159.



Map 3: Shona and Shona-related societies (Source: Adapted from Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.xxiii).

Around 1400, eastern Shona country extended into present-day Mozambique but areas around the bays of Maputo and Inhambane, and to the Pungwe bay, encompassing the lands between the Save and Pungwe Rivers, were inhabited by Tsonga and Gitonga-speaking people. Shona-

speaking people, however, 'moved widely – as far as Maputo bay – and in considerable numbers that although in the end they were absorbed…they left very marked traces upon their culture, especially in the case of the Chopi.'[1]The Shona people under Gambe penetrated and conquered the area of the Tonga near Inhambane during the mid-16th century resulting in a mixed Tonga-Shona population in the area, which came to be called Chopi during the 18th century. Around 1700, this area was invaded by the Makwakwa, a Tsonga group of Sotho origin. Thus, Chopi culture came to represent Tonga, Shona and Tsonga features.[2] Despite the existence of minority communities in pre-colonial south-east Africa, the majority of people in the region were of Shona ancestry.

2.3 Conceptualisation of boundaries and borders in pre-colonial Africa

Based on the presupposition of the absence of western literacy standards and cartographic traditions of the contemporary world, some scholars argued that pre-colonial African societies had 'a very vague sense of boundaries.'[3] Baud and Van Schendel, for example, asserted that there were no borders in pre-colonial Africa but frontiers or 'embryonic borderlands' which often overlapped into each other, resulting in wars. They insisted that most of these frontiers never evolved into borders.[4] Negrao claimed that territorial systems of governance were non-existent in pre-colonial Africa and the authorities governed social systems rather than territories. He argued that these social systems were largely made up of rural alliances between families and

[1]Bhila,*Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.8.
[2] A.K. Smith, 'The peoples of southern Mozambique: An historical survey', in *Journal of African History*, Volume XIV, Number 4, 1973, pp.570-578.
[3] This observation was made by G.C. Mazarire, 'Changing landscape and oral memory in south-central Zimbabwe: Towards a historical geography of Chishanga, c1850-1990,' in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 29, Number 3, September 2003, p.707.
[4]Baud and Van Schendel, 'Toward a comparative history of borderlands', p.223.

clans over areas with no clearly defined territorial limits.[1] Hughes echoed these sentiments and claimed that the pre-colonial Ndau people in central Mozambique did not identify themselves with any geographical boundaries of territory.[2]

On the contrary, Mazarire observed that while it is a fact that the African idea about boundaries 'lay in the mind' such conceptualisations were 'clearly related to actual physical markers on the ground.'[3] In the Shona state of Mutapa, for example, boundaries or *miganhu* 'were clearly defined, often by such natural features as rivers or mountains.'[4] As Bourdillon noted, the boundaries of pre-colonial African states were

> ...usually defined by natural features such as hills and rivers well known to its inhabitants, but precise agreement over these boundaries are not always shared with inhabitants of neighbouring chiefdoms. The country within the boundaries of a long established chiefdom usually has a traditional name apart from the dynastic title of the chief who rules over it, and the people distinguish themselves from their neighbours by using the name of their chiefdom.[5]

Virtanen expressed similar sentiments: 'In traditional Shona cosmology land is intimately associated with the history of the chiefdom, with the ruling chief and with ancestral spirits who lived on the land.'[6] This situation prevailed in most pre-colonial African states. Among the Lozi of the upper Zambezi, as Gluckman noted, 'Commoners think of themselves as permanently indebted to the king for the land on which they live and its wild and domesticated products which sustain them.'[7] As with border conflicts in the contemporary world, however, 'boundaries

[1] J. Negrao, *One hundred years of rural African economy: The Zambezi delta in retrospective analysis*, Lund: University of Lund, 1995, pp.159-166.
[2] D. Hughes, 'Cadastral policies: The making of community-based resource management in Zimbabwe and Mozambique', in *Development and Change*, Volume 32, 2001, pp.759-763.
[3] Mazarire, 'Changing landscape and oral memory in south-central Zimbabwe,' p.706.
[4] Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.14.
[5] Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.105.
[6] P. Virtanen, 'Land of the ancestors: Semiotics, history and space in Chimanimani, Mozambique', in *Social and Cultural Geography*, Volume 6, Number 3, 2005, p.365.
[7] M. Gluckman, 'Land tenure, group and individual rights', in Z.A and J.M. Konczacki (eds.) *An economic history of Tropical Africa: The pre-colonial period*, London: Frank Cass, 1977, p.56.

of...kingdoms often shifted following vicissitudes of wars.'[1] Thus, '... landscape was the most fluid of all elements in a territorial definition because it was the most contested, appropriate and imaginable.'[2]

Scholars who did not acknowledge the existence of boundaries in pre-colonial Africa failed to distinguish between the central state and outlying tributaries. As Kopytoff argued, Africans perceived political landscape as a dynamic of territorial influence emanating from the centre and spreading into the periphery.[3] The central state implied 'a large but compact area under the control of one dynasty' while the outlying tributaries were 'areas that might from time to time pay tribute to the ruler of the state, but which at other times would be independent or even at war with him.'[4]

Pre-colonial African polities were sub-divided into administrative units or wards, whose boundaries were clearly defined, each under a ward head.[5] Writing on his personal observations of the Mutapa state during the 1560s, Father Mauel Barretto noted that it had wards (*matunhu*) with 'their own names and limits, which are called *moganos*, and these territories... had their own *fumos* or petty Kaffir kings.'[6] The chiefdom of Manyika, for example, had 42 wards during the 1780s.[7] Wards were divided into clearly marked villages each under a village head. In the Mutasa chiefdom of Manyika, a new village was opened up by the ward head after consulting the

[1] Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.5
[2]Mazarire, 'Changing landscape and oral memory in south-central Zimbabwe,' p.707.
[3]This is one of the central arguments of Kopytoff, 'The internal African frontier.'
[4] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.113.
[5]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.106.
[6]Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.14.
[7] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.91.

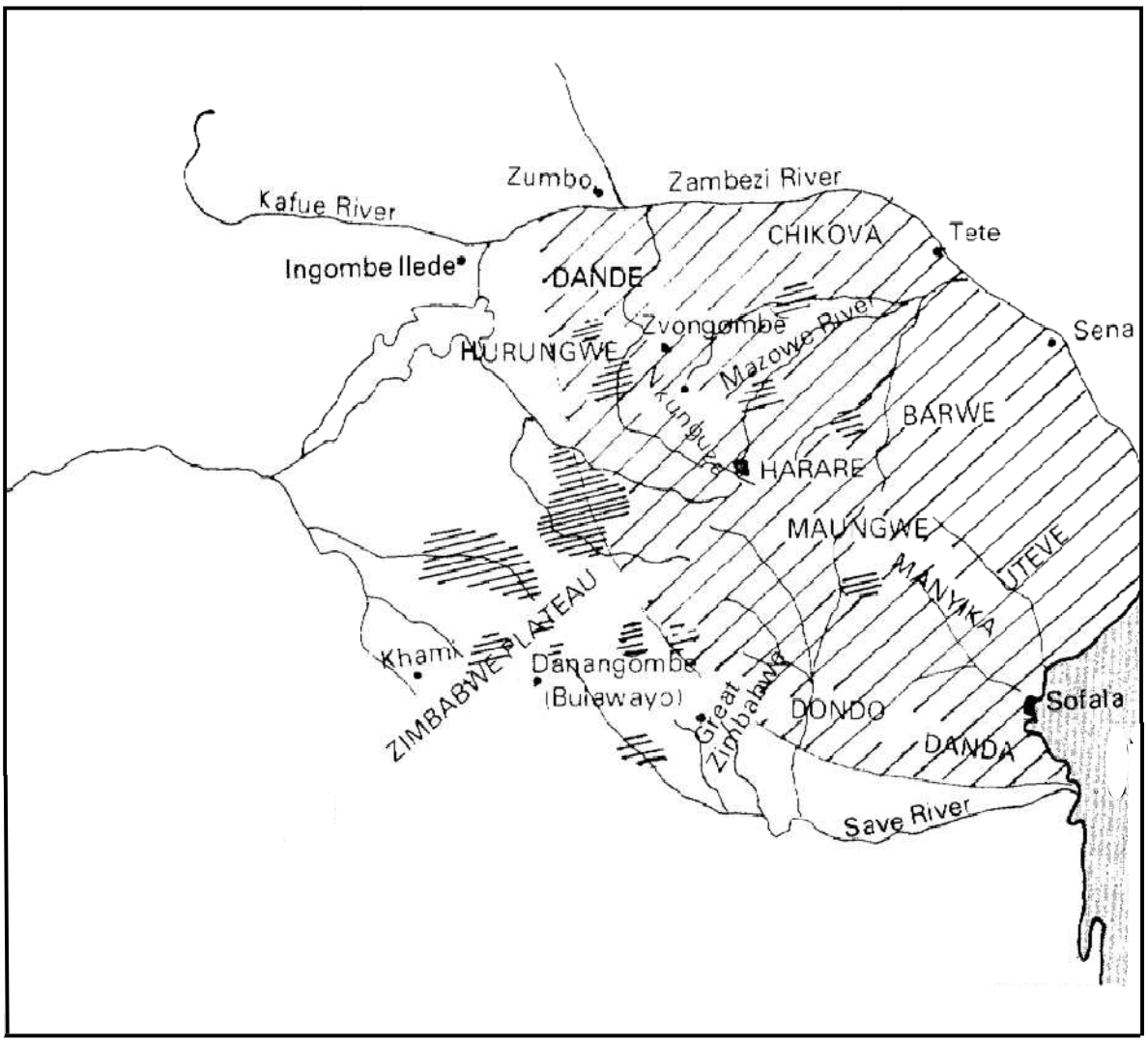
chief. During the ceremony to establish a new village, the ward head symbolically marked the limits of the new village by erecting a wooden peg in the ground (*kudzika bango*).[1]

2.4 The influence of the Mutapa state on the history of south-east Africa up to the late 16th century

The Mutapa state, founded around 1400 in the Shangwe-Dande-Chidima area of north-eastern Rhodesia,[2] was one of the earliest Shona polities to have a long-lasting influence on the history of south-east Africa. The state expanded through conquest to include the Tonga-speaking areas in the Zambezia and Manica e Sofala provinces of Mozambique during the 15th century.[3] Manyika, under the Chikanga dynasty, became part of the Mutapa Empire after conquest around 1494.[4] At the height of its power during the second half of the 15th century, the empire covered the lands between the Zambezi and the Limpopo. It extended from the Indian Ocean in the east to the margins of the Kalahari Desert in the west.[5] The area which basically comprised the plateau between the Zambezi and the Limpopo, and the western half of the Mozambican plain was described in 1552 by Joao de Barros, a Portuguese historian, as an 'island' dominated by the kingdom of 'Benomotapa.'[6] Its outlying tributaries included the provinces of Manyika,

[1] J.F. Holleman, 'Some Shona tribes in Southern Rhodesia', in E. Colson and M. Gluckman (eds.) *Seven tribes in British Central Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1951, p.364. This practice was also confirmed during separate interviews in Zimbabwe with Solomon Nyamukusa, Chipangura village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 23 October 2010; and Raino Fenga, Matambo Store, Mandeya 11 ward, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 8 October 2010.
[2] Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa* , pp.37-38.
[3] Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.14.
[4] D.P. Abraham, 'The early political history of the kingdom of Mwene Mutapa, 580-1589,' in *Historians in Tropical Africa: Proceedings of the Leverhulme Inter-Collegiate History Conference held at the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in September 1968*, Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1962, pp.64-67. Also see H.H.K. Bhila, 'Trade and the survival of an African polity,' in *Rhodesian History*, Volume 3, 1972, p.12.
[5] Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.76.
[6] Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa*, p.7.

Maungwe, Barwe, Teve and Danda.[1] Mutapa wars of conquest also spread into some parts of present-day Botswana and South Africa.[2]



Map 4: The Mutapa state and its tributaries (Source: H. Bhila and K. Shillington, *A Junior Certificate history for Zimbabwe Book 1*, Harare: Longman Zimbabwe, 1986, p.73).

[1]See Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, pp.113-114; and Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.3.
[2] See N.J. Van Warmelo, *Contributions towards Venda history, religion and tribal ritual*, Pretoria: Department of Native Affairs Ethnological publication, Number 3, 1932, pp.4-9); and A.M. Sebina, 'Makalaka', in *African Studies*, Volume 6, Number 2, 1947, pp.82-94).

From the central state in the Shangwe-Dande-Chidima area, Mutapa rulers used a number of strategies to assert their influence on the outlying tributaries. For example, all provinces maintained a considerable degree of autonomy but were obliged to pay tribute in the form of gold, cattle, iron and copper to the Mutapa rulers once a year as an expression of political loyalty.[1] Subordinate rulers who defaulted risked severe penalties, for example, being forced to drink poison.[2]

Mutapa rulers also sought to enforce uniform socio-religious practices throughout the whole empire in order to enhance their authority. During the 1530s, for instance, the first, sixth and seventh days of the week were declared holidays (*chisi*). Other holidays included the day of the new moon and the king's birthday. There was feasting on the first day of each month during which millet beer was drunk and dagga consumed rather than smoked.[3]

Mutapa hegemony over its outlying tributaries was short-lived largely because of the vast size of the state which made political centralisation problematic. The state largely lacked political cohesion and was more of 'a loose association.'[4] Between the 15th and 18th centuries, most of the Mutapa provinces broke away.[5] The situation worsened during the late 16th and early 17th centuries when most of the lowlands south of the Zambezi were lost to Portuguese *prazo*-holders. By the late 17th century, most of the southern areas of the state had been taken over by

[1] H. Franklin, 'A selection from notes on Manyika customs,' in *NADA*, Number 5, 1927, p.60. Also see Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.14.
[2] See Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.101.
[3] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.92. Also see Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, pp.15-16.
[4] Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.10.
[5] During the late 15th century, the southern province of Guruuswa (Butwa) defected and so did Uteve during the early 16th century. Maungwe also broke away during the same period as Uteve. Barwe and Manyika broke away during the 17th century. Dande broke away during the 18th century (see Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.76; and Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.4).

the Rozvi Empire. What remained of the state during the second half of the 18th century was the Chidima province alone.[1]

Most societies in pre-colonial south-east Africa shared a common history of belonging to the Mutapa state even though the empire was not that coherent politically. Even though Mutapa rulers failed to maintain a firm hold on the outlying tributaries, some of their socio-religious institutions survived in the region up to the post-colonial period. The institution of *chisi*, for example, survived the colonial and post-independence eras among most societies in south-east Africa, although notwithstanding some frequent violations of the taboo.[2]

2.5 Rozvi influence from the late 17th century

The rulers of the former Mutapa province of Guruuswa began wars of conquest from the 17th century that saw the rise of the Rozvi Empire. At the beginning of the 17th century the Rozvi conquered Uteve.[3] During the middle of the 17th century, they penetrated the land between the Save River in the west and the Indian Ocean in the east largely inhabited by the Dondo people under the Musikavanhu-Nyakuimba dynasty. They settled in the Chimanimani area in the south-eastern part of Rhodesia and their general-cum-ruler assumed the name Chisanga (his Rozvi followers being called the Sanga), and the dynastic title Mutema. The Sanga and the subdued Dondo in this new Rozvi satellite became known by the collective name Danda, and later Ndau.[4] The Ndau were to be split by the demarcation of the Rhodesia-Mozambique border during the late 19th century. North of Danda in the Chimanimani Mountains, the Rozvi established the

[1]Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.76.
[2]Interview with Edgar Mudzindiko, Mudzindiko village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 20 October 2010.
[3] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.168.
[4] F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and fiction,* Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1978, pp.21-22. Also see J.K. Rennie, 'Christianity, colonialism and the origins of nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia 1890-1935,' North-western University, PhD thesis, 1973, pp.68-72.

Ngorima and Chikukwa chiefdoms in what was to become Rhodesia after colonisation. Their influence also spread eastwards to the present-day Mozambican district of Sussundenga.[1] In 1684 the Rozvi conquered the Mutwira (Madziva) rulers in Maungwe,[2] and replaced them with the Makoni dynasty.[3]

In Manyika, the Chikanga dynasty was conquered around 1699 and replaced by a Rozvi dynasty, which was later known as Mutasa.[4] On the Nyanga plateau, Mutasa rulers subdued Sena-speaking groups during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.[5] After conquest, 'the Manyika dialect of the conquerors was sufficiently affected by the Sena dialect of the original people to form a new, hybrid dialect cluster.'[6] The Mutasa dynasty also expanded the state into areas of present-day Mozambique.[7] Rozvi influence also expanded south of the Limpopo during the 1720s.[8]

The Rozvi devised political and socio-religious strategies in an attempt to centralise their geographically vast empire. Politically, the Rozvi generals who conquered various areas of the former Mutapa Empire, as well as their subordinates, became tributaries who were obliged to pay tribute to the *Changamire*, the Rozvi overlord.[9] Rozvi rulers are reported to have been very harsh on defaulting tributaries.[10] They played a central role in the succession politics of their vassals

[1] Virtanen, 'Land of the ancestors', p.368.
[2] Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.4.
[3] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.160.
[4] Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.10. Also see A.S. Chigwedere, *From Mutapa to Rhodes, 1000 – 1890 AD*, London: Macmillan, 1980, p.102.
[5] These Sena groups included the Dumbwi of Nyamhuka, Mandigora of Bonda, Sakarombe of Karombe, the Saunyama, Tangwena and Katerere (See Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.186).
[6] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.186.
[7] Sembeza chiefs in the Chimanimani area of central Mozambique, for instance, trace the origins of their clan to the Mutasa chiefdom of Manyika (See Virtanen, 'Land of the ancestors', p.368).
[8] See D.N. Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples', p.31; and S. Mudenge, 'The Rozvi Empire and the *feira* of Zumbo,' PhD thesis: University of London, 1972, p.50.
[9] See, for example, N. Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozvi Mambo,' in R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.) *Pre-colonial African Trade: Essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, London: Oxford University Press, 1970, p.246.
[10] Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, pp.101-102.

and often sent representatives to attend installation ceremonies of their ward-heads.[1] The Rozvi also settled boundary disputes among their vassals. In some cases, dynastic titles of the conquered were changed by the new Rozvi rulers.[2]

Besides imposing their totems on most of their tributaries soon after conquest in order to forge a common identity,[3] the Rozvi also used religion as a unifying tool. As Virtanen rightly observed, a shared religious tradition is 'a powerful mechanism for identity-building and distinguishing community members from outsiders.'[4] The Mwari cult, for example, has always been a significant institution of identity among Shona-speaking people.[5] In addition, as was the situation in most African religious systems, Shona societies had a strong belief in ancestral spirits, with those of the ruling lineage being highly revered. The ancestral spirits were believed to be intermediaries between the people and *Mwari* (God). The Rozvi emigrants to Venda dominions south of the Limpopo during the late 1720s took the Mwari cult with them where it became fused with the existing cave-cult of Raluvhimba. The result was a modified form of the Mwari cult based on spirit mediums operating from caves, a practice which the Rozvi 're-exported' to the Matopo Hills during the 19th century.[6] By doing so, the Rozvi rulers managed to integrate some of their religious beliefs and practices with those of their subjects.[7]

As was the case with the Mutapa Empire, Rozvi influence spread into more than two modern-day states. The Rozvi went further than the Mutapa in their attempts to centralise the state. Such

[1] See, for example, NAZ, N9/1/2: Umtali District Annual Report for 1896, 3 January 1897; Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, p.10; and Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, pp.18-19, 104.
[2] In 1822, for example, the Rozvi rulers changed the title of Manyika rulers from Chikanga to Mutasa (see Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.157).
[3] Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.20.
[4] Virtanen, 'Land of the ancestors', p.366.
[5] M. Gelfand, *An African's religion: The spirit of Nyajena*, Cape Town: Juta and Company, 1966, p.41.
[6] Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples,' p.31.
[7] See Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1984, p.104; R.H. Baker, 'The *mutupo* among the WaManyika' in *NADA*, Volume 3, 1925, p.49; and Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, pp.22-23.

attempts included very harsh punishments on tribute defaulters, involvement in installation ceremonies in the tributaries, replacing dynasties of some conquered people and integrating the Mwari cult with the religious beliefs and practices of their subjects. The Mwari cult has survived into the post-colonial era as a religious institution for the majority of African societies in south-east Africa. Despite these efforts to politically centralise the empire, Rozvi provinces largely remained autonomous as long as they paid tribute to the central state. This, to a great extent, made the empire to be unable to withstand Nguni invasions during the early 19th century. The Rozvi rulers should however be credited for the existence during the colonial and post-colonial periods of some socio-cultural and religious commonalities among most African societies in south-east Africa.

2.6 Gaza-Nguni influence in south-east Africa, 1836-1895

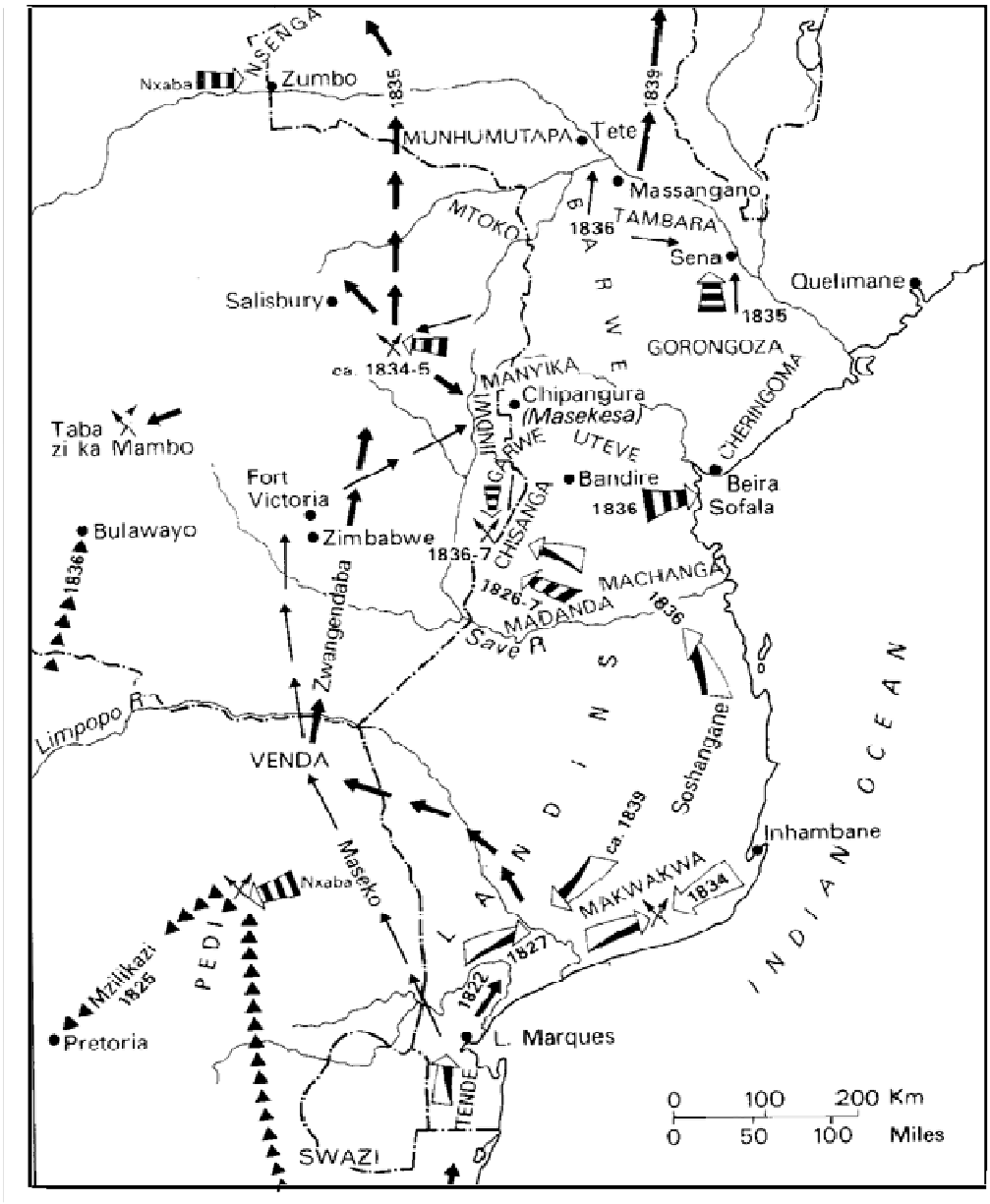
The most significant intrusion into Shona country by a group of African outsiders during the pre-colonial period was by the Nguni during the 19th century. There was rising warfare over increasingly contested resources in Southern Africa south of the Limpopo, particularly the Natal area, during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Various Nguni-speaking groups fled northwards where they came into contact with Shona-speaking people. These Nguni groups included the Ndebele under Mzilikazi, the Gaza under Soshangane, the Ngoni under Zwangendaba, and the Msene under Nxaba. Zwangendaba destroyed the Rozvi aristocracy before crossing the Zambezi and proceeding northwards. From 1836, the Gaza-Nguni under Soshangane occupied the territory between the Save River in the west and the Mozambican coast in the east. This area was inhabited by the Shona-speaking Ndau people.[1] It was in this part of south-east Africa (which constitutes parts of present-day Zimbabwe and Mozambique) where

[1] J.H. Bannerman, 'Hlengweni: The history of the Hlengweni of the lower Save and Lundi rivers, from the late-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century,' in *Zimbabwean History*, Volume 12, 1981, p.12.

Gaza-Shona socio-cultural interaction evolved to leave some permanent features which have survived to the present day.[1]

Soshangane's Gaza state was established after wars of conquest. Many Ndau chiefs initially went into exile and could only return as subordinates to Gaza-Nguni authority.[2] Soshangane consolidated his rule in the area between Delagoa Bay and the Zambezi and set up an empire with an estimated population of up to a million by the late 19th century. Conquered chiefs and even the Portuguese were treated as vassals and forced to pay tribute.[3] The Gaza-Nguni sometimes imposed rulers on conquered people,[4] but most conquered chiefs were retained as long as they forwarded tribute.[5] Soshangane and his successors sought to politically centralise the state by incorporating the conquered into the Gaza-Nguni army. Some Ndau boys who were enlisted into the army ended up joining the ranks of their conquerors and could even rise to high positions in the military. As a result of Gaza military influences, many Ndau adopted Nguni military attire and weapons.[6] For administrative purposes, Soshangane and the Nguni nucleus, which included his original followers and their descendants, constituted a distinct social group known as Shangaan.[7]

[1] For details, see F. Duri and G. Gwekwerere, *Linking African traditional dance and history: A study of the Muchongoyo dance among the Ndau of south-eastern Zimbabwe*, Cape Town: The Centre for Advanced Studies in African Society, Occasional Paper Number 29, 2007.
[2]Duri and Gwekwerere, *Linking African traditional dance and history*, p.3.
[3]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.172.
[4] An example is Mpunga who was appointed in southern Mozambique. See A. Serra, *Legitimacy of local institutions for natural resource management: The case of Mpunga, Mozambique*, Brighton: University of Sussex, 2001, p.8.
[5] Virtanen, 'Land of the ancestors', p.368.
[6]Duri and Gwekwerere, *Linking African traditional dance and history*, p.4.
[7]Duri and Gwekwerere, *Linking African traditional dance and history*, p.4.



Map 5: Nguni incursions into south-east Africa during the 19th century (Source: Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.173).

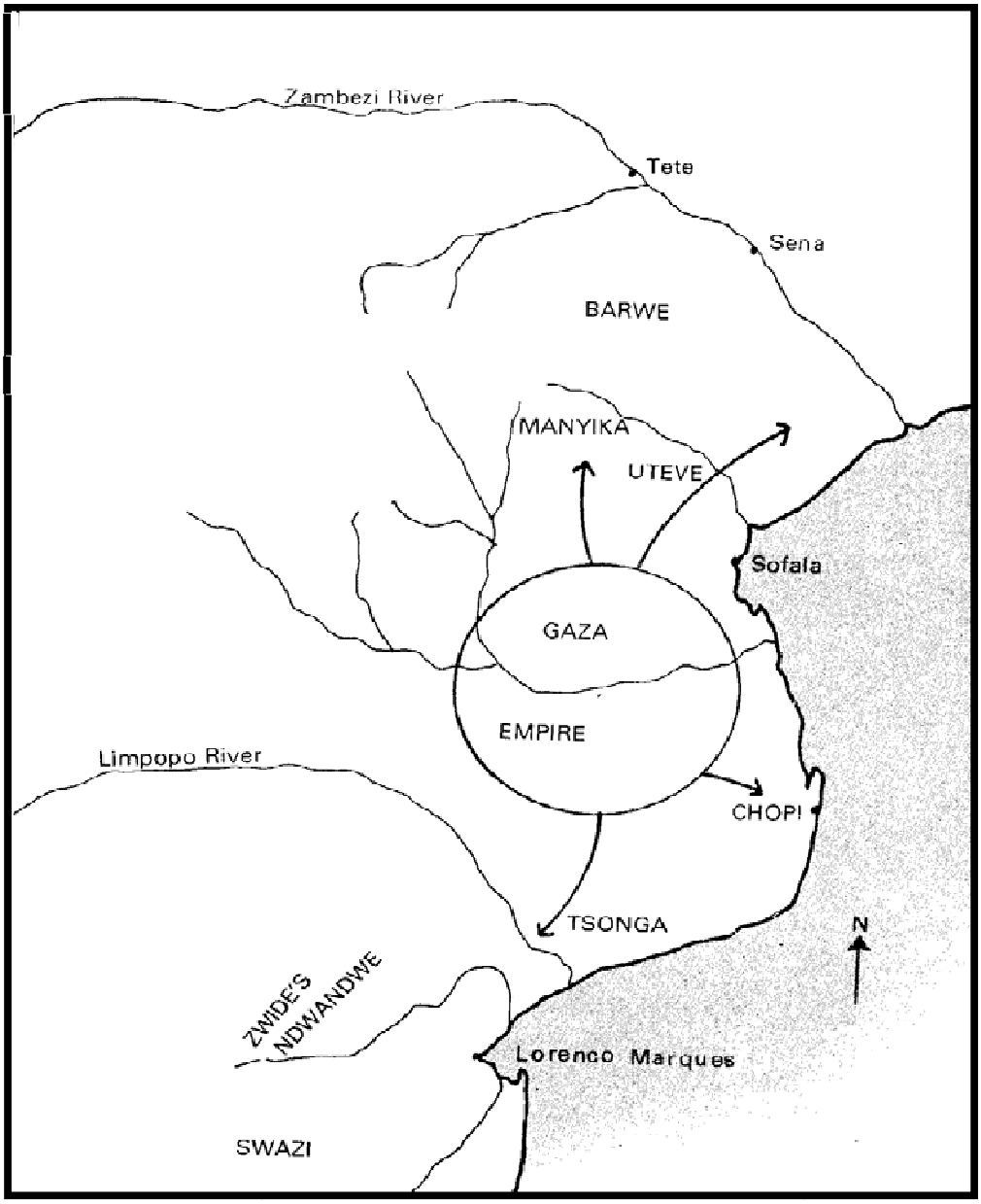
Considerable social assimilation and coexistence took place at the centre of the Gaza state even though the Nguni (Shangaan) were a minority constituting less than 1% of the total population.[1] The Gaza-Nguni were very influential on the Ndau, both culturally and linguistically. Of all

[1] Virtanen, 'Land of the ancestors', p.368.

Shona dialects, Ndau is perhaps the most distinct largely because of the influence of Gaza rule.[1] Some Tsonga and Tonga subjects were also absorbed into Nguni culture.[2] Mutual coexistence in the Gaza state was also reflected through intermarriages. Socio-religious interaction was also manifested by the Gaza-Nguni adoption of Musikavanhu subject chiefs as rainmakers.[3] Once a year, the conquerors and their subjects interacted during the *Inxwala* or the 'Ceremony of the First Fruits.'[4]

As was the case in the Ndebele state, some conquered subjects, especially the youngsters, 'enthusiastically assumed the Nguni identity.'[5] Owing to the fact that the Shangaan were regarded as superior, superiority being measured in military and political terms, most Ndau and Tsonga identified themselves with their conquerors and 'went to the extent of *shanganising* their *mutupo* (totems)as well.'[6] It was in an attempt to claim association with 'prestige' groups that many Tsonga and Ndau-speaking Shona called themselves 'Shangaan.'[7] The Gaza policy of incorporating the conquered people was so successful 'that though the Amatshangana were numerically negligible, the incorporated elements of Bahlengwe, Wadanda and others were fully imbued with the Anguni military spirit, and glorified under the assumed name of Amatshangana.'[8]

[1]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.14.
[2] See Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, p.33; K. Connor, 'Crooks, commuters and chiefs: Home and belonging in a border zone in Pafuri, Gaza province, Mozambique', in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Volume 21, Number 1, 2003, p.97.
[3]Duri and Gwekwerere, *Linking African traditional dance and history*, p.4.
[4]For more details, see Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.187.
[5] D.N. Beach, *Zimbabwe before 1900*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1984, p.56.
[6]Chigwedere, *From Mutapa to Rhodes*, p.127.
[7] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.190.
[8]Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, p.27.



Map 6: Gaza influence in south-east Africa (Source: Bhila and Shillington, *A Junior Certificate history*, p.92).

Gaza rule ended in 1895 after the defeat by the Portuguese. Some Gaza-Nguni fled to the Transvaal and settled in the land between the Save and the Oliphants Rivers on the foothills of the Drakensberg. These appear to have been the only remnants of Soshangane's Gaza-Nguni

aristocracy. Even though the Portuguese broke up the state forever, their Ndau subjects retained many aspects of their life such as vocabulary and dance.[1]

2.7 Family and kin in Shona society

As in the greater part of Africa, the family among the Shona was, and still is, the basic unit of society.[2] It is necessary to take note of some family structures in African societies since pre-colonial times. These are the nuclear, extended and compound family structures. The nuclear or conjugal family is a little cluster of father, mother and their children.[3] Also known as the elementary family,[4] this formation was the closest kinship grouping and the basic unit of a kinship structure.[5] The nuclear family occupied a household, a general term referring to an enclosed domestic space.[6] Children were expected to create their own nuclear families and households when they grew up and married.[7]

The term 'extended family' in anthropological scholarship is used in varying contexts to refer to the agnatic lineage comprising the descendants of a male ancestor; a group of people related in various ways to a particular individual and who congregate for ceremonies, feasts and gatherings to settle disputes among them; and a loosely constituted set of interactions outside those of the immediate circle of relatives that can be forged in times of great need.[8] It usually includes paternal grandparents, their parents, their father's brothers and their wives, their brothers and sisters and their patrilineal cousins. It was common within Shona extended family systems in

[1] Duri and Gwekwerere, *Linking African traditional dance and history*, p.4.
[2] The family is known as *mhuri* among the Shona.
[3] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*, p.196. Also see Murray, *Families divided*, p.102.
[4] A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, 'Introduction', in A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde (eds.), *African systems of kinship and marriage*, London: Oxford University Press, 1950, pp.4-5. Also see Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.40.
[5] Kinship is known as *ukama* among the Shona.
[6] The household is known as *imba* among the Shona.
[7] Murray, *Families divided*, pp. 48, 106.
[8] Murray, *Families divided*, pp.100-101.

pre-colonial south-east Africa for brothers or even patrilineal cousins to take care of a man's family when he was away, or had died. Other forms of assistance within the extended family network included taking care of widows, old people, the mentally-challenged and the disabled.[1] Also included in the extended family category are compound families in which 'a widower or widow with children by a first marriage enters into a second marriage into which children are born.'[2] This results in a situation of step-parents and step-children. Polygamous families are also included in this category.

Most African societies regarded kinship to be a result of both birth or blood (consanguinity) and marriage (affinity).[3] Kinship basically involves members of the agnatic core group (immediate kin) and those of the wider agnatic family or lineage which includes many families as well as people related through fathers and mothers.[4] Among the Shona, people of the same village were usually closely related and most of them shared a common ancestor. Thus, residential proximity was sometimes important in defining kinship. Some villages could grow big after which chiefs split them. Even beyond the village or chiefdom, considerable numbers of Shona people were related by totem.[5] As Chigwedere noted, the totem is an important form of identification in Shona society since pre-colonial times:

> The *Mutupo*(totem) system is one of the best ways by which Shona groups distinguish themselves one from the other. This system is as old as the Shona nation itself. In the Shona world, he whose *mutupo* is unknown is a lost sheep and has no history… There is thus plenty of history embedded in the *mutupo* system.[6]

[1] Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, pp.40-43.
[2]Radcliffe-Brown, 'Introduction', p.5.
[3] S.A. Thorpe, *African traditional religions*, Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1991, p.110. Also see A. Masasire, 'Kinship and marriage', in S. Mutwsairo, N.E. Mberi, A. Masasire and M. Furusa (eds.) *Introduction to Shona culture*, Eiffel Flats: Juta Zimbabwe Limited, 1996, p.40.
[4] See Murray, *Families divided*, p.113; Kopytoff, 'The internal African frontier', pp.41, 46; and Radcliffe-Brown, 'Introduction', pp.4, 13.
[5]Interview with Joachim Muriri, Dora village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 28 June 2010.
[6]Chigwedere, *From Mutapa to Rhodes*, p.3.

It was quite common, therefore, for many inhabitants of neighbouring villages, wards or chiefdoms to be kin in one way or the other.[1]

Even though kinship and neighbourhood tended to be closely linked, unrelated people could be accommodated by the original inhabitants of a village after which kinship ties were forged. As Schapera and Roberts noted in their study of the Tswana of Botswana, kindred could include incomers who developed marriage connections and those who sometimes forged kinship ties with the original kin members,[2] a category Kopytoff calls 'pseudo-kinsmen,'[3] or 'quasi-relatives'.[4] This 'fictive kinship', as Schildkrout noted among African inhabitants in the Ghananian town of Kumasi, could begin when unrelated co-residents addressed themselves in honorific terms such as 'father' or 'elder brother'. The later generations would continue to use such terms thereby by making this 'forged' kinship 'real'.[5]

Among the pre-colonial Shona in south-east Africa, most men sought to gather people, both descendants and incomers, around them as kin for purposes of security in times of crisis and to boost economic production.[6] Some incomers accommodated in Shona villages ended up becoming formal friends (*madzisahwira*) who were allocated ritual responsibilities.[7] Thus, people could forge kinship ties even across political boundaries and formulate codes of behaviour towards each other even when they could not identify any genealogical relationship between themselves.

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[1]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.57.
[2] I. Schapera and S. Roberts, 'Rampedi revisited: Another look at a Tswana ward', in *Africa*, Volume 45, Number 3, 1975, pp.265-267.
[3]Kopytoff, 'The internal African frontier', p.40.
[4]Kopytoff, 'The internal African frontier', p.46.
[5]Schildkrout, 'Economics and kinship in multi-ethnic dwellings', p.176.
[6] Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, pp.37-40.
[7]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.57.

2.8 Inter-state relations and the lives of ordinary people

Most conflicts between states were a result of border disputes, interference into each other's succession politics, disagreements on extradition issues, and competition over the control of long-distance trade routes. It is argued here that inter-state conflicts in pre-colonial Africa largely reflected clashes of the ruling elite interests that were not always shared by the common people. This was largely in view of a shared history, kinship and cultural ties among some groups of people, as well as economic interdependence that had prevailed in the region.

Relations between neighbouring states could be tense at the elite level, and could result in war,[1] but their subjects could continue to interact in various ways across borders in order to earn a livelihood. Borders therefore tended to be very fluid as people struggled to survive in times of natural disasters such as droughts and famines.[2] *Changamire* Dombo, for instance, attacked the Ngwato of present-day Botswana time and again,[3] but the Rozvi people of Mangwe are known to have always obtained dogs for hunting from the Ngwato. The Ngwato frequently attacked the Kalanga to their south-west during the early 19th century, yet the exchange of metal for cattle between the latter and the former was a regular activity.[4] Despite the hostile relations between

[1] The ever-changing relations between Mutasa and Maungwe chiefdoms, for example, are discussed in NAZ, MA14/1/1: J. Machiwenyika, 'A history and customs of the Manyika people,' Lesson 83; NAZ, N1/1/11: NC Umtali to CNC, correspondence, 21 December 1896; J.G. Storry, 'The settlement and territorial expansion of the Mutasa dynasty,' in *Rhodesian History*, Volume 7, 1976, p.16; D.P. Abraham, 'The principality of Maungwe: Its history and traditions,' in *NADA*, Number 28, 1951, pp.65-72; Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.154; D.N. Beach, 'Oral tradition in eastern Zimbabwe. The work of Jason Takafa Machiwenyika, c 1889- 1924,' History Seminar Paper Number 99, University of Zimbabwe History Department, 1997, p.12; and H. Franklin, 'The war of the tell-tale between chiefs Makoni and Mutasa,' in *NADA*, Number 15, 1938, p.40.

[2] D. Beach, 'The Shona economy: Branches of production,' in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.) *The roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977, p.44.

[3] Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, p.145.

[4] Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozvi Mambo,' p.253.

the Manyika and Maungwe chiefdoms for the greater part of the 19th century, the Manyika people usually relied on grain supplies from Maungwe during times of drought.[1]

Antagonistic neighbouring rulers sometimes set aside their political differences to allow their people to exchange food. During the drought of 1884, for example, the hungry Ndebele crossed into the land of the Ngwato under Khama in present-day Botswana in search for food. Lobengula, the Ndebele king, sought temporary peace with Khama to enable their subjects to officially exchange food.[2]

It was rare for fugitives who sought political asylum in other states to be extradited.[3] This was partly because of cultural reasons. Fugitives were generally accepted in Shona states as long as they posed no threat to the well-being of society at large. The Shona proverb '*Apotera atya*' ('those who seek refuge should not be molested because they have backed down') attests to this.[4] Thus, as Posselt noted with most pre-colonial Shona societies:

> The fugitives from justice...found asylum with a neighbouring tribe, provided he offered allegiance to the chief, and secured his goodwill by the payment of some fee, or the delivery of suitable gifts and stock...Extradition of offenders was rarely sought or granted.[5]

It was also a common feature of pre-colonial Shona culture to give a hospitable reception to genuinely desperate strangers. As Bourdillon observed:

> In traditional Shona society, good relations with the neighbourhood require generosity and liberal hospitality; it is noticeable in folktales that to refuse to offer food to a visitor who arrives when the host is eating is un-thought of, even when the host knows that the visitor is abusing his hospitality.[1]

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[1] NAZ, N1/1/11: NC Umtali to CNC Mashonaland, correspondence, 21 December 1896.
[2] E. Goetz, 'The rainfall of Rhodesia,' in *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association, Part 3*, London: The Rhodesia Scientific Association, 1909, p.95.
[3] For details of Manyika political refugees accommodated in Uteve, Maungwe and Buhera, see Manicaland Provincial Administrator's Office, Per 5 Files: Mutasa, NC to PNC Manicaland, correspondence, 24 March 1961; and R.H. Baker, 'The Mutasa and Makoni dynasties,' in *NADA*, Volume 12, December 1924 p.86. Also see M. Mainga, 'The origin of the Lozi: Some oral traditions,' in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.) *The Zambesian Past: Studies in Central African History*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966, pp.241-242; and NAZ, N3/33/8: NC Melsetter to CNC, correspondence, 23 December 1903.
[4] Interview with Macheka Mandeya, Headman Mandeya II's court, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 6 October 2010.
[5] Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, p.47.

Posselt made similar observations on pre-colonial Shona societies:

> A stranger or a wanderer who is hungry may enter a land and take off the maize, provided he...is...careful to cut down the stalks from which he has picked the cobs, in conformity with the usual practice of the owners. This will prove his bona fides...The native maxim is that a hungry man cannot be denied food. But it would be regarded as an act of theft for the stranger or wanderer merely to enter the field, pull off the cobs and permit the stalks to stand, for such would be tantamount to concealing the picking, and therefore the act of a thief.[2]

Among the pre-colonial Shona, this hospitality could also be extended to desperately landless incomers by allocating them land on a permanent basis.[3] Among the pre-colonial Tswana in present-day Botswana, refugees from other chiefdoms could be allocated land by chiefs.[4] Incomers who had been accommodated usually expressed their gratitude by giving customary tokens or gifts to village heads, ward heads or the chief.[5]

2.9 The economy, mobility and interaction across borders in pre-colonial south-east Africa

In the Shona-dominated region of south-east Africa, as was the case with the greater part of the continent during the pre-colonial period, agriculture was the mainstay of the family economy.[6] The gender division of labour in the economic sector was skewed by restricting women largely to the household and its immediate surroundings while men ventured far and wide in activities that had great potential to generate wealth such as hunting, pastoralism and long-distance trade.

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[1] Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, pp.62-63. For similar sentiments, see F.W.T. Posselt, *Fables of the veldt*, London: Oxford University Press, 1929, p.100.
[2] Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, p.61.
[3] Separate interviews with Moses Fenga, Matambo Store, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 8 October 2010; Edmore Nyamukusa, Chipangura village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 19 October 2010; and Susan Nyaumwe, Sherukuru Business Centre, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 17 October 2010.
[4] M. Gluckman, 'Land tenure: Group and individual rights,' in J.A. and Z.A. Konczacki (eds.) *An economic history of Tropical Africa: The colonial period*, London: Frank Cass, 1977, p.56.
[5] Mutasa District Administration Office Per 5 Files – Headman Mandeya: J.L. Fowle, 'Tribal land authorities under Chief Mupatsi, 1967.' Also, interview with Ducks Chimbunde, Njerama village court, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 27 October 2010; and Solomon Nyamukusa, Chipangura village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 20 October 2010.
[6] For more detail on the major crops grown by the Shona during the pre-colonial period see, for example, R. Summers, *Inyanga prehistoric settlements in Southern Rhodesia*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1958, p.175; J.D. Clark, 'Archaeological investigation: Its methods and limitations with a note on the traditional stages from stone to iron,' in *Historians in Tropical Africa: Proceedings of the Leverhulme Inter-Collegiate History Conference, September 1960*, Salisbury: Department of Native Affairs Ethnological Publication Number 3, 1932, p.34; and Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa*, p.49.

Besides supplementing basic subsistence needs, these activities offered opportunities for accumulation. Hunting, for example, could yield highly valuable products such as animal skins and ivory. Pastoralism was an important economic activity and cattle were a symbol of wealth in most societies. Long-distance trade brought in foreign luxury goods that could be sold to the upper classes. In Shona society, men usually cleared the ground for planting after which virtually all agricultural tasks such as planting, weeding and harvesting were done by women.[1] Thus, 'the female half of the population had, generally speaking, the more monotonous side of the basic agricultural economy.'[2]

Trade was an economic activity that played a significant role in bringing about regular contact among people within and between polities and societies in pre-colonial Africa. Vansina,[3] Gray and Birmingham,[4] and Sutherland-Harris[5] have all illustrated how such trade interactions could be classified in terms of various criteria such as the relative spatial distance covered; the origin, nature and destination of the commodities; and the participants involved.

Scarcity is a natural stimulant of trade at the micro and macro scales as people seek a livelihood. Within individual Rozvi chiefdoms, for example, inter-village trade flourished without much official interference as people exchanged products for daily use such as food, utensils and

[1]Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.11.
[2]Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples,' p.23.
[3] Vansina's classification, for example, was largely based on the relative spatial or geographical distance covered. His categories are local, regional and long-distance (or foreign) trade (see J. Vansina, 'Long-distance trade routes in Central Africa,' in *Journal of African History*, Volume III, Number 3, 1962, pp.375-376).
[4] Gray and Birmingham adopted a utilitarian approach in coming up with a classification of trading activities in pre-colonial Africa. Their categories are subsistence-oriented and market-oriented trade (See R. Gray and D. Birmingham, 'Some economic and political consequences of trade in Central and Eastern Africa in the pre-colonial period,' in R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.) *Pre-colonial African Trade: Essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, London: Oxford University Press, 1970, p.5).
[5] An approach which takes into account the participants (African or non-African), the origin of commodities (imported or local) and the relative distance covered, was suggested by Sutherland-Harris who came up with internal and external inter-African trade on one hand, and foreign trade with non-Africans on the other (see Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozvi Mambo,' p.255).

agricultural implements.[1] As Beach rightly noted, there existed 'an internal peasantry unconnected with external trade' that was always available to trade scarce goods with needy counterparts.[2]

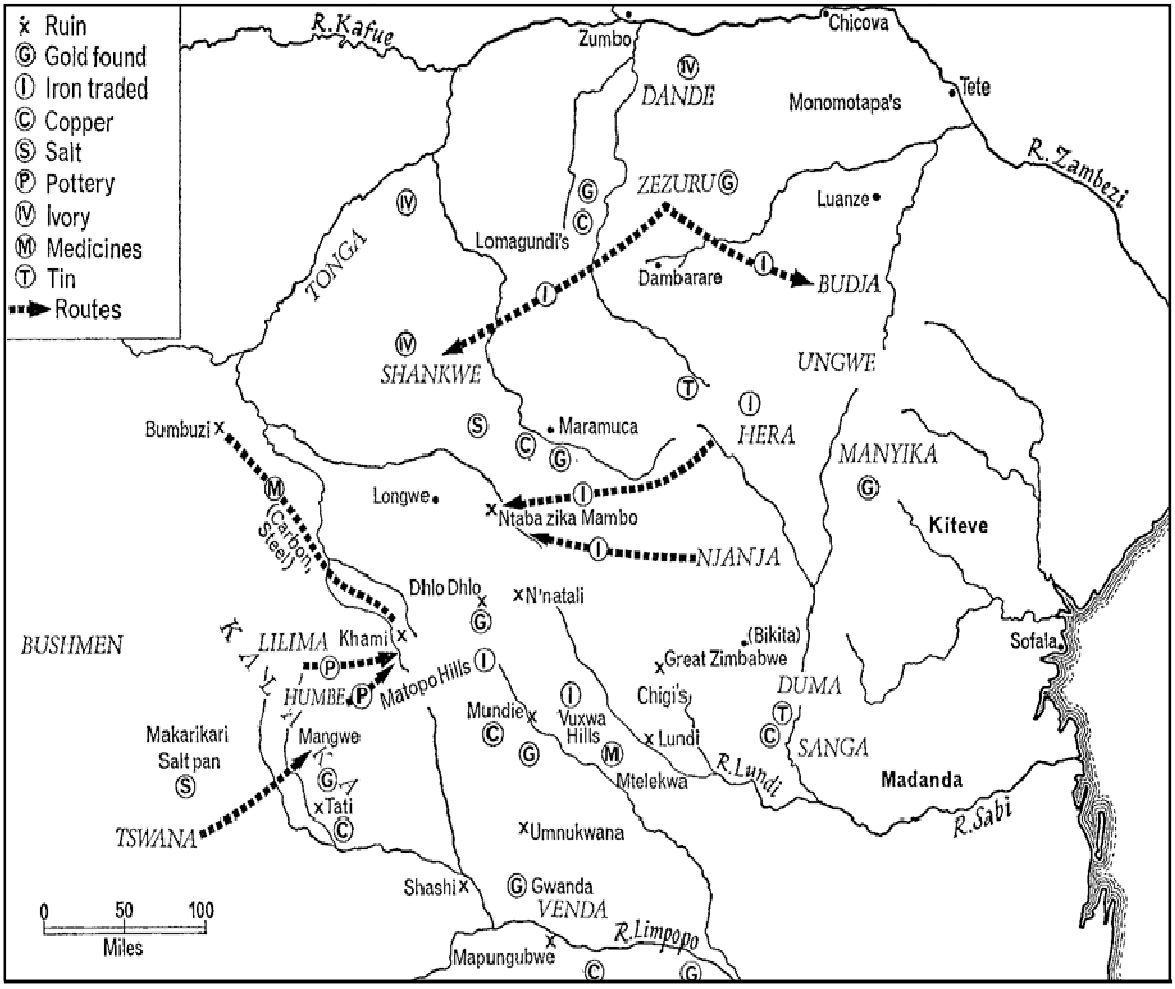
In the Rozvi Empire, there also was significant movement by itinerant traders dealing in scarce commodities who operated across ethnic and provincial boundaries. It was common for people in fertile and wet regions to raise agricultural production if demand from their counterparts in zones less blessed by geography was high.[3] Salt, which was always in short supply in Manyika since the early history of the chiefdom, became an important item of trade with neighbours such as Madanda.[4] It was common for Shona people in salt-scarce areas to travel distances of more than 80 kilometres to get the commodity in exchange for cattle.[5] The middle Save region was particularly famous for producing salt and the Chiadzwa and Chamutsa houses of the Muwusha dynasty, who resided in the areas of Bocha and Buhera respectively, specialised in its manufacture. They either sold it within their areas or far afield where it was scarce.[6] The Zezuru pedlars are also known to have regularly entered Barwe country to sell iron products such as knives, hoes and axes.[7] The Njanja ironsmiths from the Wedza area at the headwaters of the Save traded their wares over a wide area from the first half of the 19th century. They are known to have taken their hoes to iron-scarce areas such as Bocha, Ndau lands across the Save River, and as far south as Gutu and Duma dominions in return for ivory, cattle and goats.[8] Lemba traders also developed a reputation of wandering in areas south of the Zambezi selling a broad range of

[1]Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozvi Mambo,' p.247.
[2]Beach, 'The Zimbabwean plateau and its peoples', p.25.
[3]Beach, 'The Shona economy', pp.56-57.
[4]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, pp.2, 39.
[5] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.23.
[6]Beach, 'The Shona economy', p.47.
[7]Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozvi Mambo', p.247.
[8] For more about the Njanja iron industry, see J.M. Mackenzie, 'A pre-colonial industry: The Njanja and the iron trade', in *NADA*, Volume 11, Number 2, 1975, pp.200-220.

luxury goods.[1] There was considerable traffic before 1850 between the Duma of the Save Valley and the Manyika, a six-day journey, with the latter buying copper from the former.[2] The Tsonga-speaking Hlengwe in the south-eastern arid lowlands of the Rozvi Empire largely depended on food imports from neighbouring chiefdoms.[3]As examples from other parts of Africa also show, African traders from other states were often allowed to operate across political boundaries as societies sought to address local deficiencies, particularly family subsistence needs, but at times paying taxes to the host rulers.[4]

External trade with non-African communities, namely the Muslims (Arabs and Swahili) and later the Portuguese, who were initially stationed in coastal areas, was exploited by Africans who often had to move longer distances, broadening their sphere of interactions in the process, to seek new opportunities. Trading activities therefore constituted 'a creative mobility'[5] by African societies that cut across political and ethnic boundaries and involved a broad range of interactions during which social and economic relationships and identities were created, forged and reinforced.

[1] H. Kuper, *The Shona*, London: International African Institute, Ethnographic Surveys of Africa, Number 4, 1955, p.27.
[2]Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozvi Mambo', p.260.
[3]Beach, 'The Zimbabwean plateau and its peoples', p.24.
[4] For examples from Tanzania, see A. Roberts, 'Nyamwezi trade,' in R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.) *Pre-colonial African Trade: Essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, London: Oxford University Press, 1970, p.56; and B.M. Fagan, 'Early trade and raw materials in south-central Africa,' in R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.) *Pre-colonial African trade: Essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*, London: Oxford University Press, 1970, p.29.
[5]Gray and Birmingham, 'Some economic and political consequences of trade in Central and Eastern Africa,' p.7.



Map 7: Rozvi internal trade routes and goods (Source: Sutherland-Harris, 'Trade and the Rozvi mambo', p.248)

Gold, and later ivory, were the main exports from south-east Africa to non-African communities. Antonio Fernandes, the first Portuguese national to travel from Sofala into the interior as far as the heart of the Mutapa state in 1513, witnessed organised trade in gold between the Manyika and the Swahili from the eastern coast of Africa.[1] Some of the major gold mines were in Manyika along the Rebvuwe, Mutare, Nyamukwarara and Munene river valleys and their

[1]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, pp.9-10.

tributaries. The Mutare River and its tributaries of Mbeza and Tsambe were notable for alluvial gold-panning since historic times.[1]

Gold-mining sometimes involved a great deal of migrancy and interactions across chiefdom boundaries. Miners from the Uteve chiefdom which was situated between the Buzi and Save Rivers, for instance, are known to have frequented Manyika gold mines. Food supplies sometimes had to be imported from Barwe and Uteve to feed the large numbers of people at Manyika gold mines.[2]Some mines therefore became important focal points where people of various backgrounds converged.

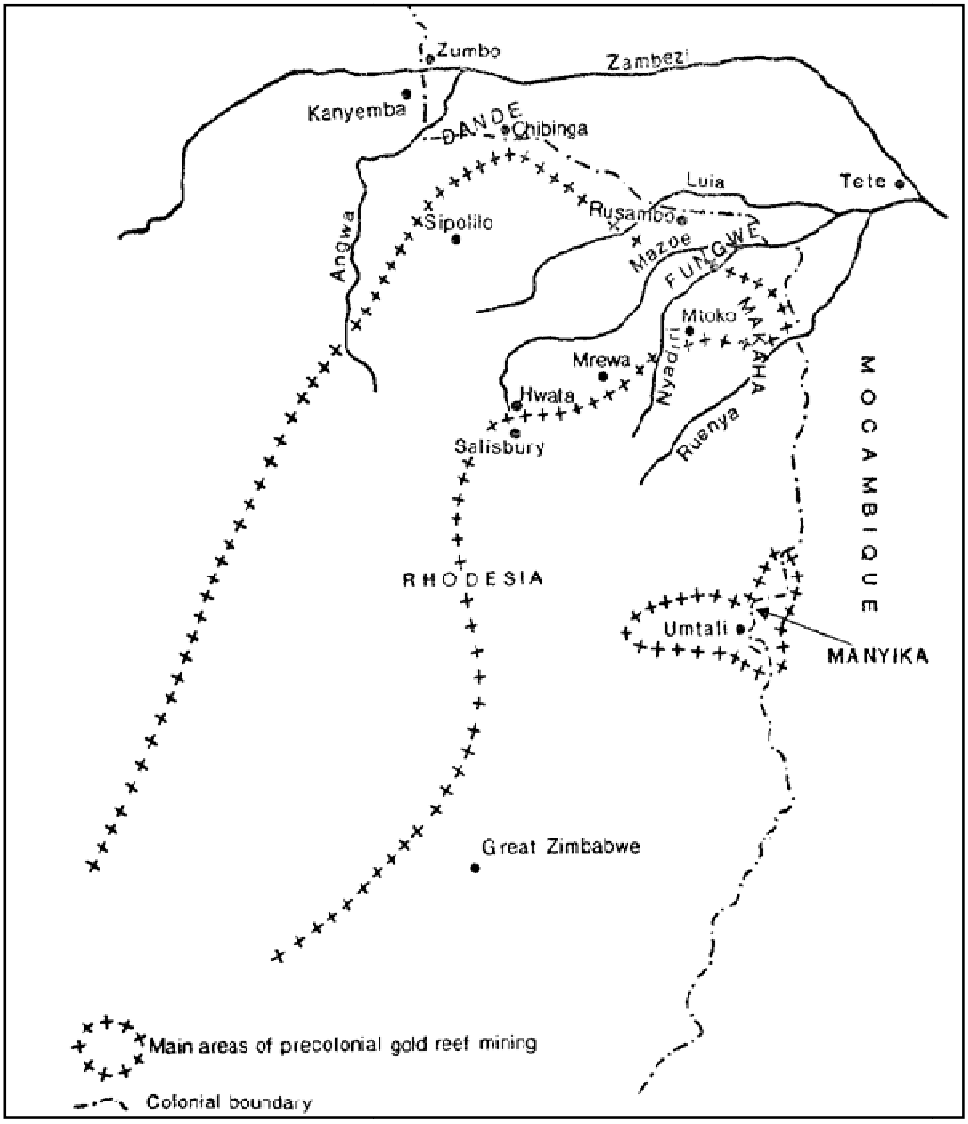
Local gold-mining operations generally involved men, their wives and children. This clearly shows that foreign trade was closely linked to the family economy. Manuel Barretto described the process of gold-mining in Manyika:

> The method of extraction is as follows: a countless number of Kaffirs with their wives and children assemble in the place where they choose to open *marondos*, the chief of each village forms a separate party with his people, and each begins to open his *marondos* in the fashion of a well. The mouth is so narrow that a man may stand with his legs extended from one side to the other. They make steps to go up and down within the circumference of the well, and on these the Kaffirs station themselves, passing the *mataca*, or earth, which is dug away, from hand to hand, which the diggers pass to them in *pandes*, or wooden bowls. The first *mataca* does not contain any considerable quantity of gold, the *mataca* which contains it is well known, and when they come upon it, or upon gold in stone, as sometimes happens, they do not desist until it is exhausted, following the vein under the earth in every direction.[3]

Father Antonio Gomes made similar observations during the 1640s:

> The *cafre* and his wife go there and so do his children no matter how young for they are given a small or big bowl according to their age; the *cafre* goes down while the wife remains up to pull the bowl as he fills them up down there, and she pulls them up by means of a rope.[4]

[1]Paup, 'The geology of the Umtali gold belt',pp.1-6.
[2]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.68.
[3] Manuel Barretto, quoted by Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa*, p.53.
[4]Father Antonio Gomes, quoted by Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.170.



Map 8: Major gold-mining areas in pre-colonial south-east Africa (Source: I.R. Phimister, 'Alluvial gold mining', p.446).

Afterwards, they all went to a river or water source to wash the gold.[1] Along the valleys of the Umfuli, Luiya and Mazowe Rivers during the last decade of the 19th century, for instance, hundreds of women, men and children congregated to wash gold.[2] In some areas, much of the

[1] R. Summers, *Ancient mining in Rhodesia*, Salisbury: National Museums of Rhodesia, Memoir Number 3, 1969, pp.21-26. Also see Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.44.
[2] NAZ, M3/8/1/1: NC Gutu to CNC Salisbury, correspondence, 10 November 1908.

gold-washing was done by women as was the case along the Mazowe River during the early 1890s.[1] This process was usually done during the post-harvest season when people were relatively free from agricultural tasks. In addition, this was also the time when the water table was lowest in the mines.[2]It should be noted that as far as the gold industry was concerned women and men were both involved in varying capacities in the productive stage, that is, the mining process. However, as shall be seen later in this chapter, men monopolised the marketing process where the actual profits of gold were realised.

There was flourishing trade in ivory between the Arab-Swahili traders based at the coast, and later the Portuguese on the one hand, and Africans from the interior on the other.[3] Ivory trade became more prominent from the middle of the 17th century when alluvial gold became scarce in south-east Africa.[4] Ivory trade between the Manyika and the Portuguese on the Mozambican coast involved networks stretching from the interior to the coastline. Manyika hunters in the Honde Valley, an area famous for large elephant herd, sold ivory to local traders who either operated independently or as employees of the Portuguese. The traders took the ivory to trading stations where they either handed it over to their employers, or sold it directly to merchants. The ivory was then taken to the coast for shipment abroad. African rulers in the interior had their own ivory and they usually sent messengers to trading posts to market it to foreign traders in return

[1] F. C. Selous, *Travel and adventure in South-East Africa*, London: Rowland Ward, 1893, p.282.
[2] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.27.
[3] See Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.174; Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa*, p.80; and Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.126.
[4]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.12.

for cloth, beads and other goods.[1] Besides gold and ivory, copper was another important item of trade.[2]

There were major trade routes in the region which linked trading centres in various African chiefdoms to ports along the Indian Ocean coast. Up to the first decade of the 15th century, there were two major routes from the coast into the interior associated with two Moslem trading rivals. One group that was based at the Sultanate of Angoche used the Zambezi River as a trade route to the Zimbabwe plateau and its hinterlands. The other faction was based at Sofala and used the land route through Manyika.[3] The Zambezi route appears to have been the more popular.[4] An alternative route into the interior regions followed the Pungwe rather than the Buzi River.[5] Another route linked the Mutema chiefdom of Chisanga in the middle Save to the trading station of Masekesa in Manyika.[6] The Mutema traders from the middle Save journeyed through the chiefdom of Uteve to sell copper to the Portuguese at Masekesa and sometimes proceeded to the Portuguese settlements at Tete and Sena on the Zambezi.[7] Barwe traders to Masekesa followed the Pungwe River which passed through Manyika.[8] The land of the Barwe was also criss-crossed by trade routes that stretched from Sena into the interior.[9] Shona traders sometimes used more

[1]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.36. Also see G.M. Theal, *Records of south-eastern Africa Volume VII*, Cape Town: Government of Cape Colony, 1893-1903, p.331.
[2] In 1817, Jose Francisco de Paula de Alburquerque witnessed flourishing trade in copper between the Mutema people of Chisanga and the Portuguese at Sena and Tete along the Zambezi (see Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.40).
[3]Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.43.
[4] See T.V. Bulpin, *To the banks of the Zambezi*, Cape Town: Books of Africa, 1965, pp.78, 90; and Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa*, p.29.
[5] See Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, p34; and C.M. Hulley, (autobiography) *Where lions once roamed*, Salisbury: The Pioneer Head, 1969, pp.22-55.
[6]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.109.
[7]Cited by Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.40.
[8]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.178.
[9]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.11.

private routes to avoid paying taxes of passage to the chiefs in whose lands the usual routes passed.[1]

African traders in south-east Africa first took advantage of Arab and Swahili traders along the East African coast to act as agents of trade in the interior.[2] This reflected a rapid response by the Shona to opportunities emerging outside agriculture. The opportunities offered by external trading contacts often increased the distances travelled by ever rising numbers of African middlemen.[3] African pedlars who operated across borders, according to Gray and Birmingham, were

> …people who made their own names as traders, pioneers on the frontiers of economic opportunity, whose power and influence hinged on an accurate awareness of commercial forces allied to a tough capacity to operate over enormous distances on foot. Their achievements more perhaps than any other set of facts should effectively destroy the stereo-type of a pre-colonial African prostrate and passive before the forces of the outside world.[4]

There is, however, no evidence suggesting that the absence of men for varying periods of time on foreign trade commitments compromised the home base or led to family disintegration.[5]

The major exports were gold and ivory which were exchanged for Indian cloth and beads.[6] Around 1511, Antonio Fernandes observed gold transactions between Manyika and Arab-Swahili merchants at market places known as 'bazaars', usually located along overland trade routes. At the bazaar of Nyakouee, on the upper Rebvuwe close to the location of the future

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[1] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.34.
[2] See Bulpin, *To the banks of the Zambezi*, p.73; Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples,' p.9; and Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.7.
[3] For similar examples from other parts of Africa see, for example, M.P. Miracle, 'Plateau Tonga entrepreneurs in historical inter-regional trade', in *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, Volume XXVI, 1959, pp.34-30; Roberts, 'Nyamwezi trade,' pp.65-66; Vansina, 'Long-distance trade routes in Central Africa,' p.388; and F. Soremekun, 'Trade and dependency in central Angola: The Ovimbundu in the nineteenth century', in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.) *The roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, Berkeley: University of Calofornia Press, 1977, p.86.
[4] Gray and Birmingham, 'Some economic and political consequences of trade in Central and Eastern Africa,' p.13.
[5] Similar observations were also made by Soremekun in his study of the Ovimbundu of Angola (See Soremekun, 'Trade and dependency in central Angola', pp.84-85).
[6] Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples,' p.9. Also see Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.7.

trading centre of Bandire, along the route from Sofala to Manyika, reported Fernandes, 'they have fairs on Mondays which they call *sembaza* fairs where the Moors sell all their merchandise; the Kaffirs also gather there from all the lands and thus they have quantities of supplies...'[1] During the early 16th century, there were other Muslim trading centres within chiefdoms such as Uteve where people from neighbouring Manyika brought gold in exchange for beads and cloth.[2] Muslim traders are reported to have employed several African agents to penetrate the villages and beyond to market goods that would not have been bought at the bazaars on stipulated trading days.[3]

After displacing the Arabs from Sofala in 1506,[4] and occupying Sena and Tete,[5] the Portuguese set up trading stations (*feiras*) in the interior from 1575 which continued to be centres where Africans from various chiefdoms and regions converged and interacted.[6] The *feira* of Vumba, for instance, was a meeting point for the Portuguese, Teve and Manyika traders.[7] The products brought by the Manyika to the *feiras* included gold, ivory, sorghum, cowpeas, baskets, mats, pots, chickens, eggs, honey, trapped animals, vegetables and wild fruits. African agriculturalists, pastoralists, hunters, miners, smiths, pottery-makers and craftsmen conducted transactions

[1]Antonio Fernandes, quoted by Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.44.
[2]Beach, The Shona and Zimbabwe, 1980, p.109.
[3]Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.44.
[4]Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples,' p.17.
[5] Bulpin, *To the banks of the Zambezi*, p.79.
[6] For details on the location of these *feiras*, see 'Extracts from the South African letters and diaries of Victor Morier, 1890-1891', with an introduction and notes by P.R. Warhurst, in *Rhodesiana*, Number 13, December 1965, p.3; H. Ellert, *Rivers of gold*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1993, p.73; Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, pp.77-80, 148; Theal, *Records of south-eastern Africa*, Volume ii, p.436; Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, p.9; and Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, pp.58, 180.
[7] Theal, *Records of south-eastern Africa*, Volume II, p.436.

among themselves or with Portuguese traders.[1] By the late 18th century, the *feira* of Masekesa had become the core of inter-regional trade.[2]

Some Africans from the region sought employment as porters of Portuguese caravans that carried goods between the coastal stations and the *feiras* in the interior. The Portuguese depended on these African pedlars, known as *vashambadzi* by the Shona, and *musambazes* by the Portuguese, for four centuries.[3] As Pedro Barretto de Rezende reported in 1635:

> All the trade and merchandise of the Portuguese in these extensive territories passes through the hands of Kaffirs...to whom they entrust large quantities of the goods...which they carry for many leagues, into the interior and barter for gold and ivory, returning punctually with all the gain with so much truth and loyalty that to consider this in a Kaffir, naked but for his privy parts, who has travelled a hundred leagues and more from his native land...may with reason put to shame the more esteemed nations of the earth, seeing the violence, theft and cruelty they practise towards each other for these ends.[4]

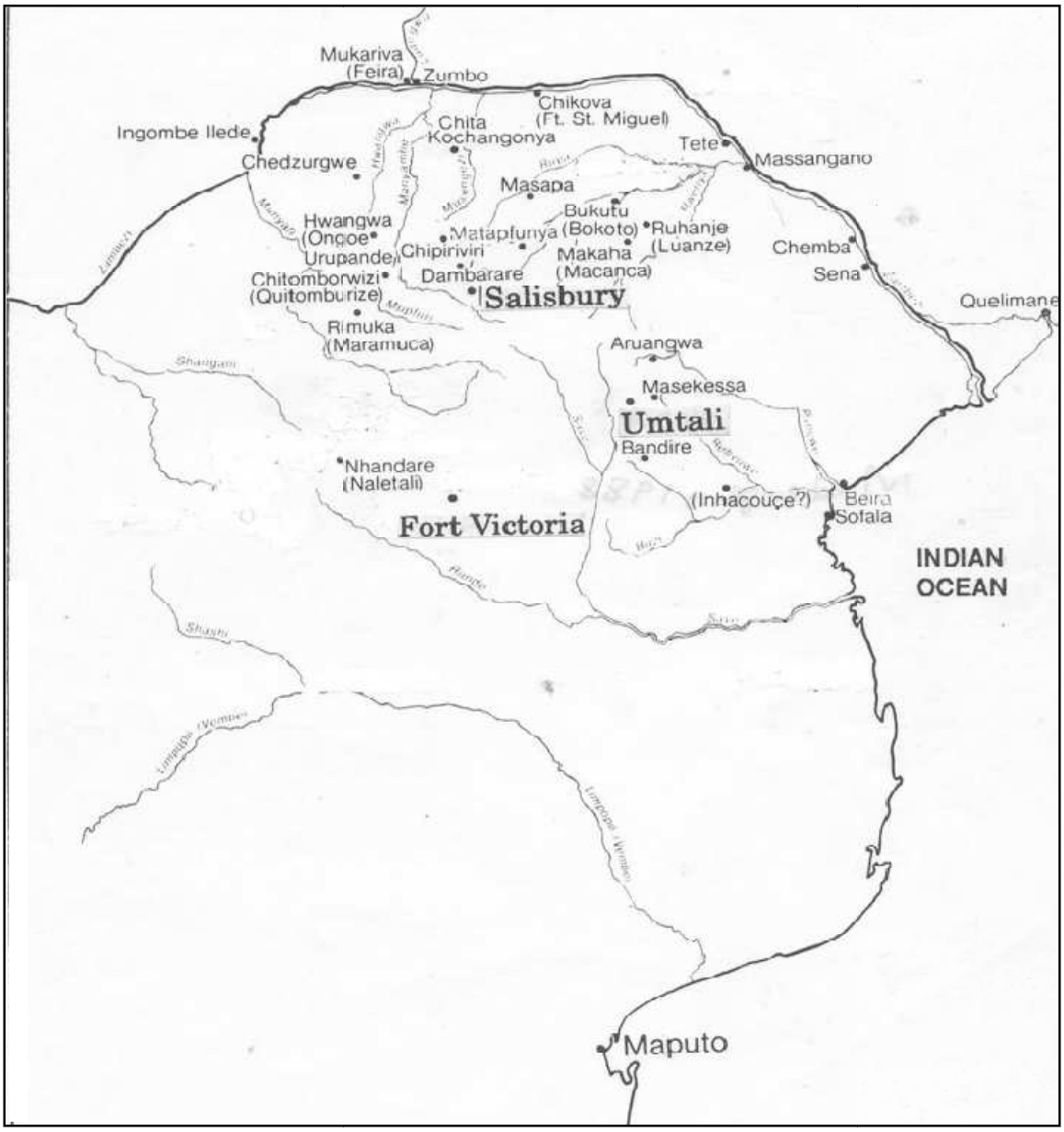
To the Portuguese merchants and traders, as Bhila noted, the *vashambadzi* were indispensable:

> The Portuguese did not themselves go from village to village in the interior...Ignorance of geography of the lands, the dialects spoken in these regions, the customs of the local people and fear of danger dissuaded them from going into the interior. This was the case wherever the Portuguese traded in Shona country.[5]

A single Portuguese caravan could employ as many as 100-200 African porters to deliver merchandise with each porter carrying an average of 25 kilograms of cloth by head, in addition to rounds of beads.[6] In 1648, Father Antonio Gomes eye-witnessed Portuguese caravans comprising 300-500 African porters employed to carry cloth into various parts of eastern Shona country.[7] After defeating Manyika, Uteve and Barwe during the late 17th century, the Portuguese

[1]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, pp.72-77.
[2] See Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.131.
[3]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.59.
[4] Pedro Barretto de Rezende, quoted by Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa*, p.83.
[5]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.107.
[6]Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.58.
[7] Cited by Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa*, p.35.

dispatched 300-500 African middlemen into remote villages of the interior with goods on their backs which they gave to Africans on credit and came back to collect gold later.[1]



Map 9: Portuguese market centres in pre-colonial south-east Africa in relation to colonial towns (Source: Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.xxvii).

[1]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.84.

At the mines of Manyika, transactions usually took place between individual miners and the *vashambadzi* on a one-on-one basis. The agents moved from mine to mine doing business after which they travelled to Portuguese posts inland or along the Indian Ocean coast to surrender the proceeds in return for payment.[1] Examples abound in other parts of the continent of Africans who took advantage of European traders in order to get employment as middlemen.[2]

Citing a traditional Shona proverb '*Kuwanda huuya*' ('we prosper through numbers'), Edward Murindi stated that genuine hunters, miners and traders from outside were allowed passage or trading space by African chiefs as long as they paid taxes and forwarded presents.[3] The taxes tended to be lower for African producers and traders than Europeans. Each trader who entered new territory had to approach the chief with a present. The nature of taxes demanded varied from polity to polity.[4]

The role of mediating in trade between the Portuguese and the interior increasingly became an important means of accumulating wealth as African agents often marked prices up to get profit in addition to the payment they received from the merchants.[5] It was also common for middlemen to bargain for lower prices from the producers in order to realise more profit after selling local products to foreign merchants at the coast. Some Shona miners who refused to accept reduced prices organised their own trips to the Indian Ocean trading stations for direct transactions with

[1]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, pp.44-45.
[2] For examples from central Angola, see Soremekun, 'Trade and dependency in central Angola', pp.83-84.
[3]Interview with Edward Murindi, Njerama village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 30 October 2010.
[4] For specific details from various parts of Africa see, for example, Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples,' p.23; Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, p.110; A. Isaacman, 'Madzi-manga, mhondoro and the use of oral traditions: A chapter in Barue religious and political history', in *Journal of African History*, Volume X1V, Number 3, 1973, p.405; and G. Clarence-Smith and R. Moorsom, 'Underdevelopment and class formation in Ovamboland, 1844-1917', in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.) *The roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977, pp.100-101.
[5] See Gray and Birmingham, 'Some economic and political consequences of trade in Central and Eastern Africa,' pp.8-9; Soremekun, 'Trade and dependency in central Angola', p.85; Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, pp.44-45; and NAZ, MA14/1/1: J. Machiwenyika, 'A history and customs of the Manyika people,' Lesson 1.

merchants which were more rewarding.[1] Most African producers in the interior were fully aware that they could realise more if they by-passed the middlemen. As Beach noted: 'The importance of this trade in gold and ivory was that the communications network gave the Shona in their villages right across the country a very clear idea of the state of the economy over a very wide area indeed...'[2] Chiefs usually organised messengers to take their products direct to the Portuguese trading centres. Manyika chiefly families are reported to have sometimes dispatched messengers to Sena with hoes, goats, skins and gold to exchange for women and small boys.[3] Individuals from Bocha and Gutu are known to have organised themselves into groups and journeyed to the ports of Chiluane and Buene. Similar groupings from Buhera are reported to have chosen between Buene and the more distant Sena.[4]

African agents employed by the Portuguese could make profits in the region of 100-400%.[5] The activities of most Manyika *vashambadzi* were a form of employment and some of them 'often accumulated sufficient capital to trade on their own account.'[6] Considerable numbers of Shona *vashambadzi*, the rulers and other beneficiaries gradually developed into an elite class because of the wealth accrued from trade:

> ...even in pre-colonial times, there were in practice clear, differences between rich and poor. With the labour of poor dependants, and through trade of surplus crops and iron work, salt, tobacco or other valuables, wealthy individuals were able to acquire cloth for clothing instead of goatskins, to wear beads and other ornaments, to have large huts always in a good state of repair, and to have many wives and dependants.[7]

Labour migration to the gold mines therefore became a common feature of life during the pre-colonial era. Antonio Fernandes reported in 1511 that in the region of Manyika and its vicinity,

[1] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.109.
[2]Beach, 'The Shona economy', p.54.
[3] NAZ, MSS MA 14/1/1: J. Machiwenyika, 'A history and customs of the Manyika people', Lesson 43.
[4]Beach, 'The Shona economy', p.54.
[5]Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa*, p.188.
[6]Bhila, 'Trade and the survival of an African polity', p.14. Also see Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.251.
[7]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.63.

gold-mining had developed into a major economic activity of the inhabitants who had to import food from their neighbours. A 1573 Portuguese document confirmed that in Manyika 'local agricultural production was not sufficient to feed the inhabitants who were more given to commerce than agricultural labour, and so had to import what they needed.'[1]

In Shona country during the 1640s, as a Portuguese missionary noted, the Mutapa king, Mavhura, was upset because 'instead of serving their chiefs, Africans were going to work as miners for the Portuguese in such excessive numbers that those that are thus employed are more numerous than those who remain at their traditional occupations.'[2] During the reign of Gowera III in Manyika around 1795, mediating in trade had become big business among various sections of society in the chiefdom. As one Portuguese traveller put it with some element of sarcasm:

> ...he (Gowera), by...his policy, manages to keep his subjects obedient and his law firm, that being the reason why his kingdom has a numerous population not only of natives of the region but also strangers whose number cannot be estimated accurately...and the majority traders...make a good profit on the merchandise of the traders who use them as intermediaries whilst in agriculture and other skills, they are very indolent and extremely ambitious in getting a great quantity of women for concubines and are proud of polygamy, therefore, there must be in the whole kingdom around nine thousand who generally engage in mining and a little farming.[3]

In Randles' opinion, the demands of external trade 'diverted Africans from agriculture...with the result that the very foundation of their economy was undermined.'[4] While these accounts are informative in so far as they provide a vivid impression about the magnitude of gold-mining and trading operations and the multitudes of people they attracted from various localities and regions, they are rather overstated. It is very unlikely that mining and trading pursuits undermined agricultural activities which constituted the backbone of survival for pre-colonial African societies. As was the case in the greater part of the African continent, mining was mostly done

[1]Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa*, p.54.
[2] Antonio Gomes quoted by Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa*, p.35.
[3]Quoted by Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.36.
[4] Randles, *The empire of Monomotapa*, p.35.

during the post-harvest period when the water table was low, and the Portuguese travellers of the day acknowledged this fact.[1] Trading activities were also undertaken during the dry season because 'rains would disturb gatherings and dampen commodities such as cloth.'[2] Among the Shona, as Beach argued,

> …the most important activity of the greatest number of their people was the production and collection of food…All other activities, including mining, manufacturing, building, trade, politics and religion, were secondary to this, and could have been carried on without it.[3]

Phimister concurred:

> …most gold-mining activity was confined to the winter months i.e. the period after harvesting and before planting. This period also coincided with the seasonal fall in the water table which made reef mining viable at greater depths, while gold-washing was concentrated in these months to take advantage of any gold deposited by floods at the beginning of the previous summer.[4]

Mining and trading were therefore largely seasonal occupations that supplemented the proceeds from agriculture. After all, not more than 20% of Shona families were involved in gold-mining at any given time due to the limited gold-bearing area.[5] It will be shown later in this chapter that despite being part-time preoccupations involving a minority of the population, they played a significant role in shaping the history of the region.

Ivory-hunting was a spatially-extensive undertaking as hunters relocated to foreign lands after exhausting elephant herds in nearby localities. Such activities required 'a flexible semi-nomadic

[1] See, for example, Summers, *Ancient mining in Rhodesia*, pp.21-26; Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, p.27; and Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.44.
[2] Interview with Percy Chipangura, Chipangura village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 24 October 2010.
[3] D.N. Beach, 'Historians and the Shona empires, Part 1', University of Rhodesia Henderson seminar paper, Number 19, 19 August 1972, p.12.
[4] Phimister, 'Alluvial gold mining', p.447.
[5] D. Beach, 'Zimbabwe: Pre-colonial history, demographic disasters and the university', in *Zambezia*, Volume XXVI, Number 1, 1999, p.9.

association…not a territorially determined fief.'[1] It was common for hunters to 'switch allegiance from one local headman to another' to facilitate their activities.[2]

Although wars sometimes interrupted the movement of people and led to the flight of foreign merchants and traders, there is evidence that long distance trade persisted, at a subdued rate though, partly through the activities of African agents. During the Rozvi wars of conquest in Manyika during the 1690s, for example, Manyika traders conducted trading transactions with the Portuguese at stations in Uteve.[3] Portuguese Manyika agents continued to operate during the Nguni raids of the 1830s.[4] During this period, Manyika trade temporarily shifted from Masekesa to Sena. In 1845, a Portuguese traveller to Manyika reported on Africans undertaking 10-day journeys to Sena for the purpose of purchasing goods of 'absolute necessity.'[5]

By the second half of the 19th century, those Africans from south-east Africa who had fallen victim to natural disasters and Nguni incursions, and had failed to find space in income-generating activities such as external trade to make a decent living, sought opportunities as migrant labourers in the emerging mining industry south of Limpopo. In response to the Kimberley diamond discovery in 1867 and subsequent mining activities which began around 1869, some Africans from north of the Limpopo went to seek employment and 'the first of the southern Shona were returning from Kimberley by 1873, and the first labourers were returning to

[1]Gray and Birmingham, 'Some economic and political consequences of trade in Central and Eastern Africa,' p.17.
[2]Lamphear, 'The Kamba and the northern Mrima coast,' p.82.
[3]Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.99.
[4]Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples,' p.22.
[5]Cited by Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.197.

the Ndebele state at the same time.'[1] The greater proportion of the labour migrants from north of the Limpopo came from the Gaza state.[2]

The advent of colonial rule in Shona country during the last decade of the 19th century severely dented the gold trade in a number of ways. Alluvial gold panning and trade persisted during the early years of British South Africa Company (BSAC) rule in Rhodesia at a time when an elaborate administration for Africans was being instituted. With the establishment of the Native Department in 1898, the British administration initiated significant strides to interrupt the mining and trading of gold by Africans. During the same year, the Salisbury Chamber of Mines recommended the scrapping of gold from the list of items that were accepted for tax-payment. Policing along the border with Mozambique was enhanced and some Portuguese traders were arrested.[3] The Gold Trade Ordinance permitted Africans to pan gold but barred them from trading it.[4]

It should be noted, however, that gold panning and trading declined considerably as colonial rule progressed largely because Africans began to exploit other sources of income that emerged or expanded under the new dispensation. As Phimister rightly noted, 'gold-washing was relatively important only in the absence of other profitable economic opportunities.'[5] These opportunities included the expanding markets for labour and agricultural produce in the colonial urban and mining centres.[6] In addition, as will be seen in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8, some marginalised Africans embarked on informal activities within and across borders to earn a living.

[1]Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples,' p.39.
[2]Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples,' pp.39-40.
[3]Phimister, 'Alluvial gold mining', pp.452-453.
[4] NAZ, M3/7/8/6: Acting Secretary of Mines to the Treasurer, correspondence, 26 September 1905.
[5]Isaacman, 'Alluvial gold mining', p.454.
[6]Beach, 'The Shona economy', p.57.

There are some notable socio-cultural commonalities among societies in south-east Africa that partly emanated from pre-colonial trading contacts across ethnic and political divides. 'The trade routes help...to explain the great cultural similarities between different peoples...' noted Vansina, 'for with goods travelled customs and ideas.'[1] One of the socio-cultural legacies of pre-colonial trade between the Africans and the Portuguese that survived the colonial and post-colonial eras is found in some common linguistic features among societies in south-east Africa. As the *vashambazi* under contract, independent African traders and the Portuguese merchants and traders traversed the region, a great deal of language exchange and adaptation took place. *Feiras*, where most of the trade between Africans and the Portuguese occurred, also became centres of linguistic intercourse. The interaction of the Portuguese and Shona-speaking people from the 16th century inevitably led to considerable linguistic integration in south-east Africa that exists even up to the present day.[2]

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that borders were not imagined but did exist in pre-colonial Africa. The discussion made on pre-colonial African states such as the Mutapa and the Rozvi attests to this. These states were, however, not that politically coherent since their power over outlying tributaries was relatively weak. The fact that the borders of these states, as well as those of their provinces were sometimes contested does not in any way rule out the existence of borders in pre-colonial south-east Africa. These contestations were not surprising at all given that border disputes continued to occur throughout the colonial period and in the contemporary world.

[1]Vansina, 'Long-distance trade routes in Central Africa,' p.388.
[2] See M. Hannan, *Standard Shona Dictionary*, Harare: College Press, 1959, pp.52, 661; and R.H. Baker, "Portuguese words in Chimanyika," *NADA*, Volume 24, 1947, pp.63-64.

Despite the existence of borders in pre-colonial Africa, people sometimes crossed them informally in pursuit for a livelihood. Even in cases where neighbouring rulers were adversaries, their subjects often crossed borders for survival. It was common for political fugitives to seek refuge in neighbouring states. People often crossed into neighbouring and distant villages, wards and chiefdoms in search for scarce commodities and wealth through trade. It should therefore be emphasised that borders have always been crossed, both informally and sometimes with the authority of the rulers, especially during times when people's livelihoods were in jeopardy.

This chapter has also shown that some of these survival pursuits, as was to be the case during the colonial era, sometimes involved risks. Elephant hunting and gold mining, which formed the basis of trade during the pre-colonial era, were both laborious and precarious undertakings. The search for ivory needed 'the more daring hunters' who risked being killed by elephants.[1] During mining, sudden floods and cave-ins were a serious threat to the miners. Long distance trade itself was risky as traders sometimes ventured into lands where a hospitable reception was not guaranteed. In addition, the traders' lives could be endangered by wars and robbers.[2] These risks were worth taking because 'everybody in each community was not living at the same economic level; in each village there were richer and poorer people...Moreover, not all villages were equally wealthy and, because of differences of the environment and other factors, some communities would be much worse off than others.'[3]

It has also been demonstrated that most of the inhabitants of south-east Africa share a common history and identity. The majority of people in the region are Bantu Shona-speakers with

[1]Beach, 'The Shona economy', p.53.
[2] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.27.
[3] Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, 1980, p.30.

considerable cultural commonalities. Thus, since pre-colonial times, some people with socio-cultural and linguistic commonalities have been separated by political borders, and have continued to cross them in times of need, often exploiting their socio-cultural affinities in the process in order to facilitate transactions. The Rhodesia-Mozambique border, therefore, was to be manoeuvred for survival with very limited socio-cultural and linguistic barriers during the colonial period.

Socio-cultural affinities in south-east Africa were also enhanced as people sought wealth and livelihoods through trade across borders. Independent traders and those who operated on behalf of Arab and Portuguese merchants traversed the region and interacted with several societies. Arab market places and Portuguese *feiras*, it has been shown, were socio-cultural melting pots for African societies within the region and foreigners. This chapter has shown how language assimilation in the region developed at Portuguese trading stations. These commonalities were to facilitate pursuits for survival across the Rhodesia -Mozambique border during the colonial period since people on the opposite sides of the border were not really strangers in the strictest sense of the word.

This chapter therefore provides a firm historical background for the thesis. It also sheds light on the pre-colonial set up in south-east Africa that was to confront European colonisers during the second half of the 19th century, which the next chapter will dwell on.

CHAPTER 3

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RHODESIA-MOZAMBIQUE BORDER, THE ORIGINS OF UMTALI, AND THE AFRICAN CONDITION UNDER BRITISH AND PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM, 1888-1974

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three parts: the demarcation of the Rhodesia-Mozambique border, the origins of Umtali, and a comparative analysis of African colonial experiences in Rhodesia and Mozambique. Discussion in this chapter provides a useful background to informal cross-border activities that emerged and flourished during the colonial period. It examines the conditions under which Africans in Rhodesia and Mozambique were subjected to during colonial rule and how they coped with the new socio-economic changes brought to bear upon them. The colonial experiences of exploitation and subordination to a great extent impacted negatively on African family livelihood and kinship solidarity. Such experiences provide a revealing picture of how informal cross-border activities developed between Umtali and Mozambique as oppressed Africans sought a livelihood across borders by employing a multiplicity of innovations that included normalising and revitalising pre-colonial family, kinship, and neighbourhood affinities, and improvising them when necessary. This chapter is also critical in explaining why informal cross-border mobility by Mozambican Africans to and from Umtali tended to be more predominant as compared to that of their Rhodesian counterparts. British and Portuguese presence in Rhodesia and Mozambique respectively both represented a sad chapter in the history of the two countries characterised by exploitation and abuse of Africans. However, without condoning British colonialism in any way, this chapter argues that the Portuguese in Mozambique were much more predatory and brutal thereby forcing Africans to seek fortunes

abroad, mostly through informal means, in relatively large numbers in spite of the policing measures instituted by the colonial authorities along the border and within Umtali itself.

3.2 The Anglo-Portuguese border conflict and settlement, 1888-1898

Portugal was the first European power to penetrate Southern Africa.[1] By 1660 she was in control of most African chiefdoms in south-east Africa with trade being the major preoccupation of the early Portuguese community.[2] Owing to domestic problems in Portugal, the Portuguese failed to set up permanent settlements in Africa and paid little attention to their colonies until the late 1880s.[3]

As the European scramble for colonies in Africa gained momentum during the 1880s, the Portuguese government chartered the Mozambique Company to develop mineral and other commercial schemes in Southern Africa and enhance its hegemony in the region.[4] Operating from its headquarters at Masekesa, 10 kilometres north of the present Mozambican town of Manica and 35 kilometres east of what was to become Umtali,[5] the Company operated some mines in the Revue river valley.[6] In an attempt to press further inland, it hoisted the Portuguese flag at Bingaguru (big garden), the Manyika capital of Chief Mutasa, 20 kilometres north of what was to become the permanent site of Umtali.[7]

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[1] United States (US) Bureau for Intelligence and Research, *International boundary study Number 118: Mozambique-Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) boundary*, Washington DC: The Geographer, United States Bureau of Intelligence and Research, November 1971, p.1.
[2] Uteve, for example, was subdued and partially occupied in 1644 while Barwe was conquered in 1659 (see H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom*, p.84; E.E. Burke, *The journals of Carl Mauch: His travels in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, 1869-1872*, Salisbury: National Archives of Rhodesia, 1969, p.213).
[3] *The Umtali Post Jubilee Supplement*: 'Prospectors in Penhalonga before occupation', 15 August 1950, p.6.
[4] Known as the Mozambique Company in English, this organisation was formed in 1888 and its main directors were Major Paiva d'Andrade, Baron Joa de Rezende and Manuel Antonio de Sousa (Gouveia).
[5] J.C. Barnes, 'The battle of Massi Kessi', in *Rhodesiana*, Number 32, March 1975, p.1.
[6] P. Gibbs, *The history of the BSAP, Volume 1: The first line of defence, 1889-1902*, Salisbury: British South Africa Police, 1972, p.52.
[7] Barnes, 'The battle of Massi Kessi', p.2. Also see F.C. Selous, *Travel and adventure in south-east Africa*, p.385.

A clash between the British and the Portuguese became imminent when in October 1889, the British government authorised the British South Africa Company (BSAC)[1] to colonise the region immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese area of influence. In 1890 the BSAC constituted the Pioneer Column which advanced into the area between the Zambezi and the Limpopo. The British and Portuguese governments convened a meeting on 20 August 1890 in an attempt to agree on a border. The convention resolved to have the Save River as the boundary of Portuguese and British spheres between the Zambezi and the Limpopo. What this meant was that present-day Manicaland fell under Portuguese authority and this was unacceptable to Rhodes, the chief executive of the BSAC. Rhodes dispatched officials to secure through treaties with African rulers as much land as possible in the region bordering Portuguese territory between the Zambezi and the Limpopo.[2] The BSAC entered Manyika and forced Chief Mutasa to sign a treaty which committed him never to cede part of his territory without their consent.[3] On 8 November 1890, a British patrol arrested Portuguese officials who had attempted to raid Mutasa's village before advancing to Masekesa. During a battle at Chua Hills close to Masekesa on 11 May 1891, the Portuguese were defeated.[4]

The Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 3 July 1891 resolved the border dispute. The boundary was vaguely defined as the 'crest of slope of the Manica plateau as far as the confluence of the Sabi

[1] British South Africa was the name given to territory between the Zambezi and the Limpopo granted to the BSAC by the Royal Charter of 1889. It was renamed Rhodesia in 1895. For these details, see Gibbs, *The history of the BSAC, Volume 1*, p.iii.
[2]Barnes, 'The battle of Massi Kessi,' pp.2, 3.
[3] NAZ, DT8/5/3: Colquhoun to CNC, correspondence, November 1896; L. Cripps, 'The Umtassa treaty', in *NADA*, 1933, pp.92-94.
[4] See N. Jones, *Rhodesian genesis: The story of the early days of Southern Rhodesia compiled from the reminiscences of some early pioneers*, Bulawayo: The University Press, 1953, pp.59-60; and Barnes, 'The battle of Massi Kessi', pp. 4-7, 12.

and Lundi.'[1] From here, it extended straight to the corner of South Africa. The treaty stipulated that the Mutasa chiefdom would fall in the British zone and Masekesa in the Portuguese sphere. The Portuguese were obliged to allow the traffic of British goods and people up the Pungwe, Buzi, Limpopo and Save rivers, together with their tributaries. It also mandated the Portuguese to construct a railway line between the Pungwe River and British lands.[2] This settlement only managed to handle the major demarcations of the boundary. Subsequent treaties lasting until 1937 completed the delimitation process.[3]

3.3 Impact of the border on the organisation of pre-colonial African societies

The Anglo-Portuguese settlement established the 1200-kilometre border between Rhodesia and Mozambique without considering African interests.[4] Besides splitting up African grazing areas and fields between the two countries,[5] the border also separated African societies. The five major Shona-speaking groups split by the border were the Manyika, Barwe, Teve, Zezuru and Ndau.[6] The chiefdom of Tangwena in the north-eastern part of Manicaland, for example, was split by what was known to its people as 'an unknown line on the map.'[7] In 1902 Dzeka Chigumira, the Tangwena chief, successfully sought permission from colonial officials to repatriate 70 Tangwena families from Portuguese territory and join the rest of the group across the border in Rhodesia.[8]

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[1]P.R. Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese relations in south-central Africa, 1890-1900*, London: Longmans, 1962, p.71.
[2]Barnes, 'The battle of Massi Kessi', p.25; Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese relations*, pp.71-72.
[3]US Bureau of Intelligence and Research, *International boundary study, number 118*, pp.2-5.
[4] See US Bureau for Intelligence and Research, *International boundary study, number 118*, p.1.
[5]Interview with Arumando Agusto, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 3 December 2010.
[6] M.A. Samuels and W.A. Bailey, 'African peoples', in D.M. Abshire and M.A. Samuels (eds.) *Portuguese Africa: A handbook*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969, p.126.
[7] D.K. Davies, *Race relations in Rhodesia: A survey for 1972-73*, London: Rex Collins, p.262. Also see NAZ, NUA 2/1/3: NC Umtali Annual Statistical Report- Inyanga. 17 April 1900.
[8]Davies, *Race relations in Rhodesia*, p.262.

Before the delimitation, Nyakuwanikwa, Chief Mutasa's headwoman, administered an area extending into the Revue valley and areas stretching away from the future site of Umtali. After the demarcation, she remained on the Rhodesian side but lost several villages to Mozambique.[1] Thus, with the Mutasa chiefdom split by the arbitrary border, Bvumbi, a son of Chief Mutasa, approached Portuguese authorities in October 1903 to claim authority over part of the polity that now lay inside Mozambique.[2] Mandeya, a headman of Chief Mutasa in the Honde Valley, also had his ward split by the border.[3] As a result, the greater part of the Honde Valley remained on the Rhodesian side, with a smaller part, also known as Honde, on the Mozambican side.[4] The land under headman Nyangani in the north-eastern part of the Mutasa chiefdom was also split by the border. When the headman-ship on the Rhodesian side fell vacant due to the death of the incumbent in 1908, there was a succession dispute with claimants emerging from both sides of the border.[5]

To the east of the middle Save in the area largely inhabited by the Ndau, the border split the Chimanimani Highlands between Mozambique and Rhodesia. The population in both areas speaks Ndau and Manyika, both being dialects in the larger Shona cluster.[6] The split of the highlands, as shown in Map 10 below, saw Chief Chikukwa remaining in Rhodesia while his

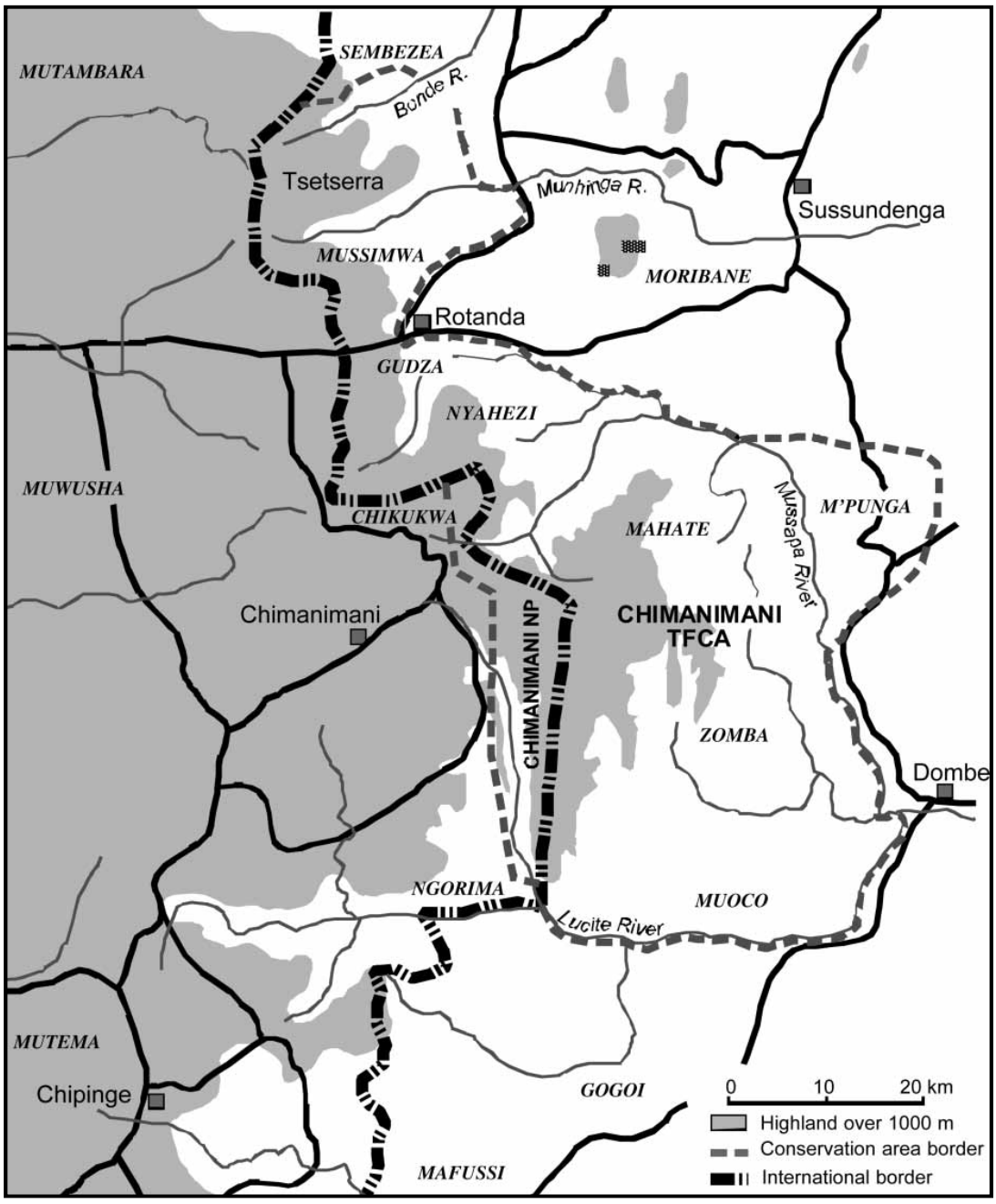
[1] R. Blennerhassett and L. Sleeman, *Adventures in Mashonaland*, Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1969, p.152.
[2] AHM, CdM/SG/Relatorios/Cx 234: Circumscripeao de Manica, 'Relatorio referido', SGR/4926/01, 1903.
[3] Interview with Machega Mandeya and Douglas Mandeya, Headman Mandeya II's court, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 9 October 2010.
[4] B.E. Bertelsen, 'The traditional lion is dead: The ambivalent presence of tradition and the relations between politics and violence in Mozambique', in *Lusotropie*, 2003, p.264.
[5] NAZ, NUA3/1/1: NC Umtali to CNC Salisbury, correspondence, 7 August 1908; NAZ, NUA3/1/1: CNC Taberer to NC Umtali, correspondence, 12 August 1908, 22 October 1908; NAZ, NUA3/1/1: Chefe de Manica to CNC Umtali, correspondence, 2 October 1908.
[6] Virtanen, 'Land of the ancestors', pp.359-365.

headmen, Gudza and Mahate, found themselves in Portuguese territory, a development they fully exploited to elevate themselves to chieftainship positions in their own areas.[1]

The colonial border became irrelevant to Africans whenever their survival was threatened. As early as 1896, for example, Chimbadzwa, one of Chief Mutasa's sons, together with 500 followers left the Rhodesian border district of Umtali and settled in the Barwe chiefdom of Makombe in Mozambique. They were also joined by Muredzwa, a daughter and headwoman of Chief Mutasa,together with her followers. The major reason for their relocation was scarcity of food.[2] Muredzwa was to return in June 1897.[3] In 1904, Headman Chikomba and 12 village heads under him together with their people crossed the Gaeresi River and settled in Mozambique partly because they did not want to pay rent to the B.S.A.C. who had established farms in their area. The Rhodesian administration appointed a chief over some of his people who had remained in the area.[4]

The colonial border was indeed arbitrary but as Coplan noted about the Caledon River which separated Lesotho from the Free State province of South Africa, it was more of 'a political rather than an organic social boundary.'[5] Most people from Mozambique's Manica province who crossed into Rhodesia since the beginning of the colonial era, for example, were not really

[1] S. Anstey and C. de Sousa, 'Old ways and new challenges: Traditional resource management systems in the Chimanimani Mountains, Mozambique', in D. Hulme and M. Murphree (eds.) *African wildlife and livelihoods: The promise and performance of community conservation*, Oxford: James Currey, 2001, p.203. Also see J. Singh, 'State-making and community-based resource management: Cases of the Vhimba CAMPRIRE Project (Zimbabwe) and the Chimanimani Trans-frontier Conservation Area (Mozambique)', PhD dissertation, College of Forest Resources, University of Washington, 2001, pp.72-73.
[2] NAZ, NUA 2/1/1: NC Umtali to CNC Salisbury, correspondence, 21 December 1896.
[3] NAZ, S1428/32/5: NC Inyanga Quarterly Report, 2 July 1897.
[4] NAZ, NUC2/3/1: NC Inyanga to CNC, correspondence, November 1904.
[5] Coplan, 'A river runs through it', p.81.



Map 10: The split of the Chimanimani Highlands by the border (Source: Virtanen, P., 'Land of the ancestors: Semiotics, history and space in Chimanimani, Mozambique', in *Social and Cultural Geography*, Volume 6, Number 3, 2005, p.361).

strangers because they had close family and cultural links across the border.[1] It is largely in view of the common history and culture across this border that 'the border jumper will encounter no language barrier with his hosts, and they may well share bonds of blood and marriage.'[2]

In the borderlands discourse, it is therefore pertinent to sometimes concentrate on 'a culture not of migration but of mobility' across borders characterised by mobile networks of kin, homeboys/girls and friends.[3] It will be noted in the following chapters that such historical ties, characterised by family and kinship networks, were to play a significant role in the struggles for survival across the Umtali-Mozambique border during the colonial period.

3.4 The origins of Umtali, 1890-1900

In view of the bitter struggle for territory between the British and the Portuguese, most towns in Rhodesia originated as BSAC forts.[4] The first settlement called Umtali was the original camp site of the BSAC in November 1890 when its representatives came to negotiate a treaty with Chief Mutasa.[5] First named Fort Hill, this settlement was located close to the confluence of the Mutare and Tsambe rivers and near the future mining town of Penhalonga.[6]

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[1] AHM, SE, Jose Alberto Gomes de Melo Branquinho, 'Prospeccao das forces tradicionais: Manica e Sofala', Relatorio Secreto para os services de Centralizacao e Coordenacao de Informacoes, Provincia de Mocambique, Lourenco Marques, 1967.
[2] D.M. Hughes, 'Refugees and squatters: Immigration and the politics of territory on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 25, Number 4, December 1999, p.536.
[3] Coplan, 'A river runs through it', p.115.
[4] P.S. Garlake, 'Pioneer forts in Rhodesia', in *Rhodesiana*, Number 12, September 1965, p.45.
[5] See J. Bekker and E. Smith, 'Early days in Umtali, 1888-1898', in *Zuro*, 1971, pp.6-7; NAZ, FA3/15/9: R.S. Fairbridge papers, 'The drought'; and C.Smith, *Avondale to Zimbabwe*, *Avondale to Zimbabwe: A collection of cameos of Rhodesian towns and villages*, Salisbury: Mardon printers (not dated), p.278.
[6] NAZ, FA 3/11/28: R.S. Fairbridge papers, 'Early history and relics of Fort Umtali'. Also see NAZ, ANG 5/7/1: John Meikle, 'The reminiscences of John Meikle, 1868-1936', Umtali records; Methodist Historical Society Archivist, 'Notes on Umtali: old site, 1890-1899', 1 March 1931, Old Mutare Archives; Bekker and Smith, 'Early days in Umtali, pp.6-7; and Smith, *Avondale to Zimbabwe*, p.278.

The settlement grew into a big village that attracted local Africans to seek work. Most early white employers discredited themselves to their African workers because of their excessive drinking habits which often resulted in maltreatment. Two-thirds of the white population at that time was almost always drunk![1] This was to be one of the major reasons why indigenous Africans around Umtali were generally reluctant to offer their labour to white employers during the formative years of the town thus paving the way for non-indigenous labour especially from Mozambique.

After resolving the border dispute with the Portuguese, the BSAC abandoned the fort in favour of an urban settlement further inland. In addition, there were numerous mining claims around Fort Umtali which restricted further expansion.[2] By December 1891, the move to a site 11 kilometres to the west along the Mutare River had been completed.[3] This site was to be named Old Umtali.[4]

It was when Umtali was located at Old Umtali that the Rhodesian government set up local government administrative structures for urban centres.[5] A Sanitary Board was formed in 1892 to run the town.[6] The local government structures at Old Umtali failed to take care of the living and working conditions of Africans in the town. The first prisoner at Old Umtali was a Bavarian prospector in late 1891 who had shot his African worker, severely injuring his leg after the victim had 'followed his master about, clamouring for money.'[7] Conflicts between white

[1] Blennerhassett and Sleeman, *Adventures in Mashonaland*, pp.182-183.
[2] Bekker and Smith, 'Early days in Umtali', p.7. Also see Jones, *Rhodesian genesis*, p.63.
[3] See Bekker and Smith, 'Early days in Umtali', p.11; and Jones, *Rhodesian genesis*, p.63
[4] This centre was named Old Umtali in 1897 after the site of the town was moved southwards.
[5] See L.H. Gann, *A history of Southern Rhodesia: Early days to 1934*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1965, pp.192-193; Southern Rhodesian Government, *The statute law of Southern Rhodesia, Volume 1*, Salisbury: Southern Rhodesian Government, 1939: pp.249 and 597; and H. Rolin (translated to English by D. Kirkwood) *Rolin's Rhodesia*, Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1978, p.73.
[6] G. Arthur, 'The progress and functions of local government in Umtali', in *Zuro*, 1976, p.28.
[7] Blennerhassett and Sleeman, *Adventures in Mashonaland*, p.204.

employers and their African workers were very common during the early years. This was mainly because of the common tendency by most employers to delay paying their workers. It was largely due to such inconveniences, as Blennerhassett and Sleeman personally witnessed at Old Umtali during the early 1890s, that Africans came to believe in

> … the ready money system and requires to be paid the very hour or minute his money falls due. He appears with a piece of string on which he has made a knot for everyday he has worked, stretching out his hands for *mali* (money). If the *mali* is not forthcoming that very instant – goodbye to peace! You are followed about the whole day. You drive the man (away) twenty times; he returns, you send for an interpreter, and explain that gold is coming down in wagons but has not yet arrived. Fruitless effort! The native only repeats… "The month is finished, I want money."[1]

Some employers failed to pay their workers altogether, while others gave them fake currency.[2] From the early days, therefore, local Africans in the vicinity of Old Umtali distrusted white employers. Consequently, as Blennerhassett and Sleeman observed at Old Umtali:

> The native labour question in Manica (land) was almost as vexed as the eight hours' question in England. It was almost impossible to procure boys, and, even when one had succeeded in engaging a few, they promptly fled. In consequence, the hospital huts are making no progress.[3]

Old Umtali was abandoned in favour of the present site of Umtali early in 1897 in order to situate the town close to the railway line.[4] In developing the new site, local Africans were used as potters and construction workers amid fierce resistance.[5] 'In Umtali, in spite of the high wages', moaned Thomson in 1898, 'the boys are utterly spoiled as servants; they will leave without the slightest warning, and they will do nothing outside the strict routine of their work

[1] Blennerhassett and Sleeman, *Adventures in Mashonaland*, pp.180-181. Atkin's book title *The moon is dead! Give us our money* expresses strikingly similar demands by African workers to their unscrupulous white employers in Natal during the period 1843-1900 (See K.E. Atkins, *The moon is dead! Give us our money: The cultural origins of an African work ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843-1900*, London: Heinemann, 1993).
[2] Blennerhassett and Sleeman, *Adventures in Mashonaland*, p.290.
[3] Blennerhassett and Sleeman, *Adventures in Mashonaland*, pp.179-180.
[4] Bekker and Smith, 'Early days in Umtali', p.11.
[5] Old Mutare Archives, Resource materials: Notes, Box File Number 2: E.L. Sells, 'A history of Manicaland, Rhodesia, 1832-1897', (unpaged).

unless they are paid for it.'[1] Similar sentiments had been expressed elsewhere in 1897 by Father Daignault, the Deputy Administrator for Bulawayo:

> …the natives of this country…in reality are but grown up children…given the many vices, conspicuous among them being…idleness…men in authority who have the true interests of the natives at heart ought to treat the natives not only as children but ought also to do all they can to make them acquire habits of work. As this cannot be obtained by mere moral persuasion, authority must necessarily be used.[2]

The labour shortages during the early years of Umtali were largely due to the bad reputation the white employers had built for themselves since the days of Fort Umtali. This gave easy passage to the influx of informal African workers mostly from neighbouring Mozambique and some from Nyasaland.[3] The Umtali administration was rather lax in containing the influx during the town's formative years in view of the labour crisis.

The establishment of New Umtali displaced the African people under Murahwa, Chief Mutasa's headman, who were resident in the area. His ward stretched from the site of the town to the Odzi River. With the founding of New Umtali, the Murahwa people dispersed to various parts of Manicaland such as Maungwe in the west, while others crossed into Mozambique.[4]

This section has shown how the Anglo-Portuguese border dispute and the resultant settlement failed to take into account African interests. Various African communities were isolated from each other by the demarcation of the border in 1891 and the setting up of New Umtali in 1897. It was therefore inevitable that Africans astride the border would, willingly or unwillingly, violate this arrangement which artificialised their relationships with kith-and-kin in neighbouring

[1] H.C. Thomson, *Rhodesia and its government*, London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1898, p.53.
[2] Quoted by P. Mason, *The birth of a dilemma: The conquest and settlement of Rhodesia*, London: Oxford University Press, 1958, p.220.
[3] J. Harris, 'The move to new Umtali', in *Zuro*, 1975, p.17.
[4] See Old Mutare Archives, Resource materials: Notes, Box File Number 2: E.L. Sells, 'A history of Manicaland, Rhodesia, 1832-1897', (unpaged); and *Umtali Post*: 'Old African visits hill he knew well but had never seen', 18 September 1963, p.5.

countries. By the stroke of a pen, Africans became criminals once they crossed the border unofficially even to visit relatives. Controls on the cross-border movement of Africans, particularly of Mozambicans into Umtali, were however lax during the formative years in view of the critical shortage of labour. It should therefore be noted that from the time of its establishment, the border was not very restrictive to the movement of Africans as originally intended. Once the Rhodesian authorities began imposing stringent controls on the movement of Africans to and from Mozambique from the 1940s, the border increasingly assumed the subtle role of affording some Africans chances to escape from one oppressive and exploitative colonial dispensation, and negotiate opportunities in the other.

3.5 Imposition of colonial administrative structures in Rhodesia and Mozambique

In Rhodesia following conquest in 1897, the African political leadership was largely decimated and replaced by colonial paternalistic administrative structures.[1] The Native Department was constituted in 1898 to administer Africans. African administration at the district level was handled by the Native Commissioner (NC) and under him were African functionaries such as messengers, police and traditional leaders.[2] The Africans were allowed to choose their own traditional leaders in accordance with pre-colonial procedures, but their choices had to be approved by the colonial administration.[3] 'From the time of European conquest,' noted Kriger,

[1] For more detail on views from Rhodesian colonial administrators on the subdued roles of African traditional leaders, see NAZ, NUC2/1/4: Inyanga District Annual Report for the year ended 31 December 1910; NAZ, S1563: Umtali District Annual Report for 1948; NAZ, NUA2/1/1: NC Umtali to CNC, correspondence, 21 December 1896; and NAZ, S1563: Umtali District Annual Report for 1948. Also see J. A. C. Mutambirwa, *The rise of settler power in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) 1898-1923*, London: Associated University Press, 1980, p.71.
[2] C. Palley, *The constitutional history and law of Southern Rhodesia, 1888-1965*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966, p.238.
[3] NAZ, NUA2/1/10: Superintendent of Natives, Umtali, to CNC, correspondence, 11 July 1917.

'the chieftainship and other positions depended not only on the application of inheritance laws but also government approval.'[1]

The disempowerment of the traditional leadership during colonial rule further disintegrated the already politically fragile political set up in south-east Africa already noted in Chapter 1. In addition, the disempowerment of most African traditional leaders largely placed them in a position in which they could not effectively protect their subjects from the ravages of colonial rule. This forced some of their subjects to venture into various parts of the country and the region, as individuals or groups, in search for a living.

In neighbouring Mozambique, the Portuguese administration was notoriously brutal and harsh on Africans. Being 'the poor man of Europe'[2] or 'the sick man of Western Europe',[3] Portugal was unable to institute colonial administrative structures run by well-trained and adequately paid officials. Prior to 1930, Portugal gave concession companies lands to exploit and administer under the theoretical supervision of the Governor-General.[4] Outside company areas, the administration was run by officials of the Portuguese government and their functionaries.[5] In practice, commercial companies ran their areas with a great deal of autonomy as long as they remitted tax to the Portuguese administration. The companies often decentralised administrative power to individual farmers and planters in their areas. This exposed Africans to a plethora of abuses. During the 1890s, for example, a farmer 'forced six Africans to consume two mugs each

[1] N. Kriger, *Zimbabwe guerrilla war: Peasant voices*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.64.
[2] B. Munslow, *Mozambique: The revolution and its origins*, London: Longman, 1983, p.14.
[3] R.J. Hammond, *Portugal and Africa, 1815-1910: A study of uneconomic imperialism*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966, p.35.
[4] A.F. Isaacman and B. Isaacman, *Mozambique: From colonialism to revolution, 1900-1982*, Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985, p.83.
[5] See E. Mondlane, *The struggle for Mozambique*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969, pp.40-41; H.D. Nelson, *Mozambique: A country study*, Washington DC: American University, 1984, pp.10-11; and A.F. Isaacman and B. Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.83.

of human excrement which he kept at his home for such occasions.'[1] Abuses were also common in areas run directly by the Portuguese government before 1930 and in the whole of Mozambique after company charters had been terminated.

There was very limited political space for traditional leaders in Mozambique. The Portuguese created two types of administrative units: *conselhos* (councils) for towns and *circumscricoes* (districts) for rural areas all presided over by Portuguese officials. The *circumscricoes* were subdivided into smaller units or posts (*posto*).[2] The Portuguese authorities accepted chiefs (*regulos*) as intermediaries between the administration and the general African population but if they failed to perform their duties in accordance with official instructions, they were replaced by hand-picked ones. African village heads (*regedors*) were instructed to act as government agents and assist with tax-collection and labour recruitment.[3] The Portuguese official who dealt with Africans at the district and village levels on a daily basis was the *Chefe de posto*. As Henricksen noted, he was virtually a white chief who often abused his power for purposes of profit or lust:

> His tyranny, especially in the early years, forms a bitter and violent chapter in Mozambique's colonial history. Underpaid and poorly trained, he came as a bird of passage not to create but to squeeze what he could from his lowly position and return to Portugal. Corrupt, cruel and incompetent, he came to represent Portuguese rule to many villages.[4]

The *Chefe de posto* made use of junior Portuguese officials and African functionaries in the running of rural villages. Poorly trained and underpaid, the African policemen (*sipais*), together with the junior white officials, became 'petty tyrants.'[5] It was therefore not surprising that 'local populations were frequently treated with great brutality. Throughout the colonial period refugees

[1] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.83.
[2] B.O. Laughlin, 'Class and the customary: The ambiguous legacy of the *Indigenato* in Mozambique', in *African Affairs*, Volume 99, 2000, p.16.
[3] See J. Hanlon, *Mozambique: The revolution under fire*, London: Zed Books, 1984, p.17; and Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.29.
[4] T.H. Henriksen, *Mozambique: A history*, London: Rex Collins, 1978, pp.100-101.
[5] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.29.

migrated out of the territory to the shelter of milder colonial regimes in Nyasaland and the Rhodesias.'[1]

Corporal punishment was integral to the Portuguese penal system when dealing with African offenders because 'prisons would be too expensive either to build or to run.'[2] The whip and the cudgel became 'symbols of Portuguese authority' to the majority of rural Africans in Mozambique.[3] The instrument commonly used to administer corporal punishment was the *palmatoria,* a perforated paddle.[4] It was shaped like a club with a flattened circular end pierced with holes and when administered on a person, it 'reduces a hand to a shapeless, swollen mass of lacerated and bleeding flesh.'[5] Portuguese colonialism was perhaps the most brutal, harsh and worst administered in Africa.[6]

3.6 Administrative mechanisms to limit the freedom of movement for Africans in Rhodesia and Mozambique

Pass laws were a major colonial administrative instrument instituted to contain the movement of Africans in Rhodesia and Mozambique. These laws criminalised most African traditional codes of movement. In Rhodesia, pass laws date back to 1895 when Africans were forbidden to stay in the major towns unless they had passes to seek employment or certificates of service stating that they were employed.[7] These regulations were reinforced by the Natives Registration Ordinance

[1] J.D. Omer-Cooper, 'Southern and Central Africa', in A.E. Afigbo, E.A. Ayandele, R.J. Gavin, J.D. Omer-Cooper and R. Palmer (eds.) *The making of modern Africa Volume 2: The twentieth-century*, Harlow: Longman, 1971, p.258.
[2] De A. Figueiredo, *Portugal and its empire: The truth*, London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1961, p.96.
[3] Nelson, *Mozambique,* p.40.
[4] L. Vail and L. White, 'Forms of resistance: Songs and perceptions of power in colonial Mozambique', in D. Crummey (ed.) *Banditry, rebellion and social protest in Africa*, London: James Currey, 1986, p.198.
[5] A 1922 Labour Report on Mozambique quoted by Munslow, *Mozambique,* p.30. Also see J. Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961, p.167.
[6] Z.A. Konczacki, 'Portugal's economic policy in Africa: A reassessment', in Z.A and J.A. Konczacki (eds.) *An economic history of tropical Africa Volume 2: The colonial period*, London: Frank Cass and Company, 1977, p.72.
[7] Southern Rhodesia Government, *Statute law of Southern Rhodesia Volume 1,* Salisbury: Southern Rhodesia Government, 1939, p.468.

of 1901 which allowed Africans to remain in towns if they had the officially stipulated documents.[1] In all urban areas, Africans were obliged to remain at their employers' premises or in an African residential area between 9:00pm and 5:00am unless they had a special pass from the employer or suburb inspector.[2]

The Native Pass Ordinance of 1902 applied to males over the age of 14 whose parents were both Africans. Foreign Africans were required to immediately apply for a registration certificate. If they had one from their country of origin they had to forward it to Rhodesian officials for endorsement. If immigrants wished to travel within Rhodesia, they had to obtain a travel pass or a pass to seek work. When immigrants wished to leave the country, they had to surrender all Rhodesian documents. Rhodesian Africans were required to get a registration certificate (*situpa*) from the Native Commissioner of their district of origin which they had to travel with at all times. If they intended to travel out of the district they had to seek a permit to travel even a few kilometres away.[3] Evidence given to the Native Affairs Committee of 1910-1911 indicated that one could travel more than 300 kilometres to get a permit to visit a place which was a few kilometres away.[4] One therefore needed three passes to move out of a district. These were the removal pass, travelling or visiting permit, and the authorisation to seek employment.[5] Alfred Drew, the former Native Commissioner for Victoria and Mazoe districts, observed in 1920 that due to the multiplicity of pass laws in Rhodesia, most Africans inevitably found themselves on

[1]These documents were a pass from an employer stipulating the name of the African and stating the nature of employment; a visiting pass from the Registrar of Natives; or a certificate from a magistrate or police indicating that the African was surviving in town through legal means.
[2]Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia,* p.145.
[3]Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia,* pp.192-193. Also see L.W. Bowman, *Politics in Rhodesia: White power in an African state,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973, p.11.
[4] NAZ, A3/3/18: Southern Rhodesia: Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry, 1910-1911, paragraph 158.
[5] Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia,* p.194.

the wrong side of the law.[1] In 1942 alone, for instance, there were 18,000 convictions nationally for violating pass laws.[2]

Under the provisions of the Native Location Ordinance of 1906, which were reinforced by municipal bye-laws throughout the colonial period, any African found 'wandering' in the location between 6:00pm and 6:00am was penalised.[3] In the Umtali Native Location from 1910, for example, any Africans leaving their places of residence for a temporary period of 48 hours upwards had to inform the Location Superintendent.[4] The freedom of movement for Africans in towns was further curtailed by Government Notice, Number 4 of 1929 which made it a punishable offence for an African to be found within locations between 6:00pm and 6:00am without lawful excuse.[5]

The Natives Registration Act of 1936 required every African coming into town to have one of the following documents in addition to the *situpa*: a pass to seek work, a certificate reflecting employment status in town, confirmation from the Native Commissioner that they were earning a living through formal means, and a visiting pass. These limitations placed on the African freedom of movement were aggravated by the long delays taken by the authorities to process documents. The pass was therefore hated by Africans because it was 'a symbol of indignity and servitude.'[6]

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[1] Quoted by A.S. Cripps, *An Africa for Africans: A plea on behalf of territorial segregation areas and their freedom in a South African colony*, London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1927, pp.99-100.
[2] R. Gray, *The two nations: Aspects of the development of race relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland*, London; Oxford University Press, 1960, p.270.
[3] NAZ, S246/305: Government Notice, Number 4, Umtali Municipal Bye-Laws, 4 January 1929.
[4] NAZ, S246/305: Government Notice, Number 4, Umtali Municipal Bye-Laws, 3 November 1910.
[5] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 23 January 1929.
[6] Gray, *The two nations*, p.155. For similar policies in Northern Rhodesia, see Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*, p.53.

The Rhodesian Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act of 1946 required Africans to be in possession of a number of documents depending on the places they intended to visit. The Registration Certificate already restricted them to an African rural area in terms of the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 even though they could have been born in an urban area. They also needed a pass to seek work upon entering an urban area. A Certificate of Service or Self-Employment was also required if they had secured a job with an employer or self. While in town, heads of families had to obtain certificates of occupation which authorised them to become urban residents. Unemployed women were obliged to acquire a Certificate of Registration of an Approved Wife upon entering town.[1] The Act also required African residents and visitors in town to observe a curfew from 9:00pm to 5:00am.[2]

The Africans (Registration and Identification) Act of 1972, made it obligatory for all Africans in Rhodesia to carry their registration papers at all times, failing which they could be fined up to $100 or six months in jail.[3] In addition, foreign Africans could be ordered back to their countries of origin if their identity and travel documents were not in order.[4]

The Rhodesian authorities also imposed vagrancy laws on Africans in an attempt to vigorously enforce pass laws. The Vagrancy Act of 1891, amended in 1938, for example, defined a vagrant as 'any person found wandering abroad and having no visible...or sufficient lawful means of support' who upon being questioned by authority 'does not give a good and satisfactory account of himself.' The Act regarded such a person as 'idle and disorderly' and thus liable to

[1] R. Blake, *A history of Rhodesia*, London: Eyre Methuen, 1977, pp.281-282. Also see Mason, *The birth of a dilemma*, p.183.
[2] T.R.H. Davenport, 'Rhodesian and South African policies for urban Africans', in *Rhodesian History*, Volume 3, 1972, p.69.
[3] The Rhodesian government changed its currency from British pounds, shillings and pennies to Rhodesian dollars and cents after declaring its independence from Britain in 1965.
[4] Davies, *Race relations in Rhodesia*, pp.309-310.

imprisonment for a period not more than three months. In addition, any person who knowingly harboured a vagrant was liable to a fine not exceeding £5 or in default of payment, imprisonment for a period not more than two months.[1] Further amendments to reinforce this Act were made in 1960 and 1972.[2]

Stringent pass laws were also a bitter aspect of life for Africans in Mozambique. Despite her financial problems, Portugal made some effort to control the movement of Africans within Mozambique and across its borders. The *Portraria Provincial* (Ordinance) Number 402 of 1905, for example, ruled that any African who went out of Mozambique without being legally recruited or without a pass lawfully issued was deemed to have committed a crime of clandestine emigration punishable by up to 20 months of unremunerated work for the government.[3] The *Portraria Provincial* (Ordinance) Number 93 of 1910 introduced licences valid for six months that were to be issued to Africans who went out of Mozambique for private affairs. The Ordinance stipulated a fee of 225 *reis* (one shilling) to be paid for such a licence when the period of its validity did not exceed two months. For a longer period, this fee was to be paid in double.[4] The majority of Africans could not afford this money and clandestine emigration became a realistic and convenient option for many.

Surveillance on Africans, especially in towns, was one of the most highly prioritised features of Portuguese colonialism. In September 1946, for example, colonial officials in the province of

[1] Southern Rhodesia Government, *The Statue Law of Southern Rhodesia Volume 1*, Salisbury: Southern Rhodesia Government, 1939, pp.605-606.
[2]The Vagrancy Act of 1960, for example, indicated the necessity of official surveillance in the form of night raids to enforce these requirements (see D.H. Patel and R.J. Adams, *Chirambahuyo: A case study of low-income housing*, Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1981, p.11; and Davies, *Race relations in Rhodesia*, pp.310-311).
[3] NAZ, N3/25/3: *Portraria Provincial* (Ordinance) Number 402 of 1905.
[4] NAZ, N3/25/3: *Portraria Provincial* (Ordinance) Number 93 of 1910.

Manica e Sofala were instructed to arrest as vagrants any 'shabbily-dressed' Africans in towns.[1] For Africans in Mozambique, 'towns represent(ed) the world of the passbook and curfew.'[2] Rural villages were also closely monitored and in each of them, the local colonial administrator usually had informers.[3]

By far the most common surveillance instrument was the *cadernata* (passbook) which was introduced in 1904.[4] Africans were compelled to get identity cards or passbooks and move with them at all times.[5] The administrator of Lourenco Marques outlined the multi-functional nature of the passbook:

> The passbook is an interesting document...it is a kind of a biographical register of great utility which allows one in a few moments to know everything in connection with him (the African)...For the employer, this is an extraordinary facility...No native can ever be admitted to work if he does not possess a passbook, or if the passbook does not show clearly that he is free to be employed, and authorised to stay in the city.[6]

In praising the usefulness of the passbook in curtailing the freedom of movement for Africans, a Portuguese colonial official bragged in 1958 that it was 'practically impossible for a native...to avoid the vigilance and supervision of the authorities.'[7] The oppression symbolised by the *cadernata* was indeed 'one of the causes of the considerable migration of Africans from Angola and Mozambique into neighbouring territories.'[8] Such oppressive measures often resulted in 'the

[1] AHM, FGDB, Cx 658: Provincia de Manica e Sofala: Direccao Provincial de Administracao Civil, Circular No. 5155/B/15/2, Beira, 28 de Setembro de 1946.
[2]Figueiredo, *Portugal and its empire*, p.99.
[3]Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, p.167.
[4]Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, p.167.
[5]W. Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1962, p.21. Also see Mondlane, *The struggle for Mozambique*, p.41; and G. Houser and H. Shore, *Mozambique: Dream the size of freedom*, New York: The African Fund, 1975, p.14.
[6]Quoted by Figueiredo, *Portugal and its empire*, p.101.
[7] Nelson, *Mozambique*, p.46.
[8]Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, p.167.

massive emigratory trends to neighbouring countries and in many other ways, is an expression of a collective although inarticulate, nativist attitude of non-collaboration.'[1]

The attempts by the Rhodesian and Portuguese administrations to curtail the movement of Africans within and across their borders were far from effective to a great extent and the flight of Africans, especially from Mozambique, into neighbouring countries attests to this. Even within and across borders, as shall be seen in later chapters, Africans devised a number of ways to defeat the pass system in order to earn a livelihood outside their areas of origin.

3.7 Land appropriation in Rhodesia and Mozambique

Land appropriation, especially in Rhodesia, disrupted family economies and deprived many Africans of their major source of livelihood. In Rhodesia, land was allocated in such a way that most rural Africans were resettled in 'reserves' while those working in towns were restricted to 'locations' or 'townships', the urban terms for reserve.[2] The first two reserves were Gwaai and Shangani in Matebeleland which were set up in 1895. They were so barren and tsetse-infested that their Ndebele inhabitants regarded them as 'cemeteries not homes.'[3]

The Southern Rhodesia Order-in-Council of 1898 authorised the annexation of land by white farmers and miners and also provided for the creation of more African reserves.[4] The Native Commissioner for Umtali district was concerned in 1900 that 'nearly all ground had been taken up here before my appointment and those parts which have been unappropriated have been either

[1]Figueiredo, *Portugal and its empire*, p.101. Also see AHM, FGDB, Cx 677: Administracao do Concelho de Chimoio, No. 2162/B/12, Vila Perry, 16 de Junho de 1959.
[2]Blake, *A history of Rhodesia*, p.163.
[3] Earl Grey quoted by R. Palmer, *Land and racial domination in Rhodesia*, London: Heinemann, 1977, p.33.
[4] M. Bratton, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe: Beyond community development*, Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1978, p.13.

too small for reserves or not suitable.'[1] Africans who did not want to be relocated remained as rent-paying tenants of the new white owners. In the Inyanga district in 1909, for example, 90% of the African population was living on private or Crown lands as rent-paying tenants.[2] Some dispossessed families who did not wish to remain as tenants on the new European establishments or to be relocated in the Rhodesian interior crossed into Mozambique.[3] In the towns, the Urban Locations Ordinance of 1905 obliged Africans to live in stipulated locations with the exception of domestic workers and other employees who lived on the premises of their employers. Those without official permission to reside in towns were to be evicted.[4]

The Land Apportionment Act of 1931, re-enacted in 1945, institutionalised the racial allocation of land in Rhodesia. Every town or city was declared a European area although some land could be set aside for the exclusive occupation of African labourers.[5] Urban local authorities were obliged to accommodate African populations in designated areas in order to harness their labour.[6] The Act effectively denied Africans the right to permanent residence in urban areas. Africans could only visit town under strict controls and temporary residence could only be obtained on condition of full-time employment.[7] The Mayor of Umtali pointed out that since the urban areas were meant for the whites, local councils did not need to waste time and money developing locations 'as it would not be fair to the white populations.'[8] The Act gave Rhodesia's 50,000 whites 19,838,057 million hectares of land and one million Africans 11,740,891 million

[1] NAZ, NUA2/1/3: Report of the NC for Umtali for the half-year ending March 1900. For detail on appropriations around the town of Umtali, see NAZ, N3/1/19: Little to CNC, correspondence, 23 August 1899; NAZ, NUA2/1/4: Acting NC for Umtali to CNC, correspondence, 21 February 1901; and NAZ, NUA1/1/1: Cocknell to CNC, correspondence, 16 April 1901.
[2] NAZ, NUC2/1/4: Inyanga district annual report, 1909.
[3] NAZ, NUC2/3/1: NC Inyanga to Acting CNC, Salisbury, correspondence, 16 November 1904.
[4] Gann, *A history of Southern Rhodesia*, p.193.
[5] Blake, *A history of Rhodesia*, p.203.
[6] Patel and Adams, *Chirambahuyo*, p.6.
[7] Gray, *The two nations*, p.107.
[8] NAZ, ZAH1/1/3: p.1493.

hectares. 7,287,449 million hectares were left unassigned. 'Within a few years', noted Meredith, 'agricultural officials pointed out that the reserves were overcrowded and could not support a further increase in population.'[1] As a result of the Land Apportionment Act and the increased immigration of whites seeking fortune from tobacco farming and livestock rearing, further land annexations took place as Africans were displaced from Crown lands and resettled in the already overcrowded reserves.[2]The widespread alienation of land deprived many rural Africans of their major source of livelihood. This greatly contributed to the 'huge influx' of Africans into urban areas during the 1940s.[3] Many Africans, already being squeezed out by land shortages in the rural areas, were also attracted by employment and other business opportunities created by a boom in the secondary industry following the Second World War.[4]

Rhodesia's Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 empowered the government to allocate land in equal portions in the reserves to those who had the right to live there. In some reserves, the portion of land could be 24 hectares per head but in the overpopulated ones, such as areas around Umtali, the lot could be as small as 0.6 hectares per head. Those who found themselves with no land had to find permanent livelihood in European 'areas' such as towns, mines and farms. This inevitably aggravated the problem of overcrowding in these areas.

The Land Tenure Act of 1969 rigidified the racial division of land in Rhodesia. The 39,076,923 hectares of Rhodesian land were allocated into 18,198,381 hectares each for Africans and Europeans, while 2,680,162 hectares became National or Unreserved land. The imbalance in the

[1] M. Meredith, *The past is another country: Rhodesia UDI to Zimbabwe*, London: Andre Deutsh, 1980, p.21.
[2] See NAZ, ZBZ1/2/2: Farming propositions taken up from 1 January 1937 to 31 December 1947, Appendix 19; and I. Phimister, *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital accumulation and class struggle*, London: Longman, 1988, p.281.
[3]Phimister, *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, p.259.
[4] See L. Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1976, p.174; and Gray, *The two nations*, p.252.

allocation of land is evidenced by the fact that Africans numerically far outnumbered Europeans.[1] In line with this Act, the evictions of Africans alleged to be staying on European land ensued.[2] Asians and Coloureds were allocated separate residential areas in non-African areas, both being spatially located in between European and African areas.[3] All these were attempts to further entrench white authority in towns and areas in the countryside that were economically productive.

The Rhodesian Local Government Act of 1972 emphasised that towns were primarily built to accommodate the whites. It stipulated stringent conditions under which Africans could reside in urban areas. Each township was to be controlled by a Superintendent who had to be notified, at least 10 days before, of any African gatherings other than weddings, baptisms, funerals, church attendances, cinemas or sports functions. Africans were not allowed to visit a town for more than 48 hours unless they either had valid permits authorising their visits, or were registered as tenants or owners of urban residences.[4]

Land annexation in Mozambique was not as extensive as in Rhodesia. The Land Law of 1909, for example, reserved land for African peasants on condition that they were engaged in productive farming.[5] Some Africans, however, lost land without adequate compensation.[6] From the 1890s, as already noted earlier, Portugal leased much of the land in her colonies to commercial companies largely because she did not have the adequate resources to effectively

[1]According to the 1969 census, Rhodesia had a total population of 5,070,370 of which 4,817,950 were Africans and 252,450 were Europeans, excluding Coloureds and Asians (See Gray, *The two nations*, p.259).
[2] Around Epworth and Chishawasha Missions near Salisbury, for example, evictions began in 1971. In 1972, Africans were also evicted from the Stapleford Forest Estate near Umtali which was declared part of National Land. The eviction of the Tangwena people in north-eastern Manicaland also ensued (See Gray, *The two nations*, p.261).
[3] Patel and Adams, *Chirambahuyo*, p.10.
[4] Davies, *Race Relations*, p.295.
[5] S.I. Ishemo, 'Forced labour, *mussoco* (taxation), famine and migration in Lower Zambezia, Mozambique, 1870-1914', in A. Zigeye and S.I. Ishemo (eds.) *Forced labour and migration: Patterns of movement within Africa*, London: Hans Zell Publishers, 1989, p.136.
[6]Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, pp.168-169.

administer and develop her colonies.[1] Under the regime of the companies, considerable portions of African land were turned into plantations for growing cash crops. Land annexation was accelerated from the late 1930s largely because of increasing numbers of white immigrants.[2] By the 1960s the average land held by a European was 562 hectares as compared to 3.5 hectares for an African family. By this time, the country's 3000 European planters and farmers controlled more land than the 1.5 million African peasants.[3]

Like the British in Rhodesia, the Portuguese in Mozambique regarded towns as enclaves for the whites in which the Africans were sojourners. African residential areas in towns were therefore regarded as black spots in white areas. In consequence, African suburbs were so neglected that as late as the 1950s, they lacked basic facilities such as paved roads, street lights, and water reticulation systems.[4]

3.8 The African burden of taxation

In Rhodesia, Ordinance Number 5 of 1894 introduced an annual hut tax of 10 shillings on all African males aged 18 or more. It also ruled that if a hut had more than one male occupant, or was occupied by more than one married woman, 10 shillings would be charged on each of the male occupants and for each of the wives if there were two or more. Tax was payable on 1 July each year. Any African who was more than six months late in paying tax faced a maximum fine

[1]Hanlon, *The revolution under fire*, pp.16-18.
[2] Virtanen, 'Land of the ancestors', p.369.
[3]Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.43.
[4]Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.58.

of £10 or three months in prison.[1] Subsequent statutes continued to financially burden the Africans.[2]

The village head was the central figure in the collection of tax.[3] Traditional leaders risked prosecution for not maintaining accurate tax registers for their areas.[4] Some Africans in Rhodesia evaded taxes in a number of ways and colonial authorities faced great difficulties when collecting tax especially in border regions.[5] In 1903, for example, Bvumbi, Chief Mutasa's son, together with 15 families crossed into Mozambique's Manica district to escape a 100% hut tax increase imposed by the Rhodesian government.[6] By 1905, the number of huts in Manica's borderline area had increased by 250 as a result of this relocation.[7]

The Portuguese institution of *imposto* (taxation) was a veritable manifestation of African suffering in Mozambique. Africans in Mozambique were taxed in various ways, for example, hut tax, native tax, head tax (*mussoco*), and individual tax.[8] Prior to 1930, commercial companies levied tax in the areas they controlled and remitted part of it to the Portuguese central government.[9] Tax collection was often accompanied by gross abuses which caused untold suffering on Africans. It was common for wives and daughters of men who had failed to pay tax

[1] NAZ, A3/3/18: Southern Rhodesia: Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry, 1910-1911. Also see Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, pp.182-187.
[2] These included Ordinance Number 12 of 1901 and Ordinance Number 21 of 1904 (See NAZ, A3/3/18: Southern Rhodesia: Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry, 1910-1911; C. Van Onselen, *Chibaro: African mine labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1933*, London: Ravan Press, 1976, p.284; and Mutambirwa, *The rise of settler power in Southern Rhodesia*, p.120).
[3] Kriger, *Zimbabwe guerrilla war*, pp.65-66.
[4] NAZ, NUC2/3/1: Inyanga district report for the half year ended September 1904.
[5] For more details on tax evasions by Africans in various border regions of Rhodesia see, for example, Mutambirwa, *The rise of settler power in Southern Rhodesia*, p.139; Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, p.185; and McGregor, *Crossing the Zambezi*, pp.67-70.
[6] AHM, CdM/SG/Relatorios/Cx 234: Circumscripeao de Manica, 'Relatorio referido', SGR/4926/01, Octobre 1903.
[7] AHM, CdM/SG/Relatorios/Cx 227: Circumscripeao de Manica, Relatorio do mez de Junho de 1905.
[8] See Figueiredo, *Portugal and its empire*, p.97; and Ishemo, 'Forced labour', pp.117-118.
[9] Vail and White, 'Forms of resistance', p.198.

to be held hostage during which time they were sometimes raped by *sipais*.[1] Another punitive measure often meted out by *sipias* on tax defaulters was to confiscate their food reserves, production tools such as hoes, and other valuables like brass ornaments.[2]

Taxes were also used to force Africans to seek work from the Portuguese government and individual settlers. After 1930, a special tax was imposed on African family heads found not to be engaged in any 'productive' work during the year.[3] The government also levied an annual head tax for all African males which amounted to the minimum wage for three to four months' work.[4] The normal wage for six months of compulsory work was put at just twice the annual head tax.[5] In 1942, taxation was extended to women.[6]

Tax evasion was widespread in most parts of rural Mozambique. Evasion strategies included falsifying age or marital status to reduce the financial burden.[7] Villagers often fled their homes when tax collectors arrived. Commenting on this practice, one Portuguese official bemoaned: 'It remains unknown how many times six or more adults will flee from their kraals, leaving only a blind, ill or elderly individual who is exempt from taxes.'[8] Some Africans permanently relocated to neighbouring countries. The emigration of 3000 Africans from Mozambique's Zambezia province to Nyasaland between 1900 and 1903 was largely attributed to *mussoco*-related abuses.[9] However, some people in the border regions were 'often content to settle with their families on

[1] See Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, pp.37, 88.
[2]Ishemo, 'Forced labour', p.123.
[3] A.B. Herrick, A. Bastos, F.R. Eisele, S.A. Harrison, H.J. John and T.K. Wieland, *Area handbook for Mozambique*, Washington DC: The American University, 1969, p.40.
[4]Vail and White, 'Forms of resistance', p.199.
[5] Hanlon, *Mozambique*, p.18.
[6] Governor General's Circular of October 1942 cited by Vail and White, 'Forms of resistance', p.199.
[7]A.B. Davidson and R. Pelissier, 'Politics and nationalism in Central and Southern Africa, 1919-1935', in A.A. Boahen (ed.) *General history of Africa Volume VII: Africa under colonial domination, 1880-1935*, Oxford: James Currey, 1990, p.297.
[8]Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.63.
[9]Ishemo, 'Forced labour', p.145.

empty land on the other side of the frontier. Here, with luck, they manage(d) to escape taxation....'[1] Some Portuguese official reports of 1967 mentioned the prevalence of circulatory movements to and from across the border with Rhodesia by Mozambican Africans to escape colonial abuses.[2]

This discussion on taxation in Mozambique and Rhodesia has revealed how Africans were exploited and abused. There is no doubt that Portugal's economic policies in Mozambique were much more carnivorous than those of the British in Rhodesia largely because of her poor economic position in Europe, a situation that forced many Mozambican Africans to flee into neighbouring countries for a livelihood.

3.9 Forced labour in Rhodesia and Mozambique

Africans in Rhodesia and Mozambique were subjected to various forms of forced labour. The major difference in the African experiences in the two countries was that forced labour was institutionalised in Mozambique while in Rhodesia it was not for the greater part of the colonial period.[3]

Various strategies were devised by Rhodesian white settlers and administrators to induce African labour. The first artificial means of obtaining labour was to increase the need on the part of Africans to earn wages, thus necessitating an increase in taxation.[4] Other less subtle forms of forced labour used by employers involved refusing to endorse passes of Africans who had

[1] Figueiredo, *Portugal and its empire*, p.104.
[2] AHM, SE, Branquinho Jose Alberto Gomes de Melo, 'Prospeccao das forces tradicionais: Manica e Sofala', Relatorio Secreto para os Servicos de Centralizacao e Coordenacao de Informacoes, Provincia de Mocambique, Lourenco Marques, 1967.
[3] In Rhodesia's colonial history forced labour was not institutionalised except for the Compulsory Labour Act during the Second World War which obliged traditional leaders to secure farm labour in order to sustain the food requirements of the army (J.F. Holleman, *Chief, council and commissioner: Some problems of government in Rhodesia*, London: Oxford University Press, 1969, p.119).
[4] Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, p.163.

completed their contracts. This forced the worker to remain with the employer because one whose pass was not endorsed could be arrested for having deserted work.[1] Physical force was sometimes used by Native Commissioners and individual white settlers during the early days of colonial rule.[2]Despite such attempts to harness African labour by force during the early days, forced labour remained officially banned in British colonies. The British government prohibited the use of forced labour in its colonies in 1897 and warned the BSAC against the practice in 1902.[3]

Africans in Mozambique were subjected to a regime of terror and exploitation through the Portuguese policy of forced labour (*chibalo*/ *shibalo*).[4] Without crediting the British administration in Rhodesia in any way, the heinous nature of the Portuguese forced labour regime partly explains why the traffic of Mozambican Africans across the Rhodesia-Mozambique border was far more predominant than that of their Rhodesian counterparts. Being a relatively poor European country, Portugal embarked on 'ultra-colonialism.'[5] She was much more extractionist in her colonial economic policy, hence the 'notorious system of forced labour.'[6] Similar practices are known to have taken place elsewhere in colonial Africa, for example, in Leopold's Congo but France, Britain and later on Belgium gradually managed to create cash economies that did not rely largely on institutionalised forced labour.[7] Forced labour actually became the 'flywheel of the whole economy' of Mozambique.[8]

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[1] Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.99.
[2]See, for example, Mason, *Birth of a dilemma*, p.226.
[3] See Mutambirwa, *The rise of settler power in Southern Rhodesia*, pp.89-90; and Mason, *Birth of a dilemma*, p.220.
[4]Following the 1930 International Labour Convention which banned forced labour, Britain complied in the 1920s and France in the 1940s. The Portuguese officially denounced institutionalised forced labour in their colonies as late as 1961(See Mondlane, *The struggle for Mozambique*, p.45).
[5] W. Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972, pp.13-30.
[6]Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West*, p17.
[7]Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West*, p.23.
[8] B. Davidson, *African awakening*, London: J. Cape, 1955, p.197.

Portuguese labour laws in Mozambique represented 'a smooth transition from slavery to forced labour.'[1] In 1898, a government decree authorised the coercion of Africans to work.[2] The Labour Regulation of 1899 imposed obligatory labour on unemployed Africans.[3] Under this regulation, every African male was liable to work for the government on public projects, in the police, or as a porter.[4] Those exempted from the obligation to work were Africans with adequate capital to sustain themselves, the employed, farmers with plots of land, and producers for export.[5] Thus, unemployment and subsistence farming became crimes. The 1899 code exempted women, males over 60, boys under 14, the mentally-challenged, police details, chiefs and Africans considered prominent by the colonial administration.[6] Concession companies implemented the code with cruel zeal. In the province of Manica which bordered Rhodesia, for example, the Mozambique Company banned labour recruitment for work outside Mozambique. Men were forced to work on sugar plantations, mines and public projects.[7] In areas administered by the Niassa Company, 'work was also compelled by withholding food and there were reports of crucifixions.'[8] Men who were caught evading contract labour were sent for correctional labour,[9] a substitute for a prison sentence.[10]

The Portuguese authorities often employed other unorthodox measures to punish those who violated labour obligations. Women and children were often held hostage, and sometimes forced

[1]Mondlane, *The struggle for Mozambique*, p.45.
[2]Houser and Shore, *Mozambique*, p.9.
[3]Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, p.132.
[4] See R. Hallet, *Africa since 1875*, London: Heinemann, 1975, p.513; Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.34; and Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West*, p.35.
[5]Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, p.132.
[6]Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, p.132. Also see Hallet, *Africa since 1875*, p.513; and O'Laughlin, 'Class and the customary', p.12.
[7] Nelson, *Mozambique*, p.38. Also see Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.87.
[8] Nelson, *Mozambique*, p.39.
[9] See Hanlon, *Mozambique*, p.19; Nelson, *Mozambique*, p.38; and Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West*, p.123.
[10]Houser and Shore, *Mozambique*, p.10.

to work, if their husbands or fathers had not reported for work.[1] Abuses of women by employers and policemen on labour patrols were very common. One elder who fled to Rhodesia in 1917 reported that *sepias* often raped young girls and in one case, one of them cut a young girl's private parts in order to penetrate her.[2]

The Labour Code of 1930 upheld obligatory labour on government projects. It also introduced the *contracto* system in which 'idle' African males aged between 14 and 60 had to contract themselves to an employer for at least six months per year. The monthly wages, which ranged between 25 shillings and £2, were retained by the employer until the contract lapsed.[3] The system exempted those in wage employment, rich peasants and migrant workers who had been officially cleared to work outside the country. Correctional labour remained in force for violators of the system.[4]

The Labour Decree of 1942 obliged all African males aged between 18 and 55 to prove that they had officially been employed for at least six months each year within Mozambique. The decree exempted those who were cultivating rice and cotton as well as those officially contracted for employment within the country and abroad.[5] Africans who owned at least 50 head of cattle were also exempted. Since only about 12,000 Africans each owned that much, very few were actually exempt.[6]

Compulsory cash crop cultivation was another extremely exploitative form of forced labour. From the early days of colonialism, the Mozambique Company forced Africans in the province

[1] Hanlon, *Mozambique*, p.19. Also see Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.34.
[2]Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.31.
[3]Figueiredo, *Portugal and its empire*, p.98.
[4] See Hanlon, *Mozambique*, pp18-19, and Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.41.
[5] AHM, FGDB, Cx 622: 'Governo General da Colonia de Mocambique, Reparticao do Gabinete, Circular No. 818/D-7', 7 de Outubro de 1942. Also see Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, pp.184-185; Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.41; and Vail and White, 'Forms of resistance', p.199.
[6]Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.41.

of Manica e Sofala to cultivate cotton and other cash crops for sale to the company.[1] The situation became desperate for Africans that most of them virtually found no time for subsistence agriculture to sustain their families since most men were away on contract labour while women were engaged in forced cash crop cultivation. This largely accounts for the severe countrywide famines during the 1940s.[2] This shattered household economies and impacted negatively on the general health of most African families. The malnourished nature of most villagers was quite conspicuous as J.W. McGregor, the Umtali Engineer, noted in May 1948 about the generality of Mozambicans who entered the town: 'The average native coming from Portuguese East Africa was a bag of bones, and could not work until he had spent three or four months in the colony on good food.'[3]

The brutal nature of *shibalo* in Mozambique provoked various forms of African responses.[4] By far the most widespread reaction was clandestine emigration.[5] Many Africans 'voted with their feet' as they shifted location, temporarily and sometimes permanently, to neighbouring countries or border zones hoping for a better future.[6] In 1907, for example, Portuguese labour demands for the construction of rain-damaged roads in the Manica district resulted in many villagers fleeing to Rhodesia.[7] By 1919, more than 100,000 Africans had crossed the border into Nyasaland.[8] In February 1944, the Administrator of Mossurize district organised campaigns to lure African

[1] Nelson, *Mozambique*, p.38. Forced cotton cultivation also became widespread in the northern provinces from 1938 until 1961 (see M. Hall and T. Young, *Confronting Leviathan: Mozambique since independence*, London: Hurst and Company, 1997, p.4; and M. Harris, cited by Houser and Shore, *Mozambique*, p.11).
[2] See Hanlon, *Mozambique*, p.20; and C.F. Spense, *The Portuguese colony of Mozambique*, Cape Town, 1951, p.54).
[3] J.C. McGregor, Umtali Engineer, quoted by the *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Lack of responsibility in modern native alleged: Labour Board hearing in Umtali opens', 11 May 1948, p.5.
[4] For an outline of these forms of resistance see, for example, Omer-Cooper, 'Southern and Central Africa', p.257.
[5] See NAZ, A3/18/30/24: T.M.C. Nourse, WNLA Joint General Manager, correspondence to WNLA Board of Management, 28 April 1902.
[6] B. Munslow, *Mozambique: The revolution and its origins*, London: Longman, 1983, p.40.
[7] See AHM, CdM/SG/Relatorios/Cx 230: Circumscricao de Manica, 'Relatorio de Fevereiro de 1907', SGR/4968/0I, 5; and AHM, CdM/SG/Relatorios/Cx 229: Circumscricao de Manica, 'Relatorio Anual de 1907, SGR 4966/01, 127, 166.'
[8] Davidson and Pelissier, 'Politics and nationalism', p.297.

labour and reduce the flight to Rhodesia. During the campaigns, he promised Africans a non-coercive labour regime and appealed to them to stay within Mozambique.[1]This did not help much and the flight to neighbouring countries continued. By 1950, at least 100,000 Africans had retired to permanent exile in Rhodesia.[2] Colonial authorities estimated that Mozambican Africans clandestinely crossed into neighbouring South Africa and Rhodesia at the rate of 190,000 per year during the late 1950s.[3] By the late 1960s Portuguese colonial officials still sought to lure back Africans who had formally or informally crossed into neighbouring countries by promising them temporary tax and labour exemptions.[4]This section, like the previous ones, has unravelled some of the harsh colonial conditions which made some Africans to seek livelihoods across borders.

3.10 African working conditions in Rhodesia and Mozambique

The living and working conditions for African workers in Rhodesia and Mozambique were quite appalling but relatively worse off in the latter. This partly explains why there were more Mozambican Africans who crossed into Rhodesia to seek opportunities than there were Rhodesian Africans crossing into Mozambique. Most of the statutes that governed the working conditions of Africans in the two colonies conspicuously disadvantaged the colonised and benefitted white settlers.

[1] AHM, FGDB, Cx 622: Administracao da Circunscrico de Mossurize, No. 113/B/15/2, Espungabera, 15 Fevereiro 1944.
[2]Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.53.
[3]Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.49.
[4] AHM, SE Branquinho Jos Alberto Gomes de Melo, 'Prospecao das forces traditionais: Manica e Sofala', Relatorio Secreto para os Servicos de Informacoes, Provincia de Mocambique, Lourenco Marques, 1967.

The Rhodesian government crafted the Master and Servants Act in 1891 in order to afford white employers unchallenged authority over their African workers. It made it criminal for workers to disobey a 'lawful' order from an employer.[1] This Act was reinforced by the Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1901, amended in 1902 and 1909, which imposed legal punishments on African workers for desertion, drunkenness and disobedient behaviour towards an employer, his or her spouse or children. Such offences attracted a fine of £4 or a maximum jail term of one month.[2]

In 1909, the Rhodesian authorities legalised the Ticket System as a mode of payment for African workers, especially those in farms and mines.[3] This system aroused the resentment of African workers because it was often abused by employers. Some employers refused to indicate on the ticket work done for certain days after accusing their employees, sometimes falsely, of having performed unsatisfactorily. Some employers deliberately refused to mark tickets in order to maximise profits. As a result, up to 45 days could elapse without a 30-day ticket being fully marked.[4] In late 1909, for example, a 30-day ticket was taking an average of 42 days to complete while in 1911, it was taking between 35 and 45 days.[5]

The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 legalised racial discrimination at Rhodesian workplaces. It restricted Africans from qualifying for apprenticeship and skilled work, and barred them from forming trade unions.[6] In addition, the wages of most African workers in Rhodesia failed to meet their basic household needs. During the first decade of the 20th century, the average monthly

[1] Meredith, *The past is another country*, p.21.
[2] Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, p.170.
[3] According to this system, an employee was issued with a ticket sheet divided into 30 sections. After each day's work, each section of the ticket was marked accordingly by the employer. A worker received the wages for the month only after the 30 slots on the ticket had been marked (See Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, p.171).
[4] Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, p.171.
[5] Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.98.
[6] Meredith, *The past is another country*, p.21. Also see Gray, *The two nations*, p.152.

wages for African mine workers were in the region of 22-40 shillings.[1] In 1909, monthly wages for most domestic workers in towns were as low as 10 shillings although a few could earn as much as £3.[2] Those of farm workers were lower especially during the Great Depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s when some monthly earnings were as little as eight shillings.[3] The wages of African workers were almost always below the 140% escalation in the cost of living during the period 1939-1947. During this period, the price of a blanket rose from five shillings to 15 shillings and that of an ordinary pair of shoes shot up from two shillings to five shillings.[4] These price hikes were taking place at a time when 51% of all African workers were receiving a monthly wage of less than £1.10 before 1945.[5]

African workers expressed their resentment to the low wages and poor working conditions in various ways such as strikes and desertion. In addition, the low wages given to African employees in Rhodesia inevitably led them to supplement their incomes through petty theft and pilfering from European employers. Theft from workplaces became one of the 'makeshift tactics' for survival.[6]

The labour market conditions in Mozambique were quite appalling, and often characterised by unemployment in urban areas, largely because the Portuguese government and other European employers were heavily undercapitalised. Given the harsh rural environment characterised by forced labour, taxation and various abuses on farms, plantations and mines, Africans who

[1]Phimister, *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, p.27.
[2] P.F. Hone, *Southern Rhodesia*, London: George Bell and Sons, 1909, p.17.
[3]Phimister, *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, p.187.
[4]Phimister, *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, p.261.
[5] For details on the cost of living in Rhodesia and African wages during the 1940s, see Gray, *The two nations*, p.211; P. Ibbotson, *Report on a survey of urban African conditions in Southern Rhodesia*, Bulawayo, 1943; and Southern Rhodesia Government, *The Howman Commission of Inquiry*, Salisbury, 1944.
[6]Phimister, *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, p.262. Also see NAZ, NB6/4/18: Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds, Division 2, September 1903; NAZ, D3/32/8: Case Number 394 of 1916; and D3/37/2: Case Numbers 144, 145 and 146 of 1916; NAZ, D3/19/4: Case Number 279 of 1906; D3/37/1: Case Number 300 of 1928; and N. Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia*, London: Trans-Atlantic Arts, 1965, pp.99-100.

preferred to remain in Mozambique looked forward to finding employment in the towns. Their chances of securing employment were narrowed by the influx of white immigrants from Portugal who even competed for the low-level jobs that Africans had hoped to get. Due to the increasing number of Portuguese immigrant peasants and workers,[1] Mozambican towns became 'white pockets in a black world,' a situation that virtually 'sealed off the African economic opportunities at the lowest level.'[2] Portuguese immigrants were employed in various capacities, for example, as artisans, skilled labourers, and even as domestic servants in Mozambican towns.[3] By the 1970s most sectors of the Mozambican economy, including agriculture and industry, were dominated by the Portuguese in terms of both ownership and employment. This left considerable numbers of Mozambican Africans with little choice but to cross borders as informal and formal migrant labourers.[4]

Where Africans were employed at the same level with the whites, they received salaries two to five times less.[5] Disgruntled African workers were attracted to labour markets in neighbouring countries where wages were higher. In the mines and plantations of South Africa and Rhodesia, the wages were 200-300% higher than those offered by cash-strapped Mozambican companies and farmers.[6] The 1946 annual report for the district of Beira attributed the drift of Africans into Rhodesia to the high cost of living and low wages in Mozambique.[7]It should therefore be noted that the working conditions for Africans in Mozambique were conspicuously worse off than

[1]For statistics on the increasing number of Portuguese immigrants from the 1940s to the 1970s, see Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, pp.203-204; R. Oliver and A. Atmore, *Africa since 1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, p.268; Konczacki, 'Portugal's economic policy', p.84; and Omer-Cooper, 'Southern and Central Africa', p.259.
[2]Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, p.204.
[3]Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, p.208.
[4] P. Chabal, M.P. Augel, D. Brookshaw, A.M. Leite and C. Shaw, *The post-colonial literature of Lusophone Africa*, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1996, p.16.
[5] See Duffy, *Portugal in Africa*, p208; and Hanlon, *Mozambique*, p.20.
[6]Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.33.
[7]AHM. FISANI, Cx 39: Joao Mesquita, Relatorio das Inspectos Ordinarias as Circunscricoes de Chemba, Sena, Marromeu, Gorongosa, Manica e Mossurize, do distrito da Beira, 1946.

those in Rhodesia, a situation which made them to seek opportunities across borders in relatively large numbers.

3.11 Policing in Umtali and the Mozambican border region

Policing was largely employed by colonial governments to guarantee their survival and maintain their existing forms of authority.[1] It should be noted, however, that unlike their Rhodesian counterparts, the cash-strapped Mozambican colonial authorities were relatively lax in policing their common border which was far removed from their centres of power which were the coastal towns of Lourenco Marques and Beira.[2]

Like the pass laws discussed earlier on in this chapter, racial and spatial residential segregation was an important colonial policing strategy. As was the case with all Rhodesian towns, most Africans in Umtali, with the exception of those housed on the premises of their employers, resided in low-cost residential areas located on the periphery of the urban limits while the whites lived within and close to the city centre.[3] This was largely because of the 'settler ideology of separate development and paranoia about controlling the urban population.'[4] In the capital city of Salisbury, for example, Africans were forced to reside on the southern and western outskirts of

[1] S. Spitzer, 'The political economy of policing', in D. Greenberg (ed.) *Crime and capitalism: Readings in Marxist criminology*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993, pp.568-594.
[2] As late as 1967, for example, most *sepias* walked bare-footed; they had no standard handcuffs and used tree-bark or strings instead (Interview with Marico Mutsinze, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 22 December 2010).
[3] P. Kaarsholm, '*Siye pambili* – Which way forward? Urban development, culture and politics in Bulawayo,' in B. Raftopoulos and T. Yoshikuni (eds.) *Sites of Struggle: Essays in Zimbabwe's urban history*, Harare: Weaver Press, 1999, *pp.232*-233.
[4] C. Rakodi, *Harare: Inheriting a settler-colonial city: Change or continuity?* Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1995, p.11.

the city 'consistent with the direction of ill winds blowing through the industrial sites which lay between the black townships…and the central business district.'[1]

In Umtali most Africans resided in the suburbs of Sakubva and Dangamvura, to the west of the city centre, and Zimunya in the south. Other Africans were accommodated by their employers in the Railway Compound and servants' quarters at domestic premises. The Coloured and Indian communities were concentrated in the suburbs of Yeovil and Florida immediately to the west of the city centre. The Europeans resided in the northern and eastern edges of the city centre close to the border with Mozambique. The European suburbs located along the eastern margin of the city centre were Greenside, Morningside and Bordervale, while those in the north were Utopia, Murambi, Fairbridge Park and Tigers Kloof. Some Europeans resided in the city centre. The suburbs of Palmerston and Darlington, immediately to the east of the central business district, had both Europeans and Coloureds.[2]

The Native Girls Hostel was opened on 3 October 1930 near the city centre to accommodate 'travelling native girls and women.'[3] Hostel accommodation was also set up for African male work-seekers from within Rhodesia. The Matida Hostel in Sakubva was specifically opened for this purpose. In his report on 'the nuisance of native loiterers' in March 1949 J.R. Nesbitt, Umtali's Director for Native Administration, lamented that even though all Africans seeking employment in the town were required by law to be housed in the at Matida Hostel, 'few avail

[1] P. Bond, 'Capital in the city: A history of urban financial flows through colonial Harare,' in B. Raftopoulos and T. Yoshikuni (eds.) *Sites of Struggle: Essays in Zimbabwe's urban history*, p.187. For more details on the racial and spatial residential segregation in Salisbury, see Rakodi, *Harare: Inheriting a settler-colonial city*, pp.49-51.
[2] Interview with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.
[3] Its occupants included girls working in town, those attending school and others looking for work (see NAZ, LG104/56: First Annual Report of the Native Girls' Hostel, by Beulah Reitz, the Matron, October 1931).

themselves of this facility because they prefer to sleep on the plots with friends in back yards in town.'[1]

The Migrant Labour Camp was erected near Sakubva to accommodate all foreign African work-seekers. This camp was specifically set up for policing purposes. Upon arrival at the camp, foreigners had their original documents checked. They were then registered and issued with new identity documents after which they were dispatched to various places of employment.[2] The camp was renovated and expanded in 1948 to accommodate hundreds of foreign work-seekers from outside the country.[3]

Patrols by the British South Africa Police, sometimes with the assistance of the municipal police,[4] in the Umtali city centre and the residential areas were another policing strategy employed by Rhodesian authorities. In February 1939, Umtali African Township (later named Sakubva) was split into 10 zones for the purpose of policing.[5] Up to the early 1940s, evening patrols in Umtali's African residential areas were done 'as and when necessary.'[6] Afternoon patrols in the residential areas and the city centre were however done regularly by African policemen.[7]

To make up for the depleted police force and the virtual absence of night patrols due to Second World War commitments, Umtali authorities declared a curfew for Africans in the location from

[1] J.R. Nesbitt, Umtali's Director for Native Administration, quoted by the *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Native loiterer must be attracted away', 25 March 1949, p.1.
[2] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Native labour camp additions', 24 October 1947, p.1.
[3] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'New native migrant labour camp soon for Umtali', 7 September 1948, p.1.
[4] The BSAP had uniformed and non-uniformed branches. The Criminal Investigations Department (CID) constituted the non-uniformed branch. Municipalities also had their own police forces to enforce their bye-laws but they often worked hand-in-hand with the BSAP (see D. Craven, *Mapolisa: Some reminiscences of a Rhodesian policeman*, Roodeport: Covos Books, 1998, pp.148-149; and *Umtali Post*: 'Curbing immigrants to town', 3 February 1960, p.5).
[5] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 1 March 1939.
[6] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 6 September 1941.
[7] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 10 January 1942.

8:45pm to sunrise from 27 March 1940.[1] Soon after the war in 1946 special night patrols were re-introduced in the eastern European suburbs to curb cases of housebreaking and theft.[2] Patrolling of Sakubva round the clock became more regular after the war and especially with the opening of Sakubva Police Station in 1949.[3] Patrols in the city centre and the suburbs after midnight were introduced in 1950.[4]

From December 1959, the Umtali CID began using police dogs to patrol the city centre and the European suburbs every night. This was in an effort to curb the crime wave in Umtali which included housebreaking and theft from cars.[5] From 27 October 1960, Umtali police intensified patrols in the whole town in line with the Vagrancy Act of 1960,[6] and also to counter the rise of African nationalism. It was against this precarious security background that S.K. Bassett, Umtali's Director of African Administration, in his annual report for 1963-1964, recommended that security forces patrol Sakubva regularly because 'trespassers' now nearly equalled the number of legal township residents.[7] From the early 1960s nocturnal patrols involving motor cycles and vehicles were extensively used.[8] Surveillance patrols were further intensified in urban areas following guerrilla infiltrations into the country in 1966. Counter-insurgency training was introduced within the police force and the white civilian population in all urban and peri-urban centres.[9]

Raids on Umtali's African residential areas were another surveillance strategy employed by the Rhodesian police. Nocturnal raids by the Umtali BSAP, sometimes in conjunction with the

[1] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Are there too few police in Umtali?' 28 March 1940, p.1.
[2] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 11 June 1946.
[3] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 15 October 1949.
[4] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 16 May 1950.
[5] *Umtali Post*: 'Attempt to end crime wave: Police dogs now at work in Umtali', 7 December 1959, p.1.
[6] *Umtali Post*: 'One vagrant sent for rehabilitation after Umtali inquiry', 31 October 1960, p.1.
[7] *Umtali Post*: 'Sakubva sweep by security forces', 28 October 1964, p.7.
[8] Craven, *Mapolisa*, p.107.
[9] Craven, *Mapolisa*, pp.118-120.

municipal police, were intensified from the mid-1940s as Africans within Rhodesia and from abroad flocked to towns in search of employment and other business opportunities brought about by the post-Second World War industrial boom. Some of the raids specifically targeted single and unemployed women. In Umtali, most of the raids were carried out in Sakubva and the Railway Compound.[1]

The raids sometimes provoked open resistance from African residents. A clampdown on lodgers and 'trespassers' in Sakubva during the last week of September 1973, for example, provoked a demonstration by hundreds of African women outside the offices of the Superintendent on 27 September. Similar raids during the second week of October, in which the police used dogs, resulted in violent protests by African youths on 13 and 14 October. They stoned municipal beer-halls in the township and threatened to kill anyone who patronised them.[2] The use of police dogs during raids on African residential areas also sparked protests from the Sakubva Advisory Board and two of its members resigned in October 1973.[3]

The Rhodesian police also patrolled the Umtali-Mozambique border in an attempt to curb informal cross-border activities. It was not until 1942 that only four African policemen were assigned this duty which involved monitoring tracks linking Umtali and Mozambique in a zone stretching 20 kilometres from the Penhalonga Valley in the north to the vicinity of the Vumba Mountains in the south.[4] In 1943, 16 senior and four junior African constables made up the Border Guard.[5] Border policing was rather lax during the Second World War because the majority of the Rhodesian policemen had gone to the war front in support of Britain. With the

[1] For details of these raids see, for example, NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, August, September, November 1949; and *Umtali Post*: 'Police raid in Sakubva', 18 June 1962, p.5.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Youths on Sakubva rampage', 15 October 1973, p.1.
[3] *Umtali Post*: 'Use of dogs in early morning raids criticised', 31 October 1973, p.7.
[4] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 24 November 1942.
[5] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 26 October 1943.

end of the war, special border patrol duties were assigned to the Umtali police early in 1946 in an attempt to check inter-territorial travelling criminals.[1] Such patrols sometimes made use of tracer dogs.[2]

Rhodesian patrols along the eastern border were further intensified from late 1973 in an attempt to control a cholera outbreak that had been reported in Mozambique.[3] In a desperate attempt to seal Umtali's border with Mozambique in order to prevent illegal crossings which aided the spread of cholera, Rhodesian authorities began constructing an eight-kilometre border fence early in November 1973. Its construction was completed during late January 1974.[4] These efforts were in vain given the determination by marginalised Africans to seek opportunities across the border. Before the end of 1974, the fence had been broken down by Africans who travelled between Umtali and Mozambique on various errands as they sought to take the shortest possible route.[5]

As already noted, patrols by the Mozambican police along the border with Rhodesia in general and with Umtali in particular were relatively sporadic. The frequency of Portuguese patrols along the western border tended to be determined by urgent needs and emergency situations such as jailbreaks, security concerns, or invitations by their Rhodesian counterparts. In February 1949, for example, the Mozambican police virtually sealed all unofficial entry points into Rhodesia, an operation that reduced 'the once steady flow of Portuguese natives' to 'a mere trickle.' They waylaid illegal African emigrants at various points such as river crossings and turned them back

[1] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 19 November 1946.
[2] See, for example, *Umtali Post*: 'Police swoop on thieves' cache', 15 May 1963, p.1.
[3] Doctor Henry Farrell, Provincial (Manicaland) Medical Officer of Health, quoted by the *Umtali Post*: 'Europeans should set border example', 26 September 1973, p.3.
[4] *Umtali Post*: 'Fence cuts unauthorised border crossing', 30 January 1974, p.1.
[5] Separate interviews with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, 10 November 2010; and Christopher Mazikana, Dangamvura Shopping Complex, Mutare, 13 November 2010.

to Mozambique. This was largely motivated by the need to secure manpower for the port works at Beira which required cheap labour of up to 3000 people.[1]From the late 1960s, Portuguese authorities made significant attempts to curb clandestine emigration in response to the Mozambican anti-colonial struggle which was gaining momentum. During the first week of August 1969 alone, for example, the *Policia de Intervencao e Defesa de Estado* (Portuguese secret police) arrested 500 Mozambican Africans who had attempted to leave the country secretly.[2]

Rhodesian and Portuguese authorities sometimes jointly monitored the Umtali-Mozambique border especially during times when cross-border offences had been reported.[3] In addition, Umtali police details were sometimes allowed by Portuguese authorities to track down criminal elements into Mozambican territory.[4] Such joint efforts were also reflected during the process of deporting Mozambican Africans from Rhodesia. From the late 1920s, the procedure involved the Rhodesian police taking the deportee to Macequece in Mozambique where he or she was handed over to Portuguese authorities. Deportees usually received additional prison sentences in Mozambique.[5]

This section has illustrated how colonial policing sought to frustrate the efforts by Africans to seek a livelihood in the urban areas within their home countries and across national borders. Ironically, such measures tended to promote clandestine entry into urban areas and informal

[1]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'PEA development shuts off native labour supply', 8 March 1949, p.1.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Portugal arrests 500 in bid to stop illegal emigration', 8 August 1969, p.1.
[3] For examples of such joint patrols, see NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 18 May 1933; NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 28 June 1940, and 24 November 1942; *Umtali Post*: 'Native suspect in local house theft handed over to CID', 21 December 1951, p.7; *Umtali Post*: 'Police are seeking hatchet murderer', 29 June 1962, p.1; and *Umtali Post*: 'Gaolbreak youths recaptured', 5 August 1963, p.1.
[4] For examples, see NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 23 January 1941; and *Umtali Post*: 'Natives caught across border: Charged with theft of bicycles', 25 June 1952, p7.
[5] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 26-27 February 1931.

activities across borders as Africans often circumvented them in order to normalise their household economies as well as socio-cultural ties across borders and the rural-urban divide.

3.12 Conclusion

During the pre-colonial period, seeking fortunes across borders especially in times of crisis was a common aspect of life, a practice that continued throughout the colonial era. This chapter has illustrated that the rigid colonial laws and oppressive practices actually tended to, among other things, spur informal cross-border activities.

A comparative analysis of African conditions in Rhodesia and Mozambique carried out in this chapter has demonstrated that Portuguese colonialism was much more exploitative and abusive. Portugal's economic backwardness in Europe resulted in her being more extractive rather than investing meaningfully in the colonies. In addition, she lacked adequate financial resources needed to put in place a properly-trained and well-paid administrative structure. This dispensation largely explains why the Mozambique-to-Rhodesia pursuit for opportunities by Africans involved relatively larger numbers than the reverse. Most Africans from Rhodesia who ventured abroad in search for opportunities such as employment avoided Mozambique and opted for South African mines where wages were much higher. This chapter, therefore, firmly places this study in historical perspective by exploring the colonial context in which informal cross-border activities across the Umtali-Mozambique border emerged and flourished. It also provides a useful background for the following chapters which explore a range of informal pursuits for opportunities across the border.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTERACTIONS ACROSS THE UMTALI-MOZAMBIQUE BORDER DURING THE COLONIAL ERA

4.1 Introduction

The socio-cultural interactions which form the basis of this chapter include marital unions and the resultant kinship ties across the Umtali-Mozambique border, and the entry into Umtali by Mozambican men and women, and at times children, who fled from the socio-cultural constraints and conflicts emanating from their rural borderline communities. It focuses on continuities, innovations and changes in family and kinship dynamics related to the establishment of the border. In addition, this chapter examines the extent to which the demarcation of the border impacted on family and kinship solidarity. This chapter seeks to illustrate the ambivalence of the border as a porous or fluid terrain in which family and kinship ties thrived on the one hand, and this very landscape being a barrier to family and kinship solidarity in given circumstances, on the other.

4.2 Marital unions and resultant kinship ties across the Umtali-Mozambique border

Marital unions involving Africans from Mozambique and Rhodesia were a common feature of life in Umtali throughout the colonial period, this being clear evidence that the border was 'an artificial line between social networks or family links.'[1] While some of the unions were relatively stable and fully backed by family members and relatives on both sides of the border, others were informal. The informal ones tended to be temporary partnerships, often marriages of convenience, where one party or both exploited the union for immediate material benefits and as

[1] C. Tornimbeni, 'Working boundaries: Boundaries, colonial controls and labour circulation in Beira district, Mozambique, 1942-1960s', in M. Newitt, P. Chabal and N. Macqueen (eds.) *Community and state in Lusophone Africa: Papers read at the conference on new research on Lusophone Africa held at King's College London 16-17 May 2002*, London: King's College Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, 2003, p.321.

a provisional security guarantee in a harsh urban environment. More often than not, the parties engaged in such temporary unions kept their affairs a secret from their family members and close relatives partly because in Shona culture, it was deplorable for spouses to cohabit before bride-price was paid.[1] In addition, considerable numbers of men engaged in such unions had wives in the rural areas.[2] Again, these temporary unions were illegal according to Rhodesian law which stipulated in 1901 that all marriages be registered by Native Commissioners or any other authorities appointed by the government.[3]

Some Mozambican men, especially those who were employed, cohabited with local women in Umtali. Despite the fact that a number of foreign men genuinely entered into marriages with local women, some of them, particularly those who had entered Umtali clandestinely, felt isolated and insecure and others struggled to find accommodation, hence the necessity of such unions.[4] On the other hand, local women had a generally favourable impression towards working men from outside the country. As one Native Commissioner observed in 1914, foreign African workers in Rhodesia were very popular with local women because they were always in possession of ready cash.[5]

Marriages of convenience, known as *mapoto* (literally 'cooking pots') in Shona,[6] were very common in colonial urban centres. Bordering on prostitution, these temporary or makeshift unions were particularly convenient in border towns like Umtali where men and women from Mozambique utilised them as guarantees for security and as sources of benefits and

[1] Interview with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.
[2] T. Barnes and E. Win, *To live a better life: An oral history of women in the city of Harare, 1930-70*, Harare: Baobab Books, 1992, p.127.
[3] See, for example, the Native Marriages Ordinance of 1901, amended in 1905 and 1912, in Southern Rhodesia Government, *Statute law of Southern Rhodesia Volume IV*, Salisbury: Southern Rhodesia Government, 1939, p.587.
[4] Interview with Tonderai Tarwei, Old Chisamba, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 13 August 2010.
[5] NAZ, NS/17/2: NC Chilimanzi to the Superintendent of Natives, Victoria, correspondence, 15 May 1914.
[6] Interview with Lawson Mufiro, Fern Valley suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 23 September 2010.

conveniences like shelter, food and clothing.[1] In his study of urban life in the Northern Rhodesian town of Broken Hill, Wilson noted among the female population,

> ...a continuous series of categories from the prostitute who hires herself out for one or two nights, to the concubine, the peripatetic wife of dubious status, the long term wife who occasionally changes her husband and the life-long wife of one man. The same woman, moreover, is often found successively in different categories.[2]

Wilson also noted that one type of union could progress into the other. A single man, for example, could engage a prostitute for a week and use the union to apply for married housing after which authorities regarded him as 'married'.[3] Moodie and Ndatshe made similar observations in South African mines from the 1970s where some women engaged in 'serial marriages' in which they shifted from one more or less steady marital union to others, unlike in clear cases of prostitution (or remunerated sex).[4]

While the institution of marriage can easily be understood in terms of arrangements between spouses that are endorsed by their families and kin, and the subsequent solemnisation of the union in a church or any other state-recognised institution, Powdermaker noted some variations in colonial African towns:

> The word marry was likewise used for concubinage, in which a common ménage was maintained without any sponsorship by kindred or payment of bride-price. There were also affairs, of long or short duration, in which the women received gifts and maintenance money without being part of a common household. One type of marriage union often passed into another.[5]

It should be noted, however, that most temporary unions were driven by the need to earn a livelihood. As Ferguson noted in his study of African life in the Copperbelt towns:

> Sexual relations always seemed to have a very strong economic content...A man was expected to provide a lover with cash gifts (an 'appreciation fee'...) and a woman not given such a payment might properly feel

[1] Barnes and Win, *To live a better life*, p.127.
[2]Wilson, 'An essay on the economics of detribalization', p.64.
[3]Wilson, 'An essay on the economics of detribalization', pp.66-67.
[4]Moodie and Ndatshe, 'Town women and country wives', p.77.
[5]Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, pp.152-153.

> insulted...Women, particularly if they were young and attractive, could sometimes make the best of this situation by shifting from one man to another, in search of better treatment or more generous allowances.[1]

As some examples will illustrate, some Umtali African women entered into *mapoto* unions in order to cash in on the presence of Mozambican men. A considerable number of such unions broke up the moment a spouse insisted that a partner visit his or her relatives across the border. In addition, they usually lasted as long as one of the partners had disposable income to sustain the other. At the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court on 2 December 1954, for instance, Tokota, a man from Chemba district in Mozambique, applied to divorce Elina, an Umtali African woman. Since their marriage in 1952, they had no children. In August 1954, Tokota decided to leave work in Umtali and go back to Mozambique but the wife refused to accompany him and disappeared.[2]

Nesta, a Rhodesian African woman originally from Muchena village 15 kilometres north of Umtali, refused to accompany her husband, Mavira, to his home in Mozambique in 1955. Mavira, who worked and resided in Umtali, took her to court for having an affair with another man. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court, Nesta said she committed adultery because Mavira wanted to take her to his home village just across the border from Umtali.[3] This, of course, was not a convincing reason to commit adultery. What this case illustrates, however, is the short-lived nature of some *mapoto* unions in circumstances where a partner felt that the relationship would no longer be of benefit.

The evidence available also shows that some marriages of convenience in Umtali involving immigrant Mozambicans were sometimes solemnised at colonial courts of law without the

[1]Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*, pp.186-187.
[2] NAZ, S3512/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, 3 December 1954.
[3] NAZ, S3512/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, Case Number 37 of 1955.

knowledge of the relatives of the parties concerned as spouses fast-tracked them in order to obtain benefits in urban centres such as married quarters and immunity from pass laws.[1] Mozambican men in Umtali sometimes falsely represented themselves when registering marriages in order to obtain such benefits. Marriages at the Native Commissioner's Court could only be officially registered if a guardian or parent of the bride was present, a challenging requirement for Mozambican women who secretly entered Rhodesia. In these circumstances, impostors were sometimes sought. A monetary token of appreciation was usually given to the impostor. In the event of detection and arrest by the authorities, the spouses usually paid the fine on behalf of the impostor.[2] At the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court on 22 December 1950 Juawo, a Mozambican adult male, for example, falsely represented himself as the guardian of Zherema, a Mozambican girl who had entered Rhodesia without a pass, at the registration of her marriage to Andiriyano, also a Mozambican. Juawo admitted at the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court on 18 February 1953 that Andiriyano had persuaded him to act as guardian because he could not get accommodation in Sakubva without a marriage certificate. Juawo was fined £1 for violating the Native Marriages Act of 1950.[3] Chauncey made similar observations in the Copperbelt towns where colonial authorities demanded that relatives of the woman in a marriage being registered be present but since they never thoroughly investigated a woman's background, impostors could present themselves as relatives.[4]

[1] Barnes and Win, *To live a better life*, p.127. Also see, for example, NAZ, S3513/2: Umtali Criminal Cases, 18 February 1953.
[2] Separate interviews with Edmond Kufema, New Dangare, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 9 August 2010; and Malvern Musamba, Old Location, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 12 August 2010.
[3] NAZ, S3513/2: Umtali Criminal Cases, 18 February 1953.
[4] G. Chauncey, 'The locus of reproduction: Women's labour in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1927-1953', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 7, Number 2, 1981, p.151.

African men in Umtali whose fiancés were Mozambican sometimes married them by way of elopement.[1] This was a practice in which prospective spouses arranged to marry without the knowledge of the girl's parents. Under such circumstances, the girl 'disappeared' from her natal home and joined her husband-to-be after which formal marriage arrangements were made.[2] Some girls from the Mozambican border villages eloped because their parents were reluctant to have them married beyond the confines of their chiefdoms, worse still beyond colonial borders. As was the case during the pre-colonial period and the greater part of the colonial era in Southern Africa, most people married spouses from within their localities. Among the Shona, for example, this practice was actually obligatory and was expressed by the adage *Rooranai vematongo* (marry from the locality).[3]

Various forms of kinship ties developed around trans-national marital unions among the relatives, friends and workmates of the spouses. Once such marriages became formalised in accordance with traditional custom, and solemnised in a church or court, the family members and the relatives of the spouses became formal kin. The spouses and their relatives could visit their in-laws across the border without much trouble from colonial authorities because they had official marriage documents.[4]

On the other hand, what could be termed 'quasi' or 'improvised' kinship relations developed around *mapoto* unions as spouses, particularly those from across the border, sought social security in a colonial metropolitan environment. As already noted, many *mapoto* unions were unknown to the close relatives of the spouses within Umtali or back home in the rural areas.

[1] Separate interviews with Malvern Musamba, Old Location, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 12 August 2010; and Susan Makambo (nee Nyamayaro), Zimunya suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 22 September 2010.
[2] J.F. Holleman, *Shona customary law*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1952, p.113.
[3]Interview with Lameck Ngwende, Domborutinhira village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 4 January 2011.
[4] Interview with Edmond Kufema, New Dangare, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 9 August 2010.

Most spouses from across the border or from distant areas within the Rhodesian interior, however, often felt insecure given that unfortunate events such as death or illness, in which close relatives could be of great assistance, could occur within the 'marriage'.[1] In an attempt to get social security, some local women cohabiting with Mozambican men came to regard the acquaintances of their 'husbands' as relatives: workmates, homeboys and friends, for example, being addressed as uncles; and women from Mozambique known to their spouses becoming aunts. On the other hand, some Mozambican men also came to regard the acquaintances of their spouses as kin: the male homeboys of their 'wives', for instance, being saluted as in-laws.[2]

4.3 Marital disputes across the Umtali-Mozambique border

A common feature with most marital unions involving Mozambicans in Umtali was that when serious disputes arose between couples, Mozambican spouses often fled across the border to rejoin their natal families and kin. As a few examples will illustrate, some Mozambican women married to Rhodesian Africans in Umtali fled to their homes in Portuguese territory after having disputes with their husbands.

One such case involved Sarah Nyamugaga, a Mozambican woman who married Atherton Nyabunga, a Rhodesian African man employed by Meikles Stores in Umtali, on 24 April 1924. Upon discovering that her husband was having an extra-marital affair with his brother's widow, Sarah deserted on 20 May 1924 with all household utensils and clothing and returned to her home village in Mozambique. At the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court on 9 October 1924, it was ordered that 'the woman (Sarah) return to her husband by 20 October 1924 failing which

[1] Interview with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.
[2] Separate interviews with Esther Chaguma, Zimunya suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 19 September 2010; and Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.

divorce would be granted.'[1] In a similar case of desertion, an unnamed woman of Mozambican origin abandoned her Rhodesian African husband in the African Location after a domestic dispute in September 1931. She was reported to have slipped across the border into Mozambique with another man believed to be her relative. She returned to Umtali on 21 September to claim her belongings 'when her husband seized a heavy axe and struck and cut her so severely that she died within a few minutes of the assault.'[2] The fact that the deceased had fled in the company of a relative and sought refuge at her home shows the importance of family and kinship ties to Africans who crossed borders to seek opportunities.

Emily, a Mozambican woman, abandoned her Rhodesian African husband, Chikoneso, in Umtali and fled to Mozambique in 1953. The couple had an unregistered marriage in 1942 and had two children aged 10 years and two years-six months. Chikoneso told the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court that they had a quarrel in January 1953 over the failure by the wife 'to cook food properly' at their home in Sakubva after which she fled to Mozambique with the younger daughter leaving the older one behind. The husband followed her up in Mozambique on five occasions but failed to persuade her to rejoin him.[3] During the same year, Taitimbanhu, a woman from Nyakabawu village in Mozambique, also abandoned Kuyitirwa, her husband who was employed in Umtali. They both stayed in Sakubva and had five children aged between two and 14 years. The husband took a second wife in 1953 and Taitimbanhu and the children began to face problems of food and clothing shortages. This forced her and the children to leave for Mozambique to rejoin her father. The husband followed her up in Mozambique and took back to

[1] NAZ, S3512/1: Umtali Criminal Cases, 9 October 1924.
[2] *Rhodesia Advertiser*: 'Death of native woman', 24 September 1931, p.5.
[3] NAZ, S3512/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, 25 January 1954.

Umtali the two oldest children aged 14 and 12.[1] What these cases illustrate is that family and kin contacts were always significant to many Africans living across borders, especially during times of hardships.

In November 1954 Grace, a woman originally from Chadzuka village in Mozambique, deserted her husband, Joseph (also known as Nyalale), a Nyasa who worked in Umtali at Hodgson and Myburg. They had registered their marriage in Umtali on 5 January 1951. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 25 January 1955 Grace, who had been pregnant by another man before, said their problems started in 1953 when Joseph called her a prostitute. He then stopped buying her food and clothes. Joseph had fallen ill during the same year and blamed her for the illness. Out of frustration, Grace abandoned him and went to Chadzuka village in Mozambique to stay with her mother.[2] This case again demonstrates that some Africans who crossed borders to seek opportunities did not sever ties with their natal families and sometimes rejoined them after facing difficulties.

Some Mozambican men abandoned their local wives in Umtali and fled to their home villages across the border after experiencing domestic problems. Fanny Makokowe, an African woman from Chakanyuka village in Rhodesia's Mutasa South Reserve, applied for divorce at the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court in 1954 after her husband, John Kuzinya, from Tete province in Mozambique, had abandoned her in Umtali and slipped back home. They had been married in Umtali in 1943 and stayed together at the Railway Compound. They bore three children and all of them died. In October 1951, Fanny fell ill and went to Rusape, a small Rhodesian town 90 kilometres west of Umtali, to consult a traditional healer. Upon her return, she noted that John

[1] NAZ, S3512/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, 7 January 1955.
[2] NAZ, S3512/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, 25 January 1955.

had left employment and packed all his goods leaving hers behind. He left no word about his whereabouts. His friends, however, told Fanny that he had fled to his home village in Mozambique.[1]

Desertion was also common with Mozambican couples resident in Umtali in circumstances where one spouse fled back to his or her natal home after experiencing problems within their marriage. At the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court on 1 June 1953, Kaitano, a Mozambican man employed in Umtali related how his wife Julietta, also a Mozambican, had deserted him. He narrated that they had married in September 1952 and had no children within the marriage. Julietta had abandoned him in Umtali and went to live with her sister in the small Mozambican border town of Machipanda. When the Mozambican police interrogated Julietta at Machipanda, she refused to rejoin Kaitano in Umtali on grounds that he did not look after her well and did not buy clothes for her.[2] In a similar case, Lucia, a Mozambican woman, abandoned her husband in Umtali during August 1953. At the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court on 16 March 1955 Tapedzanganga, an African man from Macequece in Mozambique and employed in Umtali, stated that he had married Lucia in Mozambique in 1949 and had no children to date. In August 1953 Lucia had been taken from him in Umtali by Taimo, her relative, to their village in Mozambique. Lucia then went on to marry a 'cook-boy' in Macequece. In her defence, Lucia claimed ill-treatment and lack of support for deserting her husband.[3] Once more, these cases show that family and kin structures remained important points of reference for many troubled Africans who had crossed borders to seek opportunities.

[1] NAZ, S3512/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, Case Number 42 of 1954.
[2] NAZ, S3512/2: Umtali Criminal Cases, 1 June 1953.
[3] NAZ, S3512/4: Umtali Criminal Cases, 16 March 1955.

A few observations can be made from the discussion in this section. Material considerations (for example, the need for food and shelter) and the need for security guarantees in the absence of close family members and kin in harsh colonial settings led to the sprouting of temporary marital unions or marriages of convenience in Umtali between some Africans from Mozambique and Rhodesia. In most cases, the spouses involved in such unions kept them a secret from their close family members and kin. In such circumstances, family and kinship affiliation became subordinate to material and security considerations. The reverse, however, became true when temporary unions became turbulent resulting in one of the spouses rejoining family and kin across the border. Even those who were formally married sometimes sought refuge at their natal homes across the border in times of domestic disputes. The findings of this section therefore clearly attest to the fact that natal family and kin members were to a great extent important reference points for troubled spouses in both informal and formal trans-national marital unions. It has been shown that both unions were sometimes destabilised by conditions of severe economic hardships. This interaction between family-kinship affiliation and material considerations is best expressed by the Shona proverb '*Ukama igasva, hunozadziswa nekudya*' (literally, 'kinship is hollow if relatives do not buttress it by providing food to each other').[1]

4.4 Trans-national polygamy and its implications on family and kinship ties

This section discusses polygamy/ polygny (having more than one wife) and polyandry (having more than one husband)[2] across the Umtali-Mozambique border and their impact on family and kinship solidarity. Having two or more spouses in different chiefdoms or kingdoms was virtually

[1]Interview with Simbarashe Mutsure, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 4 December 2010.
[2] See Masasire, 'Kinship and marriage', p.41.

unheard of among the ordinary people during the pre-colonial period.[1] However, marital unions across national borders, especially polygamy, became relatively widespread during the colonial era as Africans sought to adapt to a harsh socio-economic and political environment brought about by European colonialism.

While polygamy was widespread among the pre-colonial Shona, polyandry was rare. In an account detailing their experiences in south-east Africa during the early 1890s, two British nurses, Rose Blennerhassett and Lucy Sleeman, claimed that some high-ranking Shona women had more than one husband during the pre-colonial period. In their description of a meeting they held with Nyakuwanikwa, a headwoman under Chief Mutasa they stated:

> Makuaniqua (Nyakuwanikwa) was a fine specimen of animal humanity...She accepted tea, passing her mug, after drinking to the two men who sat behind her. These were her two husbands. We were told that she had several, whom she divorced or knocked on the head as seemed most convenient.[2]

After the meeting during which they handed gifts to Nyakuwanikwa, wrote Blennerhassett and Sleeman, the headwoman left 'having first handed her plate to one of her husbands to carry, and giving the other a little packet of brown sugar which she had obtained from us.'[3] This report on the practice of polyandry in pre-colonial Shona societies is, however, not corroborated by other historical sources. Contrary to these claims, some oral informants stated that rulers enlisted the services of several functionaries who acted as advisers and informers. For female rulers, the closest male aides were commonly referred to in Shona figurative terminology as *varume*

[1]Trans-national polygamy refers to a man's marriage to two or more spouses when these spouses stay in different countries (Lubkermann, 'The transformation of trans-nationality', p.63). Trans-national polyandry is the marriage of a woman to two or more husbands when these husbands reside in different countries (Radcliffe-Brown, 'Introduction', in A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde (eds.), *African systems of kinship and marriage*, p.64).
[2] Blennerhassett and. Sleeman, *Adventures in Mashonaland*, pp.152-153.
[3] Blennerhassett and Sleeman, *Adventures in Mashonaland*, p.154.

vamuzvare (literally 'husbands of the headwoman') thus being misconstrued as real husbands by early European observers.[1]

Some African migrant workers during the colonial period had two wives: one in the rural areas and the other in town. As Wilson noted in the Copperbelt towns, significant numbers of married men had temporary or 'piece-work' wives in the urban areas while their wives were away in the countryside.[2] In 1928, a Catholic bishop in Zambia, horrified by the tendency of some migrant workers to have second wives in towns while their first wives and children languished in the rural areas, suggested that part of the wages of Copperbelt miners were paid directly to their families.[3]

Trans-national polygamy, as Lubkermann observed among male Mozambican migrant labourers in South Africa's Vaal peri-urban townships during the period 1975-1992, was a multi-purpose strategy to deal with circumstances of social, political and economic insecurity across borders and 'a tool for coping with...new challenges and opportunities.'[4] Some men from the Mozambican border area of Pafuri who were employed in South Africa during the same period indicated that while they had wives back home, they married 'foreign' wives in order to guarantee their safety in a relatively new environment.[5] There is no doubt, however, that the desire to satisfy immediate sexual needs was one of the major reasons why some men engaged in trans-national polygamy. Some men who engaged in such unions did not renounce their marriages back home and continued to pay their families occasional visits and provided them

[1] Separate interviews with Simon Mudzonga, Fenga village, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 12 October 2010; and Josphat Mukusa, Sherukuru village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 21 October 2010.
[2]Wilson, 'An essay on the economics of detribalization', pp.72-73.
[3] J. Weller and J. Linden, 'The Roman Catholics in Zambia', in J. Weller and J. Linden (eds.) *Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1984, p.161.
[4]Lubkermann, 'The transformation of trans-nationality', p.42.
[5]Connor, 'Crooks, commuters and chiefs', p.98.

with financial and material support. Most men however concealed their conjugal unions abroad from their wives and relatives at home.[1] During the 1950s, Portuguese colonial officials acknowledged that trans-national polygamy was a central aspect of life for Mozambican cross-border migrants. Some Mozambican migrants who engaged in trans-national polygamy opted for permanent or semi-permanent residence in Rhodesia and split their families over the two countries.[2]

In some cases, trans-national polygamy caused domestic disputes after wives across borders discovered that they were sharing a husband. The Umtali Native Commissioner's Court heard on 13 November 1953 how Hilda, a Rhodesian African woman, deserted Fariya, her Mozambican husband, after discovering that he had another wife in Portuguese territory. Fariya, originally from Sena province in Mozambique, was employed at Government Transport Services in Umtali when he married Hilda in 1949. They stayed together in Sakubva. Before coming to Umtali, Fariya had another wife, Chinanasi, who remained at his home village in Mozambique while he sought employment across the border. Fariya's problems with Hilda began in May 1953 when Chinanasi came to Umtali. In an effort to avoid a confrontation between his two wives, Fariya arranged that Chinanasi stays at Pinto Brothers' Quarry just outside Umtali. Upon discovering the polygamous arrangement, Hilda abandoned Fariya in May 1953 to cohabit with another man called Willie in Sakubva.[3] This case illustrates the disruptive effect of trans-national polygamy on some families.

[1]Lubkermann, 'The transformation of trans-nationality', pp. 44, 57.
[2] AHM, FGDB, Cx 617: 'Intendincia do Distrito deTete. Confidential, No. 1573/B/8, Tete, 26 de Junho de 1950. Also see C. Tornimbeni, 'The state, labour migration and the trans-national discourse- A historical perspective from Mozambique', in *Strichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift fur Kritische Afrikastudien*, Number 8, 2005, p.321.
[3] NAZ, S3512/2: Umtali Criminal Cases, 13 November 1953.

Some frustrated wives retired to their natal homes in Mozambique after learning that their husbands were co-habiting with other women in Umtali. In a case heard at the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court on 21 January 1954, Lucy testified that she had married Ambai in Mozambique and had eight children in the marriage. Six of the children were surviving of which three were married. In 1927, Ambai and the whole family relocated to Umtali where he hoped to secure employment. Ambai stayed together with his family in Umtali's Zimunya Township. He then married a Rhodesian African woman and chased Lucy back to Mozambique in October 1950 on grounds that she was 'too old and that he no longer wanted me to live with him.' Lucy then stayed with her brother in Mozambique. In 1953, Ambai crossed into Mozambique to persuade Lucy to revive their marriage, but she refused and sought for divorce.[1] This case clearly shows how trans-national polygamy could disintegrate some families.

Ezekiel Jukinyu, a Mozambican man employed by Hodgson and Myburg in Umtali, married a local African woman in 1966 even though he had a wife and a daughter, Ruwimbo, who stayed at his home village of Nyaronga in Mozambique. He visited home regularly and during these visits, his original wife always insisted on coming to Umtali for a brief period just to know where exactly he stayed in Sakubva's McGregor's Section. After visiting his wife one Saturday in 1968, he consented that she visits him in Umtali. Ezekiel falsely told her that he shared a room with another man and she could only come the following weekend when his 'room-mate' would be away at his rural home. In actual fact, it was his second wife who had gone to her rural home in the Honde Valley for three weeks having promised to come back a week after the weekend the first wife was going to come to Umtali. After work the following Friday, Ezekiel went to Nyaronga to pick up his first wife and they came back to Umtali the following morning. That

[1] NAZ, S3512/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, 21 January 1954.

very evening, the second wife made an unexpected return, a development that shocked Ezekiel forcing him to bolt into the dark. After interrogating each other for a couple of minutes, the two women began to exchange blows. Since the people in the McGregor's neighbourhood did not know the first wife, they intervened in favour of the second one. The police were called and they arrested the first wife. Ezekiel later resurfaced and had the first wife released by the police after which he took her back to Mozambique. He did not part ways with any of his wives and continued to visit the family in Mozambique on a regular basis. However, tension remained between the two families and they never interacted.[1] What emanates from this incident is that while polygamy was a common aspect of life in some pre-colonial African societies, it gradually became unacceptable to some people, particularly women, during the colonial period. Trans-national polygamy in particular was unacceptable to most women whose husbands were working far away from their homes because 'second' wives deprived them of the much needed resources such as food and clothing.

Another explosive polygamous affair involved John Ngurundu, a Mozambican man employed by Border Timbers Limited in Umtali from 1952 to 1970 whose wife and three sons stayed at his home village of Musasiri just across the border. He rarely went home, perhaps did so once in two years. In 1968 his two oldest sons, Fungai (21) and Tonderai (19), followed up their father to Sakubva's Old Location where he resided hoping to be assisted to get employment in Umtali. They had been told about their father's place of residence by a man from the same village who worked in Umtali. On arrival at the Old Location home, they were surprised to discover that their father was staying with another woman with whom he had two teenage daughters. Their father was angry with them for coming without giving prior notice. Even though their step-mother

[1]Interview with Ruwimbo Jukinyu (Mrs Magurauswa), Chitakatira village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 4 February 2011.

professed ignorance that John had a wife elsewhere, the two boys beat her up prompting their father to storm out of the house, supposedly to make a report to the police. Fungai and Tonderai ran away and hid in a bush close to the Railway Compound until dark and later fled back to Mozambique. After the incident, their father never visited them in Mozambique. He died in 1970 and was buried in Umtali. Tonderai, Fungai and their mother did not attend his funeral because they had not been informed about his death and only got word later. They did not make any contacts with the second wife and her children.[1]From this case, the destabilising effect of trans-national polygamy on some families can be seen.

Polyandry across the Umtali-Mozambique border did take place but not to the extent of trans-national polygamy. This was partly because in rural Africa, women for whom bride-price had been paid for were required by custom to be unwaveringly faithful wives failing which their husbands could claim refund from their parents.[2] In addition, as will be noted in the next chapter, Mozambican women crossed borders into neighbouring countries in relatively fewer numbers as compared to men for a number of reasons hence making trans-national polygamy to be more widespread than trans-national polyandry. In 1913, Rhodesian authorities handled a rare case in which a Mozambican woman abandoned her husband in Portuguese territory to seek fortunes in Umtali. In March 1913 Chingerengeche, a Mozambican man from Chikweya village near the town of Machipanda, crossed into Rhodesia to complain to the Native Commissioner for Umtali that his wife had deserted him and was believed to be staying in Umtali with another man called Mpambawachle. The Native Commissioner launched investigations which authenticated the

[1] Interview with Tonderai Ngurundu, Redwing Mine, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 5 January 2011.
[2] Interview with Sarudzai Machimbidzofa, Redwing Mine, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 5 January 2010.

allegations. The woman was arrested and subsequently surrendered to Portuguese authorities on 1 April 1913 for her to rejoin her husband.[1]

Common threads can be drawn between the case discussed immediately above and the others preceding it. As shown by these examples, Native Commissioners usually granted divorce to women who complained about being deserted by their husbands. To the contrary, when a man complained about being deserted by his wife, Rhodesian authorities arrested her and handed her over to Portuguese officials in order for her to rejoin her husband. These cases are quite illuminating on gender relations and perceptions prevalent in African societies during the colonial period. Firstly, they illustrate how African women during the early colonial period began to challenge the customary obligation of domesticity and docility expected of them during the pre-colonial era by traversing national borders in order to earn a living. Secondly, they interestingly highlight the joint attempts by African male 'traditionalists'(family members, kin) and the colonial state to confine the activities of women to the household regardless of their desperate quest to venture out of the domestic arena in order to address their socio-economic hardships.

It is without doubt that trans-national polygamy and polyandry negatively impacted on family and kinship solidarity. Trans-national polygamists of Mozambican origin working in Umtali, for example, had to sustain two families on either side of the border and in most cases the families in Mozambique increasingly became neglected. Such situations often resulted in tension within the polygamous families. As resources from a single working man became contested by family members and kin from both sides of the border, conflicts emerged thereby destabilising family

[1] NAZ, S3512/1: Assistant NC Umtali to NC Macequece, correspondence, 1 April 1913.

and kinship solidarity. Here again lies the ambivalence of the border in which some migrants created marital unions and kinship ties across the border while weakening those back home.

4.5 Mozambican women in Umtali as 'fugitives' from rural socio-cultural constraints

In Rhodesian towns, as was the case in other parts of Africa,[1] the presence of local and foreign (mostly Mozambican) women and girls, a significant number of whom were fleeing domestic problems at their rural homes, dates back to the early colonial period. Their presence, in some cases without the consent of their family members and kin, increasingly became a worry to colonial officials and some sections of the African population which included traditional leaders and male family heads.[2] In 1931, the Native Commissioner for Umtali suggested the introduction of residential passes for females who came to settle permanently, and temporary passes for those who visited as a way of monitoring the movement of Mozambican and local women and girls into town.[3] In August 1932, an all-male African delegation from the so-called Native Association of Umtali urged the government to strictly monitor the movement of women and girls into the town. They advised the government to demand from girls who came to Umtali a letter of consent from their parents, failure for which they would be returned to their homes.[4] During the same year, the Advisory Committee of the Umtali Native Girls' Hostel urged the government to oblige all African women and girls working in Umtali to have registration certificates.[5] Despite these concerns, women and girls continued to enter towns largely because of domestic problems at their rural homes most of which emanated from patriarchal chauvinism and various socio-

[1]See, for example, J. Wells, 'Women's resistance to passes in Bloemfontein during the interwar period', in *Africa Perspective*, Issue 15, 1980, pp.16-35.
[2]T. Barnes, 'Am I a man? Gender and the pass laws in colonial Zimbabwe', in *African Studies Review*, Volume 40, Number 1, April 1997, pp.65-67.
[3]NAZ, S2584/73: NC Umtali to CNC, correspondence, 4 June 1931.
[4]NAZ, S235/475: Departmental Committee on Native Female Domestic Service: Evidence taken from Umtali, 15-17 August 1932, p.36.
[5]NAZ, S235/475: Departmental Committee on Native Female Domestic Service: Evidence taken from members of the Advisory Committee of the Umtali Native Girls' Hostel, 15 August 1932, pp.22-23.

cultural constraints. In addition, the Rhodesian government did not take immediate action to address these concerns because a great deal of material and financial resources was required to implement such measures.[1]

The institution of forcing women and girls to marry men who were not of their choice was found in several African societies.[2] In this practice, the interests of the kin group overrode and curtailed an individual woman's personal wishes and freedom. The pursuit for freedom from such socio-cultural constraints imposed by rural communities partly explains why significant numbers of African women and children fled to towns, mission stations and across national borders during the colonial period. Most women and girls from the rural borderline villages of Mozambique who found themselves in this predicament and chose to flee their homes had limited options but to cross into Rhodesia's urban centres which were much bigger in terms of geographical extent and population to guarantee their isolation from the kin back home. In addition, unlike their Portuguese counterparts in Mozambique, Rhodesian authorities instituted a number of laws against forced marriages from the early 20th century.[3] This made Rhodesia a relatively safer destination for such women than the Mozambican interior. Compared to the Portuguese border towns of Machipanda and Manica, Umtali and its surrounding areas also had a relatively bigger Christian missionary population which could grant sanctuary to relatively high numbers of such fugitives.[4]

[1]Barnes, 'Am I a man?' pp.66-67.
[2] See, for example, S.F. Nadel, *The Nuba*, London: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp.71-72, 120.
[3] These included the Southern Rhodesia Native Marriages Ordinance of 1901, amended in 1905 and 1912. For more details, see Southern Rhodesia Government, *Statute law of Southern Rhodesia Volume IV*, Salisbury: Southern Rhodesia Government, 1939, p.587.
[4] For more details, see R. Peaden, 'The Methodists in Zimbabwe', in J. Weller and J. Linden (eds.) *Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe*, p.86.

The traditional marriage practice of widow inheritance or the levirate system,[1]known as *kugarwa nhaka* among the Shona,[2] explains why some women fled their rural homes. In this system, a widow was expected or even forced to cohabit with the brother of her deceased husband.[3] It also involved a kinsman taking custody of the property and children of the deceased.[4] Among the Shona, the living brother of the deceased inherited the widow and became her husband.[5] He was obliged to provide her, together with her children, with support.[6] Josephine Pirato, for instance, found herself in this predicament when her husband, with whom they had no children, died in 1956. They had been married for eight years and stayed together at Mugarandega village in Mozambique. A family gathering soon after the funeral resolved that she be inherited by her husband's younger brother but she refused. The family then claimed all cattle and goats that had belonged to the deceased. Josephine then fled and sought refuge at a nearby residence of Catholic priests at St. Thomas. Follow-ups by her late husband's relatives forced her to cross the border to take refuge at Marymount College in Umtali where she was employed as a sweeper by the Catholic priests there. In 1964, she remarried a Rhodesian African man resident in Sakubva and employed by the Wattle Company in Umtali. In 1978, her husband was dismissed from work and they relocated to his rural home at Chitakatira village 20 kilometres south of Umtali. She never returned to her former village in Mozambique.[7] Josephine's case was indeed a form of protest migration. The existence of Umtali across the border gave her permanent sanctuary from

[1] L. Mair, *African marriage and social change*, London: Frank Cass and Company, 1969, p.x.
[2]Interview with Maxwell Kuitirwa, Fenga village, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 12 October 2010.
[3]Gluckman, 'Kinship and marriage', p.183. For similar practices in other parts of Africa, see M. Wilson, 'Nyakyusa kinship', in A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde (eds.) *African systems of kinship and marriage*, p.123; and K. Little, 'The Mende in Sierra Leone', in D. Forde (ed.) *African worlds: Studies in the cosmological ideas and social values of African peoples*, International African Institute: Oxford University Press, 1976, p.121.
[4]Radcliffe-Brown, 'Introduction', p.64.
[5]Thorpe, *African traditional religions*, p.64.
[6]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.48.
[7]Interview with Josephine Pirato, Mugarandega village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 15 December, 2010.

the socio-cultural constraints imposed upon her by her rural Mozambican kin. Her flight to Umtali was 'the exit option'[1] or 'an escape strategy'[2] from pressing problems in a given setting.

Some women who fled from being inherited sought refuge with sympathetic relatives in Umtali. Agatha, a married woman from Mozambique's Arufaso village with two sons aged two and four years, became a widow when her husband, Miles Kachamba, died in 1958. She agreed to be inherited by her late husband's elder brother but did not enjoy the partnership since she and progeny lived in abject poverty. The heir could not support her and the children with basics such as food and clothing since he also had a wife and children to look after. Her persistent demands for support resulted in tension with the wife of her late husband's elder brother. She found it difficult to return to her natal home in Mozambique's Chemba district because she would easily be traced by her in-laws and her natal family members forced to return the bride-price that had been paid for her. In 1960 Agatha and her sons fled to Umtali where she hoped to get employment. She first stayed at Ednorth Quarry compound in Umtali where her maternal aunt made a living through brewing and selling an outlawed grain beer known as *skokiaan,* a trade she also joined. In 1966 she married Lameck Munakamwe, a Rhodesian African man working for the Umtali Municipality and residing in Sakubva. Lameck had three children from a previous marriage. The new husband agreed to take custody of Freddy and Aleck, her two sons, who took up his surname when they got Rhodesian registration certificates in 1972. Agatha and her sons never returned to Mozambique, neither did they make any contacts with their relatives who had remained.[3] Trans-national compound families were therefore an important feature of life in the

[1] J. Herbst, 'Migration, the politics of protest, and state consolidation in Africa', in *African Affairs*, Volume 89, Number 355, April 1990, p.184.
[2] Herbst, 'Migration, the politics of protest, and state consolidation in Africa', p.192.
[3] Interview with Freddy Munakamwe, Dangamvura's 'A'Section, Umtali, Zimbabwe, 11 November 2010.

borderlands as some destitute women and their children, frustrated by socio-economic hardships, sought a livelihood.

Some women and girls deserted their homes to become nuns at mission stations after husbands had been forced upon them.[1] It was a fairly widespread practice among the Shona for family members and kin to force a barren woman's younger sister, or another female relative, to become a co-wife.[2] Some young girls from the Mozambican villages abutting the Rhodesian border who found themselves in such situations fled across to seek refuge at mission stations. At the age of 18 in 1967, Rozina Mashamhu, from Nyaronga village in Mozambique, sought sanctuary at the small Catholic station at Manica after her parents had compelled her to become a second wife of her sister's husband from Mutsinze village whose four-year marriage had failed to bear children. Since the Catholic station was only six kilometres away from Nyaronga village, the missionaries transferred her to St. Dominic's Convent in Umtali during the same year without the knowledge of her parents. She abandoned the idea of getting married altogether and went on to train as a nun at the convent. Having been ordained as a nun in 1970, she became known as Sister Idah and never returned to Mozambique.[3]

Another forced marriage practice that drove some young Mozambican girls across the border into Umtali was the *sororate* system. This institution forced a girl to marry the husband of her deceased elder sister.[4] In traditional Shona society, this substitute wife was known as a *bondwe*[5]or *chigadzamapfihwa*.[6] At the age of 21 in 1972, Esnath Mushita fled her family home at Mugoriwondo village in Mozambique after her parents had resolved that she becomes a

[1] A.J. Dachs and W.F. Rea, *The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe, 1879-1979*, Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1979, p.139.
[2]Masasire, 'Kinship and marriage', p.46.
[3]Interview with Sister Idah, St Dominic's Catholic Convent, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 26 November 2010.
[4]Mair, *African marriage and social change*, p.x.
[5] M. Hannan, *Standard Shona dictionary*, Salisbury: College Press, 1959, p.25.
[6]Hannan, *Standard Shona dictionary*, p.65.

substitute wife for her late sister's husband who stayed in the same village. Her sister had died in December 1971 after a long illness. Esnath was against the decision but grudgingly agreed knowing fully well that refusal would stir a family dispute. The very day she was supposed to be surrendered as a *bondwe*, she fled to Umtali without informing anyone. Without any identity document, she undertook the journey alone. As she crossed the border near Marymount College, she collected a small bundle of firewood as a way of misleading the police in case she was interrogated along the way. On either side of the border, she could claim belonging and argue that she was only fetching firewood. Having entered Umtali, she took refuge at the home of her other elder sister in Sakubva. The elder sister and her Rhodesian African husband accommodated her since they were Christians who regularly attended church services at St Joseph's Catholic Mission in Sakubva. Esnath did not return home until 1974 when she married a Rhodesian African man at the Native Commissioner's Court in Umtali. Her elder sister approached their parents at Mugoriwondo village and informed them about the marriage. She successfully persuaded them to accept bride-price from Esnath's husband. After the traditional marriage formalities had been done, Esnath and her husband regularly visited Mugoriwondo village to see her parents.[1]

Another marriage institution which caused the flight of girls from their homes was child betrothal. This was a custom of pledging a young daughter in marriage usually in order to repay a debt or to obtain material benefits from those who were relatively rich.[2] Known as *kuzvarira* by the Shona,[3] this institution was widespread in pre-colonial Africa and survived well into the

[1]Interview with Esnath Mushita, Zimunya suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 26 September 2010.
[2]Mair, *African marriage and social change*, p.4.
[3]Hannan, *Standard Shona dictionary*, p.754.

colonial period.[1] This practice mostly involved pledging girls to older men, but was at times arranged for two children.[2] Poor parents sometimes pledged their daughters to rich men in return for assistance in the form of grain in times of drought and the temporary use of cattle for ploughing the fields.[3] In such cases, the betrothed girl was a form of pawn married away to repay a debt. Bourdillon explained how this institution of 'child marriage' operated among the Shona:

> ...it was possible for a man to favour a friend or an associate with the promise of a small daughter in marriage...Particularly after a bad harvest, a family without enough to live on may try to relieve the situation by marrying off a small girl and using the bride price to buy food for the family. In such a case, the girl stays with her parents until she reaches a marriageable age...[4]

Through the influence of Christian missionaries and colonial administrations, most African societies abandoned the practice of child-pledging and considerable numbers of betrothed girls refused to be married by men who had been imposed upon them. Close to Salisbury in Rhodesia's Goromozi district with an African population of about 15,095 in 1904, for example, 95 out of the 345 cases heard at the Native Commissioner's Court during the period October 1899 to February 1905 involved young girls who had refused to become wives of men to whom they had been pledged by their parents and relatives.[5] Commenting in 1923 on girls who rejected being betrothed resulting in them fleeing to mission stations, a reverend of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Rhodesia stated that 'naturally we do not teach disobedience to parents, but

[1] For detail on the Ila of Northern Rhodesia, see E.W. Smith and A. Dale, *The Ila-speaking people of Northern Rhodesia*, London, 1920, pp.47-48. For the Swazi, see H. Kuper, *An African aristocracy*, London: Oxford University Press, 1947, p.93. For the Fingo, see Thomson, *Rhodesia and its government*, p.80. For the Venda, see N.J. Van Warmelo and W.M.D. Phophi, *Venda law*, Pretoria: Government Printers, 1948, p.33. For the Tswana, see I. Schapera, 'Law and justice', in I. Schapera (ed.) *The Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1937, p.128. For the Bemba, see A.I. Richards, 'Bantu marriage and present economic conditions', Rhodes-Livingstone Paper Number 4, 1940, pp.1-5. For the Kongo, see Cleemput quoted by Mair, *African marriage and social change*, p.83.
[2] Mair, *African marriage and social change*, p.4.
[3] Interview with Adrian Mandirahwe, Chimoio town, Mozambique, 9 December 2010.
[4] Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.41.
[5] E. Schmidt, *Peasants, traders and wives: Shona women in the history of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939*, Harare: Baobab, 1992, p.22.

we are thankful to see that with some encouragement, the girls are likely to strike a blow at these heathen customs of marriage which are so disgusting.'[1] At St Paul's Mission to the north-west of Salisbury, a Dominican nun recollected that by 1926, the Catholic establishment had become 'a place of refuge for girls whose pagan parents insisted on their marrying a pagan youth and in some places even an old man.'[2]

Girls who refused to consent to pre-arranged marriages were sometimes intimidated and flogged by their parents and kin.[3]'It is no uncommon occurrence for parents to inflict torture on their daughters to compel them to marry against their will', noted the Chief Native Commissioner for Mashonaland in 1911, 'Cases are always coming to light of native girls running away to missions, or drifting on to mines, rather than submit to the hardships inflicted at home to compel them to marry.'[4]Rhodesia's Native Marriages Ordinance of 1901 and subsequent amendments were attempts to stop the practice of child pledging.[5] One observer in Rhodesia noted during the 1930s that despite colonial legislation, child-pledging was on the rise as a result of wage employment which empowered a considerable number of men to obtain young daughters from poor parents in exchange for financial and material benefits.[6]

Shupai Murodzo, from Mutsinze village in Mozambique, only knew in 1966 at the age of 17 that her father had pledged her to an old man from a neighbouring village. On Christmas day in 1966, the man came to collect her but she refused and fled to her maternal uncle's village across the

[1]Quoted by Schmidt, *Peasants, traders and wives*, p.140.
[2]Quoted by Schmidt, *Peasants, traders and wives*, endnote 186, p.220. For similar practices among the Bemba during the early colonial period, see Richards, 'Bantu marriage and present economic conditions', pp.1-5. For the Venda during the 1940s, see Van Warmelo and Phophi, *Venda law*, p.33.
[3]Schmidt, *Peasants, traders and wives*, p.112.
[4] NAZ, N9/1/14: Report of the CNC, Mashonaland, for the year 1911.
[5] These included the Native Marriages Ordinance of 1917 which made it a criminal offence punishable by a fine of up to £50 or a year's imprisonment with hard labour for a man to marry a girl of 12 years and below (see NAZ, N3/17/4/2: Native Marriages Ordinance, Number 15 of 1917. Also see W.R. Peaden, *Missionary attitudes to Shona culture, 1890-1923*, Local series number 27, Salisbury: Central African Historical Association, 1970, p.22).
[6]Quoted by Schmidt, *Peasants, traders and wives*, p.112.

river within Mozambique where she stayed for five days. She then got information from other girls in the village that she could report her case to Catholic or Methodist missionaries across the border in Umtali. One night in early January 1967, she slipped across the border in the company of two boys and three girls who intended to seek employment in Umtali. Having entered Umtali, she and the other girls sought accommodation at the African Girls' Hostel owned by the Methodist Church. She later on got employed as a domestic worker at the premises of a white man in Murambi suburb. In 1971, she married a Rhodesian African man employed as a postman in Umtali. Four years later, she left work and relocated to her husband's rural home at Muchena village near Penhalonga. She never returned to her original home across the border and lost contact with family members in Mozambique.[1] This case clearly illustrates how lands across borders became 'sanctuaries' for some people fleeing from socio-cultural conflicts that prevailed within their family and kin structures.

Clashes between individual and corporate kin rights were also found in circumstances when girls and women from the rural borderline villages of Mozambique fled to Umtali after being forcibly married in order to settle disputes between families. Among the Chopi of southern Mozambique, for example, women were sometimes transferred to settle disputes between members of clans since the 16th century.[2]Among the Shona, women were often surrendered to settle problems believed to emanate from spirits known as *ngozi*. This was an aggrieved spirit of a dead person which was believed to cause harm or danger to the family members and kin of an offender.[3] These angry spirits of vengeance were seen as expressions from people who had been murdered. The *ngozi* spirit was believed to inflict various forms of harm such as illness and death on the

[1]Interview with Shupai Murodzo, Muchena village, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 8 January 2011.
[2] . S. Young, 'Fertility and famine: Women's agricultural history in southern Mozambique', in Palmer and Parsons (eds.) *The roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, p.69.
[3]Hannan, *Standard Shona Dictionary*, p.455.

families and relatives of offenders. Traditional healers usually recommended that the offending party appease the avenging spirit by surrendering a young girl as a wife to a man from the aggrieved family.[1] The justification for surrendering girls rather than boys was that they would bear children and make up for the human loss incurred by the murder.[2]

At the age of 18 in 1965 Chengetai Shato, a girl from the Musasiri border village in Mozambique, fled to Umtali's Zimunya suburb to join her elder sister who was married there after finding herself in such a situation. A family gathering in which her father and brothers were included had decided that she be surrendered to the Majaba family from a neighbouring village as compensation for the death of a man from that family who had been murdered by her grandfather some two decades before. Her mother had died in 1964 and she was the youngest child in a family of two girls and two boys. Having been influenced by her elder sister to refuse being handed over as compensation for her grandfather's offence, she fled to Umtali alone without telling anyone. Later in 1971, she got married to a man from Chitakatira village south of Umtali and never returned to her natal family again. She however maintained regular contacts with her elder sister in Zimunya.[3]

This section has demonstrated that corporate socio-cultural stipulations imposed by families and kin that were inherent in some rural pre-colonial African societies increasingly became challenged by some women and girls during the colonial period as Christian and Western values became more entrenched. Some women and girls from the borderline villages of Mozambique fled to Rhodesian towns, mission stations, mines and farms in search for 'freedom' from various socio-cultural constraints. Some of them permanently isolated themselves from family members

[1]Thorpe, *African traditional religions*, p.57.
[2]Interview with Muchafa Machira, Chimoio town, Mozambique, 7 December 2010.
[3]Interview with Chengetai Mubvurwa (nee Shato), Chitakatira village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 4 February 2011.

and kin, others maintained contacts with home while some sought refuge with sympathetic family members and kin across the border. It should be noted, however, that even though most women and girls fled from their homes due to socio-cultural constraints imposed on them, freedom without food, clothing, shelter and other basics was unsustainable. Thus, a number of the fugitives also had some socio-economic aspirations, for example, getting some disposable income through seeking employment or getting married to working men which would empower them to assert their autonomy in traditional African societies.

4.6 Umtali as a sanctuary for Mozambicans ostracised by their family members and kin

A number of socio-cultural beliefs among the Shona societies in Rhodesia and Mozambique demonised some members to the extent of regarding them as social misfits who had to be eliminated or isolated from the generality of society. Some of these beliefs ostracised people accused of practising witchcraft, in most cases women; women who grew too old before getting married and those who failed to bear children after getting married; and men as well as women found guilty of committing adultery. Those who were ostracised after facing such accusations usually withdrew themselves from their communities to seek refuge elsewhere, usually at mission stations, urban centres and across borders, in embarrassment and out of fear of reprisals or punishment. Bourdillion noted, among the Shona in the Rhodesian interior, that some people who left as a result of disputes with family members, neighbours or kin hoped to return at a time when such antagonism had subsided,[1] an observation also confirmed by the findings of this study.

[1]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.105.

Some Mozambican women fled across the border into Umtali after being accused of witchcraft.[1] In the greater part of Africa women were to a larger extent victims of witchcraft accusations.[2] One explanation for this demonisation of women is that they were believed to possess more mysterious powers than men.[3] Among the Chopi people of southern Mozambique, women were believed to be 'particularly associated with the mystical forces carrying sickness and death and were often accused of witchcraft and named in cases of contamination.'[4] A more realistic explanation why it was almost exclusively women who were accused of witchcraft is that they were generally regarded as incomers wherever they were married and were always believed to be more attached to their natal families and kin than to those of their husbands,[5] hence the Shona adage '*Mukadzi haisi hama yako*' (literally 'a wife is not your relative').[6] Among the Shona, as was the case with many other pre-colonial African societies,[7] witches (*varoyi*) were almost exclusively women and were believed to move at night naked committing various evils such as visiting graveyards and consuming human flesh.[8] Shona women who consistently gave birth to unhealthy children and those whose children usually died at a young age were sometimes accused of witchcraft.[9] The belief in witchcraft was largely disruptive to social relations within communities since it could be abused by some people who, out of envy or hatred, sometimes

[1]Witchcraft is a belief that some people use medicine or supernatural powers to harm others (see M.L. Daneel, *The background and rise of southern Shona independent churches*, Mouton: The Hague, 1971, pp.160-161).
[2] M. Gelfand, *Witch doctor: Traditional medicine man in Rhodesia*, London: Harvill Press, 1964, p.45.
[3]E.J. Krige, 'The Lovedu of Transvaal', in D. Forde (ed.) *African worlds*, p.74.
[4]Young, 'Fertility and famine', p. 69.
[5]Schmidt, *Peasants, traders and wives*, p.17.
[6]Interview with Rodzai Mudzi, Kwambana village, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 6 October 2010.
[7] For similar beliefs in other African societies, see G.H. Maddox, 'Gender and famine in central Tanzania, 1916-1961', in *African Studies Review*, Volume 39, Number 1, April 1996, p.84; Thorpe, *African traditional religions*, pp.46-47; and Krige, 'The Lovedu of Transvaal', in D. Forde (ed.) *African worlds*, p.73.
[8]Thorpe, *African traditional religions*, p.47.
[9] J.R. Crawford, *Witchcraft and sorcery in Rhodesia*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, p.72.

accused their fellow men and women of being witches in order to have them declared as social misfits.[1]

Various methods were used by African communities to 'detect' witches.[2] A person accused of witchcraft in Shona society was forced to undergo an ordeal administered by a diviner to prove whether he or she was guilty. A common type of ordeal was to have the suspect drink some medicine. Vomiting, for example, was believed to show innocence while a running stomach was regarded as an indication of guilt. The guilty person was usually beaten to death or driven away by chiefs.[3] Thus, many Shona people accused of witchcraft committed suicide rather than risk painful ordeals and penalties.[4]

Lydia Gutsa lived at their family home in the Mozambican border village of Machipanda while her husband was employed in Umtali. They had no children in their four-year marriage when her husband was fatally knocked down by a car in Umtali in 1968. After burial in Mozambique, her husband's elder brothers visited a traditional healer close to their village to inquire into the cause of the death in accordance with the formalities of local Shona custom. They were told that Lydia was a witch possessed with supernatural powers that she had used to punish her husband for not supporting her. Upon their return, they beat up Lydia and went on to accuse her of killing her husband in order to get married to another man and have children. During the early hours of the following morning she joined some men from the village who travelled to and from their places of employment in Umtali on a daily basis and crossed the border without official travel documents. Those in her company advised her to seek accommodation at St. Joseph's Catholic

[1] N. Bhebe, *Christianity and traditional religion in western Zimbabwe, 1859-1923*, London: Longman, 1979, pp.16-17.
[2] For examples from among the Ndebele, see Bhebe, *Christianity and traditional religion in western Zimbabwe*, pp.16-17. For the Zulu, see Thorpe, *African traditional religions*, pp.46-47.
[3] Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, pp.176-181.
[4] J. Crawford, *Witchcraft and sorcery in Rhodesia*, p.245.

Mission in Umtali. She was given the physical directions to the mission and with the assistance of the priests there, she got employed as a cleaner by the Umtali Municipality. In 1970, she married a Rhodesian African man who was also employed by the Municipality and they stayed together in Sakubva. She never returned to her home in Mozambique, neither did she tell her husband of her previous experiences.[1]

Some married women from the Mozambican borderline villages fled to Umtali after being ostracised by their family members and relatives, particularly in-laws, for being unable to bear children. In most pre-colonial African societies, when a woman was married, she was considered a stranger in the family until she bore children. Failure to bear children was generally regarded by many African societies as an embarrassment which was always blamed on the woman.[2] Among the Shona, as Masasire observed,

> No Shona marriage is considered complete until the woman has borne her husband at least one child. A young wife will anxiously wait for her first pregnancy, for the child ratifies the bride-wealth contract between her family and that of her husband and completes her status as an adult woman...barrenness in a woman is dreaded... [3]

The social status of a newly-married Shona woman was boosted through bearing children for her husband's lineage and the more children she conceived the more status and respect she acquired.[4] A barren woman was known by the derogatory Shona term *mhanje*.[5]She could even be accused of witchcraft because 'a witch is supposed to be fond of destroying her children, and also because a childless woman is expected to be jealous of those who have children.'[6] Shona

[1] Interview with Lydia Gutsa, McGregors Section, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 7 August 2010.
[2] Among the Kaguru people from the Dodoma region of present-day Tanzania, for example, a childless woman was required to leave the property of her late husband with her in-laws and return to her natal family (see J. Meeker and D. Meekers, 'The precarious socio-economic position of women in rural Africa', in *African Studies Review*, Volume 40, Number 1, April 1997, p.47).
[3]Masasire, 'Kinship and marriage', p.46.
[4] J.F. Holleman, *Shona customary law*, pp.205-206.
[5]Interview with Shongai Musumbe, Muchena village, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 4 January 2011. Also see Hannan, *Standard Shona Dictionary*, p.349.
[6]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.177.

kinsmen were sometimes empowered to have sexual intercourse with a man's wife in order for him to have children.[1] It was noted earlier on that if a married woman failed to get pregnant, her younger sister or another female relative could be imposed upon her as a co-wife.

Bertha Mukasa married a man from the same Mozambican border village of Arufaso in 1959. They failed to have any children during the first three years of the marriage. Her husband often blamed her for being sterile, an accusation that was also supported by her mother-in-law. With the support of his mother, her husband married another woman from a neighbouring village in 1963. Bertha then deserted her husband and crossed into Umtali in the company of her elder sister who was married to a Rhodesian African man resident in Umtali's Zimunya suburb and employed as a general hand at Ednorth Quarry. In 1968, she was legally married at the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court to a Rhodesian African man. They bore three children in the marriage and made regular visits to her husband's rural home at Muradzikwa village just outside Zimunya Township, and to her natal home in Mozambique.[2]

There were also cases of some Mozambican women who crossed into Umtali after enduring years of frustration in search of suitable men to marry. Among the Shona, the social status of a woman was enhanced upon marriage because her marriage created social ties between her kin and those of her husband.[3] As in several parts of Africa, a girl who reached the age of around 20 years without being married (*tsikombi* among the Shona) was regarded as cursed or possessed by evil spirits.[4] In most parts of rural Mozambique, the majority of middle-aged men were nearly always away for various reasons, for example, as migrant workers abroad, or having fled

[1]Masasire, 'Kinship and marriage', p.45.
[2]Interview with Bertha Mukasa, Muradzikwa village, Zimunya, Zimbabwe, 28 September 2010.
[3]Schmidt, *Peasants, traders and wives*, p.15.
[4]Interview with John Duri, Duri village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 22 October 2010.

Portuguese labour and tax obligations.[1] It was for these reasons that more than 50% of men were away from their home villages in southern Mozambique at the beginning of the 20th century.[2] As some interviewees recalled, it was also the wish of most rural Mozambican girls to be married by urban working men.[3]

'Even though I told my parents that I wanted to go to Umtali to join my elder sister and seek employment, the real truth is that I was looking for a man to marry from that side, and my mother was quite aware of my frustrations in this regard', recalled Edna Garambe when she left her parents' home at Chadzuka village in Mozambique during September 1966. Laina, her elder sister, had gone to Umtali to seek work during the early 1960s without the consent of her parents and got employed as a domestic worker. Laina eventually got married in Umtali at the Native Commissioner's Court and with her papers now in order, she and her husband often visited Chadzuka village. During one such visit, Laina suggested that Edna come and join them in Umtali where employment opportunities were brighter. Their mother consented but their father refused. Edna later fled and joined her sister's family in Sakubva, an act that earned her mother a flogging from her father who accused her of connivance. She later got employed as a domestic worker in Sakubva's New Dangare Section and eventually married a Rhodesian African man who resided in Dangamvura suburb. In her oral testimony, Edna revealed that she had often discussed with her mother her wish to be married to a man who worked in town. At the age of 24 in 1966, she was increasingly becoming frustrated by the absence of such men in their village and surrounding areas. This was largely because in the greater part of Mozambique's Manica district most males in the age range of 18 years and above had fled the country as a result of

[1]Interview with Shupai Chitororo, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 23 December 2010.
[2] Young, 'Fertility and famine: Women's agricultural history in southern Mozambique', p.75.
[3]Separate interviews with Jesca Mucheni, Redwing Mine, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 8 January 2011; and Dawidzo Gono, Tsvingwe Township, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 8 January 2011.

Portuguese abuses. While she often discussed this situation with her mother, it was taboo to share such information with her father. Thus, she fled home with the blessings of her mother and regularly visited her parents after she got married.[1]

Some Mozambicans fled their home villages along the border and took refuge in Umtali after committing various offences that family members, kin, and the community at large regarded as taboo. Committing adultery with a close relative, for instance, was regarded as a serious offence by several African communities.[2] Severe mutilation and even death were common punishments for adultery among the pre-colonial Shona.[3]

Joachim, a man from Chadzuka village in Mozambique, committed adultery with his elder brother's wife in 1968. Joachim was single and aged 22 when the affair was reported to the village head the same year while his elder brother had been working on the Rand in South Africa since 1965 and had not returned home since. Joachim was summoned to appear before headman Chadzuka's court to answer charges of adultery. Instead, Joachim fled to Umtali alone without official travel documents and never returned home. In Umtali, he squatted at Weirmouth farm compound after befriending a local African man employed there. Joachim fraudulently acquired a Rhodesian registration certificate with the first name of Tendai and a different surname altogether. In October 1968 he got employed at the farm and got married to a woman from Dora village on the western outskirts of Umtali. After leaving work in 1972 he took permanent residence at his wife's village in Dora.[4]

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[1]Interview with Edna Garambe, Dangamvura's 'T' Section, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 2 November 2010.
[2]For similar measures from among the Nyakyusa in the East African Rift Valley, see Wilson, 'Nyakyusa kinship', p.123. For examples from among the Lozi, see 'Kinship and marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal', in A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde (eds.) *African Worlds*, p.181.
[3] Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, p.135.
[4]Interview with Joachim, Dora Dombo Business Centre, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 5 February 2011.

This section, like the previous one, has shown how some men and women were ostracised by their families, kin and the communities in general as a result of their failure to meet certain socio-cultural obligations and they having committed offences which the rural societies in Mozambique abhorred. Some of those ostracised fled across the border to Umtali where they settled with sympathetic relatives or persons previously unknown to them, hoping to be beyond the gaze and reach of their rural Mozambican communities. It has also been demonstrated that while some of the fugitives stayed permanently across the border and cut off contacts with families and kin back home, others maintained ties and sometimes returned after tensions had subsided.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored a broad range of socio-cultural interactions across the Umtali-Mozambique border. These interactions were characterised by continuities, changes, innovations and conflicts. Without overlooking other factors such as peer or age-group interactions, material considerations, social status aspirations and the influence of Christianity and Western values, it is argued that family and kinship dynamics played a significant role in shaping these processes. The ambivalence of the border has also been discussed. On the one hand, it was a porous terrain, as evidenced by the circumvention of Forbes Border Post, across which various socio-cultural interactions such as marital unions and resultant kinship ties between the relatives of spouses took place. On the other, it became a barrier to family and kinship solidarity in times of internal conflict within these structures as the offended, the disgruntled and those ostracised exploited its existence to flee across and isolate themselves from others. Most of the conflicts emanated from the desire by certain individuals or groups to challenge some corporate family and kinship obligations that prevailed in their rural communities. Most of these obligations victimised

women and greatly restricted their freedom. The search for refuge by some Mozambican women and girls in areas across the border such as Umtali which they hoped were beyond the gaze and reach of their family members and relatives should therefore be viewed in the context of their desire to overcome their structural subordination and socio-cultural restrictions inherent in their rural societies. The numbers of people frustrated by problems within their family and kin structures who fled across the border into Umtali, though difficult to determine, should not be exaggerated. What is apparent is that the circumstances which made some members to desert their rural communities were sporadic and the consequent flight across the border did not reach epidemic proportions. This chapter has also shown that a considerable number of the fugitives across the border did not enter a wilderness, but sought refuge among village mates, kin and other family members in Umtali, an issue that will be reinforced in the next chapter. Family and kinship dynamics are therefore a significant tool of analysis in studies on informal cross-border mobility and interactions.

CHAPTER 5

INFORMAL CROSS-BORDER LABOUR MOBILITY AND PRACTICES, 1900-1974

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on African pursuits for employment across the Umtali-Mozambique border without going through colonial official channels. These informal, irregular or clandestine activities were criminalised by colonial administrators. Those involved were unaccounted for in official records until they were arrested by the authorities.[1]This chapter begins by outlining the attempts by Rhodesian and Portuguese officials to regulate the flow of labour across borders. It then examines why Africans avoided colonial labour-recruitment and employment procedures. The chapter also explores a range of informal labour practices undertaken by Africans across the border during the colonial period which included circumventing colonial labour-recruitment institutions, labour touting, self-employment particularly by women and children, and desertion from work.

Two arguments are being raised in this chapter. Firstly, it is asserted that family-kinship dynamics and affiliations contributed significantly to the development of informal cross-border labour practices, but were largely affected by these activities in a negative sense. Secondly, it is argued that factors to do with gender, class and generational commonalities, rather than consciousness, of the participants were also crucial in influencing the development of irregular cross-border labour practices such as labour touting.

[1] J.O. Oucho, 'Cross-border migration and regional initiatives in managing migration in Southern Africa', in P. Kok, D. Gelderblom, J. Oucho and J. Van Zyl (eds.) *Migration in South and Southern Africa*, Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press, 2006, p.52.

5.2 Background: Attempts by Rhodesian and Portuguese authorities to regulate the flow of African labour

As stated in Chapter 3, colonial officials and private concerns faced labour shortages during the formative years of Umtali thus paving way for the inflow of foreign African labour mostly from Mozambique where employment opportunities were very limited.[1] Rhodesian officials were therefore relatively lax in regulating the inflow of African labour during the first decade of the 20th century but were always intent on closely monitoring it.[2] Despite their financial limitations, Portuguese authorities made significant attempts to thwart the outflow of labour to neighbouring countries. This was the institutional background against which the informal pursuits for employment across borders by Africans operated.

On 1 July 1900, the Rhodesian government formed the Labour Board to recruit African labour in the whole country. After nine months of operation, it was discovered that African work-seekers continued to shun official recruitment formalities.[3] In 1903 the major mining companies formed the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau (RNLB) in the face of increasing competition from the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA). This combined effort gave mining companies the advantage of collectively offering African workers low wages. In 1906 the government transformed the Bureau from a mining concern to a recruitment agency for all

[1] See, for example, Old Mutare Archives, Box File Number 2, Resource materials and notes: E.L. Sells, 'The history of Manicaland, Rhodesia, 1832-1897' (not dated).
[2] Mutambirwa, *The rise of settler power in Southern Rhodesia*, p.89.
[3] In Mashonaland, for example, less than 4000 Africans had been recruited by the Board while about 10,000 had found work directly from employers (see Mason, *The birth of a dilemma*, p.224.Also see Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, p.165).

employers countrywide.[1] Workers recruited by the Bureau signed contracts which they had to fulfil failing which they were liable for prosecution.[2]

In an attempt to curb the flight of African labour to neighbouring countries, especially South Africa, the Rhodesian government passed the African Labour Regulations Ordinance of 1911, amended in 1915; and the African Labour Regulations Act of 1924, amended in 1927, 1938, 1941, 1951, 1962 and 1963. According to these statutes only licensed agents were authorised to recruit African labour. It was criminal for a recruiter to enrol deserters, or to induce workers by offering higher wages and other benefits as a way of making them to violate labour contracts. African workers were deemed to be in violation of the law if they deserted or absented themselves from work, or failed to fulfil their contractual obligations.[3]

The Portuguese and Rhodesian authorities signed the Tete Agreement in August 1913 in an effort to thwart clandestine labour migrants from Mozambique's Tete province. The agreement allowed Rhodesia to recruit up to 15,000 Mozambican workers per year. Upon entry into Rhodesia, every Mozambican African had to purchase a passport for £1. The recruits were to be handed over to the RNLB for distribution to various places of employment. There was a provision for compulsory repatriation after the expiry of a contract. The agreement was renewed in 1920, and again in 1934.[4]

Medical examinations and compulsory vaccinations for work-seekers to Rhodesian towns were provided for in the amended Native Registration Act of 1918. Foreign Africans were particularly

[1] Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.25.
[2] See the Masters and Servants Ordinance 1 of 1899, Ordinance 5 of 1901, Ordinance 1 of 1902, Ordinance 8 of 1909, Ordinance 6 of 1922, Act 8 of 1929, Act 53 of 1959, in Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law of Southern Rhodesia Volume 7*, Salisbury: Mardon Printers, 1963, pp.131-138.
[3] See Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law of Southern Rhodesia Volume 2*, Salisbury: Mardon Printers, 1963, pp.474-482.
[4] Warhurst, 'The Tete Agreement,' pp.37-38

targeted for medical check-ups. As early as 1911, the Native Affairs Committee had warned: 'Syphilis is very prevalent and is largely attributed to...alien labourers, especially from Portuguese territory. The immigration of a large number of male alien labourers, who bring very few women with them, naturally subjects indigenous women to great temptations.'[1] In Salisbury and Bulawayo, lazarettos (quarantine stations) were opened in 1925 to conduct medical examinations on African work-seekers.[2] In Umtali, the examinations were carried out at the African Infectious Diseases Hospital in Sakubva everyday between 8:00 am and noon except Sundays and holidays.[3] Those who successfully underwent medical examinations were issued with health certificates valid for three months. This Act was reinforced by the Public Health Act of 1925 which empowered the authorities to arrest Africans deemed to be a threat to public health. The Act made it an offence for Africans to remain employed in areas such as hotels and domestic service with the full knowledge that they had sexually-transmitted diseases. From the 1920s, single female work-seekers to Rhodesian towns and other industrial areas were 'forced to open their legs and allow themselves to be "inspected".'[4] This practice was widely known as *chibeura* (opening something by force) in the Shona-speaking areas of Rhodesia.[5] A 1929 government notice forbade any employer from engaging African females as general or domestic servants if they did not have valid medical certificates from an officially-recognised medical practitioner.[6] By the late 1940s and early 1950s, medical examinations were being conducted on all employed males and married women, and on both employed and unemployed single women

[1] Southern Rhodesia, *Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Enquiry, 1910-11*, Salisbury: Government Printer, 1911, p.3.
[2]Jackson, 'When in the white man's town,' pp.197-200.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Council warning on medical examination of African employees', 27 June 1962, p.7.
[4]Jackson, 'When in the white man's town,' p.191.
[5]Jackson, 'When in the white man's town,' p.192.
[6] NAZ, S241/531: The Colonial Secretary: 'Anti-venereal disease clinics in urban areas', 6 May 1929.

in Rhodesia's main urban and industrial centres, and at border posts.[1] The Natives (Urban Areas) Medical Examination of Natives Regulations of 1961 made employers who took up Africans without medical certificates liable to a fine of up to £20 or three months' imprisonment.[2]

The Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act of 1946,[3] which became effective in Umtali on 1 January 1948, required employers to be responsible for accommodating their workers in order to monitor them even after work. It also required local authorities to provide hostel accommodation for Africans work-seekers or visitors. As noted in Chapter 3, the Act also obliged all visitors and work-seekers in towns to have passes. Local authorities were also empowered to set up employment bureaus for Africans. Successful work-seekers were then issued with a contract-of-service document, a record of the employment details of Africans so that a worker who visited any part of the country could easily be identified.[4]The 1946 Act also obliged work-seekers to undergo compulsory vaccination and medical examination. Those who were diagnosed with diseases such as sexually-transmitted ailments and tuberculosis were excluded.[5]

The African Labour Supply Act of 1946 established the Rhodesia African Labour Supply Commission as the sole recruiter of labour from within Rhodesia and abroad with effect from 27

[1]Jackson, 'When in the white man's town,' p.203.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Employers' duty to see that staff are medically examined: Penalties for non-observance,' 23 April 1961, p.7.
[3] This Act was consolidated by the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (Chapter 20) of 1951, 27 of 1957, 29 of 1959, 50 of 1960 and 153 of 1963. See Southern Rhodesia Government, *The Statute law, Volume 2*, pp. 579, 594-595.
[4]See *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Employers responsible for servants' housing in January,' 25 November 1947, p.5; *Umtali Advertiser*: '5800 contracts of service issued to Africans,' 7 January 1949, p.1; and *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Native loiterers must be attracted away,'25 March 1949, p.1.
[5] See *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Employers responsible for servants' housing in January,' 25 November 1947, p.5; and *Umtali Post*: 'Council warning on medical examination of African employees', 27 June 1962, p.7.

December 1946.[1] This was in view of the influx into Rhodesian towns of local and foreign Africans seeking work and other business opportunities offered by the post-Second World War industrial boom. Among other things, the Commission sought to ensure that African labour recruits had proper pass and travel documents, and were medically examined. Employers were required to pay the Commission for the service of labour recruitment done on their behalf.[2] The Commission fixed the minimum wage paid to the African at 25 shillings per ticket, rising by 2s6d per ticket on completion of six consecutive tickets. It also stipulated that Africans recruited from Nyasaland would be contracted to employers for 18 months and those from Mozambique for 12 months.[3] Private recruitment of labour became a serious criminal offence and the issuing of labour licenses to agents was prohibited.[4]

In an attempt to monitor the flow of labour from Mozambique and other countries, the Rhodesian administration organised a bus system from 1950 to ferry foreign work-seekers from points along the border into the interior. At the end of January 1950 a bus picked up Mozambican immigrant work-seekers from the Honde Valley and Penhalonga and transported them to Umtali.[5] On its maiden trip from Honde via Penhalonga, the bus carried 'numerous passengers.'[6] In March 1950, it delivered 550 passengers into Umtali.[7] In April of the same year, the bus delivered 489 Mozambicans from the Honde Valley to Umtali.[8] The Rhodesian government also

[1]The African Labour Supply Commission Act (Chapter 36) of 1946, 25 of 1948, 36 of 1948, 44 of 1951, 12 of 1954, 52 of 1954, 1 of 1959 , in Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law , Volume 2,* pp.489-490.
[2] In 1948, this capitation fee was set at £6.5s to cover the cost for recruiting each worker. See, the African Labour Supply Commission Act (Chapter 36) of 1948, in Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law, Volume 2*, p.492.
[3]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'Colony's labour recruiting starts', 10 February 1948, p.6.
[4]The African Labour Supply Commission Act (Chapter 36) of 1948, in Southern Rhodesian Government, *The statute law, Volume 2,* p.497.
[5] NAZ, S1012/40: Report of the Labour Officer, Eastern Districts, for the month of September 1950.
[6] NAZ, S1012/40: Report of the Labour Officer, Eastern Districts, for the month of February 1950.
[7] NAZ, S1012/40: Report of the Labour Officer, Eastern Districts, for the month of March 1950.
[8] NAZ, S1012/40: Report of the Labour Officer, Eastern Districts, for the month of April 1950.

organised the *Ulere* scheme for Nyasaland African job-seekers.[1] Under this arrangement, an average of 300-400 Africans from Nyasaland entered Rhodesia each month in 1948.[2]

The Africans (Registration and Identification) Act of 1957, among other things, required every employer to demand a registration certificate/book or identity card from an African work-seeker.[3] If the African was a holder of the certificate or book, the employer inserted in ink his own name, date when service commenced and the rate of wages paid. The employer was also required to insert the date when the employment period of the worker ended. It was illegal to employ an African without the necessary documents for more than a week. The Act also criminalised the violation of a contract, or entering into the service of another employer while another contract was running. Any employer who willingly engaged a contracted African also became liable for prosecution.[4]

The Foreign Migratory Labour Act of 1958 introduced distinctive registration books for foreign African work-seekers. It again criminalised the engagement of foreign African workers who did not have the necessary paperwork.[5] Further attempts to regulate the flow of labour included the Vagrancy Act of 1960 which was discussed in Chapter 3. Beggars, the destitute, the homeless and the unemployed, for example, were classified as vagrants and their presence in towns and harbouring them was criminalised.[6]The African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration (Employment Bureaux) Regulations of 1973 introduced new controls on African work-seekers.

[1]*Ulere* is a Chinyanja word meaning 'free', implying that the Rhodesian government sponsored the travel and subsistence costs of migrants into the country (See *Umtali Advertiser*: 'New native migrant labour camp soon for Umtali,' 7 September 1948, p.1).
[2]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'New native migrant labour camp soon for Umtali,' 7 September 1948, p.1.
[3]Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law, Volume 2*, pp.560-563).
[4] See Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law, Volume 2*, pp.560-563.
[5]The Foreign Migratory Labour Act (Chapter 37) of 1958, 43 of 1963, 153 of 1963, in Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law, Volume 3*, pp599-600.
[6] Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law, Volume 1*, pp.605-611.

All work-seekers, except those with identity cards, were required to register at the labour employment bureau for a specific local authority area.[1]

As noted in Chapter 3, the Portuguese in Mozambique also instituted a number of legislative and administrative measures to curb the flight of Africans into Rhodesia. Besides way-laying and arresting Africans who intended to cross into neighbouring countries without official clearance, Portuguese authorities sometimes used diplomatic strategies to lure African labour. From the mid-1940s, for example, local administrators in Mozambique held campaigns where they promised Africans a non-coercive labour regime and encouraged them to stay in the country.[2] In 1967 African returnees from abroad, both formal and informal, were permitted to settle in their original areas. Other incentives included temporary tax and labour exemptions.[3]

5.3 Reasons why some Africans circumvented colonial labour-recruitment formalities

Attempts by colonial administrations to regulate the flow of work-seekers had limited success as evidenced by the surreptitious movement of Africans into urban centres and across borders. Women, for example, continued to drift into towns after escaping the notice of the authorities. Despite colonial restrictions on female mobility, urban areas in Southern Africa were not 'virgin territory' for African women. Instead, 'the urban areas of Southern Africa were marked by the presence of women from the earliest colonial days.'[1]

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[1]Rhodesia Government Notice 134 and 135, 2 February 1973.

[2] See, for example, AHM, FGDB, Cx 669: Administracao da Circunscricoes da Mutarara – Posto do Anchuaze, No. 58/B/15/3, Anchuaze, 23 de Outubro de 1945; AHM, FISANI, Cx 39: Joao Mesquita, Relatorio das Inspeccoes Ordinarias as Circunscricoes de Chemba, Sena, Marromeu, Gorongosa, Manica e Mossurize, do distrito da Beira, 1946; and AHM,FGDB, Cx 692: Administracao da Circunscricao de Chimoio, Relatorio incluso a No. 4171/B/17/1, Vila Pery, 11 de Setembro de 1947.

[3] AHM, SE: Branquinho Jose Alberto Gomes de Melo, 'Prospecao das forces traditionais: Manica e Sofala,' Relatorio Secreto para os Servicos de Centralizacao e Coordenacao de Informacoes, Provincia de Mocambique, Lorenco Marques, 1967.

[1] T. Barnes, 'Virgin territory? Travel and migration by African women in twentieth-century Southern Africa,' in J. Allman, S. Geiger and N. Musisi (eds.) *Women in African colonial histories*, p.164.

Colonial labour-recruitment procedures disadvantaged African work-seekers from outside Rhodesia in a number of ways. Formal recruitment was financially burdensome since they had to pay passport fees. Their wages were directly taxed and the proceeds went to the Mozambican government. They were also bound by contractual obligations which they were not allowed to breach even under conditions of maltreatment. As Coplan noted among Basuto migrant labourers in the Free State province of South Africa from the 1870s, workers tended to desert cruel and unjust employers in favour of those who were reputably considerate.[1] In addition, they could be subjected to compulsory repatriation at the end of their contracts. These conditions tended to spur covert labour migration forcing the RNLB to terminate operations in late 1934. Throughout its history, the RNLB failed to receive even 10% of the labour force per year as stipulated by the Tete Agreement.[2]

As noted earlier on, some Africans sought employment secretly in order to avoid the abusive ticket system which was introduced in Rhodesia in 1909. This system, which was collectively applied by white employers, had the overall effect of suppressing African wages.[3] Africans who sought work on their own usually received higher wages than those who went through labour agents because they could directly bargain for higher salaries with employers.[4] Between 1906 and 1911, for example, African miners who were officially recruited received lower wages than those who sought work on their own.[1]

Non-indigenous Africans who came to seek work in Rhodesia were generally reluctant to use official channels because they did not receive all their wages during their period of employment.

[1] Coplan, 'A river runs through it', p.88.
[2]Warhurst, 'The Tete Agreement,' pp.37-38.
[3]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'Native competition with Europeans', 9 September 1937, p.6.
[4] See Southern Rhodesia, *Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Enquiry, 1910-11*, p.37.
[1]Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, pp.25-26.

Part of their wages went straight for tax payment while another portion was given to them upon the completion of their contracts. After the expiry of their contracts, they again had to wait for weeks to have their bulk payment processed.[1] In addition, some Mozambican work-seekers in Rhodesia resented the bureaucratic procedures of procuring identification documents and passes, and undergoing medical check-ups. For them to undergo medical examinations, they had to queue at hospitals and also risked being detained indefinitely for treatment. The worst they sought to avoid was being deported if they had chronic ailments.[2] The labour bureaus therefore failed to attract much labour.

Labour agents were notorious for ill-treating job-seekers. Such treatment 'convinced many villagers of the physical dangers to which they might expose themselves if they went to work for Europeans.'[3] Labour agents had a reputation for being arrogant and brutal in their recruitment practices. In some cases they rounded up men in a village at gun point and beat up those who were reluctant to offer their labour. Even those who were willing 'were not spared this treatment on the way to places of employment.'[4] To most African work-seekers in Rhodesia, official labour recruitment institutions became symbols of terror and hatred and all employment obtained through the activities of the RNLB came to be referred to as *chibaro*, meaning slavery or forced labour.[1]

Very often, labour recruiters did not tell African work-seekers the truth about the nature of employment, working conditions and wages. Some Africans only noticed that they had been cheated after discovering from employers that there was no vacancy for the job which they had

[1]Southern Rhodesia, *Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Enquiry, 1910-11*, p.37. Also see Mutambirwa, *The rise of settler power in Southern Rhodesia*, pp.118-120.
[2]Interview with Moses Mugodo, Mugarandega village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 14 December 2010.
[3]Mutambirwa, *The rise of settler power in Southern Rhodesia*, p.97.
[4]Mutambirwa, *The rise of settler power in Southern Rhodesia*, pp.97-98.
[1] NAZ, ZAA1/1:V. Gielgud's evidence to the Native Labour Enquiry Committee, 1906, p.21.

been promised by the agents. Such deception was common in the mines where the majority of Africans preferred to work on the surface than underground.[1] Having been cheated in this way, African victims often spread word to other work-seekers and in their home areas about the bad reputation of the labour agents.[2]

For some European employers, informal labour arrangements were relatively cheaper because they did not have to pay official recruitment agencies the cost of recruiting labour.[3] In March 1949 J.R. Nesbitt, Umtali's Director of African Administration, expressed concern at irregular employment practices in the town which he blamed partly on European employers: 'The fault lies partly with the European. How many, when they are taking on a servant, insist on seeing that he has a pass to seek work, and that such a pass has not expired?'[4]

5.4 Irregular pursuits for employment in Umtali by Mozambican Africans

The desire to obtain financial and material resources to sustain themselves and their nuclear families made most people to seek employment, sometimes clandestinely. Some young men moved from their rural homes to seek work and other opportunities in order to raise cash to pay bride-price.[1]It will benoted in this section that family and kinship dynamics are an important tool of analysis in the discourse on informal cross-border labour mobility even though other factors related to gender, class and generational commonalities as well as status also need to be considered.

[1]Mutambirwa, *The rise of settler power in Southern Rhodesia*, p.100.
[2] NAZ, A3/18/30/4: P. Jenkins, RNLB manager to the Administrator, 15 November 1911.
[3]In 1948, an employer paid £6.5s to cover the cost of recruiting each worker. See, the African Labour Supply Commission Act (Chapter 36) of 1948, in Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law, Volume 2*, p.492.
[4] Quoted by the *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Native loiterer must be attracted away', 25 March 1949, p.1.
[1]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.104.

Social networks were important during the search for employment. The possibilities of getting employed in town were often discussed by family members, relatives, friends and village age-mates.[1] Those already employed sometimes informed their family members, relatives and friends back home about vacancies at some places of work.[2] During these discussions, some work-seekers connived to avoid labour-recruitment institutions and use their own social networks to get employment.[3]Considerate and notorious employers were also identified and nicknames were sometimes formulated to refer to them. Such argot (jargon) was adequate warning to other work-seekers to avoid certain employers. A particular mine, for example could earn the Shona nickname *Matiketi* (tickets) as a warning to others that their salaries may be delayed. *Chayamatako* (flog the buttocks), *Chigebenga* (a brutal or cruel person)[4] and *Fakamoto* (pierce with fire)[5] were common Shona labels for uncaring employers. When work-seekers finally decided to undertake the trip to Umtali, they usually travelled with senior family members (fathers or elder brothers) or relatives on their first trip.[6]

Since the Africans in Mozambique were forbidden from moving from one district to another without official clearance, those who intended to sneak into Rhodesia employed a number of strategies in order to travel across the country until they crossed the border. The forging of false travel passes, and the use of false identity documents became a widespread practice from the

[1]Interview with Shupai Chitororo, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 23 December 2010.
[2]Interview with Muchafa Machira, Chimoio town, Mozambique, 7 December 2010.
[3] See, for example, P. Stopforth, 'Survey of Highfield African Township', Occasional Paper Number 6, Salisbury: Department of Sociology, University of Rhodesia, 1971, pp.38-41; and McGregor, *Crossing the Zambezi*, p.69.
[3] Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.235.
[4] Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.235.
[5] Interview with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.
[6] Separate interviews with Simbarashe Mutsure, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 8 December 2010; and Amon Madoro, Chikanga suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 12 February 2011.

early 1940s.[1] Portuguese records of 1943 mention Mutarara in Mozambique as a popular meeting place for African migrants moving to and from Mozambique, Nyasaland and Rhodesia. Identity cards were often exchanged among family members, relatives and friends in order to deceive colonial officials and be able to move from various parts of the country to South Africa and Rhodesia.[2] By the late 1950s, several Africans in Chimoio possessed multiple identity documents from each district to avoid prosecution under pass laws.[3]

Most irregular work-seekers from various parts of Mozambique who entered Umtali passed through the Manica region. From the early 1940s, those from the northern part of the Beira district usually passed through Gorongosa, Barwe and southwards into Manica from where they crossed the border in the direction of Umtali. From Umtali, some went south and crossed the Save River on their way to South Africa.[4] The Beira-Chimoio-Manica route was the most popular for Mozambicans entering Rhodesia throughout the colonial period. It was even used by Sena informal migrants from Nyasaland who entered Mozambique first before proceeding into Rhodesia.[5] In May 1950, for example, Rhodesia's Labour Officer for the Eastern Districts reported the increasing number of Nyasaland Africans who entered the country through the eastern border from Mozambique.[1] From the region of Manica, they entered Rhodesia through several openings in the vicinity of Umtali. There was no definite entry point but the Penhalonga

[1] AHM, FGDB, Cx 693: Administracao da Circunscricao de Chimoio, No. 2162/B/12, Vila Pery, 14 de Maio de 1954.
[2] AHM, FGDB, Cx 639: Administracao da Circunscricao Civil de Mutarara, Confidential, No. 1140/B/17/1, Mutarara, 17 DE Agosto de 1943.
[3] AHM, FGDB, Cx 677: Administracao do Concelho de Chomoio, No. 2162/B/12, Vila Pery, 16 Junho de 1959.
[4] AHM, FISANI, Cx 39: Inspector Administrativo Cap. Abel de Souza Moutinho, Relatorio da Inspeccao Ordinaria a Circunscricao de Mossurize, 1943-1944.
[5] AHM, FGDB, Cx 692: Circunscricao de Sena, Elementos pedidos pela Circular No. 490/B/17/1, de 31/7/1947, 3 de Setembro de 1947.
[1] NAZ, S1012/40: Report of the Labour Officer, Eastern Districts, for the month of May 1950.

area was quite popular.[1] In view of the long distances travelled, more so to relatively unfamiliar lands, most migrants moved in groups most of whose members were well known to each other such as family members, relatives, friends and village mates.[2] A few examples are given below to illustrate the operations of these networks.

Amon Madoro left his Mozambican home village of Mukudu together with Eric, his elder brother, and two village mates in 1942 to seek work in Rhodesia. They crossed the border close to Penhalonga through bush paths during the night without passes to seek work and first secured employment as lumberjacks at Raino Sawmill at Sheba Forest Estate, 10 kilometres north of Umtali. Eric left in 1946 after their uncle (mother's brother), also from Mukudu village and employed as a domestic worker in Umtali's Morningside suburb, had informed him at their home village during one weekend that his employer's neighbour needed a domestic hand. Eric successfully sought employment, again without a pass and his new employer did not ask for it either. In 1948, Amon entered Umtali without a pass and got employed as a garden-hand a few houses away from Eric's place of work after the latter had informed him that his employer's friend needed his services.[3]

At the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court on 14 July 1956, Arumando, a Mozambican man, was found guilty and fined £5 for violating Section 3(1) of the Migrant Workers Act of 1948. He had been arrested on 1 July 1956 along Umtali's Main Street for entering Rhodesia to seek work without a valid identity document or a travel permit. The accused stated that he had teamed up

[1] See AHM, FGDB, Cx 692: Concelho de Manica, 'Repostas ao questionario,' Vila de Manica, 5 de Setembro de 1947; AHM, FGDB, Cx 683: Administracao do Concelho de Manica, No. 1761/B/17, Vila de Manica, 24 Setembro de 1948; and AHM, FGDB, Cx 693: Administracao da Circunscricao de Chimoio, No. 1662/B/17/1, Vila Pery, 14 de Maio de 1954.
[2] Separate interviews with Muchafa Machira, Chimoio town, Mozambique, 7 December 2010; Juwakinyu Kuromba, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 22 December 2010; Elisha Masitara, Dora village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 7 February 2011; and Amon Madoro, Chikanga suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 12 February 2011.
[3] Interview with Amon Madoro, Chikanga suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 12 February 2011.

with village mates and cousin brothers in Mozambique and planned to pass through Umtali with the hope of proceeding to Salisbury to secure employment.[1]

Juwakinyu Kuromba was assisted by his father to get employed in Umtali through unofficial means. His father was formally employed as a domestic worker for a white man in Umtali's Murambi suburb since the 1940s while he, his mother and three younger brothers stayed at home at Mutsinze village just across the border in Mozambique. His father came home one weekend in 1956 and told him that his employer's son in Umtali's Darlington suburb needed a young man to work in his garden as soon as possible. The following night the 19- year old Juwakinyu, accompanied by his father, entered Umtali through bush tracks. He did not have official papers to seek work since they risked losing the job if they delayed. Having started work, his employer assisted him to regularise his papers at the Umtali Native Commissioner's office.[2] These examples demonstrate that family and kinship networks greatly facilitated informal labour practices across the Umtali-Mozambique border.

Clandestine work-seekers were sometimes assisted by their relatives and friends to avoid medical examinations. In December 1940 Dr. L. Sanders, the Umtali Medical Officer of Health, reported that considerable numbers of African work-seekers from within Rhodesia and abroad who were suffering from venereal diseases had their passes presented at the Native Commissioner's office by their healthy relatives and friends in order to avoid medical examination. As a result, the passes were stamped thus allowing them to seek work with their venereal condition undetected.[1] In September 1944, Rhodesian colonial officials expressed concern at Mozambican African work-seekers who slipped into Umtali and outlying districts without undergoing medical

[1] NAZ, S3513/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, July 1956.
[2]Interview with Juwakinyu Kuromba, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 22 December 2010.
[1]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'Disease is increasing amongst natives', 24 December 1940, p.1.

examination.[1] By 1955, it had become apparent to Umtali local authorities that a considerable proportion of the city's European population was employing Mozambican Africans who had not undergone medical examination.[2] The Umtali Council's Health and African Affairs Committee expressed worry in June 1962 after observing that very few indigenous and non-indigenous African workers in the town were availing themselves for medical examination. A comparison of the number of African men who presented themselves for medical tests in Umtali during the month of June in four consecutive years showed a gradual decline from 1165 in 1959, 956 in 1960, 120 in 1961 to 46 in 1962.[3] A fascinating observation made here is that some Africans who knew that they were suffering from diseases that made them unemployable on the colonial labour market sometimes discussed their plight with family members, close relatives and acquaintances on strategies of circumventing medical examination.

African touts were sometimes employed by white employers in Umtali and surrounding farming areas to privately recruit Mozambican labour, a practice which was outlawed by the Rhodesian and Portuguese authorities.[4] Mozambican touts usually stationed themselves along bush paths that crossed the border into Umtali and lured work-seekers bound for Rhodesia to their employers. They sometimes entered migrant labour camps to redirect job-seekers. Working for a commission, most African touts often took advantage of family, kinship and ethnic affiliations to lure work-seekers. At times, the Mozambican touts travelled to their home villages across the

[1] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Parasitic diseases of natives', 13 September 1944, p.5.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Employers must have natives examined,' 9 September 1955, p.7.
[3] *Umtali Post*: 'Council warning on medical examination of African employees,' 27 June 1962, p.7.
[4] For similar practices in the Southern African region, see J. Crush, 'Migrations past: An historical overview of cross-border movement in Southern Africa,' D.A. McDonald (ed.) *On borders: Perspectives on international migration in Southern Africa*, New York: St. Martins Press, 2000, p.17; Connor, 'Crooks, commuters and chiefs', p.111; R. First, *Black gold: The Mozambican miner, proletarian and peasant*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983, p.27; and NAZ, S138/4: NC Umtali to CNC, correspondence, 8 February 1927.

border to recruit labour from among unsuspecting family members, relatives, friends and age-mates.[1]

At its meeting on 19 January 1945, the Umtali District Farmers Association deplored private recruiting in town and urged the government to curb 'all private, indiscriminate, touting or enticement of native labour by individuals.'[2] The Labour Officer for the Eastern Districts reported in November 1949 that an African man found recruiting at the Migrant Camp in Umtali had been reprimanded and discharged at the Magistrate's Court.[3] The Labour Officer lamented in April 1950: 'Clandestine recruiting is constantly going on along the Portuguese border…where several Europeans have been convicted for recruiting without the necessary license.'[4] At its meeting in Umtali on 5 May 1950, the Umtali District Farmers' Association strongly opposed private recruitment along the border.[5]

While most touts were employed as agents by Europeans, some operated independently. On 8 January 1957, for example, two Africans were fined £10 or two months' imprisonment each at the Umtali Magistrate's Court for recruiting labour in Umtali without a license. Mr A.P. de Wet and Mr C.J.H. Pretorius of Odzi related to the court how on 21 December 1956 an African called Zeka approached them outside Meikles Store in Main Street and asked if they required two Mozambican farm labourers. De Wet complied and on bringing over the two worker-seekers, Zeka demanded £3 for each. This was a trap and Zeka was arrested. On 22 December Amos, another African, stopped their car along Main Street near Hotel Marina with a similar offer but

[1]Separate interviews with Michael Mutwaro, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 7 November 2010; Simpson Gureyi, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 3 December 2010; and Lameck Hozi, Nyamakari village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 30 December 2010.
[2]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'Umtali District Farmers Association: Serious labour problem discussed', 24 January 1945, p.1.
[3] NAZ, S1012/40: Report of the Labour Officer, Eastern Districts, for the month of November 1949.
[4] NAZ, S1012/40: Report of the Labour Officer, Eastern Districts, for the month of April 1950.
[5]*Umtali Post*: 'Labour recruiting methods severely criticised,' 9 May 1950, p.1.

now demanding £3.10s for each labourer. They apprehended Amos and the two Mozambican worker-seekers and handed them over to the police.[1]

Most work-seekers, whether regular or irregular, chose places of work largely because of the presence there of family members, relatives or friends from home. For close to a decade during the 1960s, for example, Johannes Kunesu, four of his blood brothers, and their maternal uncle were employed at Umtali's Wattle Company. The uncle, who was the first to be employed, arranged with the management of the company to engage Johannes and his brothers.[2] As Dr. W. Alexander stated at a meeting of the Umtali Farmers Association held on 8 September 1944: '(The) natives in some respects are very like other peoples, they are clannish, and like to work together with their own brethren...'[3] To most labour migrants, ethnic and kinship groupings at workplaces provided a sense of security in a new socio-economic and political environment. Such groupings can be likened to 'insurance associations' in a harsh colonial dispensation.[4] It was also common practice for 19th century Pedi migrants bound for the South African East Rand mines to stick together during the journey to seek work and where possible, at the place of employment because '...a lone migrant was often prey to exaction and attack.'[5]

5.5. Harbouring of clandestine Mozambican work-seekers in Umtali

As stated earlier on in this chapter, Africans who entered Rhodesian towns to seek work were required by the authorities to register with labour-recruitment institutions; they were temporarily accommodated at migrant labour camps while their documents were being processed after which

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Fined £10 for recruiting,' 9 February 1957, p.5.
[2] Interview with Johannes Kunesu, Chadzuka village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 29 December 2010.
[3] Quoted by the *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Parasitic diseases of natives', 13 September 1944, p.5.
[4] S. Feierman, 'Social change in colonial Africa', in P. Curtin and others (eds.) *African history from earliest times to independence*, London: Longman, 1996, p.500.
[5] P. Delius, 'Sebatakgomo: Migrant organisation of the ANC and the Sekhukhuneland revolt', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 15, Number 4, October 1989, p.583.

they were distributed to various places of employment. To the contrary, most irregular work-seekers were harboured by their family members, relatives and friends. Mozambicans already resident in Umtali usually accommodated and inducted their newly-arrived kin who had crossed the border secretly. It was common for the newly-arrived to find their own accommodation in the town after finding employment.

The Umtali Municipality declared a curfew in Sakubva from 8:45pm to sunrise in March 1940 in a desperate attempt to monitor the movement of local and foreign Africans, most of them irregular job-seekers, seeking protection, food and shelter at the premises of their relatives and friends.[1] In March 1949 J.R. Nesbitt, Umtali's Director of Native Administration, charged that despite the fact that a hostel had been set up in Sakubva to accommodate foreign and local African work-seekers, few availed themselves of this facility because they preferred sleeping at the premises of friends and relatives in the plots, the location and backyards in town.[2] The CID warned in October 1951 that the law would prosecute all indigenous and non-indigenous African trespassers in Sakubva as well as any African householders who harboured them.[3] In December 1954, the Health and African Affairs Committee of the Umtali Municipality complained about the same issue and called upon the police to carry out periodic raids in the African residential areas.[4] As a result of the harbouring of clandestine fortune-seekers, most rooms in Sakubva meant for four people were holding between 10 and 16 occupants by April 1957.[1] On 30 December 1963, the *Umtali Post* reported that 'illegal' African inhabitants, both local and foreign, were creating slum conditions in Umtali. It stated that Sakubva had about 22,000 'legal'

[1]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'Are there too few police in Umtali?' 28 March 1940, p.1.
[2]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'Native loiterer must be attracted away', 25 March 1949, p.1.
[3] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 6-8 October 1951.
[4]*Umtali Post*: 'Sheltered illegally', 17 December 1954, p.9.
[1] NAZ, SS1/3-6: Evidence of the Umtali Municipality to the Urban Affairs Commission of 1957: Letter from the Director of Native Administration to the Secretary of the Department of Justice, 30 April 1957.

inhabitants and 3000 'illegal' others. The 'illegal' ones moved from block to block and from house to house each night to sleep with relatives and friends.[1] In his rather exaggerated annual report for the 1963-1964 year S.K. Bassett, the Umtali Municipality's Director of African Administration, lamented that the number of trespassers in Sakubva nearly equalled that of 'legal' township residents.[2] In October 1966 the Director of African Administration once more expressed concern at the considerable numbers of Africans who resided in Sakubva without official permission[3], a worry that was also raised by the same office in October 1972.[4] About 20,000 Africans, both foreign and local, were estimated to be 'illegally' residing in Sakubva in August 1973.[5] One session of the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 14 November 1974 fined as many as 29 Africans, 18 Mozambicans and 11 locals, for unlawfully residing with relatives and friends in Sakubva.[6]

By and large, those who harboured their colleagues and kin were not prepared to host them indefinitely because of resource constraints and fear of police raids and subsequent prosecution. Kinship and friendship ties often became strained after a clandestine incomer took long to get employed. Such incomers, especially distant relatives, could be denied food or evicted after which they sought alternative accommodation with other relatives or friends. In some cases, kinship relations were forged in Sakubva beer-halls during which an informal work-seeker claimed totemic ties and common district of origin in Mozambique with prospective 'landlords' in order to be accommodated.[1] Thus, as Stopforth observed in Salisbury's Highfield suburb during the late 1960s and early 1970s, the 'enlarged family' or 'groupings of convenience'

[1]*Umtali Post*: 'Illegal inhabitants of Sakubva create threat of slum conditions', 30 October 1963, p.7.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Sakubva sweep by security forces', 28 October 1964, p.7.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Vagrants live by wits', 21 October 1966, p.7.
[4]*Umtali Post*: 'Illegal residents in Sakubva causing crime rise', 18 October 1972, p.5.
[5] L. Spencer, the Umtali Magistrate, cited in the *Umtali Post*: 'Illegal residents fined', 27 August 1973, p.5.
[6]*Umtali Post*: '29 Africans fined for illegal residence', 15 November 1974, p.9.
[1]Interview with Eric Madanza, Dangamvura Area 3 suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 9 November 2010.

between the nuclear family and related or unrelated lodgers, borders and dependents were quite common as Africans sought to adapt to harsh urban environments.[1] Similar sentiments were expressed by Reader: 'The urban situation is one in which related and unrelated persons band together as best as they can to make a living and survive in what, in many respects, is a hostile milieu.'[2]

Investigations of an assault case by African Constable Askinos which involved searching the Sakubva quarters of Finiyasi, the accused Mozambican male, on 5 March 1956 revealed that the accused stayed with his newly-arrived elder blood-brother named Nyagwete. It also turned out that the victim of the assault was also a Mozambican who had temporarily harboured a nine-year old Mozambican boy called Dumba before the later had got employed as a domestic worker at Number 1, Third Street. Further interrogations revealed that the victim of the assault was Dumba's uncle.[3]

Augusto, a Mozambican man, was arrested in Umtali in October 1960 for entering Rhodesia without a pass. He had entered Umtali in 1958 to look for work after heavy rain had destroyed his home. He stayed in Umtali with his elder brother but after failing to secure employment, he left for Kariba, a small Rhodesian town on the border with Northern Rhodesia, to stay with another elder brother. After failing to get a job again, he returned to his brother's place in Umtali early in 1960 where he was arrested.[1] The two examples above illustrate that some clandestine work-seekers from Mozambique were harboured by their family members and close relatives in

[1] P. Stopforth, *Survey of Highfield African Township*, Salisbury: University of Rhodesia, Department of Sociology, Occasional paper Number 7, 1971, p.8.
[2] Quoted by E. Gargett, *The administration of transition: African urban settlement in Rhodesia*, Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1977, p.23.
[3] NAZ, S3513/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, NC Court, 6 March 1956.
[1] *Umtali Post*: 'One vagrant sent for rehabilitation after Umtali inquiry', 31 October 1960, p.1.

Umtali. It should therefore be noted that family and kinship dynamics are an important tool of analysis in the study of informal cross-border labour mobility and practices.

5.6 Frequency of home visits by informal Mozambican workers in Umtali

Home visits by Mozambican workers informally employed in Umtali were very erratic. In actual fact, some never returned to their homes.[1] This was largely because frequent trips across the border increased their chances of being detected by the authorities. Again, the frequency of visits also depended on the distance between their home villages and Umtali to the extent that those further in the Mozambican interior rarely visited their families.[2] In addition, more married men with families in Mozambique made attempts to keep in touch with their homes than those who were single, some of whom married in and around Umtali where they took up permanent residence.[3]

Tendai Maguta, a Mozambican man from Arufaso village in Mozambique, secretly sought work as a general hand at Manyoka Store in Sakubva in 1968 and only returned to permanently stay at home in 1975 when Mozambique got its independence. During the period 1968-1975, he visited his wife and family in Mozambique only once because he risked being arrested since he did not have a pass. The only time he went home was one evening in 1972 when he used bush tracks from Marymount College to cross into Mozambique. He however sent his family groceries on a regular basis, especially during weekends, through some of his village mates who were formally employed by the Umtali Municipality. The groceries he sent at any given time were not substantial since his travelling colleagues also had their own goods to carry home. It was also not

[1]Interview with Lydia Gutsa, McGregors Section, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 7 August 2010.
[2] Separate interviews with Adson Agosto and Joyce Mundina, Chadzuka village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 29 December 2010.
[3]Interview with Josephine Pirato, Mugarandega village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 15 December, 2010.

possible to send money to his family since the owner of the small shop at Arufaso village did not accept Rhodesian currency.[1] This example shows that home visits by Mozambicans secretly employed in Umtali were erratic for fear of being arrested.

At times the goods meant for families in Mozambique failed to reach their intended destination after those who had promised to deliver them converted them for their own use. This was the fate of Adson Agosto who had entered Umtali in 1966 without a travel permit and got self-employed as a tinsmith in Sakubva. His wife and children remained at his Mozambican home village of Chadzuka. Sometime in 1969 he sent Ernesto Chamiti, a fellow Mozambican villager formally employed at the Railways and with whom he shared a room at Matida Hostel, with groceries for his wife and children. It was after two months when Adson had sneaked into Mozambique to see his family that he discovered that the goods had not been delivered. Upon Adson's return to Sakubva, he attacked Ernesto and a fierce fist-fight ensued.[2]

Unlike their counterparts who were informally employed in Umtali, considerable numbers of married men in regular employment commuted from their homes just across the border in Mozambique on a daily or weekly basis using officially-designated points of entry. When Evans Madanza was formally employed by the Umtali Municipality during the period 1948-1972, he used to visit his wife and children at his Mozambican home village of Mukudu every weekend. In cases of family emergencies such as illness, he sought permission from his employers to go midweek.[1]

[1]Interview with Tendai Maguta, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 23 December 2010.
[2]Interview with Adson Agosto, Chadzuka village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 29 December 2010.
[1]Interview with Adam Madanza, Dangamvura Area 3 suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 22 November 2010.

In 1961 Lameck Jack was cleared by Portuguese authorities at Manica to seek work in Rhodesia. He was granted a pass to seek employment in Umtali by Rhodesian authorities later during the year. In October 1961, he was employed as a loader by the Railways in Umtali. He visited his family at Manica every Friday evening and returned to work every Monday morning since he was off-duty on Saturdays and Sundays. Lameck used the Forbes Border Post during his trips since he was officially cleared to work in Umtali. He usually did not inform his village mates who were secretly employed in Umtali of his regular weekend trips home for fear of being overloaded with groceries for their families.[1]

Some Mozambican workers formally employed in Umtali visited their families regularly but did not use colonial border posts. This was because Umtali was closer to their home villages than Forbes Border Post. On 29 and 30 August 1972, 28 Mozambican Africans were arrested by Rhodesian authorities at the Nyamakari Gate near Circular Drive and close to Carmel College on the eastern outskirts of Umtali. Nyamakari Gate was not an authorised port of entry into Rhodesia in terms of the Rhodesian Immigration Act although there was a Portuguese border post on the Mozambican side. Of the 28 Mozambicans arrested, 18 were men all employed day-workers in Umtali. Nine women and a juvenile were not employed. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 30 August, the men were found guilty of contravening the Immigration Act and each fined $6 or 18 days in prison. The women and the juvenile were given suspended sentences for a year on condition that they did not commit similar offences during this period.[1] A white Portuguese resident of Umtali wrote to the Rhodesian Immigration Officer and to the Minister of Commerce and Industry wondering why the Nyamakari Gate was not a legal point of entry into Rhodesia. He reminded the Rhodesian authorities that many white residents in Umtali employed

[1]Interview with Lameck Jack, Manica town, Mozambique, 28 December 2010.
[1]*Umtali Post*: 'Fined for illegal entry,' 1 September 1972, p.7.

Africans who walked into the town on a daily basis from Nyamakari village which was just across the border. He noted that in June 1972 the Portuguese authorities had taken steps to ensure that all Africans residing in the village and working in Umtali were properly documented, and gave all of them the relevant travel documents to cross the border into Umtali for work on a daily basis. 'Despite this they are being arrested because the Rhodesian authorities do not recognise Nyamakari Gate as a legal port of entry although there is a Portuguese border post on the Mozambican side,' he said.[1] The Portuguese complainant questioned why the Mozambican Africans employed in Umtali had to walk for about 20 kilometres over the hills to Forbes Border Post to gain entry. He made reference to one employee who had a wife and children in Nyamakari and had previously crossed the Gate every night after work. This employee was one of those arrested during the police blitz of 29 and 30 August.[2] Despite the arrests, most Mozambicans formally employed in Umtali continued to visit their villages on a regular basis, in most cases using bush paths. In September 1973 Umtali's white employers interviewed by the *Umtali Post* acknowledged that most of their servants lived across the border in Mozambique and went home every weekend to visit their families.[3]

5.7 Deserting work in Umtali and escaping to Mozambique

As noted in Chapter 3 and earlier on in this chapter, desertion from work was regarded as a criminal offence by colonial authorities. Desertions were widespread since the early years of the labour boards and bureaus in Rhodesia. Out of the 8429 workers recruited by the Board in Matebeleland from October 1900 to March 1901, for example, 2160 deserted.[1] In its annual report for 1901, the Rhodesia Chamber of Mines noted that 22.8% of the African miners

[1]*Umtali Post:* 'Fined for illegal entry,' 1 September 1972, p.7.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Arrests inconvenient: Make Nyamakari Gate legal point of entry – letter,' 1 September 1972, p.7.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Unnecessary PEA border crossings attacked,' 24 September 1973, p.1.
[1] Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.78.

dispatched from Bulawayo to Surprise Mine disappeared before reaching the mine, and 66% of those who arrived deserted before working for an average of two weeks.[1] From as early as 1900, it was common for immigrant African workers in Rhodesia to destroy their passes after deserting their employers. They would then travel to pass offices along the border to get new ones with clean records. Another common strategy was to pretend to have lost passes they had destroyed. A memorandum submitted by H.L. Bowman to the Native Labour Committee and tabled before a meeting of the Umtali District Farmers' Association on 6 November 1953 attacked the registration system prevailing in the country for being open to abuse by both indigenous and non-indigenous African employees and work-seekers: 'There is nothing to prevent a native from destroying his registration certificate if he wishes to desert and there are far too many Europeans who are willing to engage a native without this certificate. It is also too easy for natives to obtain a new registration certificate under a new name.'[2]At the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court on 11 April 1956, for instance, Luciano, a Mozambican man, was tried for violating the Native Passes Act. On 10 April 1956, he had falsely told a pass officer in Umtali that he had not previously been registered and needed a new pass. He was fined £5 or one month in prison.[1] In some cases, workers who had deserted forged signatures of their employers as an indication of a fulfilled contract.[2]

Some Mozambican migrant labourers in Umtali, both formal and informal, worked for brief periods of time to accumulate some financial resources to sustain their families after which they deserted and slipped back home. They came back to seek work secretly after the resources had been exhausted. This form of oscillating migrant labour during which men, in most cases, left

[1] The Rhodesia Chamber of Mines, quoted by Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.78.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Problems from shortage of labour: Foreign natives cause overcrowding,' 9 November 1953, p.7.
[1] NAZ, S3513/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, April 1956.
[2] Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.232.

their rural homes to work for short stints and then return was widespread in colonial Africa.[1] Commenting on the problem of desertions on 7 January 1955, Colonel H.G. Seward, the Native Labour Officer for the Eastern Districts, noted that 75-85% of Umtali's African workers came from Mozambique and very few of them remained with a single employer for more than a year because they had no stake in Rhodesia.[2] Some Rhodesian newspapers wrongly attributed this 'unpredictability' by Mozambican workers to a 'work allergy' in which 'natives can get by without labouring.'[3] In 1965, John Zhanero formally sought work and signed a 12-month contract as a domestic servant with his white employer who resided in Umtali's Palmerston suburb. He deserted his employer and fled back to his Mozambican home village of Mutsinze after only nine months as he felt that he had raised enough money to pay bride price (*roora*) for his fiancé who came from the same village.[4]

Some Mozambican workers who were formally employed in Umtali deserted their work-places because their family members back home were facing various problems that needed urgent attention at a time when their employers would had refused to release them temporarily. Having attended to problems back home, they usually acquired fake registration documents in Mozambique, either by exchanging with those of relatives and friends or getting new ones with false details from Portuguese authorities. They then returned to Umtali to seek work with different employers.[1]These examples show that some cross-border labour practices, such as desertion from work, that were criminalised by colonial administrators were indeed legitimate efforts by some Africans to fulfil their family and community obligations.

[1] S. Feierman, 'Social change in colonial Africa', p.500.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Work allergy hampering progress: Natives can get by without labouring', 10 January 1955, p.7.
[3] For some insight into these sentiments see, for example, the *Umtali Post*: 'Work allergy hampering progress: Natives can get by without labouring', 10 January 1955, p.7.
[4]Interview with John Zhanero, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 22 December 2010.
[1]Interview with Luckson Sauti, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 3 December 2010.

Marital problems forced some Mozambicans to desert their workplaces and return home. Jonas Chamupira, a Mozambican man employed by the Railways, deserted work and returned to his home village of Mugoriwondo in 1966 after experiencing domestic disputes with his Rhodesian African wife. They had been married for two years and stayed together in the Railway Compound. His wife had never been to their home village in Mozambique although he used to go there regularly to see his parents. They had no children, a situation which made him to chase his wife in 1966. After his wife's brothers who resided in Sakubva had unsuccessfully tried to convince Jonas to give the marriage another chance, they beat him up and confiscated all household property and his personal belongings such as clothes. Jonas relinquished his job as a general worker at the Railways without notice and fled to Mozambique for fear of assaults from his wife's relatives. He stayed at his home village for two months after which he returned to Rhodesia to seek work with the very same pass he had deserted with. He avoided Umtali and successfully sought employment as a lumberjack at Meikles farm 15 kilometres north of Umtali.[1] This case demonstrates that family disputes sometimes made some Mozambicans employed in Umtali to desert work and return home. An insight into the nature of interactions within family and kinship structures is therefore important in understanding why some Africans embarked on some informal cross-border practices.

Grievances related to the workplace also account for some desertions by Mozambican workers. At their places of work or outside, fellow workers whether kin or unrelated, sometimes discussed their working grievances and the viability of desertion as a solution to their problems. As Joseph Ruferi stated, all workers whether Mozambican or local knew that if they deserted and remained with the same pass document, they could easily be detected and consequently prosecuted. Local

[1]Interview with Jonas Chamupira, Mugoriwondo village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 19 December 2010.

deserters could easily be followed up at their villages in the Rhodesian countryside but those from Mozambique had the advantage of jumping the border for a while. Portuguese authorities did not arrest them but were only too glad of their home-coming as they would boost the number of labourers and tax-payers. Some workers who deserted their employers in Umtali went back to their homes in Mozambique where they acquired new registration documents with different names, or exchanged with those of family members and close relatives. They then returned to Umtali to seek work with different employers. In Umtali and back home in Mozambique, those who intended to desert or had deserted usually told their nuclear family members and close relatives the truth but out of the fear of being betrayed, the generality of kin were given varying versions, for example, that they were on holiday.[1]It should therefore be noted that family members and close relatives were sometimes complicit in some informal cross-border labour practices such as desertion.

Some workers, mostly those unhappy with their wages, stole from their employers and deserted. Domestic workers, for example, usually stole household utensils, jewellery and foodstuffs. Mr and Mrs R.M. Pratt of 24, Victory Avenue, for example, returned home at lunch time on 9 November 1951 to discover that their two Mozambican domestic workers had vanished with almost the entire contents of their wardrobes, jewellery, bed-linen and a loaded automatic pistol, all valued at about £200.[1] It is however unrealistic to attribute such actions to some form of collective class consciousness by workers or impoverished sections of the population against employers and the authorities. Rather, such acts should be viewed in simplistic material terms as sporadic attempts by impoverished people to supplement their incomes and salvage a livelihood.

[1]Interview with Joseph Ruferi, Manica town, Mozambique, 27 December 2010.
[1]*Umtali Post*: 'Servants vanished with £200 worth of goods,' 13 November 1951, p.7.

5.8 Informal self-employment activities in Umtali by Mozambican women and children

Some Mozambican women who entered Umtali to seek work did so without official papers. In some cases, as noted in Chapter 4, they actually ran away from their homes without the consent of family members and relatives. Most women entered Umtali without official documentation largely because during the first five decades of colonial rule, the Rhodesian government and private employers generally preferred male labourers, even in domestic service, the major reason being that females in town were associated with prostitution and venereal diseases. Employment opportunities for Mozambican children in Rhodesia were also very limited owing to the Native Juvenile Employment Act of 1908 which discouraged the employment of juveniles.[1] It was in view of this background that most Mozambican women and children who entered Umtali engaged in informal self-employment activities. These included begging by children, and beer-brewing by women. Both women and children, and relatively few men, also sought opportunities in vending.

There was a significant influx of Mozambican women and children into Umtali from the late 1920s. This was largely a result of the Great Depression which ruptured the economies of countries worldwide from the late 1920s into the early 1930s. In Rhodesia and Mozambique, business in general was also crippled resulting in many African workers on the male-dominated labour market losing their jobs.[1] The number of African hawkers in Umtali, most of them women and juveniles of Mozambican origin, rose considerably as a result. On 17 November 1931, for example, a Mozambican African juvenile was convicted for evading Rhodesian customs officials

[1]In Rhodesia, a juvenile was regarded as a child under the age of 16 years. See NAZ, NUA7/3/1: Report of the Native Labour Department, 1908.
[1]Kane, *The world's view*, p.236.

and hawking in Umtali without a licence.[1] In March 1938, Dr. Oswald Jackson, Umtali's Medical Officer of Health, argued that the activities of the African vendors from Mozambique were a health hazard because 'many natives coming into the town with products do so from a territory over which we have no medical control.'[2] Jackson again complained to the Umtali Council on 23 December 1940 about the outbreak of typhoid in the town which he blamed on vegetables 'manured with a mixture of water, animal and human excreta' brought in by Mozambican vendors.[3] He again advised the Council on 28 May 1943 to seek assistance from the police to block the entry of vegetables 'from over the border' and to prosecute anyone found hawking without a license.[4] These Rhodesian perceptions of Mozambican Africans as diseased bodies coming from diseased environments to inflict harm and spread disease to supposedly pure and healthy European areas were mere fabrications and should be viewed as metaphors of influx control.

Mozambican children, some of them destitute, continued to stream into Umtali during the 1940s. In 1943, A.S. Haslam, the Assistant Native Commissioner for Umtali noted that most of the destitute 'alien' juveniles in the town were from Mozambique.[1] During the same year, Mozambican children continued to drift into Umtali and those who were 'sent away...were, it seems, about as many as those who came in without their parents.'[2] Some of the juveniles successfully sought employment as cooks and general hands. 'Obviously these juveniles can't be expected to prepare meals as well as experienced women,' argued the Native Commissioner for

[1] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 15 December 1931.
[2] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Medical Officer's report to Town Council,' 31 March 1938, p.8.
[3] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Disease is increasing amongst natives', 24 December 1940, p.1.
[4] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Medical Officer of Health wants town improvements', 2 June 1943, p.3.
[1] NAZ, S1906/2: Evidence of A.S. Haslam, Assistant NC, Umtali, to the Economic, Social and Health Conditions of Africans employed in Urban Areas Committee, 1943-1944.
[2] Gray, *The two nations*, p.264.

Umtali in 1943, 'and there is the danger that they are led into all sorts of temptations, such as gambling and drinking and they have not the money to do this.'[1]

Those who failed to secure employment embarked on other livelihood-earning strategies such as begging. At an Umtali Council meeting on 30 June 1949, a councillor reported on the increasing number of beggars, most of them from Mozambique, in Umtali's streets. He had recently handed over two juvenile beggars to the police who discovered that they had come from Macequece across the border. Some time later, the councillor again saw one of the beggars in the streets of Umtali. It was in view of such developments that the Council meeting of 30 June 1949 requested the government to empower local authorities to introduce bye-laws prohibiting begging in their areas. The councillors drew the attention of the government to the fact that Umtali 'by virtue of its geographical position, is more liable to such nuisance than other local authority areas.'[2] At the September 1951 monthly meeting of the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Umtali Council, some councillors complained that on several occasions during the past two years they had raised concern at the conspicuous presence of African beggars in the town, yet the problem continued unabated.[1]

Tadiwa and Thomson Ketero, twin brothers from Mukudu village in Mozambique, crossed into Umtali in 1972 at the age of 16 after enduring years of neglect by their paternal uncle and his family. Their father had fled Mozambique in 1964 and never returned due to tax arrears he owed the Portuguese authorities. They stayed at home with their mother and it was rumoured that their father had crossed into Umtali before proceeding to Bulawayo. Their mother died in 1970 and their father's elder brother took custody of them. Since their new custodian was unemployed

[1]NC for Umtali, in his evidence to the Howman Committee, p.114.
[2]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'Control of begging wanted: Umtali Council seeks powers,' 1 July 1949, p.3.
[1]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'Beggars again frequenting Umtali,' 2 October 1951, p.7.

they suffered severe hardships such as not going to school and being underfed. Relatives in the neighbourhood could not help either. They then fled to Umtali in 1972 without official travel papers with the hope of finding employment. Upon entry into Umtali and with no one they knew, they roamed the streets scavenging and begging for food, and slept in the city's sanitary lanes for some months until they got employed as labourers at Matika farm on the north-western end of Umtali. They married local women from the nearby villages in the Dora Dombo rural area where they later got space to build their homes. They never returned to Mozambique and lost contact with their relatives there.[1] This example shows that some Africans severed ties with family members and sought opportunities across borders due to domestic problems such as poverty and conflicts.

Evidence gathered from oral interviews confirmed that some Mozambican juveniles, both male and female, who came to beg in Umtali, did so with the consent of their parents and were sometimes encouraged to do so owing to the impoverished condition of their family backgrounds. Joseph Chitombo, for instance, recalled that some young boys from Mozambique's border village of Nyamakari frequently crossed into Umtali to beg with the full knowledge of their parents throughout the 1950s. Most of these itinerant beggars were of primary-school age (seven to 11 years), hardly employable as a result, and from very poor families that could not afford their education. 'Age was in their favour as far as border-jumping into Umtali to beg was concerned because if they were arrested for breaching colonial immigration regulations, the courts could not prosecute them but simply return them home', noted Chitombo. He related the circumstances that made him to undertake frequent begging visits from Nyamakari village to Umtali during the mid-1950s while he was in his lower teens. His mother was a widow and he

[1]Interview with Tadiwa Ketero, Dora Dombo Business Centre, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 7 February 2011.

was the first-born child with two young brothers after him. The family had no viable source of income and their mother could not afford sending them to school. He could not be gainfully employed in the towns, mines and farms because he was still a juvenile. His mother advised him to join other boys from the village who begged for coins along Umtali's streets. In the company of the two boys who were now more experienced, they positioned themselves at the front of Devchands' Shop along Main Street and begged for coins from passers-by and shoppers. Since the coins they got were British pennies and shillings not accepted in Mozambican shops where Portuguese currency was used, they then bought basic commodities such as sugar, soap and cooking oil in Umtali and returned home with them soon after dark. Joseph only stopped begging during the early 1960s when the Umtali police intensified patrols against 'unwanted persons on the streets' as they sought to enforce the Vagrancy Act of 1960.[1]

While young boys from the same village could team up for begging forays into Umtali, the same cannot be said of most girls. 'Girls were generally meant for the home to look after the young and do domestic chores while boys and men were out seeking wealth for the family in various ways', recalled Mavis Matseya, 'In addition, no parent would readily allow a young girl to venture too far beyond the family homestead as this exposed her to various risks such as being raped.'[1]Some young Mozambican girls, however, came to beg, but in the company of their mothers and elder sisters who would have come to Umtali for various daily errands, especially vending. It was common practice for young girls to beg for coins, food or clothing within Umtali neighbourhoods where their mothers or sisters were vending.[2]

[1]Interview with Joseph Chitombo, Nyamakari village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 30 December 2010.
[1]Interview with Mavis Matseya, Mugoriwondo village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 19 December 2010.
[2] Interview with Shingai Chingome, Chinyausunzi Section, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 12 August 2010.

Mozambican women who came to Umtali to vend sometimes got various forms of assistance from their relatives in the town. Joyce Mundina, a widow from Chadzuka village in Mozambique, for example, secretly crossed into Umtali on numerous occasions during the 1960s to sell ginger and garlic along the streets of Sakubva, even though her late husband's brothers had forbidden her from doing so. She would leave her children, who were already in their teens during the mid-1960s, home in Mozambique and stay in Umtali at her elder sister's servants' quarters in Morningside suburb for a couple of days until her produce was sold out. This was a very risky enterprise because she could be arrested by Rhodesian authorities for entering Umtali without official travel documents and for selling produce without a license. In addition, she could be arrested for residing at her sister's quarters without a visitor's permit.[1] This example illustrates the networking among family members and relatives during informal cross-border pursuits for survival. This case therefore demonstrates that some Mozambicans residing in Umtali harboured their family members and relatives who came to sell various commodities in the town.

Beer-brewing in Umtali and its hinterlands was another popular self-employment activity for some Mozambican women.[1] Mavis Marondo, for example, was married at Mutsinze village in Mozambique in 1945. Her husband, who was employed at Weirmouth farm in Umtali, died in 1949 leaving her with one child. Without any regular form of income she went to Umtali in 1950 together with her two-year old son hoping get employed at her former husband's workplace. When she failed to secure employment she teamed up with other women in the farm compound to brew opaque beer for sale, an enterprise that enabled her to raise her son. In 1964, she relocated to Zimunya after getting married to a Rhodesian African man who resided in that

[1]Interview with Joyce Mundina, Chadzuka village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 29 December 2010.
[1] The brewing and trafficking of alcohol across the Umtali-Mozambique border will be treated in detail in Chapter 7.

township. She never returned to her husband's home in Mozambique again.[1] Beer-brewing across the border in Umtali and its hinterlands by some Mozambican women, like other pursuits for a livelihood such as vending, reflected innovativeness by Africans who were facing family hardships such as poverty.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has articulated the interaction of family-kinship dynamics, livelihood concerns, material and status aspirations, generational commonalities and gender influences in the development of informal labour practices across the Umtali-Mozambique border. It has illustrated how the unemployed and impoverished Mozambican family members, relatives, village acquaintances and age-mates sometimes connived to circumvent colonial labour-recruitment regimes and how they undertook journeys across the border into Umtali to seek opportunities. Some of them were harboured by family members, kin and acquaintances some of whom arranged employment for them. Informal work-seekers who were not absorbed by the labour market, mostly women and children, embarked on informal self-employment activities such as begging, vending and brewing, with some parents actually influencing their children to engage in some of them. The interplay of family-kinship dynamics and commonalities in terms of gender, generation and social status should therefore be noted in the development of informal cross-border activities.

This chapter also showed that the frequency of home visits by Mozambican informal workers in Umtali was largely erratic. Married men informally employed in Umtali made attempts, though irregular in view of the fear of arrest, to maintain contacts with families back home than most of

[1]Interview with Mavis Marondo, Zimunya suburb, Umtali, Zimbabwe, 28 September 2010.

the young and unmarried who did not have such commitments. In actual fact, some of the single men and women got married in Rhodesia and never returned home. In addition, as also noted in Chapter 4, some men and women informally employed in Umtali lost contact with their homes owing to the conflicts and frustrations they had endured within their family and kinship structures.

This chapter has also illustrated that grievances at the workplace, as well as family and kinship obligations and challenges, among other things, made some informal Mozambican workers to desert their Rhodesian employers. Most Mozambican deserters who had not left their villages in circumstances of controversy and conflict with family members and kin returned to their family homes. What therefore emerges from this chapter is that family-kinship affiliations were crucial in the development of informal cross-border labour mobility but it would be superficial to argue that they operated in isolation from other factors such as generational dynamics and gender influences on the part of the participants. It will be seen in the next chapter that these factors were also influential in the development of property theft across the Umtali-Mozambique border.

CHAPTER 6

PROPERTY THEFT ACROSS THE UMTALI-MOZAMBIQUE BORDER, 1920-1974

6.1 Introduction

This chapter dwells on the theft of property in Umtali and its disposal in Mozambique mostly by unemployed and underpaid Africans as they sought a livelihood. Among other things, it interrogates the nature of these activities, that is, the composition of the stolen goods, why Umtali was largely the source of stolen property and the Mozambican borderline areas being the destination for most of it, and also why more Mozambican Africans were involved in this traffic than their Rhodesian counterparts. The central argument advanced in this chapter is the primacy of family-kinship affiliations in the development of property theft across the Umtali-Mozambique border with other factors such as the generational, gender and class commonalities of the participants playing crucial contributory roles. It is asserted that most property thefts carried out in Umtali with the goods subsequently disposed of in Mozambique reflected attempts by largely impoverished, lower class, African males (the perceived breadwinners according to the gender division of labour in most African societies during the pre-colonial era and the greater part of the colonial period) to sustain their family/household economies in a harsh colonial dispensation.

Attention is also drawn to the social networks involved in cross-border property theft most of which were made up of family members and kin, but can further be classified in terms of gender, class and generational commonalities. Thus, family members, kin, workmates and/or residents of the same neighbourhood, mostly male, could team up to steal, sometimes in the company of their juvenile counterparts to brush off suspicions from any would-be onlookers, after which they took

the goods across the border. In Mozambique, the goods were sometimes initially placed in the custody of women (mothers or wives), most of who resided at home in the rural areas while males were away seeking opportunities, after which some of them were distributed to close relatives, friends and village-mates for marketing. This chapter therefore employs an integrative analysis of the networks involved in cross-border property theft in which family-kinship affiliations were prominent while other factors such as generational status, class position and tribulations, and gender dynamics played significant contributory roles.

6.2 Background: Origins and development of property theft across the Umtali-Mozambique border

Umtali's location along the border with Mozambique, where the majority of the African population had been impoverished by Portuguese colonial rule, and it being the biggest urban centre along Rhodesia's eastern border, made it a centre of attraction for Africans seeking opportunities. As noted in Chapter 3, the difficulties faced by the white settlers in procuring local African labour during Umtali's formative years paved way for foreign work-seekers, mostly from Mozambique. Despite the shortages of labour during the early colonial period, unemployment became a problem in most Rhodesian towns in the aftermath of the First World War as Africans and Europeans, both local and foreign, sought opportunities offered by the post-war economic boom.[1]The period of study for this chapter therefore starts soon after the First World War in 1920 when unemployment became a problem in Rhodesian towns, a development that significantly contributed to the upsurge in property theft.

The unemployment situation, as stated in Chapter 5, worsened from the late 1920s into the 1930s as a result of the Great Depression. The Second World War and its immediate aftermath saw

[1]Kane, *The world's view*, p.233.

Rhodesian towns witnessing another industrial boom which attracted significant numbers of indigenous and non-indigenous Africans as well as European immigrants in search of employment and other business opportunities.[1] In Umtali, for instance, there was only one industrial complex in the light industrial site and nothing in the heavy industrial site in 1945. But by 1950, the situation had changed drastically as evidenced by a variety of industrial buildings that almost filled up the space in the light industrial area.[2] This industrial expansion resulted in the significant influx of indigenous and non-indigenous Africans, mostly Mozambicans, notably from 1946.[3] A survey conducted by Umtali Council's Medical Officer of Health in June 1946 noted with concern the presence of 'a moving population' of 300 to 500 'vagrants', plus a permanent registered population of 500 in the backyards of business premises. The survey also estimated that there were more than 300 squatters living on the plots on the outskirts of town.[4] According to official statistics, the African population of Sakubva stood at 1160 in 1945.[1] J.R. Nesbitt, Umtali's Director of Native Affairs, noted in June 1951 that the African population of Sakubva had risen from 3600 in 1948 to 12,820 in 1951. He revealed that the total African population of Umtali in January 1951 stood at 18,160 of which 12,820 were accommodated in Sakubva, 3370 in licensed premises in town, and about 1970 in the Railway Compound.[2] By December 1951, Sakubva's population had increased to about 14,000.[3] Umtali's African population had shot up to 20,713 at the end of June 1952 of which 14,062 were in Sakubva, 2744 in the European area, 3018 in the Railway Compound, 575 at Quagga's Hoek (National Building

[1]Phimister, *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, p.25.
[2] John Hughes, President of the Chamber of Industries, quoted by the *Umtali Post*: 'Great growth of local industries in few years: Amazing change has occurred,' 9 June 1950, p.1.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Industrial growth brings native housing difficulty,' 7 December 1951, p.7.
[4] The Umtali Council's Medical Officer of Health, quoted by the *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Native housing conditions: Public health endangered,' 9 July 1946, p.2.
[1]*Umtali Post*: 'African-run stores cater for wants of Sakubva,' 22 September 1950, p.3.
[2] J.R. Nesbitt, Umtali's Director of Native Affairs, quoted by the *Umtali Post*: 'Sakubva township almost quadrupled in four years,' 26 January 1951, p.5.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Sakubva township helps to keep down serious crime,' 23 November 1951, p.5.

and Housing Board) and 314 were living out of town but employed in Umtali.[1] Other urban areas around the country were in a similar predicament.[2]

Umtali's labour market was unable to absorb all indigenous and non-indigenous Africans who drifted into the town.[3] From 1948, the Umtali Municipal Council was inundated by complaints from white residents on the prevalence of 'loitering' by Africans along the streets.[4] At a meeting of the Health and African Affairs Committee of the Umtali Council in June 1954, it was stated that there was a surplus of labour in the town and that 1000 Africans were unemployed. It was suggested that the recruitment of labour from countries such as Mozambique and Malawi should stop since the labour market was saturated.[5] Unemployment and poverty inevitably led some Africans to devise means to earn a living, for example theft, some of whose proceeds were disposed of across the border in Mozambique. Thus on 24 October 1950, Justice T.H.W. Beadle, in his address to the Umtali Rotary Club on the subject of criminal punishment, advised: 'Punishment is nothing more than a check. The real root of the problem is in social conditions and crime is more a matter for the sociologist than for the jurist.'[1]

Given the grossly abusive and exploitative nature of Portuguese colonialism outlined in Chapter 3, the majority of thefts in Umtali whose proceeds ended up across the border were committed by Mozambican Africans. As one informant who worked in Umtali from the early 1950s stated, this does not mean that local Africans were innocent:

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[1] Quoted by the *Umtali Post*: '14,062 Africans housed in Sakubva,' 15 December 1952, p.7.
[2]Salisbury, for example, had 30,000 homeless Africans in August 1950 (Representatives of Industry in a meeting with R.M. Cleveland, Mayor of Salisbury, quoted by the *Umtali Post*: '30,000 natives in Salisbury need housing,' 4 August 1950, p.1).
[3]In Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo, Umtali and Que Que, the number of unemployed African males more than doubled between 1936 and 1946, from 43,305 to 94,929 (see J.C. Mitchell, *Cities, society and social perceptions: A Central African perspective*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, p.45).
[4]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'BSAP asked to help control loiterers,' 18 May 1948, p.5.
[5]*Umtali Post*: 'Councillor suggests less recruiting of labour from other territories,' 14 June 1954, p.7.
[1] Cited by the *Umtali Post*: 'Root problem of crime in social conditions: Punishing criminals only a check,' 27 October 1950, p.5.

> Even though Mozambicans were notorious in colonial circles for stealing, both local and foreign Africans stole from fellow Africans and from houses, shops and cars of Europeans and Indians. Mozambicans stole more because, unlike local Africans, their homes were across the border and they could not easily get basic needs such as maize-meal and other agrarian products from their rural areas in order to cushion themselves from the high cost of living in urban areas. However, local Africans sometimes stole but they took the stolen goods to their families in the rural areas. Why would local Africans take goods to Mozambique when their families and relatives did not reside there?[1]

In April 1927 the CID confirmed that most cases of store and house-breaking in Umtali were committed by 'alien natives'.[2] The police also expressed concern at the increasing numbers of Mozambican nationals who burgled European homes in Umtali's eastern suburbs during the early 1930s.[3] The Umtali CID Annual Inspection Report of 26-27 February 1931, for example, claimed: 'More than one (Mozambican African) is engaged in thieving and difficulty is being experienced in obtaining any trace of the culprits.'[4] In February 1946, the CID acknowledged the existence of criminal networks in the bushy areas of Mozambique along the border with Umtali which were believed to be responsible for a spate of housebreakings and thefts from European and Indian properties in the town.[1] Reporting on the burglaries carried out in the European suburbs in Umtali during May 1952, the CID noted that 'the culprits were coming over from Portuguese East Africa during the night and returning the same night and there was nothing to indicate identity.'[2] On 15 March 1973, G.J. Geddes, the Umtali Magistrate, charged that offences of a relatively petty nature were generally committed by people who crossed into Rhodesia from Mozambique, with slim chances of the property being recovered or the culprit being arrested.[3]

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[1] Interview with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, 10 November 2010.
[2] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 23 April 1927.
[3] See, for example, *Rhodesia Advertiser*: 'The High Court', 25 September 1930, p.3.
[4]NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 26-27 February 1931.
[1]NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 4 February 1946.
[2]NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 7-9 October 1952.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Magistrate hits at thieves who cross border to burgle in Umtali,' 16 March 1973, p.7.

In terms of the spatial distribution of burglaries and thefts, the major targets were European and Indian stores in the city centre and European residential areas at the northern and eastern ends of Umtali largely because of their proximity to the Mozambican border. It should be noted, however, that Africans residing on European premises in the northern and eastern suburbs were also vulnerable. Those Africans in the residential areas to the western side of the central business district such as Sakubva were also vulnerable, although to a lesser extent because of their relatively distant location from the Mozambican border.[1]

The direction of the flow of stolen goods was virtually one way: from Umtali to Mozambique, and rarely vice versa. The major reason was that Mozambique offered a ready market for a broad range of stolen goods largely because of Portuguese economic policies. Before 1961 Mozambique had no local manufacturing industry of importance because Portugal did not allow the development in her colonies of those areas of industry which she herself was developing, for instance, in light engineering, clothing and footwear industries.[1] A Portuguese decree of 1931 banned textile industries in the colonies.[2] In 1936, Portugal prohibited the creation in the colonies of any industries that directly competed with those in Lisbon.[3] Another decree in 1938 broadened the sectors of industry in the colonies whose activities were restricted with exemptions only applying to jewellery repair shops, photographic laboratories, suitcase manufacturing and tinsmith shops.[4] Most raw materials such as cotton and sugar were exported to the industries in Lisbon.[5] During the late 1940s, for example, Portugal's textile industry was

[1] For examples of such thefts, see NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, July and September 1949.
[1]Konczacki, 'Portugal's economic policy in Africa,' p.83.
[2] M.A. Pitcher, *Politics in the Portuguese empire: The state, industry and cotton, 1926-1974*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, p.58.
[3] G. Clarence-Smith, *The third Portuguese empire, 1825-1975: A study in economic imperialism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985, p.164.
[4] Pitcher, *Politics in the Portuguese empire*, p.90.
[5]Mondlane, *The struggle for Mozambique*, p.81.

importing 96% of raw cotton from the colonies, especially Mozambique.[1] Portuguese manufactured goods, particularly textiles, which were exported to the colonies, were very expensive. Japanese textiles which found their way into Mozambique up to 1961, for example, were 30-50% cheaper than those from Portugal.[2] Portugal was therefore unable to control the influx into Mozambique of relatively cheaper contraband such as cotton and textile products from Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia.[3]

In an effort to earn a livelihood, some Africans therefore exploited this opportunity to market in Mozambique most of the goods stolen from Umtali, for example, clothing items which included jackets, coats, hats, blankets and shoes.[4] In December 1959, the *Umtali Post* confirmed this development: 'Indications are that a healthy racket in stolen clothing is in operation across the Portuguese border. Good second-hand clothing is fetching a high price and this seems to make the already daring burglars in Umtali even more audacious.'[1]

Bicycles were another popular target that found a ready market in Mozambique where they were in short supply since the Portuguese stifled development of the light industry.[2] Besides using them as private transport for themselves and their families, some Africans who stole bicycles in Umtali sold them to Portuguese settlers and well-to-do Africans.[3] On 21 March 1929, the *Rhodesia Advertiser* reported 'a veritable epidemic' in bicycle thefts in the Umtali district with

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[1] Hanlon, *Mozambique*, p.20
[2] Pitcher, *Politics in the Portuguese empire*, p.98.
[3]Clarence-Smith, *The third Portuguese empire*, p.91.
[4] For incidents in which clothing items were stolen from Umtali and disposed of in Mozambique see, for example, the *Umtali Post*: 'Long term for car thieves,' 2 July 1948, p.1; *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Three caches of stolen goods,' 15 June 1948, p.1; *Umtali Post*: 'Police swoop on thieves' cache,' 15 May 1963, p.1; *Umtali Post*: 'Two Africans on theft charge in Umtali,' 13 November 1964, p.7; and *Umtali Post*: 'Big haul in robbery,' 8 March 1967, p.33.
[1]*Umtali Post*: 'Attempt to end crime wave: Police dogs now at work in Umtali,' 7 December 1959, p.1.
[2]NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 11 June 1946; and 15 January 1948; NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, April and July 1962; and *Umtali Post*: 'Two jailed for cycle thefts,' 22 October 1962, p.1.
[3]Interview with Ranganai Matunhu, Chimoio town, Mozambique, 9 December 2010.

victims being both Africans and Europeans. The police had unearthed 'a veritable manufactory of disassembled and made-over cycles' on the outskirts of town and the Mozambican border area. In these places, the alleged culprits took the stolen cycles 'which were promptly taken to pieces and the various parts put together again to make complete machines.'[1] Following a visit by Rhodesian detectives to Macequece in December 1935, five bicycles stolen from Umtali were recovered, some having been sold to Africans in the Mozambican town.[2]

The bicycle increasingly became a symbol of prestige and accumulation and a popular mode of transport for African workers across the continent in the post-World War Two period.[3] In colonial Dar es Salaam, for example, cycle ownership grew considerably from the 1940s and bicycle thefts became prevalent. In addition, stolen bicycles were in great demand for spares among Dar es Salaam's mechanics.[1]

Rhodesian authorities also noted a significant rise in bicycle thefts countrywide during the period 1945-1948. J.E. Ross, the Rhodesian Police Commissioner, in his report for 1947-1948, expressed concern at the countrywide increase in the number of cycle thefts since 1945.[2] Rhodesian and Portuguese police reports confirmed that most of the bicycles stolen in Umtali were taken across the border to various parts of Mozambique.[3] From November 1946, the Umtali police regularly prepared consolidated lists of outstanding stolen cycles and circulated them to all police stations in the vicinity of the city and to Portuguese officials across the border.[4] The

[1]*Rhodesia Advertiser*: 'Bicycle thefts', 21 March 1929, p.3.
[2]NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 6 February 1936.
[3] See, for example, T.O. Ranger, 'Bicycles and the social history of Bulawayo', in *Thatha Bhasikili: An exhibition of adorned bicycles in Bulawayo*, Bulawayo: National Gallery, 2001.
[1] A. Burton, *African underclass:Urbanisation, crime and colonial order in Dar es Salaam*, Oxford: James Currey, 2005, pp.142-143.
[2]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'Steady increase in crime reported: Colony's police still under strength,' 3 May 1949, p.1.
[3]See, for example, NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 17 March 1943.
[4]NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 19 November 1946.

Rhodesian CID noted in May 1950 that Umtali's proximity to the Portuguese border largely explained the high percentage of undetected bicycles stolen from the town.[1] In an attempt to facilitate investigations and recovery, the Rhodesian government called for the registration of all bicycles. The system started in Salisbury and Bulawayo before being introduced in Umtali in 1949.[2]

Period	**Reported stolen**	**Persons charged**	**Recovered**
1946	74	9	Not recorded
1947	58	10	Not recorded
1948	79	10	Not recorded
1949	85	21	47
April-September 1951 inclusive	68	16	42
October 1951-September 1952 inclusive	79	12	30
October 1952-October 1953 inclusive	62	10	23

Table 1: Bicycle thefts in Umtali, 1946-1953**(**Source: The data used to compile table was derived from NAZ, S1224: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 15 January 1948, 10 January 1948, 10 January 1949, 16 May 1950, 6-8 October 1951, 7-9 October 1952 and 26-27 October 1953).

Military hardware, especially guns, stolen from Umtali also found a ready market across the border in western Mozambique among Portuguese settlers, especially those residing in isolated

[1]NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 16 May 1950.
[2]NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 10 January 1949.

farms and smaller business settlements.[1] Jewellery items such as watches also constituted an important commodity of the contraband that was marketed in Mozambique mostly among Portuguese settlers.[2] Domestic appliances and utensils also formed part of the list of stolen goods taken across the border to be sold or used within households.[3]

This section has shown that the theft of property in Umtali and the subsequent disposal of stolen goods in Mozambique was largely carried out by Mozambican Africans in an attempt to earn a livelihood in view of the limited opportunities for survival in their home country and the rising levels of unemployment and poverty in Rhodesian towns. Theft became a realistic option for survival as the stolen goods were sometimes taken across the border to meet the basic needs of households while others easily found a ready market among white settlers and well-to-do Africans in Mozambique where they were either in short supply or relatively expensive as a result of Portugal's economic policies which stifled the development of secondary industries in her colonies. These developments also explain why the traffic of stolen goods across the border was virtually one-way: from Umtali to Mozambique and not the reverse.

6.3 Complicity of domestic workers in cross-border property theft

Being 'the principal source of inside information on the private lives of their masters and mistresses,'[1] current and former domestic workers of white householders in the northern and eastern parts of Umtali were heavily involved in cross-border property crimes. They had full knowledge of the spatial setup of residences and the daily schedules of their current or former

[1] See, for example, NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, November 1952; *Umtali Post*: 'Native to be tried as sequel to smash-and-grab raid,' 7 January 1953, p.1; *Umtali Post*: 'African remanded on 13 counts of alleged housebreaking,' 15 January 1960, p.7; and NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, February 1962.
[2] See, for instance, the *Umtali Post*: 'Machipanda arrest,' 30 April 1958, p.1.
[3] See, for example, the *Umtali Post*: 'African remanded on 13 counts of alleged housebreaking,' 15 January 1960, p.7.
[1]Gray, *The two nations*, p.232.

employers. As noted in Chapter 3, domestic workers constituted a class of lowly-paid workers. However, there is no evidence to prove that their complicity in cross-border property theft reflected some form of collective class consciousness against employers. Instead, their involvement manifested their quest for a livelihood. In addition, most of them took advantage of their familiarity with the premises of their current or former employers to steal but sometimes networked with close relatives and trusted friends.

Some Africans also sought employment as domestic workers in order to familiarise themselves with the premises of their employers after which they stole valuables and vanished. During an interview with the *Umtali Post* on 12 December 1951, the Umtali District Criminal Investigating Officer warned European house-owners in Umtali:

> Many natives become servants purely to familiarise themselves with the contents of a home and then steal everything they can the moment your back is turned. Because of Umtali's proximity to the Portuguese border, housewives must be particularly careful whom they engage, and in cases of doubt, should contact the police as to the bona fides of a boy. If a native has no pass, then he should not be taken on as it is almost impossible to trace him unless his particulars are known. If he is a Portuguese native, and the details of his pass are recorded by the housewife, we can then ask the Portuguese government to assist in the investigations.[1]

A few examples below illustrate the points made so far. Mr and Mrs R.M. Pratt of 24, Victory Avenue returned to their home at lunch time on 9 November 1951 to discover that their two Mozambican domestic workers had vanished with almost the entire contents of their wardrobes, jewellery, bed-linen and a loaded automatic pistol, all valued at about £200. The workers were cousin brothers and were both new-comers, one of them having been employed for just a week and the other for only three days. Both were on probation awaiting permanent status as domestic workers.[2] After the theft, the two crossed to their home village in Mozambique. On 18 December 1951, the Mozambican police handed over to the Umtali CID one of the domestic workers who

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Servants vanished with £200 worth of goods,' 13 November 1951, p.7.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Servants vanished with £200 worth of goods,' 13 November 1951, p.7.

had taken part in the theft. The Portuguese authorities were able to apprehend him after checking the finger prints and home details on his temporary work pass.[1]

Jini, also known as Butodza, a Mozambican male domestic servant, stole from his employer, Janette Thompson of 40, Carrington Road on 15 and 17 January 1952. The stolen items included £7-10-0 cash, two necklaces, and a pair of ladies' slacks. A few days later, all the stolen items minus the cash were recovered at his home village across the border while in the possession of his wife.[1] As the examples discussed above show, there is no evidence to suggest that thefts committed by former or serving domestic workers reflected any form of collective class consciousness or mobilisation against employers. What seems apparent is that Africans who stole either sold the goods across the border in order to earn a living or converted them for their own use. These examples also illustrate the complicity of family members and relatives in some cross-border property theft operations.

In December 1959 the Manicaland Development and Publicity Association wrote to the Umtali Municipality expressing alarm at the spate of burglaries in the town and inquiring what the Municipality was doing to curb the influx of Africans, particularly foreigners. J.R. Nesbitt, the Municipal Director of African Administration, convened a meeting with the Association on 2 February 1960 during which he blamed white householders for employing 'undesirable' Africans. He urged all employers to ensure that the Africans they engaged had current passes to seek work and that no unemployed Africans were to sleep at their premises overnight.[2] The theft of property by current and former domestic servants of Mozambican origin on the premises of white employers however continued without significant indications of decline. Moses Agosto, a

[1]*Umtali Post*: 'Native suspect in local house theft handed over to CID,' 21 December 1951, p.7.
[1]NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, January 1952.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Curbing immigrants to the town,' 3 February 1960, p.3.

Mozambican man, appeared before the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 7 July 1966 for breaking into the home of Mr T.G. Frangoulis at Number 1, Second Street three times and making off with food and clothing, some of which were recovered at his family home near the town of Manica in Mozambique. Agosto had been employed by Frangoulis as a domestic worker for six months preceding the crimes.[1]

During early November 1969 the Umtali CID were in the hunt for Fani Dai, a 24-year old Mozambican man from Nyamakari village in Mozambique in connection with a series of housebreakings in the Umtali urban area from April to early November 1969. The items stolen included cash, clothing and food. His work history showed that he had been employed as a domestic worker for short periods, mostly in the eastern European suburbs where he committed most of the offences. After getting employed for each short period and stealing from his employer, he would vanish to his family home in Mozambique to dispose of the goods. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 11 December 1969, Dai pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 30 months in prison.[1] What can be deciphered from these examples is that some Africans who were involved in the theft of goods in Umtali and disposing of them in Mozambique actually operated from their family homes and some of their family members and close relatives were complicit in a number of ways, for example, by helping to conceal the loot.

Some domestic workers residing at the premises of their employers harboured perpetrators of cross-border property theft. An example is David, a Mozambican male domestic servant, employed and accommodated at 10, Milner Road who harboured Nyambo, his maternal uncle also known as Kenneth. Police investigations revealed that Nyambo was an unemployed

[1]*Umtali Post*: 'Housebreaking sentence,' 8 July 1966, p.1.
[1]*Umtali Post*: 'Wanted man jailed for 30 months,' 12 December 1969, p.9.

Mozambican man who stole various items from Umtali and stored them at David's place after which he disposed of some of them at his home village in Mozambique. On 2 February 1962, for example, he broke into a car parked along Third Street and made off with a pair each of shoes and stockings, one umbrella and a plastic book all valued at £35.[1]

It should be noted that Mozambican domestic workers who stole from their employers sometimes took the goods to their home villages across the border to sustain their families, or sold them in the neighbourhood to raise cash. This section has also illustrated the importance of family and kinship networks in the theft of goods in Umtali and their disposal in Mozambique. Most Africans who were involved in cross-border property theft preferred networking with family members and close relatives, and at times trusted accomplices, for fear of being betrayed to the authorities.[1]

6.4 Property theft by deportees across the Umtali-Mozambique border

Considerable numbers of Mozambican deportees were involved in the theft of goods in Umtali and disposing of them in Mozambique. The Deportation of Criminals Ordinance of 24 June 1921, later the Deportation Act of 1954, called for the deportation of persons not born in Rhodesia who were accused of committing various offences that included theft and robbery, and having been found guilty and sentenced in a court of law for a period exceeding 12 months.[2] After serving a prison term in Rhodesia, a deportation order was issued and in the case of the deportee being Mozambican, he or she was taken to Macequece by the Rhodesian police. The deportee was then handed over to the Portuguese authorities who slapped him or her with

[1]NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, February 1962.
[1] Separate interviews with Elias Foshoro, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 24 December 2010; and Rishon Guru, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 4 December 2010.
[2] Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law of Southern Rhodesia Volume 1*, Salisbury: Southern Rhodesia Government, 1939, p.556.

another term of imprisonment.[1] Having served another prison term in Mozambique, they were closely monitored by Portuguese authorities.[2] In April 1927, the CID Chief Superintendent for Salisbury felt the deportation statute was having a positive effect in eliminating foreign criminals from Rhodesia:

> I am of the opinion that the Criminal Deportation Ordinance, 1921, is now having a marked effect in reducing crime. The most serious cases of house and store-breaking were usually committed by the alien native...As the worst types of alien criminals are not allowed to remain in the colony, the opportunity for the indigenous native to learn the habits...of the former does not exist to the extent that it did previously.[1]

This was not to be. The desire to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families largely explains why some Mozambicans deported from Rhodesia took risks and became itinerant thieves who made frequent visits into Umtali to steal and dispose of the goods back home considering that their chances of securing employment on both sides of the border were virtually nil in view of their previous criminal records.[2] Most deportees became recidivists and Rhodesian and Portuguese administrations are to blame for failing to rehabilitate them while they were serving their prison terms. Deportees therefore constituted an inarticulate class of unemployed, unemployable, demonised/blacklisted and impoverished people who always sought a livelihood through informal means such as theft.

As was the case with domestic servants, their cross-border activities did not manifest any semblance of collective class action against the authorities, but the wish to earn a living for themselves and their families. In addition, as examples below will attest, most deportees operated from their family homes and usually networked with close relatives during the theft of property in Umtali and its trafficking across the border. In February 1931, the CID complained that the

[1] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 27 February 1931.
[2]Interview with Sani Jonato, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 23 December 2010.
[1] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 25 April 1927.
[2]Interview with Ferenando Aruneri, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 2 December 2010.

presence of Mozambican deportees in the border areas 'is becoming a matter of some concern' because they had become 'free-lance raiders' into Umtali. They also noted that the accomplices and receivers of most of the property stolen in Umtali by deportees were their relatives and friends concentrated just across the border in Mozambique.[1]

Sande Kalonga, a Mozambican previously deported from Rhodesia, was hauled before the courts in August 1930 for seven counts of house-breaking and theft in Umtali. He was known to have conducted nightly raids into Umtali from his home village just across the border. He would take the stolen goods over the border where some of them were recovered from his wife, while others were retrieved from his fellow villagers who had bought them from him.[1] Similarly during the first half of 1935, Chingore (also known as Sweet) a Mozambican deportee, embarked on a series of bicycle thefts in Umtali while operating from his home village. He would cross the border at night time, steal bicycles from Umtali's eastern European suburbs, and return with them to his home village in Sena where he put them in the custody of his wife.[2] An interesting observation from these examples pertains to the role of women in cross-border property theft. These cases show that husbands and wives sometimes cooperated in such activities but playing different roles where, typical of the pre-colonial gender division of labour, men ventured across the border to steal from Umtali while women remained at home in Mozambique to receive and conceal the stolen goods.

Francisco, alias Diya, a deportee from Mozambique, also networked with his cousin brothers after breaking into several European houses in Umtali during the greater part of 1946. He paid 'frequent nightly visits' to Umtali from his village and distributed some of the stolen goods

[1] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 27 February 1931.
[1] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 5 September 1930.
[2] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 5 July 1935.

among his relatives in Mozambique for marketing. He was arrested through joint efforts by the Portuguese and Rhodesian police who found his two cousin brothers with some of the stolen property at a village just across the border.[1] What also emerges from this case is that some Mozambican deportees who stole goods in Umtali operated from their home villages and sometimes connived with their family members and close relatives.

Luwizhi, who had been a cobbler in Sakubva, is another example of an African deported to Mozambique during the late 1950s for housebreaking and theft offences but continued to return to Umtali to steal in order to sustain his family across the border. He was deported from Rhodesia early in 1957 but was arrested in Umtali later during the year and again in 1960. During one of his nocturnal forays into Umtali in February 1961, he stole clothing items belonging to four local African residents of Matida Hostel in Sakubva.[1] He fled to his family home just across the border in Mozambique and was only arrested upon his return on 13 April 1961 near Marymount College on the eastern margins of Umtali close to the border. The police noted that he had been alternating the names Luwizhi and Royani to avoid being detected. During police interrogations, his family members in Mozambique revealed that they knew him by the name Luwizhi and not Royani.[2] Having served a six-month jail term in solitary confinement and on a reduced diet after which he was re-deported, Luwizhi was back in Umtali on 30 December 1961 and stole watches, hats, trousers, shoes and blazers from Benicio Fernandes' house in the eastern suburbs. The stolen items were recovered at his home just across the border after the police had interrogated his wife.[3] The data available does not provide detail on the exact role played by the wife in her husband's cross-border pursuits. What is apparent,

[1] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 19 November 1946.
[1]*Umtali Post*: 'Housebreaking allegations', 20 February 1961, p.1.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Jailed for illegal return', 24 April 1961, p.5.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'African sentenced and warned by High Court judge', 6 April 1962, p.9.

however, is that she was aware of her husband's movements since it was the information she gave to the police that led to his arrest. Again this case, like the others discussed above, shows that some Mozambican deportees who stole from Umtali operated from their family homes partly because they had been banished from Rhodesia.

Bisenti, who was twice deported from Rhodesia between 8 September 1961 and 21 July 1962 for burglary and theft cases in Umtali, also operated from his family home in Mozambique. He was first deported on 8 September 1961 after serving a jail term for various housebreaking and theft cases. He returned to Umtali but was again deported on 21 July 1962. Bisenti soon resurfaced in Umtali and broke into E.D. Vosloo's flat at 24, Umsasa Street during the evening of 5 August 1962 stealing property worth £20.[1] Some of the stolen property included two blankets, a shirt and a pair of shorts.[2] He also admitted to breaking into Mr W.E. Lunderstedt's house at the Hillside Golf Course the same night and stealing property valued at £15 which included three bottles of whisky, a leg of lamb and maize-meal.[3] He again confessed in court to burgling Jacob Steyn's premises at Number 5, Range Road on 10 August 1962 and stealing shoes and socks valued at £1-11 which he took to his family home across the border.[4]

Between 1965 and 1971 Polinyo Paul, a Mozambican man, was deported from Rhodesia several times for housebreaking and theft cases at various homes in Umtali. After each deportation, he would shuttle between his home village and Umtali burgling houses in the latter and disposing of the goods in the former. On 26 October 1968, he was arrested while hiding at the Umtali Railways Singles Quarters of his Mozambican brother-in-law on suspicion of housebreaking and

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Magistrate gives evidence in theft case', 19 September 1962, p.5.
[2] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, August 1962.
[3] *Umtali Post*: 'Magistrate gives evidence in theft case', 19 September 1962, p.5.
[4] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, August 1962.

theft offences. The following day, 27 October, he escaped from the Umtali Charge Office. It was then that the police discovered that he was actually a deportee who had illegally returned to Umtali. He was rearrested and jailed for nine months after which he was re-deported in 1969.[1] Polinyo Paul was back in Umtali during the early months of 1970. During the night of 28 April 1970 he was caught breaking into the house of Mr and Mrs Webb at 151, Upper Fifth Street, a crime that earned him another deportation after serving a prison sentence. Soon after being released and deported, he was back in Umtali during the night of 17 February 1971 when he stole meat, bread and cold drinks from Mrs Thelma Allen's home at Number 8, Haig Avenue. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 9 March 1971 when Polinyo was being sentenced, it was noted that he had been deported seven times since 1965 for committing housebreaking and theft offences in Umtali and disposing of the stolen items at his family home in Mozambique.[2]

Benjamin Wilson is one of the most well-known deportees who shuttled between Mozambique and Umtali where he embarked on a spate of housebreakings and theft. Operating from his home village just across the border in Mozambique, he sustained his family from the proceeds of burglaries in Umtali's eastern suburbs throughout the 1960s into the early 1970s. Between 2:30pm on 5 February and 6:30am on 6 February 1962, for example, he burgled the premises of a European in Fairbridge Park and stole foodstuffs valued at £2.15. This landed him in court where the Umtali Magistrate ordered his deportation to Mozambique on 26 May 1962.[3]

Wilson's presence in Umtali was only known to the authorities after he committed a series of burglaries in Umtali's European suburbs during the mid-1960s. At the age of 28 while serving a 54-months' sentence for numerous counts of housebreaking and theft in Umtali, he escaped from

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Man jailed for escape', 9 December 1968, p.3.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Sentenced for two-and-a-half years for theft, housebreaking', 10 March 1971, p.1.
[3] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, February 1962.

Umtali prison on 7 March 1968 and fled to his family home in Mozambique.[1] He then made frequent nocturnal visits to Umtali where he stole various goods including food and clothing from European houses in the suburbs of Murambi and Fairbridge Park. He was arrested near the Mozambican border on 27 April and some of the stolen property was recovered hidden in bushes close to his home.[1] Having been deported early in 1972 after serving a four-year prison term, he again made frequent nocturnal forays into Umtali during which he stole a variety of items and took them to his home. In October 1972, for instance, he stole blankets and clothing items from cars that had been left unlocked at European premises in Umtali's eastern suburbs. Sentencing him to eight months in jail with hard labour on 15 March 1973 G.J. Geddes, the Umtali Magistrate, lamented that a considerable number of burglary and theft cases in Umtali were committed by people who crossed into Rhodesia from their home villages in Mozambique with little chance of the stolen property being recovered or the culprits being arrested. He also noted that Wilson was supposed to be permanently residing in Mozambique because he had been deported in the past.[2]

The activities of Polinyo Paul and Benjamin Wilson clearly demonstrate that some deportees who stole in Umtali operated from their homes in Mozambique where they concealed some of the stolen property and there is little reason to doubt that some of their immediate family members were aware of their movements. What forced some deportees to operate from their family homes across the border, as noted earlier on, was that they had been deported from Rhodesia and the risk of being rearrested was relatively greater if they stocked the stolen goods at the premises of their relatives and acquaintances in Umtali.

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Umtali police hunt for escaped housebreaker', 11 March 1968, p.1.
[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Escaped convict caught', 29 April 1968, p.1. Also see *Umtali Post*: 'Murambi burglar jailed', 22 July 1968, p.3.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Magistrate hits at thieves who cross border to burgle in Umtali', 16 March 1973, p.7.

In some cases, Mozambican men married to local women were deported to their home villages leaving their wives and children in Rhodesia. This left them with little option but to steal in Umtali, dispose of the goods within and around their home villages in Mozambique, and then make frequent visits back to Umtali to sustain their families. Antonio, for example, was deported to Mozambique on 7 December 1962 after serving jail terms for various housebreaking and theft offences in Umtali and its surrounding areas during the 1950s.[1] On 30 September 1957, for instance, he burgled into the bachelor's quarters of Jeremy Zembera at Imbeza Forest Estate, 10 kilometres north of Umtali, and stole property worth £70-15.[2] During the night of 28 April 1958, he carried out a smash-and-grab operation at the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths shop in Umtali's Main Street and made off to Mozambique with £200 worth of watches. He was arrested at his home village in Machipanda, Mozambique, the following day with watches valued at £70.[3] Having served 21 months in prison for both counts, Antonio was deported to Mozambique on 7 December 1962. He was arrested in Umtali during early December 1963 for illegally returning to Rhodesia. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 9 December where he was sentenced to six months with hard labour for violating the Deportation Act of 1954, Antonio admitted returning to Umtali twice after being deported in order to see his wife and children. Police investigations confirmed that he was married to a local woman and had children both of whom resided in Umtali.[4]

In their testimonies in the courts after being arrested, some deportees pleaded that they came back to Rhodesia because they had no homes or relatives in Mozambique. An example is Royani alias Luwizhi who was arrested near Marymount College on 13 April 1961 for returning to

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Deportee jailed for returning', 11 December 1963, p.7.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Nine months for theft', 1 September 1958, p.1.
[3] See *Umtali Post*: 'Machipanda arrest', 30 April 1958, p.1; and *Umtali Post*: 'Sentence for smash-and-grab', 7 May 1958, p.7.
[4] *Umtali Post*: 'Deportee jailed for returning', 11 December 1963, p.7.

Rhodesia after being deported for burglary and theft cases in Umtali. Most of the stolen property was recovered in Mozambique. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 21 April, he argued that he had violated the Deportation Act because he had been brought up in Rhodesia and had no relatives in Mozambique.[1] Similarly, Gwinyai Peter told the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 25 May 1968 that he returned to Rhodesia after being deported because he neither had relatives nor a place to live in Mozambique. Gwinyai was facing charges of returning to Rhodesia after being deported and stealing a bicycle belonging to another African at Umvumvumvu Bridge near Cashel in south-eastern Rhodesia on 29 May 1967 and taking it to Mozambique. He had been arrested at the Chitakatira Business Centre in Zimunya Reserve, 20 kilometres south of Umtali, on 28 February 1968.[2] As noted earlier on in the introduction of this thesis, the evidence of the 'peasants' in court needs interrogation. It is difficult to believe that the two accused persons had no relatives or close associates across the border when most of the goods they had stolen in Umtali were recovered from Mozambique. However, whether their testimonies were true or not, what should be noted is that the family-kin structure was an important reference point for some Mozambican deportees.

Some itinerant deportees used one or more pseudonyms or aliases to avoid being tracked through their families and relatives in Rhodesia or Mozambique. This shrewd plan involved fraudulently acquiring multiple identity documents each with a different first or second name, a move that often frustrated and misled police investigators when interrogating family members and kin in relation to the identity and whereabouts of a suspect. Edward, for example, was deported from Rhodesia on 12 January 1962 for committing various housebreaking and theft offences in Penhalonga and Umtali. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 4 September 1962, he admitted

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Jailed for illegal return', 24 April 1961, p.5.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Deportee returned – jailed', 27 May 1968, p.3.

coming back to Umtali illegally and committing the offences under the names Boy and Freddy.[1] As the evidence from a number of oral interviews conducted in Zimbabwe and Mozambique confirmed, the fraudulent acquisition of false identity papers was usually done with the knowledge of very close family members and relatives for fear of being betrayed to the colonial authorities who sometimes used physical force during investigations to extract evidence about the identity and whereabouts of an accused person.[2]

It should be noted that cross-border property theft became a way of life for most Mozambican deportees as they sought a livelihood for themselves and their families. By the late 1960s, Rhodesian authorities were becoming pessimistic about the effectiveness of the Deportation Act in curbing crime. While addressing the Lions Club on 11 August 1969, L.J. Jouning, Umtali's Assistant Police Commissioner, stated that since the city was very close to the border, a 'reasonable proportion' of the hardened criminals came from Mozambique and 'when Umtali got tired of them', they were deported. They, however, returned to Rhodesia where crime yielded more profit. They came back to Umtali through bush paths without much to survive on and embarked on sprees of housebreaking and theft before returning to their families.[3]

6.5 Trans-national property theft by unemployed non-deportees of Mozambican origin

Besides domestic servants and deportees, other unemployed and lowly-paid Mozambicans, mostly males, also took part in cross-border property theft in an effort to salvage a livelihood for themselves and their families. As was the case with domestic workers and deportees, as a few

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Jailed for theft', 5 September 1962, p.7.
[2] Separate interviews with Chenai Mushongo, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 24 December 2010; Andrew Fourpence, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 3 December 2010; Edward Zhuwao, Mugarandega village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 15 December 2010; James Matondo, Chitakatira village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 2 February 2011; and Stella Muchena, Muchena village, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 6 January 2011.
[3] L.J. Jouning, the Assistant Commissioner of Police for Umtali, quoted by the *Umtali Post*: 'Umtali population is very law-abiding, says police chief', 13 August 1969, p.5.

examples will illustrate below, their operational trends also involved networking with close relatives and acquaintances either within Umtali or across the border in Mozambique.

Family members and relatives of accused persons were sometimes called from Mozambique to become state witnesses at Umtali courts of law because the police knew that some of them were abreast with the operations of the suspects, and were at times accomplices. In March 1933, for example, Arifisi, an unemployed Mozambican man, was arrested at Vila Pery in Mozambique for stealing bicycles in Umtali. The police recovered some of the bicycles from his relatives in Vila Pery who included a blood brother, an uncle and a niece. The Portuguese authorities summoned Arifisi's relatives so that they testify as state witnesses at the Umtali Magistrate's Court.[1]

During the night of 24 February 1938 Razaru alias Ben, an unemployed Mozambican man from Machipanda, broke into the house of Anna Burn, an old European woman, near the Christmas Pass Hotel and demanded money. When his request was rejected, he assaulted and raped her, a crime which earned him a death sentence at the Umtali session of the High Court on 12 April 1938. His whereabouts were traced after the police made enquiries from Paradzai, his brother, who was residing at Machipanda in Mozambique. Police investigations revealed that soon after committing the murder, Razaru had fled to Machipanda where he stayed with Paradzai for the night.[2] This example, like the one preceding it, shows how family and kinship networks facilitated informal cross-border property theft, for example by helping to dispose of the stolen goods and harbouring their relatives who were on the police wanted list.

[1] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 18 May 1933.
[2] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'The High Court: Native sentenced to death,' 14 April 1938, p.5.

A burglary committed by Chiringa (also known as Tickey) a Mozambican man, at Mrs David William Frier's house along Third Street in Umtali on 7 February 1940 which resulted in the death of the occupant clearly shows how some Mozambican criminal elements closely networked with family members and relatives in Umtali and across the border. Musawi, a 14-year old Mozambican juvenile who lived at the Police Camp in Umtali and younger blood-brother of Chiringa, was fully aware of the movements of the accused. In his statement to the police, Musawi said Chiringa had left him at 5:00pm on 7 February 1940 saying he wanted to see someone. On 10 February at 6:00pm, Chiringa had told him that he was fleeing to their home village near Macequece that evening because he had killed a European woman after breaking into her house and stealing some valuables. He told Musawi that he had brought Solomon, a cousin brother, from Mozambique to assist him to carry the stolen items to their village. Chiringa had hidden the stolen goods, which included clothing, in a bush close to a park in the city. Chiringa had again told Musawi that he had also stolen a 10-shilling note from the house of the deceased which he showed him. Through Musawi's assistance, the Umtali police tracked Chiringa to his home in Macequece and arrested him.[1]

Another example is Amos, an unemployed Mozambican man, who was arrested in 1950 for housebreaking and theft cases in Umtali. His parents were in Bulawayo and he had no close relatives in Umtali. As a result, he stayed with his uncle's family in Mozambique and often crossed into Umtali at night to steal various items from the eastern European suburbs. Most of the stolen goods were concealed and subsequently disposed of with the assistance of his relatives in Mozambique. It was largely because of this networking that he successfully conducted

[1]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'Murder of European woman at Umtali: Native committed for trial', 11 February 1940, p.1.

nocturnal burglaries in Umtali and disposed of the loot in Mozambique until 1961 when he was rearrested.[1]

Groups of homeboys and kin sometimes arranged to cross into Umtali to burgle or steal without the knowledge of their nuclear family members. Upon their return to Mozambique, however, the need to conceal or dispose the loot sometimes forced them to inform some of their family members and relatives about their pursuits. An example can be drawn from the burglary into the Umtali shop of Alick Stuart Limited on 22 November 1951 during which Soda and Caero, both unemployed men from the same village near Gondola in Mozambique, stole five firearms. Upon arrival at their village Soda informed Mwanyadza, his mother, that he had brought some guns from Umtali which he wished to sell. The firearms were put in the custody of his mother and were later handed over to Champira and Mpaga, Soda's friends from the same village, for them to look for buyers. It was when Champira and Mpaga were looking for buyers that the Portuguese authorities, working together with the Umtali CID, detected the accomplices and arrested them.[2]

Oliver and Peter, cousin brothers from Machipanda village, crossed into Umtali and stole two bicycles belonging to Michael Ward of Longmore Crescent on 22 September 1962. They were arrested along a bush path close to Forbes Border Post while wheeling the bicycles to their village.[3] Another striking example of a network involving some Mozambican family members and village mates can also be drawn from the pursuits of Zuze and John who were blood-brothers and Nyandoro who came from the same village across the border opposite Marymount College. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 13 May 1963, the three admitted stealing various items from

[1]*Umtali Post*: 'Illegal entry – jailed', 15 February 1961, p.7.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Native to be tried as sequel to smash-and-grab raid', 7 January 1953, p.1.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Two jailed for cycle thefts', 22 October 1962, p.1.

European houses and African quarters in Umtali valued at £500 during the period 19 April to 5 May 1963. They set up a camp in a bush on the Mozambican side where they cached the stolen property. The camp was located some distance from their home village to avoid being detected and betrayed to the authorities by other family members, relatives and village mates. A raid on the camp by the Umtali police with the aid of dogs during the afternoon of 13 May recovered various stolen items which included blazers, coats, sports jackets and bicycles. Zuze and John were arrested during the raid while Nyandoro managed to escape. The police remained at the scene till evening in anticipation of Nyandoro's comeback to check on his accomplices and the stolen property. Nyandoro indeed came back around 8:00pm and in a typical networking strategy of most nocturnal housebreakers during those days, whistled from a distance. When a police detective whistled in response, Nyandoro came and was arrested. During a preliminary hearing at the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 10 June 1963, Nyandoro related how he networked with the two brothers in conducting thefts in Umtali and caching the stolen property in the bushy area across the border. He had come to Umtali hoping to get employed but ended up teaming up with John and Zuze in theft after failing to secure employment. He also revealed that John and Zuze used to cross into Umtali to steal while he remained at the camp doing the cooking and guarding the stolen property.[1]

During September and October 1964 Peter and Batista, unemployed cousin brothers from Mozambique's Machipanda village, crossed into Umtali at night to burgle and steal various valuablesfrom European houses. The Umtali Magistrate's Court heard on 11 November 1964 how they took the stolen goods to their homes in Mozambique and disposed of some of them among village mates in Machipanda. Matidi, a witness from the same village, told the court that

[1] See *Umtali Post*: 'Police swoop on thieves' cache', 15 May 1963, p.1; and *Umtali Post*: 'Africans ran when police raided camp', 12 June 1963, p.7.

he had bought a pair of trousers for £1 from Peter and Batista. Phillip, another witness also from Machipanda, also told the court that Peter and Batista had approached him at their village trying to sell some clothing items. Both items were produced as exhibit in court and were confirmed as having been stolen at Umtali homes.[1]

This section has revealed that some Africans who stole in Umtali and disposed of the stolen goods in Mozambique operated from within and around their family homes and villages across the border. Basing across the border made it difficult for the Rhodesian police to track them since they firstly had to seek clearance from the Portuguese authorities in order to enter Mozambique and carry out investigations. This section also illustrates the primacy of family and kinship networks in the theft of goods in Umtali and their disposal in Mozambique.

6.6 Involvement of Mozambican juveniles in cross-border property theft

Mozambican juveniles, the majority of who were unemployed, were sometimes involved in property theft in Umtali with some of the goods being disposed of in Portuguese territory. Some of them often fled to their family homes in Mozambique to avoid arrest, sometimes coming back to try their luck years later under the disguise of age. On 10 December 1933, for instance, Mafuratiwa, a 12-year old Mozambican boy, murdered an African man after burgling his quarters in Umtali. He then fled to his home village in Mozambique. He returned six years later in June 1939 and went into hiding at his elder brother's quarters in Umtali where he was arrested during the same month.[2] The evidence available suggests that most of the juveniles did not operate independently. They usually worked closely with friends or older family members and relatives some of who were already in Umtali. Some Mozambican men sometimes enlisted the

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Two Africans on theft charge in Umtali', 13 November 1964, p.7.
[2] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'High Court session at Umtali', 6 July 1939, p.7.

company of their juvenile relatives to burgle into Umtali premises and ferry the stolen goods to Mozambique. Their accompaniment was important for two reasons. Firstly, their presence warded off suspicions from would-be-onlookers since youngsters were not usually associated with crime. Secondly, if ever they were caught the adults at times ran away leaving the juveniles knowing fully well that if convicted, they did not serve prison terms but were flogged and released.[1]Manwere and John, a Mozambican man and a juvenile respectively, for instance, appeared at the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 23 June 1957 being charged with breaking into a house of a European in Umtali and stealing property worth £90. They were apprehended while in possession of the stolen property, which included bicycles, at their village near Chimoio. Police investigations revealed that Manwere was John's uncle (mother's step brother).[2] In some cases, juveniles were actually sent by their parents and guardians to seek basic commodities across the border by any means possible. Some begged for coins in Umtali, as already noted in Chapter 5, or secured employment usually as domestic hands. Those who had limited options to earn a living sometimes embarked on theft.[3]

In some cases, the juveniles concealed stolen goods at the premises of their elder family members and relatives, or friends in Umtali until it was safe to cross with them to Mozambique.[4] On 15 June 1956, Paul, a 12-year old Mozambican boy, stole a wallet and money valued at £2 from the house of Catherine Giliet, a European female at 38, Carrington Road where he had been employed for two days. In her evidence at the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court on 22 June 1956, Catherine stated that Paul had come to her place on 7 June seeking employment as a

[1] Separate interviews with Andrew Fourpence, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 3 December 2010; and James Matondo, Chitakatira village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 2 February 2011.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Natives caught across border: Charged with theft of bicycles,' 25 June 1952, p.3. Also see *Umtali Post*: 'Native youth gaoled for housebreaking: Arrested across the border,' 15 August 1952, p.7.
[3]Interview with Andrew Fourpence, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 3 December 2010; and Simbarashe Mutsure, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 4 December 2010.
[4]Interview with Muchafa Machira, Chimoio town, Mozambique, 7 December 2010.

domestic servant. She employed him on 13 June. She saw things missing from her home on 15 June after the juvenile had vanished. He was later arrested at Machipanda in Mozambique and the stolen wallet was recovered at his elder brother's premises in Sakubva.[1]

In a similar case on 21 January 1954 Konde, a Mozambican boy, stole from the one-roomed servants' quarters of two Mozambican men, Willie and Black, at 23, Turner Street. The men had accommodated the juvenile since both came from the same village across the border in Mozambique. They had left the boy at their quarters and returned to see that their valuables had vanished. The stolen items were Blacks's registration certificate, one short, a pair each of socks and stockings, a purse, a wrist watch, a bracelet, one pair of ear-rings and £2. While at their home village on 24 January 1954, Willie and Black spotted Konde and arrested him. Willie then took him back to Umtali and proceeded to the hut of the juvenile's elder brother at the Coca Cola Factory where they found all the stolen property.[2] Once more, this incident highlights the importance of family and kinship interactions in facilitating property theft. It is most likely that the juvenile stole the goods with the full knowledge and blessings of his elder brother. This is because the elder brother would not have accepted the goods at his premises since the juvenile was unemployed.

On 14 February 1954 Chomali, Maringi and Freddie, both male juveniles from the same village in Mozambique, broke into Come-Again Store in Sakubva owned by Takafa and stole cakes, tins of beef, chewing gums, soft drinks, cigarettes, a pen-knife, a tin opener, a pencil, and biscuits. The police tracked the loot to the house of Chomali's uncle in Sakubva. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 18 February 1954, the boys pleaded guilty and stated that they intended to

[1] NAZ, S3513/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, June 1956.
[2] NAZ, S3513/2: Umtali Criminal Cases, January 1954.

sell most of the goods across the border in Mozambique since they were not employed. They were each sentenced to four cuts.[1] What is abundantly clear from this case is that some Africans involved in cross-border property theft relied on the presence of family members and relatives in Umtali to conceal stolen goods. It is not given, however, that their relatives were always directly involved in their operations.

This section has shown that Mozambican juveniles from impoverished backgrounds sometimes embarked on cross-border property theft in order to earn a livelihood. Even though some of them took the initiative to steal, others did not act independently by virtue of their age. Some were despatched by their parents to Umtali to raise income without necessarily being instructed to steal, while others were mobilised by senior relatives to partake in the theft and transportation of stolen goods to Mozambique.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the nature and development of property theft across the Umtali-Mozambique border can best be understood by examining the differential roles played by factors such as family-kinship affiliation, generational status, gender dynamics, and class position and aspirations of the participants. Family-kinship affiliation was central in the development of these activities considering that the chief motive behind theft was to sustain the perpetrators themselves and their families with other kin sometimes being indirect beneficiaries. In addition, those who stole and disposed of the stolen goods across the border closely networked with family members and close relatives. Class as a tool of analysis is also important in view of the fact that most cross-border property theft cases were committed by unemployed or poorly-paid

[1]NAZ, S3513/2: Umtali Criminal Cases, February 1954.

Africans, most of whom were Mozambican Africans impoverished by Portuguese colonial rule. It has, however, been noted that the theft of property in Umtali and the disposal of the stolen goods in Mozambique by these people did not exhibit any form of collective class consciousness and mobilisation against employers or other authorities.

The examples given throughout this chapter indicate that it was mostly men who were arrested and prosecuted for trans-national property theft cases. Three reasons can help to account for this 'relative invisibility' of women. Firstly, as some informants stated, some local and Mozambican women did steal in Umtali, especially from employers, but their chances of being caught were slim because the Rhodesian police force was virtually made up of males and it was impossible to thoroughly conduct a search on the body, clothing or premises of a woman.[1] Secondly, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, the traditional gender division of labour restricted women to the household while men were regarded as breadwinners with the liberty to seek opportunities beyond the domestic arena. Thirdly, as noted in Chapter 3, the colonial labour market generally preferred men over women. As a result, women entered Umtali in relatively lesser numbers than men. The economic hardships in Rhodesian towns such as unemployment therefore affected more men than women and the initiatives for survival such as theft were correspondingly undertaken by larger numbers of men than women. This trend will also be noted in the next chapter on the brewing and trafficking of 'illicit' alcohol across the Umtali-Mozambique border in which most women participated within and around their households while relatively more men crossed the border to drink, procure or market it.

[1]Separate interviews with Lydia Gutsa, McGregors Section, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 7 August 2010; Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010; and Shupai Chitororo, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 23 December 2010.

CHAPTER 7

THE CLANDESTINE CROSS-BORDER ALCOHOL TRAFFIC AND COMMERCE, 1900-1974

7.1 Introduction

The interaction of factors such as family-kinship affiliation, class commonalities, gender dynamics and generational determinants in the brewing, trading and trafficking of various types of alcohol across the Umtali-Mozambique border is the major preoccupation of this chapter. The discussion will also determine the extent to which some of these activities impacted on family-kinship solidarity. This chapter begins by exploring the rise and development of the alcohol traffic and commerce across the border. It then dwells on the brewing and trade of opaque beer and alcoholic spirits by Africans in and around Umtali and how these activities shifted to the Rhodesian borderlands on the outskirts of the town and across the border in Mozambique owing to protracted police raids. The central argument of this chapter is that the networking in the brewing of various types of beer and their trafficking across the Umtali-Mozambique border can best be understood by analysing the interaction of factors such as family-kinship affiliation, class commonalities, gender and generational influences.

7.2 Historical background: The origins and development of the alcohol traffic and commerce across the Umtali-Mozambique border

During the pre-colonial era, some societies in Southern Africa brewed an opaque cereal beer that usually matured after seven days.[1] Among the Shona, it was brewed from pounded cereal grains such as finger millet, bulrush millet and sorghum. Maize became the dominant ingredient from

[1]This brew was known variously as *doro*, *hwahwa* or *mhamba* among the Shona-speaking people and *utshwala* by the Ndebele (Interview with Thomas Jakachi, Duri village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 22 October 2010).

the early 20th century.[1] The fermentation of these cereal ingredients for a week produced a nutritious beer rich in vitamins with an alcohol percentage of two to four percent.[2] With the pre-colonial Shona, as was the case in most African societies, beer was brewed by women since it was regarded as part of their domestic chores. Women were only allowed to drink it privately while men drank it in public. Female caterers were however required to taste it before handing it over to the men as an assurance that the beer was 'safe'.[3]

In many parts of pre-colonial Africa, cereal opaque beer (referred to as *Kaffir* beer by colonial administrators) was not of commercial value.[4] Rather, it was associated with sacred and secular ceremonies within family and kin structures, wards and chiefdoms.[5] In addition to its ceremonial functions, beer served important recreational purposes where people met, discussed and reinforced communal bonds among family members and relatives.[6]It was also brewed for labour-drinking parties (*nhimbe* among the Shona) in which a family invited neighbours, mostly male drinkers, to collectively assist with various agricultural tasks such as preparing land for cultivation. In return, the labourers were offered beer which they drank together at various intervals during the session, after which a bigger party took place.[7] Besides it being a 'drink-to-work' or 'drink-as-you-work' arrangement during which participants had to be energised by beer in order to perform, the labour-drinking party was also an overt manifestation of the nascent

[1]See, for example, J. Willis, *Potent brews: A social history of alcohol in East Africa, 1850-1999*, Oxford: The British Institute in Eastern Africa in association with James Currey, 2002, p.24.
[2]Davies, *Race relations in Rhodesia*, p.318.
[3]Interview with Shingirai Musodzi, Njerama village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 28 October 2010. For similar practices among the Zulu, see B.M. Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa: A survey of its distribution in Africa, and a study of cannabis use and users in multi-ethnic South Africa*, Rotterdam: A.A. Balkema, 1980, p.93.
[4]See *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Urges new brewery', 1 March 1949, p.1.
[5]Interview with Edward Nyamukusa, Watsomba Business Centre, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 30 October 2010. Also see P. Wolcott, 'Feedback influences on fieldwork, or a funny thing happened on the way to the beer garden', in C. Kileff and W.C. Pendleton (eds.) *Urban man in Southern Africa*, Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1975, p.104.
[6] Wolcott, 'Feedback influences on fieldwork, p.104. For similar practices among pre-colonial East African societies, see Willis, *Potent brews*, p.9.
[7] An account of this practice among the Shona is provided by the 'Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Enquiry, 1910-1911', p.19. For examples on East Africa see, for instance, Willis, *Potent brews*, p.18.

commoditisation of beer in some pre-colonial African societies where people had to work in return for beer (a 'work-to-drink' arrangement).

With the establishment of Umtali at its present site, the brewing of the seven-day opaque grain beer became popular among African communities who had come to the town in search for employment and other income-generating opportunities. In September 1910, for example, the Umtali police noted a 'wave of native drunkenness' in the Old Location.[1]Beer became commercialised by Africans in order to survive in a new urban environment where other forms of subsistence such as agriculture, hunting and gathering could not easily be undertaken. In addition, water in the urban areas was not free.[2] The brewing of ritual beer which was previously meant for rural communal forums became rare in urban and peri-urban settings largely because of the cosmopolitan nature of the population in these areas.[3] In most Rhodesian towns, as the Native Affairs Committee of 1910-1911 observed, '*Kaffir* beer, often adulterated, is illicitly sold in most, if not all, locations. In the vicinity of many towns there are private plots where natives of doubtful character congregate.'[4]Beer became a vital commodity in the informal economy of the unemployed people in town, particularly women[5]since the formal employment sector usually preferred men.[6] The experience of African women in their traditional role as brewers and

[1] NAZ, LG99: BSAP Umtali, 27 September 1910.
[2]Interview with Thomas Jakachi, Duri village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 22 October 2010.
[3] Interview with Lazarus Muchenga, Old Location, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 8 August 2010.
[4] Southern Rhodesia, 'Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Enquiry, 1910-1911', p.11.
[5] For examples from other parts of Africa see, for example, Willis, *Potent brews*, p.117; and I. Edwards, 'Cato Manor, June 1959: Men, women, crowds, violence, politics and history,' in P. Maylam and I. Edwards (eds.) *The people's city: African life in twentieth-century Durban*, Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1996, pp.128-133.
[6] See R. Parry, 'The Durban System and the limits of colonial power in Salisbury, 1890-1935,' in J. Crush and C. Ambler (eds.) *Liquor and labour in Southern Africa*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1992,p.132. Also see M. Musemwa, 'The struggle for survival: The municipalisation of business enterprise in Langa township and the African response, 1927-1948,' in E. Van Heyningen (ed.) *Studies in the history of Cape Town Volume Seven*, Rondebosch: University of Cape Town Press, 1994, pp.134-147; P. Bonner, 'Desirable or undesirable Basotho women? Liquor, prostitution and the migration of Basotho women to the Rand, 1920-1945,' in C. Walker (ed.) *Women and gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, Cape Town: David Phillip, 1990, p.227; and J. May, *African women in urban employment: Factors influencing their employment in Zimbabwe*, Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1979, p.16.

caterers of cereal beer also explains their predominance in the private brewing industry in colonial urban centres.[1] Thus, the brewing and selling of beer in colonial towns was 'an extension into the market of a household-based enterprise; and thus it allows women who do it some freedom to organise their family demands or commitments.'[2] In addition, 'the very illegality of the activities apparently protected women from competition from men. It was easier for women to elude the police, and women were less likely to be subjected to harsh fines and imprisonment.'[3]

In colonial towns and other commercial centres, African beer-drinking also came to serve newer social and psychological purposes. Psychologically, beer tended to provide African consumers with the courage to express misgivings to their oppressors. For some drinkers, intoxication managed to 'break down the barriers of fear and restraint that individuals felt towards their oppressors, thus subverting the elaborate pattern of colonial controls.'[4] Like cannabis, alcohol also afforded its consumers 'an escape from the tedium of everyday reality, allowing individuals to (temporarily) forget their circumstances...'[5]

Like their counterparts in the greater part of colonial Africa, Rhodesian authorities had an ambiguous attitude towards the consumption of alcohol by Africans. To them, alcohol was 'a source of revenue, and profit and an effective tool of social engineering and control (but also) ...a dangerous source of disorder, indiscipline, social deterioration and degradation.'[6] On the positive

[1] C. Ambler and J. Crush, 'Alcohol in Southern African labour history,' in Crush and Ambler (eds.) *Liquor and labour in Southern Africa*, p.30.
[2] M. Mapetla, 'Beer brewing and housing strategies in Lesotho,' in A. Schlyter (ed.) *A place to live: Gender research on housing in Africa*, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1996, p.147.
[3] Ambler and Crush, 'Alcohol in Southern African labour history,' p.30.
[4] Parry, 'The Durban system and the limits of colonial power in Salisbury,' p.132.
[5] Parry, 'The Durban system and the limits of colonial power in Salisbury,' p.132. This observation was also made by Baker, 'Prohibition and illicit liquor on the Witwatersrand,' p.145.
[6] Ambler and Crush, 'Alcohol in Southern African labour history,' p.2.

attributes, they acknowledged the nutritional value of grain beer and its importance in protecting workers from scurvy.[1] Most mine managers in Rhodesia, as the Civil Commissioner for Salisbury noted in 1908, also encouraged drinking among their workers 'to make the mine popular and induce the boys to remain.'[2] Similar sentiments were expressed by some colonial authorities and employers in South Africa and Northern Rhodesia.[3]

Employers however took cognisance of the negative impact of alcohol consumption on the reproduction of labour. A compound manager on the Rand stated that it had become common at his mine during the late 19th century to 'lose Monday (because) labour was disorganised through boys being in gaol and intoxicated.'[4] In 1906, a Rhodesian official condemned the over-drinking practices of some African workers during weekends which resulted in 'many sore heads and scarcity of men for shift on Monday morning.'[5] In 1921 the Transvaal Compound Managers' Association expressed concern at the tendency of some African miners to return to their compounds 'hopelessly drunk.'[6]

The Portuguese authorities did not have strict regulations regarding the consumption of alcohol by Africans. In actual fact, the wine industry in Lisbon found a ready market among some sections of the African population in the colonies. They actually instructed African traditional leaders in Mozambique to ensure that the wine trade functioned without hindrance. The

[1] Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.167.
[2]Quoted by *Van Onselen*, Chibaro, pp.168-169.
[3]See, for example, Baker, 'Prohibition and illicit liquor on the Witwatersrand, 1902-1932,' p.142-143; and Ambler and Crush, 'Alcohol in Southern African labour history,' p.16.
[4]Ambler and Crush, 'Alcohol in Southern African labour history,' p.17.
[5] NAZ, NB6/1/18: Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds, Division One, for the year ended 31 March 1906.
[6] P. Bonner, 'Backs to the fence: Law, liquor and the search for social control in an East Rand town, 1929-1962,' in Crush and Ambler (eds.) *Liquor and labour in Southern Africa*, p.273.

Portuguese administrators in Mozambique also had a tendency of lavishing appointed chiefs with wine, clothing and other gifts for traditional ceremonies.[1]

In an attempt to entrench white supremacy and prevent any form of racial interaction during beer drinking sessions, the Rhodesian administration forbade the sale of European-manufactured spirits to Africans and Indians.[2] In Umtali, bragged Thomson in 1898, '…the law prohibiting the sale of liquor to the natives is very strictly enforced, and natives are rarely seen the worse for drink, as is so frequently the case in the Cape Colony and in the Transvaal.'[3] He however lamented that Umtali's nearness to Mozambique would 'inevitably lead to friction...Inside the Mozambique Company's territory, where the Rhodesian liquor law is not in force…it will be impossible to prevent the native from crossing over to buy drink.'[4] Up to 1963, the sale of 'western-type' liquor to Africans was prohibited in Rhodesia with the exception from 1959 of guests in hotels.[5] This legislation also prevailed in the whole Southern African region with the exception of the Cape Province and Mozambique.[6]

In an attempt to maintain the flow of labour to colonial enterprises by denying Africans any additional source of income, leisure, and to raise revenue for colonial coffers, the Rhodesian government passed the Kaffir Beer Act in 1912 which forbade the brewing and selling of opaque

[1] B.E. Bertelsen, 'The traditional lion is dead: The ambivalent presence of tradition and the relations between politics and violence in Mozambique', in *Lusotropie*, 2003, p.270.
[2] This was enforced by Ordinance Number 1 of 1891, the Sale of Liquor to Natives and Indian Laws of 1898 and the Liquor Amendment Ordinance of 1898, amended again in 1902 (Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, p.195. Also see Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.17; Ambler and Crush, 'Alcohol in Southern African labour history,' p.15; and NAZ, S235/383: Government Notice Number 134 of 1896, and Government Notice Number 240 of 1898).
[3]Thomson, *Rhodesia and its government*, p.58.
[4]Thomson, *Rhodesia and its government*, p.47.
[5]Davies, *Race relations in Rhodesia*, p.318. The Liquor Amendment Bill of May 1957 allowed Africans to take European beer and wine but not spirits. (seeBlake, *A history of Rhodesia*, p.290).
[6]Ambler and Crush, 'Alcohol in Southern African labour history,' p.15.

beer except by municipalities and other local authorities.[1] The Act also stipulated an alcohol content of not more than 3% for opaque beer sold to Africans.[2] Unlike Salisbury which opened its first beer canteen for Africans in 1913,[3] the Umtali Municipality could not effectively enforce the Act until it had raised enough revenue to construct a brewery and beer-halls for Africans. Umtali opened the Native Beer Canteen on 1 May 1926.[4] The Liquor Bill, which was tabled in the Rhodesian parliament in November 1929, required local authorities to stipulate hours during which bars should operate.[5] Empowered by Government Notice Number 109 of 1932, the Umtali Municipality prohibited the private brewing, selling and delivering of opaque beer and set aside a maximum fine of £10 for any offender.[6] The police reinforced these laws by raiding places where opaque beer was brewed and sold, and arresting brewers and consumers as well as those found with 'unreasonable quantities of *Kaffir* beer.'[7]

Some African brewers and drinkers in Umtali viewed the introduction of the beer-hall with bitterness. The beer-hall was widely regarded as a colonial monopoly that drove African private brewers, the majority of who were women, out of business.[8] In addition, opaque beer sold in Rhodesia's municipal beer-halls was expensive. The Howman Committee of 1944 observed that

[1] Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, p.197. For similar examples from other parts of Africa see, for example, Ambler and Crush, 'Alcohol in Southern African labour history,' pp.18-19; Ambler, 'Alcohol and the control of labour on the Copperbelt,' pp.344-345; and Willis, *Potent brews*, pp.116-117.
[2] Blake, *A history of Rhodesia*, p.163.
[3] Parry, 'The Durban system and the limits of colonial power in Salisbury,' p.124.
[4] Municipality of Umtali, 'Mayor's report for the year ended 30 June 1926', Mutare: Turner Memorial Library.
[5] *Umtali Advertiser*: Reverend Frank Noble, 'The Liquor Bill', 2 January 1930.
[6] NAZ, S246/305: Government Notice Number 109: Umtali bye-laws, 12 February 1932.
[7] See, for example, NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 18 May 1933; and *Umtali Advertiser*: 'The Magistrate's Court', 15 December 1938, p.7.
[8] Separate interviews with Joel Nyamasoka, Chineta Business Centre, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 2 May 2009; Linos Chingerengere, Old Location, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 9 August 2010; Marjory Duri, Duri village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 28 October 2010; and Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010. For similar sentiments from Africans in Rand towns, see C. Van Onselen, 'Randlords and Rotgut, 1886-1914', in *Studies in the social and economic history of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*, London: Longman, 1982, pp.44-102.

'a state of semi-prohibition is brought about when a man earning British 6d8s a day is confronted with beer priced at 6d a cup.'[1]

Other African drinkers abhorred municipal beer-hall timetables which restricted beer consumption only to the later half-day of Saturday and the whole of Sunday up to midnight.[2] The municipal beer-hall regime was also loathed by some Umtali Africans for depriving them of free entertainment and privacy since they sometimes drank under the watchful eye of the colonial police.[3]

Private opaque beer-brewing within Umtali's African residential areas became sporadic from the mid-1930s in view of protracted police raids and arrests. In an attempt to minimise chances of arrest during the brewing process, some Africans devised strategies to enhance the fermentation process by adding ingredients such as sugar and yeast to a boiled mixture of water and pounded grain thereby shortening the maturation period to a day or two. This fast-tracked product was known as *chikokiyana* in Rhodesian towns.[4] Owing to the use of fermentation-enhancing ingredients, c*hikokiyana* had higher alcohol content than the seven-day brew, hence making it very popular among consumers.[5]

Beer-brewing and drinking parties gradually shifted to the farmlands and African compounds on the outskirts of Umtali where police presence was less concentrated. These farms included

[1]Quoted by Gray, *The two nations*, p.219. In the East Rand towns of South Africa during the period 1929-1942 opaque beer prices in municipal bars were four times higher than those of private African brewers (see Bonner, 'Backs to the fence', p.288).
[2] Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.170.
[3]Separate interviews with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010; and Christopher Mazikana, Dangamvura Shopping Complex, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 13 November 2010.
[4] This brew was spelt as *skokiaan* in colonial records. See *Umtali Advertiser*, 'Urges new brewery,' 1 March 1949, p.1. For details of *chikokiyana* gatherings in other Rhodesian towns during the period 1939-1953, see Dr. Hugh Ashton's notes cited by Gray, *The two nations*, p.220; and Brigadier J.E. Ross, the Police Commissioner, in a report for 1947-1948 tabled in the Rhodesian parliament, quoted by the *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Steady increase in crime reported: Colony's police still below strength', 3 May 1949, p.1.
[5]Interview with Christopher Mazikana, Dangamvura Shopping Complex, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 13 November 2010.

Devonshire, Weirmouth, Matika Kloof, Gimboki, Norris and Rowlands.[1] At a meeting of the Umtali Municipal Council on 26 April 1935, it was noted that 'beer sales were falling off somewhat at the location...consequent on a good deal of illicit brewing in the environs of the town and which indicated the necessity of a police patrol.'[2]

It should therefore be noted that African brewers, traders and consumers in Rhodesia in general and Umtali in particular endured a broad range of restrictions imposed upon them by the colonial government. African responses were varied, and sometimes turned violent. During the weekend of 13 and 14 October 1973, for example, groups of stone-throwing African youths stoned beer-halls in Umtali's Sakubva suburb and 'threatened to kill anyone who went to beer-halls'[3] Some Africans continued to engage in clandestine brewing within the locations and on the margins of Umtali.[4] Another response which this chapter will focus on involved brewers and traders who concentrated their activities close to, and across, the border in Mozambique where consumers from Umtali converged to drink and sometimes brought quantities back home for their own consumption or for resale.

7.3 Unlicensed opaque beer-brewing and gatherings in the Rhodesian borderlands on the eastern outskirts of Umtali

The municipalisation of opaque beer-brewing and the institutionalisation of the beer-hall as the sole venue of consumption and entertainment, reinforced by widespread police raids and prosecution of private brewers and their customers, gradually attracted a considerable

[1] For examples of arrests made at these farms during the period 1949-1962, see NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, September, October and November 1949; NAZ, S3388/2: Umtali Criminal Registers, May and October 1951; NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, March 1952; NAZ, S3388/4: Umtali Criminal Registers, May and June and August 1962; and NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, October and December 1962.
[2] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Development of the town's municipal services,' 2 May 1935, p.5.
[3] A police spokesman quoted by the *Umtali Post*: 'Youths on Sakubva rampage', 15 October 1973, p.1.
[4] For similar responses in Salisbury from 1920, see NAZ, LG52/6/4: Report of the Location Superintendent, Salisbury, 30 May 1922; and NAZ, S138/11: Staff Officer of the BSAP to the Chief Native Commissioner, correspondence, 8 December 1928.

constituency of Umtali's African brewing and drinking community to the borderline areas on the Rhodesian side and across the border in Mozambique. The Umtali Town Clerk, in his report for the year 1917-1918, observed that the ban on the brewing of *Kaffir* beer resulted in the Location being virtually deserted during weekends as most drinkers visited beer sources on the outskirts of town and across the border.[1] F.J. Taylor, the Umtali Mayor, reported in June 1926 that the New Native Beer Canteen, opened on 1 May 1926, would fulfil 'its primary object of supplying natives with a moderate quantity of their national beverage and thus preventing their crossing the border so extensively to get it.'[2] In June 1928, the Umtali Location Superintendent complained that Africans were crossing the border so often to buy opaque beer in Mozambique.[3] The CID reported in October 1928 that the brewing of opaque beer in Umtali's locations had virtually ceased largely because the beer traffic and commerce were now concentrated just across the border in Mozambique.[4] It was in view of these developments that the Umtali Municipal Council requested for government approval to purchase all farms along the town's border with Mozambique. In May 1932, the Council applied to the government to buy Birkley West, an idle government-owned farm that stretched from the eastern end of Umtali to the border with Mozambique. Part of the council's argument read:

> ...Although we have no doubt that the type of native on this particular farm is reasonably good, there is no doubt that it is impossible to control beer drinking, as the land adjoins Portuguese territory especially at weekends, and many of the natives employed in town go there. It is urged that if this farm formed part of the Commonage the Council would make representations to the Portuguese authorities with a view to the establishment of continuous patrols on both sides of the border. The arrest and subsequent punishment by the Portuguese authorities would probably act as a deterrent to visiting natives.[5]

[1] Municipality of Umtali: Town Clerk's report for the year 1917-1918, Turner Memorial Library, Mutare.
[2] Municipality of Umtali: Mayor's report for the year ending 30 June 1926, Turner Memorial Library, Mutare.
[3] Municipality of Umtali: Native Location Superintendent's report for the year ending 30 June 1928, Turner Memorial Library, Mutare.
[4] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 24-25 October 1928.
[5] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Birkley West Farm: Council efforts to obtain', 12 May 1932, p.2.

The Umtali Town Planning Committee convened a meeting with the Minister of Agriculture and Lands on 23 July 1934 where they reiterated their wish to buy the farm due to 'drunkenness amongst the natives on account of its situation on the border.'[1] The Library Sub-Committee of the Umtali Native Welfare Society, in an article to the *Umtali Advertiser* of 21 February 1935, added weight to the council's request:

> It is true that the brewing of beer is confined to the location where it is under strict supervision. But natives visit kraals in the neighbourhood, and even travel long distances by bicycle or motor lorry, to attend orgies on unoccupied land or in Native Reserves. Umtali town natives obtain beer, and even spirits, easily in Portuguese territory.[2]

The Council got a positive response from the government and began to evict Africans from the farm in 1935 in line with the provisions of the Land Apportionment Act. More than 50% of the Africans evicted were married and employed permanently in Umtali.[3] The Council also requested Portuguese authorities to evict all Africans residing on the Mozambican side of Birkley West farm. The Commandante at Macequece complied and the Africans in question were ordered to leave by the end of September 1935.[4] Unlicensed brewing and consumption on both sides of the border persisted largely because the farm remained unutilised and neglected for the greater part of the colonial period.

Given the bulky nature of opaque grain beer, owing to the fact that it had a lower alcohol content than spirits, it was always risky to smuggle it from nearby Mozambican villages and conceal it in the Umtali residential areas for private consumption or resale at a time when police patrols and raids intensified from the late 1920s. Already during the 1930s, Africans were being arrested in

[1] *Rhodesia Advertiser*: 'Municipal Council', 2 August 1934, p.2.
[2] *Umtali Advertiser*: Library Sub-Committee of the Umtali Native Welfare Society, 'Common sense cure for existing evils,' 21 February 1935, p.3.
[3] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Welfare of natives: Work of Umtali organisation', 14 March 1935, p.8.
[4] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Umtali Town Council', 3 October 1935, p.6.

Umtali for being found with 'an unreasonable quantity of Kaffir beer.'[1] In addition, opaque beer is easily perishable; after two days in hot weather, it becomes impotent due to over-fermentation. This was common at times when traffickers from Mozambique had their arrival in Umtali delayed by police activity along the border area. The intensity of raids on the African residential areas sometimes resulted in grain beer being left 'idle' in hiding places. Such eventualities resulted in great losses for African traffickers.[2] Distillates do not waste away easily since they are not in a state of perpetual fermentation.[3]

From the 1930s, therefore, it became safer, more convenient and generally cost-effective for some Africans to brew a strong home-distilled alcoholic spirit known to the locals as *nipa*.[4] This was an interesting change in tactics and a veritable demonstration of innovativeness on the part of African beer-brewers. Attempts to distil *nipa* in Umtali's surrounding areas were, however, constantly frustrated by the police thereby making its sources across the border in Mozambique more popular.[5]

For some drinkers, *nipa* was a suitable substitute for spirits of European manufacture which Africans in Rhodesia were not allowed to buy and consume up to 1963.[6] In response to the legislation prohibiting the sale of Western-type liquor to Africans and Indians, some African

[1] See, for example, the case of Mayemu and Muchatsvageyi in the *Umtali Advertiser*: 'The Magistrate's Court', 15 December 1938, p.7.
[2]Interview with Cyril Murwisi, Old Location, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 8 August 2010.
[3]Willis, *Potent brews*, p.41.
[4] As noted earlier on *nipa* (also known as *tototo*) was a home-brewed spirit of almost 100% alcohol. The term *tototo* is also used widely among the Venda in the Limpopo province of South Africa. Discussions I carried out with participants at the Southern African Historical Society biennial conference in Pretoria, South Africa, in June 2009 were in agreement that the terms *nipa* and *tototo* are derived from the English words 'nip' and 'tot' respectively, suggesting that since this distillate has a high alcohol content, it was consumed in small quantities (nips or tots) at a time.
[5]On 28 August 1958, Gladys, a local African woman, was caught red-handed by the police while brewing *nipa* at Dora farm, seven miles (11.263 kilometres) from Umtali along the Melsetter Road (*Umtali Post*: 'Jailed for making *nipa*', 7 September 1958, p.7).
[6] Interview with Ranganai Jonasi, Mazhambe Section, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 13 August 2010.

drinkers in Umtali who could afford clear beer and spirits crossed into Mozambique where no such restrictions existed at borderline beer outlets. As early as 1905, the Mining Commissioner for Umtali complained about the indiscriminate sale of clear beer to Africans at canteens in Mozambique close to the border with Umtali. He noted that Africans from the town were 'in the habit of crossing the border to obtain drink. I know that crime has resulted therefrom, and I also know that drink has been brought back from these places.' He identified two canteens close to the border in Portuguese territory which sold liquor to Africans from Umtali. One was close to Umtali Township and was owned by a Portuguese trader. The other was located on the watershed between the Penhalonga and Revue valleys and was owned by J.C. Meikle, a Rhodesian businessman. There were numerous other outlets besides these.[1] In 1935, the Umtali Native Welfare Society noted that 'Umtali town natives obtain beer, and even spirits, easily in Portuguese territory.'[2]

7.4 Development of the *nipa* traffic and commerce across the Umtali-Mozambique border

As noted earlier on, *nipa/ tototo* or *kachasu*[3] is a very powerful colourless home-brewed spirit. The issue of *nipa* began to gain considerable coverage in Umtali's colonial reports from the late 1930s. In October 1939, for example, the CID expressed concern at 'the beer drinks which regularly occur at kraals just over the border' and the rising popularity of Mozambican-sourced *nipa* among Umtali's African residents. They recommended that all Africans living in the area

[1]NAZ, MU2/3/15: Mining Commissioner for Umtali to Chief Secretary, Salisbury, correspondence, 12 December 1905.
[2]*Umtali Advertiser*: 'Common sense cure for existing evils', 21 February 1935, p.3.
[3] The term *kachasu* is also extensively used in Malawi (see A. Clayton and D. Killingray, *Khaki and blue: Military and police in British colonial Africa*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989,p.71; and J. Power, 'Eating the property: Gender roles and economic change in urban Malawi, Blantyre-Limbe, 1907-1953', in *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Volume 29, Number 1, 1995, p.85).

between Umtali and Mozambique be evicted in order to curb the brewing and consumption of *nipa* in the borderlands.[1] In October 1940, the CID reported:

> ...the Native Department have instructed that natives in various private locations in Umtali, particularly that of Mr Condy near the Portuguese border, are to leave and either live in the Municipal location or in their own kraals in the Reserve...It appears possible that this action may mean that several natives will establish a kraal on the Portuguese side of the border, where the brewing of *nipa* and Kaffir beer and the resultant drunkenness is common.[2]

Africans living on farmlands on the outskirts of Umtali and those on the borderlands separating the city from Mozambique were served with eviction notices. In October 1940, they attempted to resist eviction by petitioning the Prime Minister without success.[3]

These efforts to curb the brewing and trafficking of *nipa* were largely unsuccessful. In his evidence to a commission of enquiry appointed by the Rhodesian government during the period 1943-1944 to investigate the living conditions of African workers in urban areas A.S. Haslam, the Assistant Native Commissioner for Umtali, expressed concern at the 'wave of drunkenness' among Africans in the town as a result of *nipa* consumption.[4] Between 17 April and 7 August 1945, Rhodesian police details patrolling Umtali's border with Mozambique arrested more than 20 people for trafficking beer into the city, mostly *nipa* but with a few cases of *chikokiyana*.[5] During the half-year spanning from the end of July 1947 to the beginning of January 1948, the Umtali police dealt with a monthly average of three to four cases of possessing illicit liquor, mainly *kachasu*, brought in from Mozambique.[6] The rate of *nipa* smuggling was certainly higher

[1] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 16-19 October 1939.
[2] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 17 October 1940.
[3] NAZ, S1224/4: Captain H.M. Surgey, Superintendent of Police Umtali District, to CID Superintendent Salisbury, correspondence, 19 October 1940.
[4] NAZ, S1906: Evidence of A.S. Haslam, Assistant Native Commissioner for Umtali, to the Economic, Social and Health Conditions of Africans employed in Urban Areas Committee, 1943-1944.
[5]NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 7 August 1945.
[6]NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 15 January 1948.

considering that some traffickers, if not the majority, were not detected by the police.[1] At its May 1949 meeting, the Umtali Town Council complained about the 'frequency of drunkenness' among Africans, particularly in the Circular Drive area near Marymount College, close to the border with Mozambique, during weekends. The councillors noted that Africans got liquor from Portuguese territory and recommended that the police apprehend them when they crossed the border back in a drunken state.[2]

Despite legislative provisions instituted to thwart the trafficking and consumption of harmful forms of alcohol,[3] the *nipa* traffic persisted. On 2 October 1955, for instance, an *Umtali Post* journalist visited a *nipa* 'haven' in Chiseya village, just across the border from Marymount College, and noted how Africans from Umtali were 'thumbing their noses on Rhodesian law.' He observed that Mozambican villages near Umtali had become 'small-time distillers' and doing 'a roaring trade in *nipa*'. He bemoaned that there was nothing the Rhodesian authorities could do besides arresting the Africans only when they came back across the border drunk, or if they were carrying bottles of *nipa*. 'But once off Rhodesian soil,' he lamented, 'natives can drink *nipa* for as long as they like.'[4] He also noted:

> The trade (in *nipa*) is so organised now that there is even a regular transport service to the border. Natives go up to Circular Drive in taxis – or in their own cars and trucks – and there is a car park cleared, off the road and well concealed. From there, well trodden paths lead away to Portuguese territory, across a broken down barbed wire fence which presumably marks the border. A mile down these paths the bush opens into a valley, with native kias on the hillside. Before you reach them you can hear the racket of drunken natives.[5]

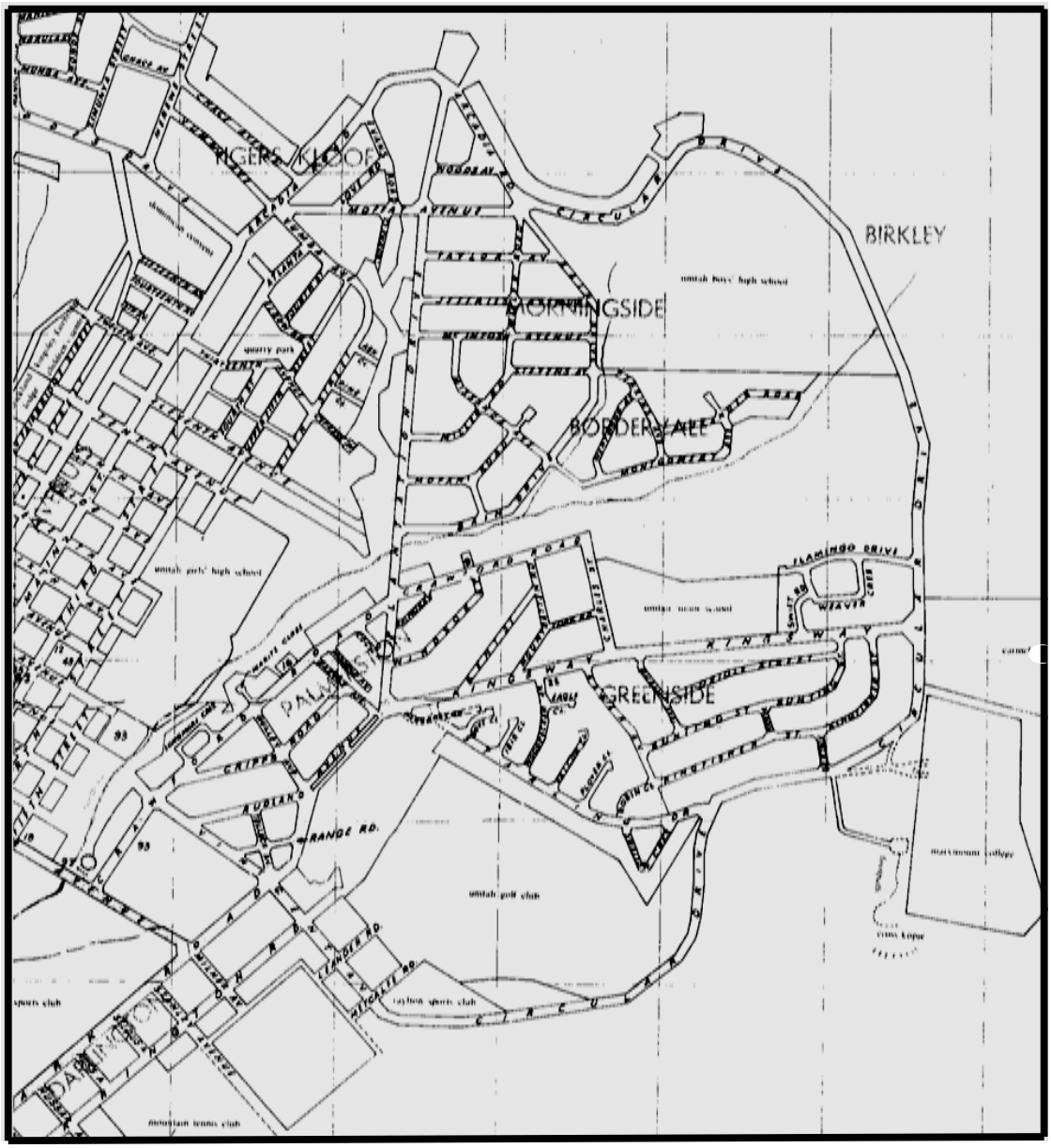
[1] Interview with Linos Chingerengere, Old Location, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 9 August 2010.
[2] *Umtali Advertiser*: 'Action sought against drunkenness among natives', 25 May 1949, p.5.
[3] The Harmful Liquids Act of 1949 banned concoctions made from 'fermentation of treacle, sugar or other substances and known as *skokiaan,barbeton, nipa, qilika, isityimiyana, hopana, qediviki* or *uhali*.' (see Harmful Liquids Act, Chapter 27, of 1947 in Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law, Volume* 1, pp.528-529; and the Harmful Liquids Act, Chapter 27, of 1949, in Southern Rhodesia Government, *The statute law*, p.527).
[4] *Umtali Post*, 'Natives take potent *nipa* from soft-drink bottles,' 7 October 1955, p.1.
[5] *Umtali Post*, 'Natives take potent *nipa* from soft-drink bottles,' 7 October 1955, p.1.

In his annual report for 1970, Umtali's Director of African Administration stated that large quantities of *nipa*, mostly sourced from Mozambique, continued to be seized by the police from Sakubva houses. He reported that this 'horrible concoction' was being brought into the suburb and sold in 'nip' bottles. In 1970 alone 27 Africans, three of them women, were convicted for the offence.[1]

Most consumers and traffickers of *nipa* used bush paths that crossed the Mozambican border and emerged into Circular Drive on the eastern margin of Umtali. The majority of traffickers who used this route travelled on foot although some used bicycles. Others, however, travelled on foot from Mozambique before boarding pre-hired motor vehicles that would be waiting for them in bushy areas close to Circular Drive. Some smugglers who managed to evade the police in Circular Drive were later arrested further in the interior in Morningside suburb. Some footed or cycled from Mozambique through bush paths that emerged into Park and Carrington roads in Darlington, and End Street, Vinear Avenue and Crawford Road in Palmerston. Others used road transport from Umtali to various destinations in the Rhodesian interior.[2] Some used the Beira-Salisbury train and some of them were arrested during routine checks on the train or upon disembarking at the Umtali Railway Station.[3] At the Railway Station on 20 August 1962, for example, Thompson, a Mozambican man employed in the small town of Inyazura, 70 kilometres west of Umtali, was arrested for possessing *nipa* when the police made a routine search on the train travelling from Mozambique to Salisbury.[4] Umtali therefore became not only a destination

[1] Umtali Director of African Administration, Annual Report for 1970, cited by the *Umtali Post*: 'Township crime rate shows increase in illegal liquor', 9 November 1970, p.3.
[2] See, for example, NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, July 1962.
[3] Interviews with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010; and Christopher Mazikana, Dangamvura Shopping Complex, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 13 November 2010.
[4] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, August 1962.

for Mozambican *kachasu*, but also a transit zone for some *nipa* traffickers headed for various parts of the Rhodesian interior.



Map 11: Umtali's eastern suburbs (Source: Umtali City Engineer's Department, 'Map of Umtali and Eastern Highlands', Published by the Manicaland Development and Publicity Association, May 1972).

Route	**Number of arrests**
Circular Drive	36
Umtali Railway Station	2
Darlington streets	1
Palmerston streets	3
Total	**42**

Table 2: Africans arrested for trafficking Mozambican *nipa* into Umtali along given routes, August 1949-December 1952 (Source: NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, 1949; NAZ, S3388/2: Umtali Criminal Registers, 1951; and NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, 1952)

Statistical data available from the BSAP Umtali Criminal Registers indicate that volumes of *nipa* brought into Umtali by individuals or groups were relatively small before the mid-1950s after which larger volumes were intercepted by the Rhodesian authorities. Table 3, below, shows the various *nipa* quantities which individuals were arrested with while entering Umtali through Circular Drive, Umtali Railway Station, Forbes Border Post and the streets of Darlington and Palmerston suburbs from August 1949 to December 1952.

The fact that most of the volumes seized by the police before the mid-1950s were relatively smaller, less than 1.5 litres, as shown in Table 3 below, is indicative of the pre-commercial phase of the concoction on the Umtali side of the border during this period. What this may suggest is that most of those arrested upon entering Umtali with *nipa* before the mid-1950s had gone for beer-drinking excursions in Mozambique and returned with some quantities back home for their own consumption.

***Nipa* volumes (in litres)**	**Number of traffickers arrested**
0.001-0.5	12
0.501-1.0	10
1.001-1.5	8
1.501-2.0	10
2.001-2.5	1
More than 2.5	1
Total	**42**

Table 3: Police record of volumes of Mozambican *nipa* seized upon entry into Umtali, August 1949-December 1952 (Source: NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, 1949-1950; NAZ, S3388/2: Umtali Criminal Registers, 1951; NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, 1952)

Traffickers of *nipa* and those who crossed into Mozambique to drink it employed a variety of strategies to avoid arrests. Most traffickers arrived in Umtali around sunrise or sunset in order to give the police an impression that they were on their way either to or from work.[1] While on transit, the concoction was concealed in various ways. A fairly widespread strategy of avoiding detection on the way back to Umtali, as the *Umtali Post* discovered in October 1955, was to transport the *nipa* in soft-drink bottles.[2] Containers of *nipa* were sometimes hidden in sacks and

[1]Interview with Christopher Mazikana, Dangamvura Shopping Complex, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 13 November 2010.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Natives take potent *nipa* from soft-drink bottles,' 7 October 1955, p.1.

suitcases stashed in vehicles, and in cardboard boxes on bicycle carriers.[1] Skirmishes with the authorities sometimes occurred along the way. Arifandika, a Mozambican male, and Samson, a local man, for example, tried to fight off the police when confronted along Circular Drive on 6 and 13 December 1952 respectively. When approached by African constable Peter as he emerged into Circular Drive from Mozambique with 0.5 pints (0.284 litres) of *nipa* on 20 December 1952 Furashisko, a Mozambican man, assaulted Peter who had to be detained in hospital.[2] In Umtali's residential areas the concoction was concealed at various points within homesteads, for example in fowl runs, and under the beds. In August 1957, for instance, Edward Muchena was arrested after the police found nearly five gallons (22.75 litres) of *nipa* hidden in a fowl run at his premises in Sakubva.[3]It should therefore be noted that *nipa* deals were conducted with utmost secrecy for fear of arrest and when cornered by the authorities, some dealers did not easily give up without a fight.

7.5 Interaction of family-kinship, class, generational and gender dynamics in the brewing of opaque beer and *nipa*

Private brewing by Africans in colonial urban centres was primarily meant to raise income to meet basic family needs. It was mostly undertaken by unemployed women, usually single mothers and widows. Women in the rural areas whose men occupied low-paying jobs in towns and other colonial commercial enterprises brewed beer for sale 'with the mind to supplement wages...Women by doing so (were) trying to help their husbands.'[4] Brewing was therefore 'a

[1] For details of some of these incidents see, for example, *Umtali Post*: 'Liquor was to pay school fees,' 29 January 1958, p.7; *Umtali Post*: 'Possessing *nipa*', 10 September 1958, p.7; and *Umtali Post*: '*Nipa* charges: Two jailed,' 16 January 1961, p.5.
[2]NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, December 1952. For similar incidents see, for example, *Umtali Post*: 'Had *nipa* drink', 19 March 1954, p.7; and Umtali *Post*: 'Africans in court on *nipa* charges', 4 March 1960, p.7.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Had *nipa* in fowl run,' 28 August 1957, p.1. Also see Umtali *Post*: '*Nipa* for child's party,' 12 April 1972, p.5.
[4] Zulu Phungula quoted by P. laHause, *Brewers, beer-halls and boycotts: A history of liquor in South Africa*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1988, p.4.

kind of insurance against poverty'[1] and 'often the only way which African women (had) of feeding their children.'[2] At Mukudu village, just across the border from Umtali, 'brewing *nipa* was a preoccupation of the poor in society.'[3] 'Were it not that my mother, who was a widow, brewed beer at Mukudu village and sold it to customers who came from Umtali during weekends,' recalled Mike Dzvifu who did his primary education in Umtali during the late 1950s, 'there was no way she could have raised school fees for me and my brothers.'[4]

Brewing thus became the flywheel of some household economies. Whole families sometimes relocated across the border to seek a livelihood whenever their private brewing activities were threatened by colonial authorities. In October 1940, for example, the Umtali CID noted the tendency by some local African families who earned a living though brewing to relocate to Mozambique and resume their activities whenever harassed by the police.[5] On 9 March 1958, for instance, Zacharia, an unemployed man from Umtali who had taken his family across the border in Mozambique where he operated a *nipa* distiller, was raided by the BSAP who seized a gallon (4.55 litres) of *nipa* from him.[6] Alfred Sixpence also recalled how his mother, a widow, together with him and two other young brothers abandoned their family home at Musasiri village in Mozambique after the *nipa*-brewing business declined as a result of a crackdown by the Rhodesian police on cross-border drinkers from Umtali during 1973: 'We had no option but to sell some of our cattle and relocated to Dangamvura in Umtali where my mother brewed *nipa* for sale. Some of the livestock remained with my mother's sister at Machipanda village.' They used part of the money realised from the sale of some of the cattle and goats to buy a small house in

[1]laHause, *Brewers, beer-halls and boycotts*, p.5.
[2]laHause, *Brewers, beer-halls and boycotts*, p.4.
[3]Interview with Johnson Musonza, Mukudu village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 19 April 2011.
[4]Interview with Mike Dzvifu, Chikanga 3 suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 12 February 2011.
[5] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 17 October 1940.
[6]NAZ, S3643/6: Umtali Criminal Cases, March 1958.

Dangamvura. A number of Mozambicans also crossed into Umtali for the same reasons during the early 1970s resulting in most villages across the border being sparsely populated.[1]

Among the Shona during the pre-colonial period and the greater part of the colonial era, every woman was obliged to learn how to brew beer. Within households, it was part of the responsibilities of elder women to induct young girls on brewing.[2] During the 1950s, for example, girls from the Mozambican borderline village of Musasiri who had mastered the skill of brewing *nipa* were sometimes given their own equipment such as drums by their parents to set up their own distillers and get income to pay for their school fees at the nearby St. Raymond's Catholic Primary School.[3] During August 1958, for example, the police discovered a *nipa* distiller on unoccupied land near Penhalonga, 10 kilometres north of Umtali. Miriam, a local African woman, was arrested for operating it. At the time of arrest, she had nine pints (5.112 litres) of distilled *nipa* and four gallons (18.2 litres) of undistilled *nipa* in her possession. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court, she confessed having been taught to brew the concoction by her sister in Mozambique.[4] Besides highlighting how family members at the household level within given localities on either side of the border inducted each other on the brewing of *nipa*, this case also illustrates that these very skills were also disseminated across borders through networks of close relatives.

The process of brewing opaque beer and *nipa* was labour intensive and required the cooperation of family members, kin and fellow villagers. The first stage in the brewing of the traditional opaque beer involved packing cereal grain, especially sorghum, in a sack which was then soaked

[1] Interview with Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010.
[2] Interview with Esnath Mudzongo, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 23 December 2010.
[3] Interview with Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010.
[4] *Umtali Post*: 'Four months for illegal still', 1 September 1958, p.5.

in water for about two days. The sack was then placed in a warm place for up to five days after which the grain began to germinate. The grain shootings were important in providing the malt for the brew. The grain was then dried in the sun for a few days. During the drying process, the grain was protected from birds and other domestic animals such as goats and chicken, and children were usually assigned this responsibility. The dried grain was ground into mealie-meal using smooth stones, but grinding-mills gradually took over this task during the colonial period. The grinding was usually undertaken by mothers and their daughters. Women and children fetched bundles of firewood but when the men were available, they could assist with cutting the big logs in nearby forests and carrying them home, sometimes using ox-drawn sledges.[1] The mealie-meal was then boiled in water, a process that was closely monitored by mothers and daughters during which they ensured that there was adequate fire to heat the mixture.[2] After boiling for about five hours, the mixture was stored in a container for a few days to ferment resulting in a highly concentrated alcoholic product (*mutsunga*). Unfermented grain and water were boiled separately and the product (*masvetu*) was mixed with *mutsunga*. The outcome, a dilute brew with a moderate alcohol content of below 3% was now ready for consumption.[3] The process of fetching water and mixing *mutsunga* and *masvetu* was normally conducted by women and girls of the concerned family together with female relatives from the village who also provided advice about mixing the right proportions in order to come up with a brew that was neither too dilute nor bitter nor too strong.[4]

[1]Interview with Stella Masiketi, Mukudu village, Machipanda district, 18 April 2011.
[2] Separate interviews with Esnath Mudzongo, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 23 December 2010; and Stella Masiketi, Mukudu village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 18 April 2011.
[3]Interview with Marjory Duri, Duri village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 28 October 2010; and Francisca Tsvageyo, Dora village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 7 February 2011.Also see laHausse, *Brewers, beer-halls and boycotts*, p.8.
[4]Interview with Marjory Duri, Duri village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 28 October 2010.

Unlike the seven-day opaque beer which was wholly brewed from natural ingredients, *chikokiyana* fermented within 24 to 48 hours with the aid of ingredients such as sugar and yeast.[1] In his sarcastically exaggerated narrative Craven, a former BSAP policeman, outlined the process involved in the brewing of *chikokiyana* by Africans in Rhodesia:

> *Skokiaan* was a favoured home-brew, concocted from sorghum and/ or maize and boiled in a forty-four gallon (200-litre) petrol drum, to which was added anything to give it a 'kick' and hasten fermentation. Cheap brandy, methylated spirit, surgical spirit and a dead rodent or a cat or two would heighten the potency, sometimes to the extent that some of those overindulging did not awaken from their drunken stupor.[2]

Even though *chikokiyana* took lesser time to brew than the traditional opaque beer, it still required the pooling of labour from various people within family and kin structures. Grain needed to be pounded; water and firewood had to be fetched; and the mixture of grain, water and various ingredients needed to be boiled and closely monitored.[3] Children were usually sent to nearby shops to buy these ingredients but at times fathers working in towns, mines and farms brought it home.[4] However, only family members, trusted relatives and villagers were called upon to assist for fear of arrest since the brew was classified as a harmful liquid and outlawed by colonial officials as already noted.

The distillation process which produced *nipa* reflected innovativeness and adaptations in the African indigenous scientific knowledge system. *Nipa* was prepared from quantities of sugar mixed with old maize husks or pounded grain. Water was added and the mixture left to ferment for about a week. The mixture was poured into a clay pot and the top sealed with mud. It was

[1]Interview with Christopher Mazikana, Dangamvura Shopping Complex, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 13 November 2010.
[2] D. Craven, *Mapolisa: Some reminiscences of a Rhodesian policeman*, Roodeport: Covos Books, 1998, p.35. For similar practices from East Africa, see Willis, *Potent brews*, p.39.
[3]Interview with Marjory Duri, Duri village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 28 October 2010; and Francisca Tsvageyo, Dora village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 7 February 2011.
[4] Interview with Noah Manzere, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 21 November 2010.

boiled and the distilled liquid dripped out to form virtually undiluted alcohol.[1] The process of distillation took cognisance of the fact that ethanol and water boil at 79°C and 100°C respectively. As a result, ethanol turned into vapour before water. The ethanol vapour was condensed to produce *nipa*. In many African regions during the pre-colonial period, clay pots served as boilers and distillers. They were gradually replaced by petrol tins, oil drums and copper tubes during the colonial era.[2] Like oral tradition, these production skills were passed from one generation to another within family structures and survived over many decades.[3]

The brewing of *nipa* was also a labour-intensive undertaking that required collective efforts from family members and close relatives.[4] Maize husks had to be gathered, and grain pounded by women and their daughters. Men, when available, together with their wives and children assisted each other to collect firewood. Men usually took the responsibility of setting up the distiller, usually in secluded places such as nearby bushes for fear of arrest. The distillation process which required a lot of heat was usually conducted and closely monitored by women who sometimes left their children to keep watch while they were away.[5] Brewers within the same village in the vicinity of Umtali and across the border in Mozambique usually networked to come up with a brewing timetable in which production by different households was staggered to avoid losses resulting from over-flooding the market.[6] This 'cyclical' or 'rotational' brewing arrangement,[7] known as the *gumwe* system by the Shona,[8] predated the advent of colonialism as evidenced by

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Natives take potent *Nipa* from soft-drink bottles in sprees over the border', 7 October 1955, p.1.
[2] Willis, *Potent brews*, pp.40-41.
[3] Separate interviews with Simpson Gureyi, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 3 December 2010; and Rudo Waraza, Dora village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 7 February 2011.
[4] Interview with Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010.
[5] Interview with Wadzanai Takunda, Redwing Mine, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 10 January 2011; and Rudo Waraza, Dora village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 7 February 2011.
[6] Interview with Rudo Waraza, Dora village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 7 February 2011.
[7] Power, 'Eating the property', p.85.
[8] Interview with Wadzanai Takunda, Redwing Mine, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 10 January 2011.

the staggered labour-drinking parties of the pre-colonial period and the perpetuation of similar practices during the colonial era clearly manifested cooperation among kin and villagers as they sought a livelihood.

7.6 Drinking excursions across the Umtali-Mozambique border

As in many other African societies, beer-drinking among the Shona was regarded as a sign of manhood, hence children and bachelors were not expected to drink regularly.[1] All cross-border drinkers arrested during the period of study were adults, that is, above the age of 18 according to Rhodesian law. Drinking ethics in pre-colonial Shona society required sharing among familiar people; otherwise one risked being poisoned during drinking sessions with strangers.[2] Familiarity among group members who crossed into Mozambique to drink was also important because in the case of any eventuality along the way such as the arrest and subsequent detention of one or more members, there was urgent need by others who managed to escape to inform the family members or close relatives of the victims.[3] Drinkers usually crossed into Mozambique in pairs, threes or fours because the thickly-wooded area that bordered Umtali and Mozambique was threatening to the individual especially when returning home after sunset. However, it was very rare for drinkers to cross the border in big groups of six upwards because the police could easily detect them on their way to and from Mozambique.[4] It was common for a group of more than half a dozen drinkers to arrange a trip to Mozambique whilst in Umtali but upon approaching the border, they would split up and individuals or pairs would cross into Portuguese territory using different bush paths to avoid detection by police border patrols. They would

[1]Interview with Amon Madoro, Chikanga 1 suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 12 February 2011.
[2] Separate interviews with Michael Mutwaro, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 7 November 2010; Simpson Gureyi, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 3 December 2010.
[3]Interview with Samson Chamunorwa, Fern Valley suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010.
[4]Separate interviews at Mangenje Business Centre, Dangamvura, Mutare, Zimbabwe with Tendai Munodawafa and Tonderai Chamada, 6 November 2010.

reconvene across the border and do the same on the return trip. An individual could be arrested along the way, but it was very rare for one to betray other members of the itinerant drinking network to the police.[1]

As will be noted in the analysis to follow, the composition of pairs or groups of itinerant drinkers across the Umtali-Mozambique border was determined by generational, gender, and class commonalities; and family-kinship affiliation. It is being argued that most people who crossed into Mozambique to drink were adult men given the traditional Shona beer-consumption pattern already noted that women, girls and unmarried men were not expected to be seasoned drinkers. Class homogeneity (in terms of employment status and place of residence) was quite apparent with most drinking groups because one had to have money to buy beer rather than being a liability.[2]

As stated earlier on in this chapter, beer-drinking in most pre-colonial African societies afforded family members and relatives an opportunity to interact and reinforce their relationships. In his study of Salisbury, Parry observed that despite the cosmopolitan nature of colonial urban society, beer gatherings were an 'essential cultural reference point...a social experience, a means of situating oneself within a social order that had been fractured at various points by the demands of the colonial political economy.'[3] Even among drinking workers, Baker noted that beer was 'a necessary accompaniment of sociability, reinforcing kinship and other networks and helping to insert the worker into the social networks of the compound and the locations.'[4] Some family members and kin in Umtali teamed up for beer-drinking trips across the border in Mozambique

[1] Interview with Rwisai Mwatenga, Dangamvura Area P, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 21 November 2010.
[2] Interview with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.
[3]Parry, 'The Durban system and the limits of colonial power in Salisbury,' p.132.
[4]Baker, 'Prohibition and illicit liquor on the Witwatersrand,' p.146.

as a few examples below show. Manwere and Manico, both Mozambican blood-brothers residing in Sakubva and employed by the Railways and the Municipality respectively, were arrested along Circular Drive on 4 March 1949 while on their way from a beer drink in Mozambique.[1] On 4 September 1949, two Mozambican cousin brothers from Tete province, one employed by the Rhodesia Railways and the other by the Umtali Council, were arrested along Circular Drive for drunkenness after attending *nipa*-drinking assemblies across the border in Mozambique.[2] Peter and Chodzayi, both of whom came from the same village in Melsetter district and were employed by Umtali's Modern Bakery and Meikles Limited respectively, were also apprehended along Circular Drive on 10 December 1952.[3]

The group composition of the revellers showed a greater degree of heterogeneity in terms of nationality (Mozambican and Rhodesian Africans) and class homogeneity. Nearly all groups of people who crossed the border for beer-drinking parties were employed in general and menial capacities at various institutions in Umtali which included domestic service, industry, the Municipality, government departments, and shops.

The conspicuous under-representation of unemployed persons should not be surprising because they could not afford the cost of drink and worse still, the financial penalties in the event of arrest. Even though most cross-border drinkers occupied low-class jobs, they could afford occasional drinks, most of which they met through group contributions for every mug of opaque beer or a bottle of *nipa*.[4]

[1]NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, August and September 1949.
[2]NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, September 1949.
[3]NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, December 1952.
[4]Interview with Simon Piratu, Chitungo Section, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 11 August 2010.

Place of employment	Number of arrests
Private employers	22
Railways	9
Government	4
Municipality	3
None (Unemployed)	4
Total	**42**

Table 4: Employment status of Africans arrested entering Umtali from *nipa* gatherings in Mozambique, 14 August 1949- 14 December 1952 (Source: Derived from NAZ, S3388/1-4: Umtali Criminal Registers, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952)

Some Mozambicans employed in Umtali drank at their homes across the border during weekends.[1] Other Africans employed at different places in Umtali and were neither kin nor residents from the same residential area but knew each other through patronising the beer-hall in Sakubva sometimes arranged to change the drinking venue and crossed into Mozambique.[2] Employees from same workplace or residential neighbourhood in Umtali could arrange crossing into Mozambique to drink.[3] In some cases, Mozambicans in Umtali attracted local workmates, neighbours in the location and friends to buy beer from their homes and villages, clearly showing that family-kinship dynamics should never be overlooked in any narrative on informal cross-border drinking excursions.[4] In May 1933, for example, the Umtali CID noted that all villages across the border in Portuguese territory 'look upon beer-brewing as their main item of revenue

[1]Interview with Elias Foshoro, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 24 December 2010.
[2]Interview with James Matondo, Chitakatira village, Mutare district, Zimbabwe, 2 February 2011.
[3]Interview with Josephine Pirato, Mugarandega village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 15 December 2010.
[4] Interview with Adam Madanza, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 22 November 2010.

and many natives employed in Umtali have kraals in Portuguese East Africa'[1] Information about the availability of beer at particular borderline homesteads in Mozambique at given times was usually conveyed by female brewers to their husbands or relatives working in Umtali when they came home for weekends.[2] It should therefore be noted that networking within family- kinship structures was quite influential in the organisation of cross-border drinking trips even though other determinants based on generational, gender and class status also played significant contributory roles.

Class is indeed a significant tool of analysis in cross-border drinking excursions even though there is no concrete evidence to suggest the existence of collective class consciousness or protest against the municipalisation of beer in Umtali among those who shunned licensed beer-halls. The majority of people who patronised private drinking places on the outskirts of Umtali and across the border in Mozambique were low-class workers in pursuit of relatively cheap and 'strong' beer and unfettered leisure. Most of them were arrested during weekends and public holidays when most workers were off-duty. At 2:00pm on Sunday 12 March 1950, for example, three Mozambican males employed in Umtali were arrested for being present at a *chikokiyana* gathering at the Municipal Quarry Compound along Vumba Road close to the border. They were Moses Grand, employed by the Umtali Municipality, and Arimando and Danishon, both employed by Van Rensburg Umtali.[3] Official records of arrests along Circular Drive in 1952 are also illustrative of the frequency of alcohol-related movements across the Umtali-Mozambique border during weekends and public holidays. Musongo, a local, and Sineet/ Chiku, a Mozambican, both employed at the Railways, were arrested on Saturday 26 January 1952 at

[1] NAZ, S1224/4: Umtali CID Annual Inspection Reports, 18 May 1933.
[2]Interview with Moses Mugodo, Mugarandega village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 14 December 2010.
[3]NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, March 1950.

1:55pm upon entry into Umtali drunk after attending *nipa*-gatherings in Mozambique.[1] Ziwanai and Degerasi, local males employed by the Vacuum Oil Company were arrested at 7:10pm on Saturday 12 April 1952 for the same offence.[2] The trio of Kambiyao, Phibeon and Julius, both local males, was arrested on Wednesday 3 December 1952 at 7:00pm and Julius was charged for possessing a pint (0.568 litres) of *nipa* and the other two for drunkenness. Kambiyao was unemployed but resided in Sakubva together with Phibeon who was employed at Cuthberts, and Julius, who was a general hand at T and N Stores. Zuzeyo and Mukuracha, both Mozambican males employed by the Railways and McAlpines respectively, were apprehended on Saturday 6 December 1952 at 5:15pm. On the same day, 15 minutes later at 5:30pm, Elijah and Samson, both local Africans employed by the Railways, were nabbed by the police. During the afternoon of Saturday 13 December 1952, the police intercepted a group of five male residents of Sakubva, two locals and three Mozambicans, along Circular Drive, on their way from a *nipa* assembly across the border. Kenneth and Zamm, the two locals, were employed as a domestic worker in Msasa Avenue and as a general hand at the General Post Office respectively. Francisco, Tom and Mungarangare were Mozambican domestic workers, the first two being employed at premises along Carrington Road in Palmerston and the later along the nearby Eickhoff Avenue. Chimoyo, Viso and Chinembiri were arrested during late afternoon on Saturday 20 December 1952 for possessing quantities of *nipa* ranging from 0.5 pints (0.284 litres) to 1.5 pints (0.852 litres) each. Chimoyo and Viso were Mozambican males employed by McAlpines Limited while Chinembiri was a local employed by Puzey and Payne.[3] During the month of December 1952, Umtali police patrols along Circular Drive arrested 11 Africans who were found to be in possession of various

[1]NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, January 1952.
[2]NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, April 1952.
[3]NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, December 1952.

quantities of *kachasu*. One was arrested on Friday 26 December which happened to be a public holiday, Boxing Day, while 10 were apprehended on Saturdays.[1]

It is being asserted that most people, the majority of who were in the low-working class group, arrested for smuggling *nipa* into Umtali before the mid-1950s largely did so for private consumption at home as evidenced by the relatively small quantities seized by the police at the time of arrest. The biggest volume intercepted by the police during this period was 1.5 gallons (6.825 litres) on 4 November 1949. It was seized from Mukuche, an unemployed Mozambican male, at the Umtali Railway Station.[2] This relatively large volume is indicative of the fact that while the majority of people smuggled *nipa* into Umtali for private consumption after attending drinking parties in Mozambique before the mid-1950s, cross-border trafficking of the concoction for commercial purposes was rather sporadic and in a nascent stage.

During this period, some unemployed Africans and those occupying low-class jobs in Umtali also brought in small quantities of spirits of European manufacture for sale. Andiseni, an unemployed Mozambican African, was fined £25 or three months in jail for violating the Liquor Act by selling whisky brought in from Mozambique at the Railway Compound on 12 August 1949.[3] Also charged for the same offence were Manwere and Harry, unemployed Mozambican men, who were arrested in Umtali on 5 October 1949 for bringing gin into Sakubva. They were each fined £25 or three months' imprisonment. During the same month, two Mozambican men employed as general hands by the Umtali Municipality's Health Department were also charged for the same offence.[4]

[1] NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, December 1952.
[2]NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, November 1949.
[3] NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, August 1949.
[4] NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, October1949.

For reasons discussed earlier on, women rarely crossed the border to drink. Out of the 43 people arrested for attending *nipa* gatherings in Mozambique during the period 14 August 1949-14 August 1952, for example, only two were women who were in the company of men.[1] One of them was Grace, a local unemployed woman, resident in the Chitungo Section of Sakubva, who was apprehended with a pint (0.568 litres) of *kachasu* on Wednesday 16 April 1952.[2] The other one was Jasmin, a domestic servant at Number 5, Bromley Street in Palmerston, who was arrested as she emerged into Circular Drive at 7:30pm on Saturday 29 November 1952.[3]

	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Local	18	2	20
Mozambican	22	0	22
Total	41	2	42

Table 5: Gender and nationality of Africans arrested for attending *nipa* gatherings in Mozambique, 14 August 1949-14 December 1952(Source: Derived from NAZ, S3388/1-4: Umtali Criminal Registers, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952)

Some informants who actually visited Mozambique to drink during the 1960s stated that they never went there with their wives but informed them before taking off.[4] It was important to inform them because 'in the event of a husband failing to come back, the wife would organise with relatives, friends and neighbours to follow up, especially at the Charge Office as he may

[1]NAZ, S3388/1-4: Umtali Criminal Registers, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952.
[2]NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, April 1952.
[3]NAZ, S3388/3: Umtali Criminal Registers, November 1952.
[4] These informants included Lameck Togara (interviewed at Zimunya Township, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010); Lovemore Zhakata (interviewed at Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010); and Christopher Mazikana (interviewed at Dangamvura Shopping Complex, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 13 November 2010)

have been detained and a fine needed for him to be released.'[1] There were however cases when some women crossed into Mozambique to drink in the company of 'friends' without informing their husbands leading to family disputes. In a case heard at the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court in 1954, for example, Stewart applied to divorce Agassa, his wife, because of her drinking excursions across the border. The couple, who had married in January 1953, were locals resident in Umtali and had no children. In his testimony to the court, Stewart confessed that they had had an unhappy marriage because he and his wife drank a lot resulting in fierce arguments and fights. He also added that Agassa

> ...has often been down to Portuguese territory with friends to drink Portuguese wine and spirits. I have been to Portuguese East Africa (PEA) myself once to drink. I no longer wish to live with (her) and would like a divorce on the grounds of incompatibility. We have not been to Portuguese territory together to drink. You have gone to PEA with woman friends of yours in a taxi which you have hired in Umtali.

Chandiya, Agassa's father, confirmed Stewart's testimony:

> (They) have had numerous quarrels and fights since their marriage. They both drink alcoholic liquor in large quantities. They have been to PEA territory together to imbibe wines and spirits. Defendant and plaintiff were separated by NC...for two months...Plaintiff complained to me that defendant became intoxicated and could not cook his food. It would be in the best interest of both parties that they be separated.[2]

In June 1954 Kenneth Osmond Mandaah, a Nyasa man married to a local African woman with whom they had three children, petitioned the Umtali Native Commissioner to have their marriage dissolved because of the excessive drinking habits of his wife, Bridget Ellen Nyamanhindi. Their marriage had been registered at the Umtali Native Commissioner's Court and solemnised at the Holy Name Mission Church in Sakubva. Immediately following their marriage, they got a house in Sakubva where they stayed until February 1954 when Kenneth deserted Bridget and returned to Nyasaland. Kenneth stated in his petition that after a few months of their stay in Sakubva,

[1] Interview with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.
[2] NAZ, S3512/3: Umtali Criminal Cases, Case Number 15 of 1954.

> ...my wife created friendships with various women, most of these women were of the wicked type...and she participated in drinking beer with them...One day (Mrs Sithole)...widely known as 'Mai Shasha'...on a Sunday...and her husband on an arrangement with my wife left Umtali in a taxi to a place called Machipanda where they drank European liquor to their satisfaction. She came home utterly helpless, and before long she started vomiting on the bed. It was during this time that I wanted to plunge myself into a river from a railway bridge, but I had not had enough courage to do so.[1]

The two cases discussed above demonstrate how beer-drinking excursions across the Umtali-Mozambique border led to domestic conflicts resulting in the breaking down of some African families.

This section has demonstrated that drinking at unlicensed beer outlets on the outskirts of town and across the border in Mozambique were a notable feature of African life in Umtali. Most of those who patronised these outlets were adult men employed in low-class jobs in Umtali who sought relatively cheap and 'strong' beer and leisure outside the confines of the municipal beer-hall. The group composition of such drinking trips tended to be shaped along family-kinship ties and class commonalities (employment status and place of residence in Umtali). It is not surprising that relatively few women were involved because since pre-colonial times, it was only the adult men who could drink in public. The few examples given above of women who crossed into Mozambique to drink resulting in divorces indicate changing times where some urban African women sought to assert themselves and overturn some pre-colonial gender-based consumption stipulations that tended to entrench patriarchal chauvinism and dominance.

7.7 The trafficking of *nipa* and European-manufactured spirits across the Umtali-Mozambique border

From the mid-1950s, there was a gradual increase in the volume of *nipa* trafficked into Umtali from Mozambique. The trafficking of *nipa* became more sporadic, partly because of concerted BSAP border patrols, but involving larger volumes than ever before. 18 pints (10.2 litres) were

[1] NAZ, S3512/3: Kenneth Osmand Mandaah, Nkata Bay District, Nyasaland, to NC Umtali: Petition for dissolving my marriage, 21 June 1954.

seized from Murambiwa, an unemployed local African man, as he pedalled his bicycle into Carrington Road off a bush path from Mozambique on Monday 27 January 1958 [1] Arrests for even bigger quantities were made throughout the 1960s and early 1970s. On 2 April 1972, for example, Gladys Muzuza, an unemployed local African woman, was arrested along Circular Drive on her way from Mozambique with 20 litres of *nipa*.[2] In addition, police patrols began to detect large volumes of the concoction in African residential areas, particularly Sakubva. A considerable number of traffickers began to use bicycle and motor vehicle transport.These developments are evidence of the commercialisation of Mozambican *kachasu* in Umtali from the mid-1950s. This was partly in response to market opportunities in Umtali offered by the influx of Africans into Rhodesian towns as a result of the post-Second World War industrial boom discussed earlier on. These developments, as already noted, also resulted in high levels of unemployment and poverty in Rhodesian urban areas prompting some impoverished Africans to devise an array of informal means such as *nipa* trafficking to earn a livelihood for their families. On 20 July 1956 Zorodzai, an unemployed African man, for example, faced trial at the Umtali Magistrate's Court for being found in possession of five gallons (22.75 litres) of *nipa* while on his way from Mozambique.[3] On 27 January 1958 Murambiwa, an African man, was arrested in the eastern suburbs off a bush path from Mozambique with 18 pints (10.224 litres) of 'full strength' *nipa* in 12 full whisky bottles.[4]

From the mid-1950s, as a few examples will illustrate, some unemployed local women, most of them widows and single mothers, also trafficked *nipa* from Mozambique in order to sustain their families in Umtali. Rusia, a single mother, was nabbed with a gallon (4.55 litres) along Circular

[1]*Umtali Post*: 'Liquor was to pay school fees', 29 January 1958, p.7.
[2]*Umtali Post*: '*Nipa* for child's party', 12 April 1972, p.5.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Had *nipa*: £50 fine', 26 July 1956, p.5.
[4]*Umtali Post*: 'Liquor was to pay school fees', 29 January 1958, p.7.

Drive, on the eastern outskirts of Umtali, on her way from Mozambique on 10 April 1957.[1] On 29 February 1960 a Sakubva widow, Julia, was fined at the Umtali Magistrate's Court for being found with Mozambican *nipa* amounting to 25 pints (14.2 litres) at her home.[2] On 21 May 1960, another widow, Rosemary, faced trial for being found in possession of 9.5 pints (5.395 litres) of *nipa* at her Sakubva premises.[3] Unlike the pre-colonial division of labour in which men were perceived as the 'breadwinners' who ventured out of the domestic arena to sustain their families, the hardships which were brought about by colonial rule such as marginalisation and poverty made some women to challenge this dispensation by crossing borders in order to earn a livelihood in various ways, for example, trading in alcohol.

Thus, while males were dominant in the trafficking and consumption of *nipa* up to the late 1940s, as already noted, women gradually became prominent in its marketing from the mid-1950s. A few examples from Umtali's African residential areas will help to illuminate this point. On 29 September 1956, the police raided a Sakubva home where Kuchawa and Chipo, both unemployed local females, were selling *nipa* and *skokiaan*. Kuchawa had a gallon (4.55 litres) of *nipa* in her possession while Chipo had 4.5 gallons (20.475 litres) of *nipa* and a gallon of *skokiaan*.[4] In the same suburb during late February 1960, the police disrupted a session where Julia and Naome, both unemployed local females, were selling *nipa*. Julia had 25 pints (14.2 litres) in her possession while Naome had three pints (1.704 litres). Their male customers were also arrested.[5] In mid-May 1960 Rosemary, an unemployed local female, was arrested at her home in Sakubva for possessing 9.5 pints (5.396 litres) of *nipa* which she intended to sell.[6] On

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Threw *nipa* out of car window', 12 April 1957, p.7.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Africans in court on *nipa* charges', 4 March 1960, p.7.
[3] *Umtali Post*: '*Nipa* offences: Two fined', 23 May 1960, p.7.
[4] *Umtali Post*: 'Had brews: Africans sentenced', 3 October 1956, p.7.
[5] *Umtali Post*: 'Africans in court on *nipa* charges', 4 March 1960, p.7.
[6] *Umtali Post*: '*Nipa* offences: Two fined', 23 May 1960, p.7.

19 May 1962, the police raided the premises at 181, Railway Compound and arrested Tamari, a local woman for selling *nipa*. At the time of arrest, she had only three pints (1.704 litres) left.[1] During early April 1972 Flora, an unemployed local woman, was arrested at her 345, Muchena home in Sakubva for possessing 11.4 litres of *nipa* which she intended to sell. At the Umtali Magistrate's Court, she admitted a previous conviction in December 1971 for possessing and marketing both *nipa* and dagga.[2]

Despite the gradual dominance of women in the marketing of *nipa* in Umtali, some unemployed males were also involved. During late July 1956 Zorodzai, a local male, was arrested for possessing five gallons (22.75 litres) of *nipa* at a Sakubva home which he intended to sell.[3] Edward Muchena was arrested for a similar offence after five gallons of *nipa* were found at his Sakubva premises during August 1957.[4]When Tinai, an unemployed African male, was arrested for possessing 18 litres of *nipa* at his Sakubva home in October 1957, he admitted that it was from Mozambique and he was selling it on behalf of someone after which he was to receive a commission of 10 shillings.[5]At Number 4, Mazhambe Section in Sakubva, Bakiri and Manwere, both unemployed Mozambican men, were arrested on 22 November 1959 for possessing and selling *nipa*. At the time of arrest, Bakiri had seven pints (3.976 litres) in his possession while Manwere had only seven ounces (0.196 litres left).[6] Nyson Dzumbira, a well-known *nipa* dealer in Sakubva during the early 1960s, was arrested at his home early in September 1961 for

[1]NAZ, S3388/4: Umtali Criminal Registers, May 1962.
[2]*Umtali Post*: '*Nipa* for child's party', 12 April 1972.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Had *nipa*: £50 fine', 26 July 1956, p.5.
[4]*Umtali Post*: 'Hid *nipa* in fowl run', 28 August 1957, p.1.
[5]*Umtali Post*: 'Found guilty of having *nipa*', 7 October 1957, p.1.
[6]*Umtali Post*: 'Possessed illegal liquor', 22 November 1959, p.9.

possessing 12 pints (6.816 litres) of *nipa* which he intended to sell. During his trial, he admitted three previous convictions of possessing and marketing *nipa* in Sakubva.[1]

***Nipa* volume per crime scene (in litres)**	**Number of people arrested**
0.001-2.0	8
2.001-4.0	0
4.001-6.0	4
6.001-8.0	3
More than 9.0	1

Table 6: Official figures of volumes of Mozambican *nipa* seized upon entry into Umtali, April 1957-October 1962 (Source: Data used in the compilation of this table is derived from NAZ, S3388/4: Umtali Criminal Registers, January-July 1962; NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, July-December 1962; NAZ, S3643/6: Umtali Criminal Cases, March 1958; and *Umtali Post*, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961 and 1962)

Spirits of European-manufacture sourced from Mozambique were also trafficked into Umtali. However, the trafficking of these spirits was not as lucrative because *nipa* was cheaper. As a result, most of the spirits were sold to those Africans in well-paying jobs.[2] Even after the consumption of Western-type liquor by Africans had been legalised in Rhodesia in 1957, some Africans astride the border took advantage of the relatively cheaper price of the brews in Mozambique to smuggle them into Umtali where they got a ready market from well-to-do Africans. On 29 June 1962, for example, Benny, a Mozambican male resident in Sakubva was arrested along Circular Drive for bringing into Umtali a bottle of wine without declaring it at a Rhodesian border post and paying duty. He was charged for violating the Federal Customs and

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'Had *nipa*: Sentenced', 6 September 1961, p.7.
[2] Interview with Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010.

Excise Act of 1955 and fined 10 shillings or five days in jail with hard labour.[1] On 3 August 1962 Nyambo, also known as Mackson, a Mozambican man employed by Umtali's Rhodesia Railways Gang Number 30, was also arrested along Circular Drive with a bottle of wine he was smuggling into Umtali.[2]

Family members were involved in the marketing of beer at their homesteads in Umtali's African residential areas and sometimes took turns. Customers were usually served by women, most of whom were unemployed, and children depending on who was available at given times.[3] For fear of being betrayed to the police, family members, particularly children were under strict instructions from their parents not to entertain unfamiliar customers. As a result, new customers were not served if they were not accompanied by regular patrons.[4]

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated how private beer-brewing and commerce became an integral part of the informal family economy in colonial urban centres. Italso showed how members of impoverished African families pooled their labour and played various roles in the brewing and marketing of beer, sometimes operating within and beyond municipal areas of jurisdiction and across the border with Mozambique, in order to earn a living. As was the case during the pre-colonial period, women continued to dominate the brewing process being assisted by children, and at times men. Relatively large numbers of women, mostly the unemployed and those whose husbands were either unemployed or occupied low-paying jobs, sold beer at their homesteads within Umtali, on the outskirts of the town, and across the border in Mozambique. As was also

[1] See *Umtali Post*: 'Smuggling', 9 July 1962, p.5; and NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, August 1962.
[2]NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, August 1962.
[3] Interview with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.
[4]Interview with Christopher Mazikana, Dangamvura Shopping Complex, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 13 November 2010.

the case during the pre-colonial era, men constituted the majority of the consumers of alcohol, a gender-biased consumption ethic that became challenged by some women in colonial urban and peri-urban areas and sometimes led to family disputes and breakups. Most men employed in low-paying jobs patronised private beer outlets in pursuit of cheap beer and leisure free from the confines of the colonial beer-hall. Together with their unemployed counterparts, these men also dominated the trafficking of alcohol across the border in an attempt to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families. This situation was inherited from the pre-colonial gendered division of labour in which men usually ventured out of the household to earn a living for their families while women took care of the domestic arena. However some women, mostly the unemployed, widows and single mothers, increasingly became involved as they sought to sustain their families in a harsh colonial environment. Overall, this chapter asserts that family-kinship dynamics were the major driving force in the rise and development of the informal alcohol traffic and commerce across the Umtali-Mozambique border with other factors such as gender, age-group and class commonalities playing significant contributory roles. This argument will also be pursued in the next chapter on the dagga traffic and commerce across the Umtali-Mozambique border.

CHAPTER 8

DAGGA DEALS ACROSS THE UMTALI-MOZAMBIQUE BORDER, 1900-1974

8.1 Introduction

This chapter, like the preceding one, articulates the importance of family-kinship affiliation, together with other factors such as gender and generation during the informal pursuits for survival across the Umtali-Mozambique border mostly by sections of the African population, the majority of who were marginalised and impoverished by colonial rule. It begins by exploring the importance of dagga in pre-colonial south-east Africa and how it increasingly became commoditised during the colonial period mostly by Africans as they sought to earn a living. This chapter identifies the Mozambican borderline villages as the major sources of dagga that was trafficked into Umtali where most of it was sold while some quantities found their way to various parts of Rhodesia. This chapter asserts that family and kinship affinities played a central role in the growing, processing, trafficking and marketing of dagga. The consciousness or awareness of who was one's family member or close relative was very 'visible' and significant when it came to the clandestine growing, processing, trafficking and marketing of the herb in a colonial dispensation where dagga was outlawed and people found dealing in it risked paying heavy fines or serving long prison terms. Other factors are not being overlooked however. Even though there is no historical evidence suggesting the existence of collective class consciousness and mobilisation in the activities of those who dealt in dagga, it is quite apparent that the majority were the unemployed and the lowly-paid who sought a living by selling the herb, while others of similar social standing smoked it for intoxication and leisure largely because it was relatively cheaper than beer. Gender dynamics also become critical in explaining why men were

predominant in the production, trafficking, marketing and consumption of dagga. Generational status also comes into the fold when interrogating the predominance of adults over juveniles in dagga deals.

8.2 Background: Significance of dagga in African societies since the pre-colonial period

Dagga, marijuana or cannabis is a herb whose major chemical constituents are hemp and hashish.[1] It is known by various names across the world.[2] The Shona, Tonga and Venda, for example, use the term *mbanje*, which appears to have been derived from the Muslim *banj*.[3] There is general consensus in the literature that dagga is exotic to Africa and was introduced to the coastline regions by the Arabs before penetrating the interior.[4] Archaeological research on the Zimbabwe complex unearthed dagga-smoking pipes dated around AD 1450.[5] Dagga is believed to have been introduced into the area by migrant Muslim traders whose presence in Rhodesia skyrocketed to about 10,000 at the beginning of the 16th century.[6] The Shona are known to have been cultivating dagga during the 16th century.[7]

Since the pre-colonial period, some African societies recognised the medicinal importance of marijuana. Dagga smoke, powder and sap were used by some African societies to treat various ailments. Some pre-colonial Shona communities used dagga to treat malaria, black-water fever,

[1]V. Rubin, 'Introduction,' in V. Rubin (ed.) *Cannabis and culture*, The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1975, p.1.
[2]In the West Indies, especially Jamaica, for example, it is known as *ganja* (see Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.8).
[3]Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.8.
[4] See, for example, J. Walton, 'The dagga pipes of Southern Africa,' in *Researches of the National Museum*, Volume 1, 1953, p.85; J.M. Watt, 'Dagga in South Africa,' in *Bulletin on Narcotics*, Volume 13, 1961, p.9; T. James, 'Dagga: A review of fact and fancy,' in *South African Medical Journal*, Volume 44, 1970, p.575; F. Rosenthal, *The herb*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971, pp.55, 132; and N.J. Van Der Merwe, 'Cannabis smoking in 13th and 14th century Ethiopia: Chemical evidence,' in V. Rubin (ed.) *Cannabis and culture*, p.77.
[5]R. Summers, *Ancient ruins and vanished civilisations in Southern Africa*, Cape Town: T.V. Bulpin, 1971, p.164.
[6]B. M. Fagan, 'Early trade and raw materials in South Central Africa,' in *Journal of African History*, Volume 10, 1969, p.99.
[7] B.M. Du Toit, 'Dagga: The history and ethnographic setting of cannabis *sativa* in Southern Africa,' in V. Rubin (ed.) *Cannabis and culture*, p.83.

blood poisoning, anthrax and dysentery.[1] The herb was also believed to be an effective remedy for asthma 'and many a pipe was shared between persons who suffered from this respiratory congestion.'[2]

Dagga was also valued for its physiological importance during the pre-colonial period. The drug has always been regarded by most of its smokers as 'an energiser and invigorant.'[3] It was partly due to the belief in the energy-enhancing qualities of dagga that some white employers in Southern Africa gave their African workers a 'portion of cannabis on a daily basis' during the early years of colonial rule.[4] Dagga is also well-known for its 'mood-altering potential.'[5] Among the pre-colonial Shona, for example, it was held that the excitement caused by dagga consumption brought about sexual stimulation in men.[6] Besides its medicinal and physiological value, marijuana had important ritual functions in some pre-colonial African societies. Among the Tsonga of southern Mozambique, for example, the ceremonial smoking of dagga took place during beer-drinking rituals and puberty rites.[7]

Dagga increasingly became an important consumer item and a significant commodity in local and regional trade among some African societies during the pre-colonial period. In the Kalahari region, for example, marijuana was 'currency in transactions where, for example, the Bergdama

[1]Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.58. Also see P.V. Tobias, 'Physique of a desert folk,' in *Natural History*, Volume 70, 1961, p.24.
[2]Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.59.
[3] Rubin, 'Introduction,' p.4. For similar uses among the Sotho, see M.L. Hewat, *Bantu folk lore*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1906, p.98. For the Kololo north of the Zambezi, see D. Livingstone and C. Livingstone, *Narrative of an expedition to the Zambesi and its tributaries*, London: John Murray, 1865, p.286.
[4]Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.65.
[5] Rubin, 'Introduction,' p.7. For similar views, see S.S. Dornan, 'Some notes on Rhodesian native poisons,' in *The South African Journal of Science*, Volume 13, 1917, p.358; and D. Livingstone, *Missionary travels and researches in South Africa*, London: John Murray, 1857, p.540.
[6]Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.24. Also see Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an expedition to the Zambesi*, pp.286-287.
[7]Junod's observations of 1927, quoted by Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.24.

cultivated the herb and traded it to the Ovambo for goats and cows.'[1] During the 1830s, dagga was an import exchange commodity during trade transactions between the Masarwa, on the fringes of the Kalahari, and the Ndebele.[2]

However, there was 'little moral sentiment' in the consumption of dagga for entertainment purposes in much of pre-colonial Africa since men had the monopoly.[3] Within most families, it was actually taboo for women and children to smoke any forms of tobacco. As Marks, Steyn and Ratheb noted for most African societies south of the Limpopo: 'Traditionally, Black African women have among the lowest rates of smoking in South Africa...Tobacco use is perceived to be taboo for Black women and those who use it do so secretly or with trusted others.'[4] This was largely because various types of tobacco, for example, snuff, were associated with rituals, most of which were presided over by adult men.[5] During Shona rituals, it was common for male heads of families to use snuff tobacco as a token of offering to the ancestors.[6] The family head also took snuff to signal the beginning of ceremonies in honour of ancestral spirits. This was also done by village heads, ward heads and chiefs as they conducted religious ceremonies in their areas of jurisdiction.[7] Female mediums of male spirits also took snuff tobacco since they

[1]Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.10. This was also the case with the Shona (Separate interviews with Macheka Mandeya, Headman Mandeya II's court, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 6 October 2010; Edward Murindi, Njerama village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 30 October 2010; and Shupai Murodzo, Muchena village, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 8 January 2011).
[2]Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.10.
[3]Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.82.
[4] A.S. Marks, K. Steyn and E. Ratheb, 'Tobacco use by black women in Cape Town', University of Cape Town: Graduate School of Business with the aid of a grant by Research for International Tobacco Control, in archive.idrcca/ritc/determ-policyo, March 2001 (unpaged).
[5] Separate interviews with Macheka Mandeya, Headman Mandeya II's court, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 6 October 2010; Edward Murindi, Njerama village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 30 October 2010; and Shupai Murodzo, Muchena village, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 8 January 2011.
[6]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.228.
[7]Separate interviews with Macheka Mandeya, Headman Mandeya II's court, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 6 October 2010; Edward Murindi, Njerama village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 30 October 2010; and Shupai Murodzo, Muchena village, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 8 January 2011.

represented men.[1] Most Southern African societies also believed that smoking and taking snuff caused sterility in women and discouraged them from doing so. Old women past the child-bearing age were allowed to take snuff instead.[2] Boys were also discouraged because 'smoking could endanger a young man's ability to produce healthy children.'[3] It should be noted, however, that these prohibitions in the consumption of tobacco gradually faded away during the colonial period as women and boys, particularly those employed in towns and other commercial centres, increasingly became autonomous of traditional authority. In addition, the anxiety among the young unemployed and the under-employed led many to resort to excessive smoking of dagga and drinking in an attempt to relieve mental stress. Smoking dagga became 'one outlet from...oppression.'[4]

In colonial Africa, dagga was 'another supplementary economic enterprise available to the poor,'[5]who included the unemployed and under-employed Africans, and other marginalised non-African people who cultivated and sold it to earn a living. As Rubin observed, most dagga dealers and consumers are derived from people of low social and economic standing.[6] Thus, the transportation of dagga across borders was done by significant numbers of migrant workers with the intention of selling it in order to supplement their incomes.[7]

By the middle of the 20th century most countries in the world had outlawed the consumption of dagga on grounds that it was a health hazard. Canada, for example, banned it in 1923,[8] South

[1]Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, p.236.
[2]Separate interviews with Edward Murindi, Njerama village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 30 October 2010; and Shupai Murodzo, Muchena village, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 8 January 2011.
[3]Interview with Rodzai Mudzi, Kwambana village, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 6 October 2010.
[4]Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.174.
[5]L. Comitas, 'The social nexus of *ganja* in Jamaica,' in V. Rubin (ed.) *Cannabis and culture*, p.123.
[6]Rubin, 'Introduction,' pp.4, 6.
[7]Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.27.
[8]Green and Miller, 'Cannabis use in Canada,' p.499.

Africa in 1928,[1] the United States in 1937,[2] and Egypt in 1960.[3] In Rhodesia, dagga was legalised during the early years of colonial rule before the government proposed banning it in 1917. This was largely in response to concerns raised by some white employer organisations on the negative effects of the drug on the labour output of African workers. In 1913, for example, the Marula Branch of the Rhodesia Agricultural Union petitioned the government to stop the dagga trade because it left their workers thoroughly 'saturated' and 'absolutely unfit for work' for the whole week.[4] During the same year, the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference called upon the government to ban the use of the herb.[5]These calls were immediately followed by an outcry from registered organisations which had previously sold the drug to Africans. On 21 June 1917, for instance, the Landau Brothers from Matebeleland asked the government how they were going to dispose of 1500 pounds (681 kilograms) of dagga they had in stock.[6] During the same month, 36 marijuana dealers from Bulawayo demanded compensation from government for the loss they would incur in view of the substantial stocks they had.[7] The dagga trade continued and was not a punishable offence in Rhodesia until 1923 when the government banned it. The prohibition of the dagga trade triggered underground operations. At the Rezende Mine compound, 15 kilometres north of Umtali, for instance, groups of African workers sometimes took turns to cross the border into Mozambique to fetch the drug which they often smoked communally.[8]

[1]Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, pp.65-66.
[2]Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, pp.2, 66.
[3] A.M. Khalifa, 'Traditional patterns of hashish use in Egypt,' in V. Rubin (ed.) *Cannabis and culture*, p.202.
[4] NAZ, A3/18/30: Director of Native Agriculture to the Administrator, correspondence, 16 July 1913.
[5] Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.173.
[6] NAZ, A3/18/30: Manager of the Landau Brothers to the Administrator, correspondence, 21 June 1917.
[7] NAZ, A3/18/30: Petition by Bulawayo traders, June 1917.
[8] Van Onselen, *Chibar*o, p.174.

This section has demonstrated that dagga use in some African societies has a long history. It has also explored the ritual, medicinal, psychological and commercial significance of the herb in some African societies since the pre-colonial period. It was against this background that dagga deals across the Umtali-Mozambique border persisted during the colonial period despite being outlawed by international conventions and colonial governments.

8.3 The cultivation and processing of dagga in Mozambique

Most of the dagga that found its way into Umtali during the colonial period was grown and processed in the Mozambican villages just across the border.[1] Since dagga was banned by law worldwide, the plant was usually cultivated in relatively remote areas isolated from regular traffic. Even though the borderline villages where dagga was grown were close to Umtali, they were very remote by Mozambican standards considering that the power centres of Portuguese authorities were the coastal towns of Lourenco Marques and Beira.

Dagga plants thrive in high and hilly environments.[2] They also need rich soil and average rainfall.[3] Incidentally, most Mozambican villages along the border with Umtali where dagga was cultivated were situated in the mountainous Eastern Highlands with rich soils constantly fertilised by leaves that fell off from the dense vegetation.[4] In addition, the Eastern Highlands have always been an area of average to above-average rainfall ranging between 600 and 1400 millilitres.[5] It is generally believed that hot and relatively less humid weather conditions produce

[1] Separate interviews with Rambanai Chisumbu, Fern Valley, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010; Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010; Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010; and Ramison Mugodhi, Mugoriwondo village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 19 December 2010.
[2] Comitas, 'The social nexus of *ganja* in Jamaica,' p.125.
[3] Du Toit, 'Dagga,' p.98.
[4] These are personal observations I made during my fieldwork in Mozambique.
[5] Ministry of Education (Zimbabwe), *School atlas for Zimbabwe*, Stockholm: Esselte Map Service, 1985, p.13.

the strongest cannabis while temperate climates are associated with comparatively weaker yields.[1]

Cannabis was also cultivated in fields and gardens together with crops in order to avoid detection and arrest by the police. Along river valleys in the Mozambican borderline villages of Nyaronga and Mutsinze, for example, young boys were sometimes instructed by their fathers and elder relatives to plant crops such as yams and bananas in and around the portions where dagga grew in order to conceal the herb from passers-by.[2] Similarly in colonial Rwanda, *injaga* (dagga) was mostly cultivated in the middle of portions with tall food crops such as sorghum and maize.[3] In addition, dagga was most often not grown on a wide scale for fear of attracting the attention of law-enforcement agents.[4]

The cultivation was always undertaken secretly for fear of detection and arrest. In the Mozambican village of Mugoriwondo during the 1950s, for example, the growing of dagga was largely a preoccupation of men who were at times assisted by their junior male relatives, mostly sons and younger brothers. The junior members were always under strict instructions from their seniors never to disclose the dagga-growing activities and the places of growth to any outsiders for fear of being betrayed to the authorities.[5] In Jamaica, Comitas observed that *ganja*-growing partnerships were virtually non-existent as a security measure to avoid being exposed.[6] Consequently, its cultivation was usually done on an individual basis and on a small scale,

[1] E. Goodie, *The marijuana smokers*, New York: Basic Books, 1970, p.16.
[2] Separate interviews with Simbarashe Mutsure, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 4 December 2010; and Jackson Murimwi, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 22 December 2010.
[3] H. Codere, 'The social and cultural context of cannabis use in Rwanda,' in V. Rubin (ed.) *Cannabis and culture*, p.221.
[4]Comitas, 'The social nexus of *ganja* in Jamaica,' p.125.
[5]Interview with Ramison Mugodhi, Mugoriwondo village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 19 December 2010.
[6]Comitas, 'The social nexus of *ganja* in Jamaica,' p.125.

typical of 'a poor man's enterprise which fits well with the agricultural patterns of mixed cropping.'[1]

Dagga can grow in the wild with minimal supervision but it was of utmost importance to prune its lower branches on a regular basis in order to boost growth.[2] Regular visits to its places of growth were also carried out in order to check out for any people from the neighbourhood who could steal it. It was common for fathers to instruct their sons to herd cattle and goats in the vicinity of the areas where they grew their dagga to ensure that no one tampered with the plants.[3] It should be noted that the growing of dagga was virtually a family affair in view of the privacy and confidentiality that was required in order to avoid being discovered by the authorities or other people in the neighbourhood who could disturb its growth.

The herb was grown mostly by unemployed and lowly-paid men from poor families. Jackson Murimwi recalled that his father, who worked in the Umtali Municipality's sewerage department during the 1960s, earned wages that hardly met their family's basic needs. He supplemented the low wages by selling dagga which he grew at their home village of Mutsinze in Mozambique. His father came home from work in Umtali every weekend and always checked the condition of his dagga plants soon after arrival.[4] Rambanai Chisumbu who grew up in Mozambique's Arufaso village before securing employment in Umtali in 1963 also recalled during an interview that dagga was an important source of survival during his upbringing:

> My father always told me never to tell anyone outside our family that we grew *mbanje*. He always reminded me that if I did so, the police would arrest him and our family would lose its source of livelihood and we would also find ourselves without money to pay school fees.[5]

[1]Comitas, 'The social nexus of *ganja* in Jamaica,' pp.121-122.
[2]Interview with Sundai Chingwa, Manica town, Mozambique, 28 December 2010.
[3]Interview with Simbarashe Mutsure, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 4 December 2010.
[4]Interview with Jackson Murimwi, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 22 December 2010.
[5] Interview with Rambanai Chisumbu, Fern Valley, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010.

Most of the marijuana grown around Umtali and just across the border in Mozambique was harvested at the end of the summer season during the months of April and May. The police reported in May 1971 that there was usually an upsurge in arrests for violating the Dangerous Drugs Act in the Umtali area during the months of April and May every year because this was when most of the dagga was harvested.[1]

The harvesting of dagga was a technical exercise that required the expertise and experience of senior male family members who often engaged their sons and younger brothers as 'apprentices'.[2] Experience and expertise were necessary in assessing the maturity level of the plants and identifying those that produced the best quality in terms of strength. Harvesting was done timeously after studying the condition of the plant because 'marijuana harvested too soon (before the resin appears) or too late (after the male plant fertilises the female) will be considerably weaker...than plants harvested at the most favourable time.'[3] After harvesting, the process of sorting the dagga was undertaken during which the male and female flowers of the herb were separated. Most dagga cultivators were aware of the difference between the male (staminate) and female (pistillate) flowers. The male plants are usually brighter with few flowers and tend to die earlier than the female species.[4] The male plant is also taller and more fibrous, a property exploited by early users around the world to make fibres for ropes and cloth.[5] At the time of harvest, the appearance of mature female plants is brown stems and golden leaves. The plant was dried after which its leaves were separated from the stem, alienated from the seeds and

[1] *Umtali Post*: 'More arrests made recently for dagga offences,' 26 May 1971, p.1.
[2] Separate interviews with Rodzai Mudzi, Kwambana village, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 6 October 2010; and Simbarashe Mutsure, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 4 December 2010.
[3] Goodie, *The marijuana smokers*, p.16.
[4] W.T. Stearn, 'Typification of Cannabis sativa L,' in V. Rubin (ed.) *Cannabis and culture*, The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1975, p.14.
[5] Goodie, *The marijuana smokers*, p.16.

cut into very small particles.[1] Sometimes, the dried leaves and pods were ground into a powder.[2] Most consumers regarded the black female buds as 'rich' and 'strong' unlike the leaves. The male plant was often condemned by most users for being 'weak and wasteful', and in countries like Jamaica, it was associated with medicinal properties and was mostly used for teas and other beverages.[3] An interesting point to note is that observational skills on the part of the cultivators were required to assess the maturity level of dagga plants before they were harvested. This expertise was passed from generation to generation within family and kin structures in African societies.[4]

After harvesting, quantities of dagga were packaged to facilitate smuggling. Most of the dagga was pressed into 'twists' and 'cobs'.[5] Fairly large quantities were rolled into what were known as 'cobs', this term being derived from the fact that the dagga was wrapped in the leaves found around maize cobs and the package took a similar shape. Banana leaves were sometimes used to wrap the dagga. Smaller amounts were pressed into 'twists' which could easily be concealed.[6] The weight of a twist ranged from one-tenth (three grams)[7] to one-eighth of an ounce (3.9 grams).[8] In various parts of Southern Africa, 'twists' or 'cobs' were 'eyed rather than weighed units of measurements.'[9] As was the case with harvesting, the packaging of dagga in preparation for sale was usually done at the household level by men sometimes with the assistance of their

[1] R. Joseph, 'The economic significance of cannabis sativa in the Moroccan Rif,' in V. Rubin (ed.) *Cannabis and culture*, p.187.
[2]Codere, 'The social and cultural context of cannabis use in Rwanda,' p.221.
[3] J. Schaeffer, 'The significance of marihuana in a small agricultural community in Jamaica,' in V. Rubin (ed.) *Cannabis and culture*, p.366.
[4] Separate interviews with Rodzai Mudzi, Kwambana village, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 6 October 2010; and Simbarashe Mutsure, Nyaronga village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 4 December 2010.
[5] In Jamaica, the 'twist' is known variously as 'stick', 'bump', or 'head'. One 'stick' is sufficient to roll one *spliff* of dagga cigarette. See Comitas, 'The social nexus of *ganja* in Jamaica,' p.126.
[6]Interview with Shadreck Kamoto, Mugoriwondo village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 19 December 2010. Also see *Umtali Post*: 'More arrests made recently for dagga offences,' 26 May 1971, p.1.
[7]*Umtali Post*: 'More arrests made recently for dagga offences,' 26 May 1971, p.1.
[8]*Umtali Post*: '£454 worth of dagga,' 15 January 1964, p.7.
[9] Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.108.

sons and younger brothers.[1] Husbands who were sometimes away from their homes in Mozambique on various errands often involved their wives in the packaging process so that they would be able to sell varying quantities to customers during their absence.[2] Even though confidentiality in the growing and processing of dagga was highly prized by individual households, close relatives and friends from the same village or neighbourhood sometimes shared notes on the weighting and pricing of various quantities of dagga.[3] What emerges from this discussion is that the family was an important unit of production in the cultivation and processing of dagga even though close relatives and trusted neighbours were sometimes consulted for advice.

While awaiting disposal, dagga was concealed within or very close to homesteads in various ways. In some homes, it was hidden in containers such as bags and suitcases together with women's clothing, items which were rarely searched by colonial policemen.[4] It was also common practice to store it in granaries together with harvested crops where the strong smell of the *zumbani* plant, also known by the botanical name *lippia javanica*,[5] which was used to protect grain from borers, diluted the aroma of dagga which could easily be detected by the police during searches.[6] Dagga was sometimes concealed on kitchen roofs under thatched grass where smoke from fireplaces neutralised its smell. Others hid it in goat pens where the strong smell of

[1]Interview with John Duri, Duri village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 22 October 2010.
[2]Separate interviews with Rodzai Mudzi, Kwambana village, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 6 October 2010; John Duri, Duri village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 22 October 2010; and Shadreck Kamoto, Mugoriwondo village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 19 December 2010.
[3] Separate interviews with Rodzai Mudzi, Kwambana village, Honde Valley, Zimbabwe, 6 October 2010; and John Duri, Duri village, Mutasa district, Zimbabwe, 22 October 2010
[4]Interview with Maxwell Govha, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 21 December 2010.
[5]Hannan, *Standard Shona dictionary*, p.752.
[6] Separate interviews with Shadreck Kamoto, Mugoriwondo village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 19 December 2010; and Maxwell Govha, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 21 December 2010.

goat waste diluted its aroma.[1] Some dug shallow pits in the fields close to the homestead where they stored it.[2]

These attempts to conceal dagga within and close to households involved consultation, cooperation and confidentiality among family members. Kitchens and granaries, for example, were household arenas directly under the charge of women. Husbands needed to inform their wives before concealing dagga in these locations otherwise the herb could be disturbed or misplaced as women did their domestic chores. Shallow pits in the fields where cannabis was sometimes hidden could be disturbed during cultivation and family members therefore had to know exactly where the herb was hidden.[3]

What emanates from the discussion in this section is the centrality of the family as a unit of production in the cultivation, harvesting and processing of dagga. Fathers, mothers and children played decisive roles in the process even though the advice of trusted kin and neighbours was sometimes sought. It has also been noted that the skills of cultivating and processing of dagga were disseminated from the elders to the juniors within family structures. The fact that dagga was banned by law meant that it required trust, privacy and confidentiality among those who cultivated it. Cooperation, particularly among family members, and at times with some close relatives and trusted neighbours afforded some relative guarantee from detection and arrest by the authorities.

[1]Interview with Sundai Chingwa, Manica town, Mozambique, 28 December 2010.
[2] Separate interviews with Jackson Murimwi, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 22 December 2010; and Sundai Chingwa, Manica town, Mozambique, 28 December 2010.
[3] Separate interviews with Shadreck Kamoto, Mugoriwondo village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 19 December 2010; and Maxwell Govha, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 21 December 2010; Jackson Murimwi, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 22 December 2010; and Sundai Chingwa, Manica town, Mozambique, 28 December 2010.

8.4 The trafficking of dagga across the Umtali-Mozambique border

Most Mozambican growers of dagga preferred selling it at their home villages than to risk arrest by smuggling it across the border into Umtali. Some men who were employed in Umtali and grew dagga at their homes in Mozambique instructed their wives, and at times children in their teens, to sell the herb during their absence.[1] Others sold it to shop-owners on the Mozambican side for resale. Michael Glen Brown, a 22-year old European from Salisbury, for example, was arrested in Umtali on 3 October 1968 after being found with 2 lbs 10.5 oz (1.083 kilograms) of dagga which he had bought 'over the counter' at a shop in Machipanda.[2]

While some Mozambican growers sold their dagga in various neighbourhoods on their side of the border, others despatched local middlemen to Umtali where they sold it for a commission. Some growers in Mozambique took their dagga to Umtali where they sold it directly to consumers. From Umtali, both Rhodesian and Mozambican Africans also crossed the border to purchase dagga. The trafficking of dagga across the border involved a great deal of clandestine networking comprising pairs or small groups of accomplices who had much trust in each other in order to minimise the risks of being betrayed to the authorities or having the contraband being converted to own use by middlemen. This largely explains why family members, close relatives, trusted friends and neighbours made up most of the dagga trafficking networks across the Umtali-Mozambique border.[3] On 4 February 1962 Nyambo, Tom and Marikopo, cousin brothers from the same village in Mozambique's Nyatunzi district, for example, were arrested at the

[1] Separate interviews with Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010; and Shadreck Kamoto, Mugoriwondo village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 19 December 2010.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'European bought dagga at border township,' 11 October 1968, p.7.
[3] Separate interviews with Simon Piratu, Chitungo Section, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 11 August 2010; Samson Chamunorwa, Fern Valley, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010; Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010 ; and Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.

intersection of Third Street and Vumba Avenue in Umtali with 'twists' of dagga which they had brought in from their village across the border.[1]

Family and kin networks were also operational when dagga from Mozambique was relayed across the border into Umtali and beyond to other parts of Rhodesia. A case in point pertains to Langton Matanha and his 51-year old uncle (mother's brother), John Makapi. Both were Africans from Rhodesia but John, who was unemployed, resided in Umtali while Langton worked in Salisbury. On 23 May 1971, John was arrested at the Umtali Railway Station with dagga as he disembarked from the Beira-to-Salisbury train. Also arrested at the station was Langton who intended to get some of the dagga from John and take it to Salisbury for resale. John was jailed for 18 months for smuggling 124 'twists' from Mozambique and supplying them to Langton. Langton was slapped with a prison term of six months for receiving the dagga and intending to take it to Salisbury.[2]

Another example of a dagga network involving close relatives operated in the Imbeza area, 20 kilometres north of Umtali close to the border with Mozambique, during the early 1970s. Detective Patrol Officer George Mitchell of the Drug Squad narrated to the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 24 October 1973 how he and three other members of the squad went to the Imbeza Forest to bust a dagga racket that stretched into Umtali. At the Imbeza Gate, they were approached by Pedru Tiger, a Mozambican African man, who took them to the border where he supplied them with two 'cobs' of dagga (about 325 'twists') for £1.50. This trap led to the arrest of Tiger's accomplices, two of who were his blood brothers who resided in Umtali.[3]

[1]NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, February 1962.
[2]*Umtali Post*: 'Four Africans jailed for dagga offences', 31 May 1971, p.1.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Four city coloureds, six Africans on dagga charges,' 24 October 1973, p.1.

These examples show that some dagga traffickers operated in networks composed of family members and close relatives. Such networks were 'safer' because the risk of being betrayed to the authorities and being infiltrated by police informers was relatively lower.[1] In addition, involving 'outsiders' in cross-border trafficking networks could result in losses considering that some 'disappeared' and converted the dagga to their own use while others returned 'empty-handed' and falsely claimed that the contraband had either been stolen or confiscated by the police along the way.[2]

Women sometimes networked with their husbands to smuggle dagga from Mozambique into Umtali. Being made up almost entirely of men, the Portuguese and Rhodesian police forces rarely searched women thoroughly and this was fully exploited by some African men who smuggled dagga across the Umtali-Mozambique border. Women with dagga tucked on their bodies under their clothing or among their belongings sometimes accompanied their husbands across the border into Umtali. This strategy was usually employed by Mozambican men employed in Umtali who had dagga at their villages. In most cases, such men were formally employed in Umtali and had marriage certificates which allowed them to cross the border with their wives.[3] They would visit their homes across the border after work or during weekends and return with dagga hidden on the bodies or among the belongings of their wives. In South Africa during the early 20th century, this 'virtual' immunity from frequent and thorough police searches

[1] Separate interviews with Elias Foshoro, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 24 December 2010; and Sundai Chingwa, Manica town, Mozambique, 28 December 2010.
[2] Separate interviews with Milos Gorosa, Chimoio town, Mozambique, 8 December 2010; and Elias Foshoro, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 24 December 2010.
[3] Separate interviews with Josephine Pirato, Mugarandega village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 15 December, 2010; and Elias Foshoro, Arufaso village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 24 December 2010.

enjoyed by women prompted some Zulu men who dealt in dagga to 'pose as women and they put on the assumed *amabele* (breasts) and wigs...'[1]

Women who accompanied their husbands across the border into Umtali sometimes tucked dagga 'twists' in their long hair which was covered by various types of head-dress such as head-cloths and wigs.[2] Others concealed the dagga inside the clothing they were wearing and very close to their breasts and genitals, areas which the male-dominated colonial police force never dared to search.[3] It was also common practice for some women to conceal the drug in between their underwear in bags they were carrying.[4]

Two interesting issues arise from the preceding discussion. Firstly, the discussion has exposed the complicity of family members in cross-border dagga trafficking networks in which husbands and wives sometimes played significant complementary roles. Secondly, it has highlighted the differential contribution of men and women in these operations. It has been noted that men monopolised the cross-border trafficking process since it generated considerable wealth. Men sometimes enlisted the services of their wives as facilitators or assistants. This subdued role of women is not surprising given the pre-colonial division of labour in Shona societies which restricted wives to the household while husbands ventured out to seek fortunes. In addition, pre-colonial consumption stipulations among the Shona discouraged women from handling tobacco and its products. As a result, women rarely operated independently from men in the trafficking of dagga across the Umtali-Mozambique border for the greater part of the colonial period. However, as shall be noted later on in this chapter, poverty and other hardships brought about by

[1]An African factory worker quoted by Du Toit, *Cannabis in Africa*, p.176.
[2]Interview with Josephine Pirato, Mugarandega village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 15 December, 2010.
[3] Separate interviews with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010; Josephine Pirato, Mugarandega village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 15 December, 2010; and Susan Gango, Chikanga 3 suburb, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 12 February 2011.
[4]Interview with Josephine Pirato, Mugarandega village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 15 December, 2010.

colonial rule made some women to take leading roles in the trafficking dagga from the early 1970s in an effort to earn a living.

Some Mozambican men whose children were attending school in Umtali sometimes accompanied them across the border with quantities of dagga concealed inside the pupils' bags with books and stationery.[1] There were also instances when Mozambican children crossed the border on their own to attend school in Umtali with dagga stashed among their books by their parents after which relatives or connections in the town collected the 'consignment' just before the pupils entered school premises.[2] It should therefore be noted that some dagga dealers exploited the age of some of their family members to facilitate the smuggling of the herb across the border. Juveniles, for example, were sometimes used by their older family members to traffic dagga across the border because the police did not usually suspect them. This practice may be regarded as child-abuse by human rights activists but what needs to be borne in mind is that there was some moral justification because the financial proceeds from such dagga deals were meant to sustain family livelihoods such as paying for children's school fees.

Africans from Umtali sometimes crossed into Mozambique to get dagga. In most cases, Mozambican men in Umtali directed fellow workers, neighbours and friends in the town to their family homes or other households in their villages across the border to purchase dagga. At times, Mozambican men accompanied their workmates, neighbours and friends in Umtali during weekends to buy dagga across the border from their homes or other sources in the neighbourhood. Unfamiliar buyers could be turned away if they approached some households in

[1] Separate interviews with Nathan Rusere, Redwing Mine, Penhalonga, Zimbabwe, 8 January 2011; and Mavis Musharu, Mukudu village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 19 April 2011.
[2] Separate interviews with Maxwell Govha, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 21 December 2010; and Sundai Chingwa, Manica town, Mozambique, 28 December 2010.

a manner that aroused suspicion.[1] Usually, strangers were not entertained but had to be introduced by someone well-known to the home or the source where dagga was sold. Family members, particularly children, were under strict instructions from parents and senior family members never to disclose any information about the availability of cannabis at their homes to strangers. Unfamiliar would-be buyers were never entertained if they approached a homestead and stated openly that they wanted dagga. There was special jargon for transactions. *Mashizha matatu* ('three leaves'), for example, became a popular term to refer to dagga in Umtali and the Mozambican borderline villages from the late 1950s.[2]

The fact that some Mozambican men in Umtali sometimes directed customers from the town to their homes across the border to purchase dagga, and at times accompanied them, illustrates the importance of the herb in the family economies of some marginalised African families. While family and kinship affiliations were quite influential in shaping dagga-trafficking networks across the Umtali-Mozambique border, class commonalities can also be identified among most of those who were involved. It is quite apparent from the historical data available that the majority of the traffickers were the unemployed and the lowly-paid men who sought to eke out a living for their families by selling dagga. As a few examples will illustrate, trafficking networks which were not based on family-kinship affiliation tended to be shaped by common places of residence in Umtali (same neighbourhood in the locations and European quarters) and employment status (usually the unemployed and the lowly-paid). As Milos Gorosa recalled during an interview:

[1] Separate interviews with Simon Piratu, Chitungo Section, Sakubva, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 11 August 2010; Samson Chamunorwa, Fern Valley, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010; and Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010.
[2]Separate interviews with Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010; and Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.

> In the 1950s and 1960s during my days in Umtali, it was quite common for the unemployed or the poorly-paid to discuss their plight in bars, at workplaces or at street corners in the neighbourhood and at times consensus being reached to seek remedy in gambling, theft, illegal brewing and dagga-dealing.[1]

There is abundant historical evidence indicating the predominance of unemployed men in dagga trafficking. On 25 June 1957, for example, an unemployed Mozambican man named Joawo Tabirira was tried at the Umtali Magistrate's Court after being arrested along a bush path close to Marymount College on his way from Mozambique with a bag in which 5.5 ounces (171.05 grams) of *mbanje* were found.[2] Gayi, also from Mozambique and unemployed, appeared before the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 27 May 1959 after being arrested on the train from Beira for possessing dagga. African Constable Joseph of the BSAP told the court that he checked passengers on the Beira-Umtali train at the Umtali Railway Station and found *mbanje* weighing 3.25 ounces (101.075 grams) in Gayi's suitcase.[3]

On 13 January 1962, four unemployed Mozambican men, namely T. Nyabanga, C. Nyawuchengwa, K. Nyakondo and F. Madzambara, were arrested along Circular Drive on their way from Mozambique with 'twists' of dagga packed in their pockets.[4] On 3 June 1962 Manwere and Nyamanyarwa, both unemployed men from the Mozambican districts of Gondola and Vila Paiva respectively, were arrested at the Umtali Railway Station soon after disembarking from the train with an undisclosed quantity of dagga. Also arrested for the same offence as they disembarked from the same train were Mwarewa, Sisipenzi, Mutewe, Naison, Sajungira, Nyatsapa and Mugorongozi, both unemployed men from various locations in Mozambique.[5] On 14 September 1962 Antonio, an unemployed Mozambican man, was arrested by African

[1]Interview with Milos Gorosa, Chimoio town, Mozambique, 8 December 2010.
[2]*Umtali Post*: '12 sentenced on dagga charges,' 26 June 1957, p.1.
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Had dagga: fined £20,' 29 May 1959, p.1.
[4] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, January 1962.
[5]NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, June 1962.

Detective Rutswara at Old Beer-hall in Sakubva for possessing 14 ounces (435.4 grams) of dagga. The dagga, which had been sourced from Mozambique, was concealed in a leather case. Inside the case, the dagga was wrapped in banana leaves.[1]

From the early 1960s, it became common practice for traffickers to transport *mbanje* under banana leaves in containers. Banana leaves neutralise the aroma of dagga, and this was done to minimise chances of being detected by the police.[2] Tendayimambo, an unemployed Umtali resident, was arrested by African Sergeant Askinos on 3 May 1964 for possessing four ounces (124.4 grams) of cannabis wrapped in banana leaves inside a small plastic bag, together with a bottle of *nipa*, all hidden in a basket which he was carrying on his way from Mozambique.[3] The use of banana leaves to neutralise the aroma of dagga reflects innovativeness on the part of marginalised African people who smuggled the herb as they sought to survive in a harsh colonial environment. In this case, the creativity involved the application of indigenous scientific knowledge systems by exploiting aspects of the immediate physical environment such as vegetation.

Even though men were predominant in dagga trafficking there were a few exceptions. An example is Sheilla Mwashita, an unemployed widow and mother of three, who was remanded in custody at the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 24 October 1973 for dagga offences. She had been arrested along Circular Drive the previous day on her way from Mozambique with 'considerable'

[1]*Umtali Post*: 'Detective found dagga,' 17 September 1962, p.1.
[2]Elsewhere in the Southern African region between Basutoland and Zululand during the Second World War, for example, smugglers put a layer of moth balls on top of dagga to neutralise its distinctive aroma in order to avoid being detected at police roadblocks. Double leather belts and hollowed-out bars of soap were also used to conceal it. Dagga was also discovered stashed under layers of oranges and other fruits (see *Umtali Post*: W.J. Kelleher, 'Dagga-running is big business,' 21 March 1950, p.1).
[3]*Umtali Post*: 'Jailed for having dagga,' 29 May 1964, p.7.

quantities of dagga.[1] This case clearly shows how some women increasingly got involved in the trafficking of dagga across the Umtali-Mozambique border from the early 1970s in an attempt to earn a living as urban poverty and other colonial hardships worsened. The agency of women in the smuggling of dagga across the border was indeed a manifestation of an inarticulate challenge to the predominance of men in outdoor income-generating activities which was characteristic of the division of labour in most societies in pre-colonial south-east Africa.

This section has shown that family-kinship networks were quite critical in the trafficking of dagga across the Umtali-Mozambique border. The class factor should not be ignored, however. It is without doubt that the majority of the traffickers were of low social standing, that is, the unemployed and the lowly-paid men who sought to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families. Even though they sometimes discussed their plight at informal platforms where some of them shared ideas on how to remedy their plight, there is no historical evidence suggesting that their dagga-trafficking activities were driven by some form of collective class consciousness or deliberate and organised attempts by marginalised people to challenge the authorities.

8.5 Marketing of dagga in Umtali

The dagga trade became an important source of livelihood for some marginalised Africans in Umtali. In March 1950, for example, the *Umtali Post* reported that dagga dealing in Umtali was 'big business' with quantities of dagga weighing 14 grams costing around 6d.[2] In January 1964,

[1]See *Umtali Post*: 'Four city coloureds, six Africans guilty on dagga charges', 24 October 1973, p.1.
[2]*Umtali Post*: W.J. Kelleher, 'Dagga-running is big business,' 21 March 1950, p.1.

the street price of a 'twist' (about four grams) was 6d.[1] The street value of 100 grams of dagga in Umtali was around Rhodesian $1.30 in May 1971.[2]

The marketing of Mozambican dagga in Umtali involved a great deal of networking. A definite pattern of distribution can be identified. Each dagga vendor organised a network of very close relatives and trusted individuals, who expected some commission after sales had been made.[3] For dagga dealers with relatively large quantities, distributing the herb to a number of agents ensured quicker disposal on the market. In addition, such a strategy reduced chances of arrest since one person had a limited quantity of dagga at a time thereby making it difficult for the police to detect it. In the event of the dagga being detected and confiscated by the authorities, the loss was relatively minimal since smaller quantities were distributed for sale to a number of agents, most of who were family members, relatives and close friends.[4] At the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 6 March 1961, for example, Matombozana, an unemployed Mozambican man from Sakubva, was found guilty for possessing 92 packets of dagga for which he was sentenced to 12 months' hard labour. He was sentenced to a further 12 months on a second count of supplying Bangare, his wife's brother also staying in the same suburb, with 40 packets to sell.[5]

In Umtali, some dagga dealers sold the herb at their homes in the African residential areas. Well-known dealers who were arrested in 1962 after dagga had been found at their Sakubva homes include Rubene of 504, Muchena Section on 11 August;[1] Tavengwa of Number 2, 'D' Block on

[1] *Umtali Post*: '£454 worth of dagga,' 15 January 1964, p.7.
[2] Umtali police quoted by the *Umtali Post*: 'More arrests made recently for dagga offences,' 26 May 1971, p.1.
[3] Separate interviews with Milos Gorosa, Chimoio town, Mozambique, 8 December 2010; and Jackson Murimwi, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 22 December 2010. This pattern is similar to the Jamaican situation noted in 1975 by Comitas, 'The social nexus of *ganja* in Jamaica,' p.125.
[4] Separate interviews with Maxwell Govha, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 21 December 2010; and Sundai Chingwa, Manica town, Mozambique, 28 December 2010.
[5] *Umtali Post*: 'Jailed for dagga offences,' 8 March 1961, p.5.
[1] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, August 1962.

18 September; and Zangado of 116, Muchena Section on 27 September.[1] For fear of arrest, the dealers usually entertained familiar customers. Consequently, it became strict protocol for unfamiliar customers to approach a dealer through his or her family members, relatives, friends, neighbours or workmates. Other buyers sent the relatives and close associates of dagga dealers to secure the herb for them.[2]

Some dealers marketed dagga at beer-halls in Sakubva where most of their customers were drinkers. Unemployed African men arrested for selling dagga at the New Beer-hall in Sakubva in 1962 include Simbayi Marambisha on 12 June,[3] Samuel on 4 July, Nyamapada on 9 July,[4] and Tobias on 12 November.[5] Even though beer-halls are public places, the sale of dagga was never done openly. It was common for dealers to station themselves within or just outside bars and their close relatives and trusted friends introduced them to new customers after making sure that they were not detectives or police informers.[6]

Some dagga dealers sold the herb at street corners and the Umtali Railway Station. Those arrested for selling dagga at street corners in 1962 include Nyambo at the intersection of Third Street and Vumba Avenue on 4 February,[7] and Joseph Tsekulani at the intersection of Tenth Avenue and Main Street on 17 October.[8] On 9 January 1951, Vega and Fero, Mozambican domestic servants employed along Fourth Street at white residences 15 and 19 respectively were arrested at the Railway Hall while selling dagga sourced from their home villages across the

[1] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, September 1962.
[2]Separate interviews with Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010; and Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.
[3] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, June 1962.
[4] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, July 1962.
[5] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, November 1962.
[6] Separate interviews with Rambanai Chisumbu, Fern Valley, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010; Samson Chamunorwa, Fern Valley, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010; and Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010.
[7] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, February 1962.
[8] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, November 1962.

border.[1] Examples of Africans arrested for selling the herb at the Umtali Railway Station in 1962 include Manwere Dimingu and Naison Nyamayarwa on 3 June, Zuzeyo on 5 June,[2] and Sabudu on 1 October.[3] Evidence gathered from oral interviews revealed that while dagga dealers positioned themselves at street corners and at various points at the Umtali Railway Station, their accomplices, usually family members, close relatives and friends, went round 'scouting' for customers. The 'scouting' process involved looking around and asking passers-by if they wanted 'three leaves' (the jargon for dagga). Failure to understand this jargon was clear indication that the approached person did not smoke dagga and they immediately abandoned him or her. The 'scouting' also involved ascertaining whether some people who expressed willingness to buy dagga were not plain-clothes detectives or police informers.[4]

With the full knowledge that the police rarely suspected school pupils, some parents sent their children to various parts of Umtali to sell or deliver dagga. On 16 February 1962, for example, David, a juvenile who resided at 98, Chitungo Section in Sakubva, was arrested at the intersection of Fourth Street and Sixth Avenue while selling dagga which he said had been given to him by his parents. His father, who was employed by the Umtali Municipality's sewerage department, admitted giving him the cannabis to sell in order to raise cash to meet his children's school fees.[5] On a school day, Tuesday 6 July 1962, John, a Standard Six pupil at Sakubva Government School who resided at 186, Mazhambe Section in Sakubva, was arrested in the same suburb selling dagga while in school uniform. In his statement to the police, John confessed that he had been given the dagga to sell by his unemployed father who was struggling

[1] NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, January 1951.
[2] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, June 1962.
[3] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, October 1962.
[4] Separate interviews with Rambanai Chisumbu, Fern Valley, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010; Samson Chamunorwa, Fern Valley, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010; and Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010.
[5] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, February 1962.

to pay school fees for him. On 13 July 1962 Nora, a girl who resided at the Devonshire Compound, was arrested at the intersection of Meikle Road and Railway Avenue while selling dagga. She told the police that she had been given the dagga by her father to sell. At the time of her arrest, she was in possession of four 'twists.'[1]

As was the case with the trafficking of dagga across the border from Mozambique, it can be seen that some parents involved their children in the marketing of the herb in Umtali. This was largely because, by virtue of their young age, the police did not suspect them for dealing in dagga as much as they did adults. This was one of the strategies of survival that minimised chances of being detected and arrested by the authorities.

Even though family-kin networks were quite evident, it should be borne in mind that dagga smuggled into Umtali from Mozambique and other areas in the Rhodesian interior was usually sold secretly by the unemployed and poorly-paid, some of whom were middlemen, trying to earn a living for themselves and their families. Out of the 61 Africans arrested for trafficking dagga from Mozambique and selling it in Umtali in 1962, for example, 26 were employed in low-class jobs while 35 who included two juveniles were not employed.[2] It should be noted that these figures are conservative because most dagga-dealers were not detected by the police.[3] As Table 7 below illustrates, the 26 who were employed occupied low-class jobs as domestic servants and as general hands at various workplaces in Umtali.

The majority of the lowly-paid workers involved in the marketing of dagga were domestic servants some of who operated in pairs and small groups after work at various points in Umtali.[1]

[1] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, July 1962.
[2] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, 1962.
[3] Interview with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.
[1] NAZ, S3388/1: Umtali Criminal Registers, January 1951.

Police records reflect a high number of domestic workers arrested for dealing in dagga. This was partly because they were more vulnerable to arrest since most of them resided in quarters at the premises of their white employers in the eastern and northern suburbs where police patrols were much more concentrated.[1]

Some former domestic workers of Mozambican origin sold dagga to the children of their previous white employers. A 17-year old European boy was given a suspended sentence at the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 4 August 1959 after he was found in possession of dagga. Detective Sergeant William Welch of the Umtali CID discovered a half-smoked dagga cigarette wrapped in a silver paper in the pocket of the juvenile outside the premises of the Crusaders Church on 24 July 1959. He later conducted a search at the juvenile's home where he recovered two 'twists'.[2] Faranado, a Mozambican African, admitted in court on 6 August 1959 to supplying marijuana to the European juvenile on 24 July.[3] A similar case was heard at the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 24 October 1973. An 18-year old European boy from Umtali told the court that he paid Dokotera Kanotandiza, their former 'houseboy' of Mozambican origin, 50 cents for five 'twists' which he smoked with his white friends.[4]

Even though most dagga-dealers were the unemployed and those engaged in low-paying jobs, there were some exceptions especially from the early 1960s as some relatively well-to-do African businessmen and farmers sought to accrue more wealth from the cannabis trade. In December 1963, for example, David Mbengo Mlambo Zengeni, an African farmer who resided in Umtali's Zimunya suburb, hired two Mozambican female potters to carry 142 pounds (53

[1] Separate interviews with Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010; and Christopher Mazikana, Dangamvura Shopping Complex, Dangamvura, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 13 November 2010.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Juvenile is found with dagga', 5 August 1959, p.7.
[3] *Umtali Post*: 'African gave dagga,' 7 August 1959, p.9.
[4] *Umtali Post*: 'Four city coloureds, six Africans on dagga charges,' 24 October 1973, p.1.

kilograms) of dagga in two full suitcases from a village in Mozambique to the Jersey Tea Estate in south-eastern Rhodesia. He later took the dagga to Zimunya where it was discovered by the Umtali police on 12 December 1963.[1] This example shows that the dagga trade across the Umtali-Mozambique border was an important source of income for the ordinary people to the extent that some middle-class Africans became involved in an attempt to accumulate more wealth.

Employment status	**Number of people arrested**
Domestic servants at European homes	19
Railways general hands	2
General hands in city shops	1
Labourers in the timber industry	1
Municipal general hands	1
Milk deliverers	1
Self-employed	1
Total	**26**

Table 7: Police record of the employment status of Africans arrested for dealing in Mozambican dagga in Umtali, 1962 (Source: NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, 1962)

Evidence gathered from oral interviews indicated that the majority of dagga smokers in Umtali were Africans of low social standing most of who were employed in low-paying menial jobs but could afford buying a 'twist' or two which they smoked communally with close acquaintances such as neighbours, workmates as well as family members, relatives and friends.[2] 'It was taboo to share a dagga cigarette with strangers because you exposed yourself to betrayal and arrest', recalled Sixpence about his experiences in Sakubva during the late 1950s, 'Even when you ran out of dagga and needed it greatly, you would never ask for it from someone whom you did not

[1]*Umtali Post*: '£454 worth of dagga,' 15 January 1964, p.7.
[2]Separate interviews with Samson Chamunorwa, Fern Valley, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010; and Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010.

know because you could fall into the trap of detectives.'[1] This confidentiality and trust within dagga-smoking networks largely explains why the police found it difficult to catch people red-handed while smoking the herb.[2]

This section has illustrated that the marketing of dagga was a surreptitious undertaking that demanded unwavering confidentiality among accomplices in order to avoid being exposed to the law-enforcement agents. This is why some dagga dealers, most of who were of low social standing, took advantage of family and kinship networks, and at times contacts with close associates such as neighbours, workmates and friends, to facilitate the marketing of the herb. It should also be noted that family-kinship networks were most preferable for many dealers because of their wish to enjoy the financial proceeds from the dagga trade with their closest relatives, hence the Shona proverb '*Chawawana idya nehama, mutorwa ane hanganwa*' ('Share what you get with a relative because a stranger is forgetful and may not reciprocate').[3] This section has also illustrated the innovativeness on the part of some parents during the marketing of dagga by using their children, both boys and girls, in an effort to ward off suspicions from the police. Creativity in dagga deals was again reflected through the crafting of a special jargon during transactions in order to minimise the chances of being detected.

8.6 Attempts to cultivate dagga in Umtali

Some Africans who felt that it was more risky to smuggle dagga from Mozambique and other areas of the Rhodesian interior attempted to cultivate it in Umtali. It was, however, not safe to do so owing to the concentration of police patrols in Umtali that were often assisted by African

[1] Interview with Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010.
[2] After going through the Umtali Criminal Registers and all copies of the *Umtali Post*, I did not come across a single instance where a person was caught red-handed while smoking dagga.
[3] Interview with Rambanai Chisumbu, Fern Valley, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 24 September 2010.

informers.[1] What is interesting to note is that some of the people who cultivated dagga in Umtali sometimes obtained the seed from their relatives and other connections in Mozambique. A few examples are provided below to illustrate these observations.

In his testimony at the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 23 October 1952, for instance, an African Detective narrated how he found a bed of dagga plants in the back-garden of a house at Number 7, Kitchener Road in Murambi. Jairos, an African general hand at the house, was found guilty for cultivating the dagga and was sentenced to two months in prison. He pleaded guilty and told the court: 'The dagga is mine. I planted it. I bought the seed in Umtali from someone who bought it from Portuguese East Africa.'[2] Since the word of accused persons in court cannot always be taken for granted, there is a possibility that Jairos himself bought the seed from Mozambique and did not want to be charged for other offences such as smuggling. The important issue arising from this case, however, is that dagga seed was also smuggled into Umtali for planting in addition to the leaves that were smoked.

In a case heard at the Umtali Magistrate's Court on 25 June 1957 in which 12 Mozambican men were accused of smuggling dagga into Umtali, one of them was fined £3 for being found with quantities of dagga seed. He admitted that he had got the seeds from his uncle in Mozambique and intended to sell them in Umtali.[3] In a similar case at the same court on 19 May 1962, Michael Domingo, a Mozambican man, was charged for cultivating dagga in the Railway Compound. He admitted buying the dagga seed from a relative in Mozambique and was

[1] Separate interviews with Alfred Sixpence, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 3 November 2010; Lovemore Zhakata, Dangamvura Area 3, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 10 November 2010.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Grew dagga in back-garden', 24 October 1952, p.1.
[3] *Umtali Post*: '12 sentenced on dagga charges', 26 June 1957, p.1.

sentenced to three weeks in prison.[1] These cases illustrate that relatives astride the border were sometimes involved in the trafficking of dagga seed.

Some sections of the white community also cultivated dagga at their homes in Umtali after buying the seed from Africans well-known to them, mostly their former domestic servants of Mozambican origin. On 5 January 1973, for example, a 17 year old unemployed Portuguese boy residing in Darlington suburb appeared at the Umtali Magistrate's Court on charges of cultivating eight dagga plants behind his cottage. Detective Section Officer Nero had gone to the white boy's cottage after a tip-off and discovered a small patch of land measuring about 40 centimetres in diameter where the dagga grew in the middle of tall grass. The boy pleaded guilty and revealed that he had bought the seed from their former Mozambican domestic worker and intended to sell the dagga to his friends in order to get cash since he was unemployed. [2] This example demonstrates that some sections of the white community, especially those of low social standing, were sometimes involved in the dagga trade in one way or the other. It also shows that dagga networks usually involved people who were well-known to each other for fear of being betrayed and arrested. This example also illustrates that even though the most common type of dagga trafficking network that guaranteed relative security from being exposed to the authorities was that made up of family members, relatives and close friends, some African smugglers also networked with their former white employers.

This section has proved that some cultivators of dagga in Umtali obtained the seed from Mozambique, mostly from people who were well-known to them such as family members and relatives. Even some poor members from the white community bought dagga seed from Africans

[1] NAZ, S3388/5: Umtali Criminal Registers, May 1962.
[2] *Umtali Post*: 'Guilty plea to dagga growing', 5 January 1973, p.1.

they knew well, some of who were of Mozambican origin, and attempted to grow the herb in Umtali. Such networking among family members, relatives and close acquaintances was critical in guaranteeing relative security from being detected and arrested by the police.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the clandestine dagga commerce and related traffic across the Umtali-Mozambique border during the colonial period. The herb had been of ceremonial, medicinal and to some extent of commercial significance during the pre-colonial era. It was in view of this precedent that dealing in dagga persisted during the colonial period even though it had been outlawed by international forums and colonial governments. In actual fact, dagga became an important commodity in the informal economy as some sections of the African population, particularly those marginalised and impoverished by colonial rule, sought a livelihood for themselves and their families. It was also noted that some members from the European and Coloured communities in Umtali who were in a similar predicament were also involved but heavily relied on connections with African dealers who had contacts across the border.

Chapter 8 has also undertaken a comparative analysis of the role of family-kinship affiliation, and other factors such as gender, generational and class commonalities in the development of the dagga traffic and commerce across the Umtali-Mozambique border. It has asserted that men monopolised this commerce largely because of the pre-colonial gender-biased consumer practices in which it was virtually taboo for women to smoke or consume tobacco. Generation as a tool of analysis has also been considered significant in explaining why adult men, particularly the married, were predominant in dagga cultivation, trafficking, marketing and consumption. Again, the explanation is found in the pre-colonial dispensation where taking tobacco or snuff

was regarded as a sign of adulthood. It was noted, however, that these pre-colonial consumer stipulations increasingly became challenged during the colonial period by women, girls and boys who had secured wage employment and gradually became autonomous of traditional rural authorities.

This chapter also examined class as an analytical tool in the cross-border dagga traffic and commerce. It asserted that the majority of dagga cultivators, traffickers and marketers were of low social standing, mostly the unemployed and the lowly-paid. Most of these marginalised sections of the African population took part in the dagga commerce not to advance any collective class interests but to earn a living for themselves and their families. It was emphasised that the historical evidence available does not in any way suggest any form of class solidarity and consciousness in their informal cross-border pursuits for survival.

Instead, it is family-kinship solidarity that is manifested in the way dagga was cultivated and processed in Mozambique and trafficked to Umtali and beyond for sale as some Africans sought to sustain their livelihoods. Family-kinship networks during dagga deals also guaranteed relative confidentiality; hence some form of insurance from detection and arrest by the authorities. It was usually in circumstances where family members and close kin were not available that other trusted accomplices were incorporated into dagga networks. The primacy of family-kinship affiliation in dagga networks across the Umtali-Mozambique border should therefore be emphasised even though other factors already noted should not be overlooked.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

It is the central assertion of this thesis that family and kinship affiliation and dynamics played a critical role in the rise and development of informal cross-border activities as marginalised Africans sought to survive in a harsh colonial environment even though the role of other complementary influences such as gender, class and generational commonalities of the people involved should not be overlooked. It was also asserted that despite this significant role, family and kinship solidarity and dynamics could in turn be affected positively and negatively by informal cross-border activities depending on given contexts.

In developing this argument, Chapters 2 and 3 provided a historical background in order to lay a firm foundation for the study. Chapter 2 constituted the antecedents to African life in colonial south-east Africa. This chapter demonstrated that politically, pre-colonial African societies had a clear sense of borders and knew exactly to which polities they belonged. These borders were not as rigid since Africans could cross them to interact in various ways with those across. It was also shown that the majority Shona and minority non-Shona speakers in pre-colonial south-east Africa once constituted single political entities such as Mutapa, Rozvi and Gaza. Even though attempts at political centralisation within these states, particularly the Rozvi and the Mutapa, were largely a failure, the shared experience of belonging to certain political entities left some noticeable socio-cultural commonalities among most inhabitants during the colonial and post-colonial periods. It was noted in Chapter 2 that some socio-religious obligations imposed by rulers on their subjects in order to enforce social cohesion and enhance their power positions enabled some inhabitants to identify with each other even after the imposition of colonial rule. In addition, as the population increased within some villages, new ones were created resulting in

the presence of extended family members and kin across borders. Such antecedents facilitated cross-border pursuits for survival during the colonial period to a great extent.

It has been illustrated that economically, even though the basis of survival in pre-colonial south-east Africa was agriculture, other activities such as mining, hunting and trade were also important. It was emphasised that trade with African and non-African communities was an indispensable sector of the economy largely because vital commodities such as salt which were scarce within a particular society could be obtained from those who had them. In addition, trade became a business venture in which considerable numbers of Africans accrued wealth. As far as the gender division of labour was concerned, it was seen that whole families sometimes pooled their resources together in tasks such as agriculture and mining but there was a general trend in which women did much of the routine household-based economic activities while men ventured out to engage in activities that were potentially wealth-generating such as ivory hunting and trade. Interesting studies in future could determine why, unlike during the pre-colonial period, women became predominant in informal cross-border activities than men in post-colonial Africa. It was emphasised in this chapter that the region of south-east Africa was a highly porous economic landscape characterised by the movement of people and goods across borders. Trade within and across borders in pre-colonial south-east Africa contributed in fostering long-lasting socio-cultural contacts and commonalities among the inhabitants of the region. Examples provided in Chapter 2 include some Portuguese terms adopted by African traders at trading stations which they fused into their own languages resulting in some linguistic commonalities across the region.

Chapter 2 also illustrated that socially, the majority of the inhabitants of south-east Africa share a common history. Most of the pre-colonial inhabitants in the region were Bantu Shona-speakers. Nuclear and extended family members together with their immediate kin also had several social contacts with people living beyond their domains. Institutions such as totemic identity and the Mwari cult, for example, established socio-cultural relations among most societies in the region. These were the origins of the tradition of hospitality among most Shona people in which 'strangers' were welcome (and kinship ties could even be forged) as long as they did not pose threats to society. As some scholars have rightly noted, many socio-cultural identities across African regions predate the advent of colonialism unlike some commonly-held perceptions that they came into being as a result of solidarities brought about by pressures of colonialism and nationalist mobilisation.[1] It is largely in view of this common history and socio-cultural affinities among most inhabitants of pre-colonial southeast Africa that this study was rather silent on employing nationality and ethnicity as tools of analysis in the pursuits for a livelihood across the Umtali-Mozambique border during the colonial period.

Chapter 3 examined Africans undergoing transition from the pre-colonial way of life (the antecedents) into a dispensation of colonial subjugation and hardships which made them to devise various strategies of survival. It explored the manner in which British and Portuguese colonialism in south-east Africa interfered with the pre-colonial social, political and economic organisation of African societies. The establishment of the Rhodesia-Mozambique border split African societies, communities, chiefdoms, wards, villages, kin and families as the European colonisers sought to create nation-states in order to entrench their dominance. The chapter also examined the way African economies were disrupted by colonial policies such as the

[1] See, for example, E. MacGonalge, *Crafting identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, New York: Rochester University Press, 2007, p.106.

monopolisation of trade, land annexation, forced labour and taxation. Poverty and the deplorable living conditions in the rural areas put family economies in jeopardy resulting in some Africans seeking opportunities across borders despite the measures that were put in place to limit their freedom of movement. The fact that more Mozambican Africans than their Rhodesian counterparts would seek opportunities across the border has been explained in this chapter; it had more to do with Portuguese colonial excesses rather than nationality or ethnicity on the part of the sections of the African population involved. Colonial hardships therefore transformed some Africans into trans-national citizens with some family and kin structures becoming trans-nationalised in the process as they sought a livelihood.

Chapters 2 and 3 therefore provided a firm background for this thesis by articulating the socio-cultural, political and economic dynamics in pre-colonial south-east Africa (Chapter 2) and illustrating how this dispensation was ruptured by the establishment of colonial rule (Chapter 3). Given the harsh colonial environment and its destabilising effect on the African way of life explored in Chapter 3, the last four chapters unravelled a range of informal survival strategies improvised by some marginalised Africans which involved manipulating borders to their advantage. Thus, divisive borders are always breached largely because of their interference with the daily routines and survival strategies of the ordinary people.[1] It was demonstrated that during these pursuits for survival, family and kinship affiliations and networks played a critical role even though gender, class and generational dynamics were sometimes influential.

[1] I. Griffiths, 'The scramble for Africa: Inherited political boundaries', in *The Geographical Journal*, Volume 152, Number 2, July 1986, p206.

It was noted in Chapter 4 that the Umtali-Mozambique border was an arena across which socio-cultural interactions, conflicts and innovations took place with family and kinship dynamics playing a prominent role in shaping the nature and development of these processes. As a terrain across which socio-cultural interaction occurred, the border was crossed, often clandestinely, as people sought to meet their family and community obligations. This was largely in view of the fact that the border had separated families and kin. Cross-border marital unions and the resultant kinship ties among the relatives of spouses in Umtali and Mozambique meant that mobility across the border would continue even if it meant breaking the law. It has also been noted that Mozambicans who failed to locate close relatives in Umtali negotiated kinship ties with those they met for purposes of material support and security guarantees in a harsh colonial urban milieu. It was shown that the Umtali-Mozambique borderland was also a terrain of socio-cultural conflicts that prevailed among family members and kin. Under such circumstances, some members sought refuge across the border where they linked up with relatives, or forged kinship ties with others in order to get accommodated. Despite having left their family members and kin under circumstances of conflict, some returned home while others permanently sought refuge across the border where they married or forged new kinship ties. It was also noted that considerable numbers of those who married and settled across the border fled back to their family homes after facing serious domestic problems. This chapter therefore demonstrated that kinship, whether pre-existing or negotiated, and family affiliation was an integral guarantee of security and accommodation in informal cross-border dynamics. Chapter 4 also laid the basis for the last four chapters because these cross-border family and kinship ties as well as other socio-cultural connections were quite significant in facilitating the informal networking for survival between Umtali and Mozambique during the colonial period.

Chapter 5 underlined the importance of family and kinship affiliation as a major connective tool in informal cross-border labour practices by colonially-marginalised Africans. These irregular exploits included crossing the border from Mozambique to seek work in Umtali without official clearance from colonial authorities, labour touting, securing employment without going through official channels, and desertion from contract employment. It was asserted that Africans engaged in such practices not as a form of conscious and collective resistance against colonialism, but in order to maximise gains from the colonial labour market given the fact that their pre-colonial family economies had been disrupted by the British and Portuguese monopolistic and exploitative policies. The historical data available demonstrated that networking among family members and kin was crucial during these pursuits: work-seekers were usually informed by their close kin about employment opportunities in Umtali, family members and kin often teamed up to clandestinely cross the border into Umtali where they usually shared accommodation and other resources, and labour touts often recruited from among their unsuspicious family members and relatives. Mozambicans who deserted their employers often took refuge with close relatives in Umtali or fled back to their family homes across the border in order to minimise the chances of being betrayed, detected and arrested.

This study does not, however, underestimate the significance of other factors such as gender, class and generation. Family and kinship affinities, and considerations, directly influenced decision-making and the composition of most networks during informal cross-border labour practices while gender, class and generational commonalities had a hidden relevance. The consciousness of belonging to a family and kinship structure was quite manifest in the informal cross-border labour networks. As one Mozambican man recalled his experiences of the early 1950s during an interview:

> Who was your brother, uncle, cousin or relative was of paramount importance when seeking work, sneaking into Umtali and getting accommodation where you were fed. A close relative catered for your welfare until you got employed and never betrayed you to the authorities. It was not possible to get this hospitality from someone who was previously unknown to you. Decisions to desert an employer were usually made after confiding with a close relative. Having deserted, one had to seek sanctuary with kin or cross back home in order to avoid being betrayed to the colonisers.[1]

As noted in Chapter 5, there is no doubt that most of the Mozambicans who engaged in clandestine labour practices along and across the border with Umtali were unemployed and single males. It was asserted that most young and unemployed single men could afford to take risks to engage in irregular labour practices given that they had no wives and children to worry about in the event of arrest. The predominance of men over women in such pursuits was explained in terms of the pre-colonial African gender division of labour in which males were viewed as the breadwinners who could venture out of the domestic arena to seek livelihoods for their families while women were confined to household chores. In addition, the colonial labour market preferred men over women during the greater part of the colonial period. Even though some women did cross into Umtali to seek work, sometimes in the company of male relatives and village mates, it was argued that such developments should be interpreted more as sporadic reactions to the socio-cultural problems and economic hardships that prevailed within their family and kin structures coupled with external influences such as Christianity rather than they being a direct and collective conscious affront to patriarchal dominance.

It was asserted in Chapter 6 that connivance among family and kin members was quite evident during housebreaking and theft cases in Umtali, the trafficking of the goods to Mozambique, and their caching and disposal along and across the border. Being serious offences, the execution of burglary and theft required strict confidentiality and trust among accomplices in order to avoid being easily exposed to the authorities. Family and kinship-based networks, as a number of

[1]Interview with Juwakinyu Kuromba, Mutsinze village, Machipanda district, Mozambique, 22 December 2010.

interviewees cited in Chapter 6 stated, guaranteed some relative form of security from betrayal and arrest than composite syndicates. It was also noted that during these cross-border struggles for survival in a harsh colonial environment family and kinship solidarity among concerned accomplices tended to be enhanced.

Even though most of the cases of housebreaking and theft in Umtali whose goods ended up across the border were carried out by Mozambicans, nationality as a tool of analysis does not provide a convincing insight into such operations. It was noted in Chapter 6 that local Africans also stole and disposed some of the goods at their homes in the Rhodesian interior. The futility of employing nationality as an analytical tool was also exposed by the existence of cross-border property theft networks which were composed of both Mozambican and Rhodesian Africans.

Generational dynamics were also noted in cross-border property theft networks but they can hardly be divorced from family and kinship influences. As discussed in Chapter 6, the data available indicates that juveniles (under the age of 16) sometimes took part in burgling houses in Umtali and trafficking the stolen goods to Mozambique. It was shown that most of the juveniles did not operate independently but acted under instructions and sometimes in the company of their senior family members and relatives.

In terms of the class position of the Africans involved, the theft of goods in Umtali and their disposal in Mozambique was carried out mostly by the unemployed and lowly-paid with detainees and domestic servants featuring prominently. It was argued that even though most of the perpetrators were unemployed and lowly-paid, there is no historical evidence to suggest that their actions were motivated by any collective class interests against employers or authorities. Instead, their actions should be viewed as a moral economy of theft in which they sought

livelihoods for themselves and their families. Detainees, for example, had limited formal options of survival because they were blacklisted and shunned by employers. In an attempt to earn a living, some lowly-paid Mozambican domestic servants took advantage of their knowledge of the geography of the premises of their former and current employers in Umtali to burgle with some of the loot sometimes being taken across the border.

A gender analysis carried out in Chapter 6 noted the predominance of men over women in the theft and trafficking of goods. This was partly due to the gender division of labour in most pre-colonial African societies in which women were restricted to household tasks while men ventured beyond the domestic arena to seek livelihoods for their families. As a result of these institutional antecedents, comparatively more men sought employment at the colonial labour market, which incidentally preferred them over women. Since the majority of women remained in the rural areas, their common role in most cross-border property theft cases was to take custody of the stolen goods brought in by their husbands and male relatives, sometimes without the knowledge of how they had been obtained.

The findings of Chapter 6 can be useful in addressing some pertinent gaps in the academic literature on the organisation of informal pursuits for survival across borders. In their study of cattle-rustling across the Lesotho-South African border during the 1990s Kynoch and Ulike, for example, noted: 'Much of the theft appears to be coordinated by well-organised criminal gangs but reliable information on their composition and organisation is difficult to assess.'[1] In his study of cattle-rustling across the Swaziland-South African border during the period 1990-2004, Simelane also acknowledged: 'Up to now it was not clear how cross-border cattle rustlers

[1] G. Kynoch and T. Uliki, *Cross-border raiding and community conflict in the Lesotho-South African border zone*, Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project, 2001, p.2.

operate. The residents of south Swaziland feel that there is a syndicate made up of Swazi and South African cattle thieves.'[1] This thesis therefore addresses some of these gaps by articulating the interaction of factors such as family-kinship dynamics and commonalities based on class, gender and generation in influencing the organisation of informal cross-border networks for survival.

The primacy of family and kinship networking during informal cross-border activities was also stressed in Chapter 7. The chapter discussed how family members and kin on the Mozambican side of the border exploited market opportunities offered by Umtali's African population by pooling their labour resources to brew beer for sale. It also examined the gender division of labour during the brewing process in which women dominated, sometimes assisted by children, as was the case during the pre-colonial period. Men constituted the majority of people from Umtali who crossed the border into Mozambique to drink or purchase beer, a situation again typical of the pre-colonial period when men virtually monopolised the consumption of alcohol. The predominance of men in the trafficking of alcohol across the border and that of women in its marketing at homesteads in Umtali and in the Mozambican borderline villages is also explained in terms of the pre-colonial gender division of labour in which women usually operated within and around homesteads while men travelled far and wide to earn a living for their families. As the colonial period progressed, the situation began to change as some impoverished women got involved in the trafficking of alcohol across the Umtali-Mozambique border in order to salvage a livelihood. It was also shown that Africans from Umtali who frequently visited Mozambican villages to drink or buy beer sometimes moved in groups comprised of family members and kin,

[1] H.S. Simelane, 'Cross-border cattle rustling and its socio-economic impact on rural southern Swaziland, 1990-2004', in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Volume 23, Number 2, 2005, p.220.

an arrangement which ensured that word quickly reached one's home through others in the event of arrest or any eventuality during the trip.

Chapter 7 also identified class commonalities among the majority of brewers, dealers and consumers of beer that was trafficked from Mozambique into Umtali. It was noted that most of the brewers and dealers were of poor socio-economic background in search for a livelihood. The majority of consumers who crossed into Mozambique to drink and those who drank home-made beer that had been smuggled into Umtali were lowly-paid workers who could manage cheaper brands which they consumed in environments that were relatively free and familiar than the municipal beer-halls. It was also shown that workmates and neighbours in Umtali who were neither family members nor kin sometimes teamed up to drink in Mozambique as long as they afforded the cost of the beer and did not become liabilities to their counterparts. It is the central argument of Chapter 7 that while family and kinship networks featured prominently in the brewing, trafficking, marketing and consumption of beer, the relevance of other influences such as gender, generation and class need to be considered in given contexts.

This trend was also noted in the last chapter which dwelt on the commerce and trafficking of dagga across the Umtali-Mozambique. The herb, which was largely of ceremonial and medicinal value in some families during the pre-colonial period, assumed unprecedented commercial importance as Africans marginalised by colonial rule sought a livelihood. The prominence of networks involving family members and kin was noted in the growing, processing and marketing of dagga in the Mozambican borderline villages partly in view of the fear of being betrayed to the authorities. It was also for this reason that cross-border traffickers and dealers of dagga preferred networking with very close accomplices such as family members, close relatives and trusted acquaintances. Chapter 8 also explored the commonalities based on gender, generation

and class among the dagga dealers and traffickers. The predominance of men in dagga deals, it was noted, can largely be explained in terms of the gender-based consumption pattern in most pre-colonial societies which entitled them, and not women, to smoke tobacco. Married men, unlike boys, were also dominant in dagga deals since smoking was regarded as a sign of adulthood in many pre-colonial African communities. It was, however, noted that as the colonial period progressed, the younger generations gradually got involved in the growing and trafficking of dagga either in their individual capacities, or as accomplices of their elder counterparts in an attempt to earn a living in a harsh colonial environment. Poverty and frustration in colonial urban centres such as Umtali also resulted in considerable numbers of young unemployed and lowly paid men, and even women and girls, smoking dagga.

This chapter also explored class as a tool of analysis in cross-border dagga deals. It was shown that most dagga cultivators, traffickers and dealers were marginalised sections of society comprising mainly the unemployed and the lowly-paid. This chapter emphasised that most of these people embarked on cross-border dagga deals to earn a living for themselves and their families and there is no historical evidence to indicate that their activities manifested any collective and conscious class interests and defiance against the colonial authorities. Thus, together with other informal cross-border activities such as property theft and the alcohol traffic, dagga deals cannot appropriately be regarded as 'subversive' economies.[1] This is because they were largely the result of efforts by the marginalised people to survive rather than them being deliberate attempts to challenge or sabotage the state or other authorities. Instead, group consciousness was quite visible, and not incidental, among family members and close relatives

[1] The term 'subversive economy' was coined by H. Donnan and T. Wilson to refer to economic sabotage against a state or an institution by an organised and well-coordinated front. See H. Donnan and T. Wilson, *Boundaries of identity, nation and state*, London: Berg, 1999.

since confidentiality and trust were quite critical in order to avoid arrest and guarantee corporate survival in a harsh colonial dispensation. Instead, it is family-kinship networking that is manifest in the way dagga was cultivated and processed in Mozambique and trafficked to Umtali and beyond for sale as some Africans sought to sustain their families. Family-kinship networks during dagga deals also guaranteed relative confidentiality; hence some form of insurance from detection and arrest by the authorities. It was usually in circumstances where family members and close kin were not available that other trusted accomplices were incorporated into dagga networks.

This study has also exposed the problems of generalised analyses of the impact of mobility during the colonial period on family and kinship solidarity. It was noted that family and kinship solidarity could be consolidated or disrupted during informal cross-border pursuits depending on the prevailing circumstances. Discussion in Chapter 4 demonstrated that conflicts emanating from within family and kin structures sometimes drove people to seek refuge across borders where they joined other close relatives or forged new kinship ties. Such fugitives could abandon their rural homes or return depending on the magnitude of antagonism with family members and relatives. Chapter 5 also that family and kinship relations could be bolstered, for example, as members arranged to secretly cross the border together, accommodated each other in Umtali and assisted one another to secure employment. Relations could be strained if a job-seeker took time to get employed and became a perennial liability to family members and relatives who hosted him or her. Solidarity among family members and relatives was also noted during informal cross-border activities such as property theft, alcohol traffic and dagga deals. This solidarity could be threatened depending on circumstances. For example, conflict could arise within families if a spouse crossed into Mozambique to drink without informing the other. These

findings, it is hoped, will arbitrate the debate in mobility studies between the proponents of the 'descent' nuclear-family model and their critics discussed in the literature review section of the introduction of this thesis.

Without deconstructing factors, or rather commonalities, based on class, gender and generation, the centrality of family-kinship affiliation in the informal networking for survival across borders should therefore be emphasised. This study has also noted that these activities impacted on family and kinship solidarity in both positive and negative ways depending on the prevailing circumstances. By employing a family-kinship analysis to informal cross-border pursuits for survival, and interrogating the extent to which other factors based on commonalities and dynamics in terms of gender, generation and class played significant complementary roles, this thesis entrenches and enriches the borderlands world discourse.

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