

SEX AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE RHODESIAN MINE
COMPOUNDS, 1900-1933.

Directly after the Revolt of 1896-1933, Rhodesian mine-owners set about developing a compound system which would facilitate control over their black employees. As early as August 1900, the Chief Native Commissioner (C.N.C.) had written to the Secretary of the De Beers diamond mine to enquire about different ways of treating 'free' and convict labour at Kimberley. This early initiative was consolidated in 1903, when the Rhodesian administration sent another native commissioner, C.L. Carbutt, to study the compound systems of the Kimberley and Witwatersrand mines. But despite their enthusiasm for South African models, the Rhodesian mine-owners came to develop their own distinctive compound system; and it is important to understand its particular features if we wish to fully appreciate the sociological significance of sex in African mining communities.

Unlike the 'closed compounds' of Kimberley, or the male-only barracks of the Witwatersrand, the three-tier compound system of Rhodesia made allowance for the presence of women. The core of the African housing complex on large Rhodesian mines was the central square-shaped compound. This relatively 'closed' block housed either short term migrant workers or Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau (R.N.L.B.) recruits - that is, the least proletarianised, unskilled and lowest paid workers who were most likely to desert. Surrounding this central block and frequently sub-divided into tribal divisions were the huts of the longer term single workers - that is, more proletarianised labourers with greater skills and average wages, who were less likely to desert. Beyond this, and again set apart, were a third set of huts which accommodated prostitutes, couples living together and married workers with their families - that is, fully proletarianised workers, semi-skilled with above average wages - the group least likely of all to desert. The mere presence of women in the third tier, however, did not lead to a simple pattern of heterosexual relationships in compounds, and in order to understand how sex was used for purposes of social control, we need to place these features within a broader context as well (1).

Mines that operated in a colonial political economy officially neither made allowance for nor acknowledged the presence of, women in the compounds. With the exception of a 3 or 4 year period at the turn of the century when food rations were also issued to women at certain large mines in an attempt to stabilise the labour force, wages for miners were never related to family needs. In state and mining-house ideology alike, the low wages of

Black miner were justified on the grounds that they were the earnings of a single male migrant worker who had a supplementary income from the subsistence economy of the rural areas.

This ideological and economic denial of the existence of women in the industrial areas reflected itself in two important ways within the compound. Firstly, as a self-fulfilling prophecy it led to a structural imbalance in the sex ratios within the compound. Secondly, it placed such women as did live in the compound in a state of chronic poverty and insecurity. Unable to sell their labour power to the capitalists, single and married females alike were forced to ferret out the cash that flowed into the nooks and crannies of the compound economy from the workers' pockets. Much of this was done through working at tasks traditionally associated with women - jobs such as house-keeping, sewing, cooking or selling beer. The remainder of the women without a skill or craft to sell had only one more thing to sell in a setting where males outnumbered females - their bodies.

The fact that there was a shortage of women in compound society and that women were willing to sell themselves are both ultimately attributable to the exploitative wage policies of the mining companies. Within the confines of a relatively closed community such as the compound, any shortage offered the management a potential lever for social control; and tobacco, dagga and alcohol were all used in this way. In cases where the shortage was linked to a basic need - such as that of food or sex - the potential for social control was even greater. It is the objective of this article to demonstrate that shortage and to illustrate how, through the medium of prostitution, the industry and the state used sex as a means of social control in the mine compounds.

Sexual deprivation and the mine worker

The fact that there were a limited number of women within the mine compounds did not mean that all men competed on an equal footing for the sexual favours of women. The barracks-like inner compound which housed dozens of workers under one roof put the short term workers and the R.N.L.B. labourers at a particular disadvantage. Besides having least privacy, their mobility was also most circumscribed - an aspect which also reduced the chances of meeting women off the mine property. Further, in an environment where sex, like any other commodity, could be bought or sold, these groups who were at the lowest wages were at a further disadvantage. As in all aspects of capitalist society, there was no democracy of poverty, and for the least privileged of all, the prices charged by prostitutes were beyond reach. It was thus in the low-

est socio-economic stratum of compound society that sexual deprivation was most severely felt.

The plight of these poorest workers drove several of them towards bestiality. The Rhodesian mines in rural areas often kept livestock on the company property - usually as a food supply for the workers and sometimes as the property of the White workers. At night this livestock was kept next to the compound and it was towards these animals that the men turned for their sexual needs. It is significant that often those found guilty of offences with donkies, heifers, oxen or goats, were the poorest paid unmarried men of the inner compound (2). Although the evidence is limited, it does seem as if most of these offences took place at a time when African wages were at a particularly low ebb in the mining industry - the early 1920s. In cases of bestiality, the magistrates did not consider the imbalance of sexual ratios in the compound as a mitigating factor; sentences were usually 6 months with hard labour, sometimes with the option of a fine of £20.

In the inner compounds and the huts of the second tier, sexual frustration was also evident in the number of cases of sodomy. Overcrowding in the compounds, the poverty of workers who shared blankets and beds, and the surrogate female role which many boy servants were called on to play, all made their contribution to this type of offence (3). Here too, the state was unconcerned about the particular social context of the offence and the favoured sentence for Black workers was five months with hard labour; usually without the option of a fine.

Almost as vulnerable as the young boys who acted as servants were the young girls who lived in the compounds - the off-spring of countless illegal and temporary unions of those on the mine property. Being the smallest and the weakest of the females accessible, they formed relatively easy prey for workers denied more orthodox sexual outlets. Girls under the age of 10 who were not under close and concerned supervision were vulnerable to sexual assaults (4). Whilst the rape of 2 or 3 year old girls was almost unheard of in the rural areas, such cases did occur in the compounds (5). Girls of 10 and 12 who were approaching puberty were even more likely to be raped on the mines if not constantly watched (6). Since older girls were more likely to resist there was usually more violence in such cases and this was usually reflected in the most common sentence of 3 years hard labour with 20 lashes. The frequency of such cases and their underlying causes were never considered worth examining by the state or the industry.

Perhaps inevitably violence also surrounded the adult

women who lived in the compounds. Occasionally prostitutes assaulted each other in disputes which hinged around attachments to particularly favoured customers but more frequent by far, was the conflict between workers about the women they called mahure (prostitutes) (7). Women who owed their allegiance to the highest bidder acted as the catalyst of conflict amongst jealous or poorer workers (8). The small number of women and acute poverty meant that much of the Black workers' energy and initiative was directed against fellow-workers while the fundamental conflict lay outside the compound.

For most Black miners and some White miners, it was pennies and pounds which ultimately brought them access to the mahure (9). In the confined new industrial setting, however, others found that it was not only the power of the purse that commanded respect. Since they enjoyed considerable power in the oppressive compound system, managers and their Black assistants found that they did not even need money to get access to the women they desired. At the Antelope mine in 1934, the assistant compound manager simply sent his 'cook boy' Dennis to get women for himself and his European guest (10). At the Falcon mine in 1919, compound 'police boys' Jacob and Sam used their authority to demand sexual favours from the women in the compound (11). Ordinary Black workers without the advantages of uniforms or sjamboks could only rely on power that in some way transcended that of the mine management. The traditional power of witchcraft was put to new use by a frustrated worker in the Wankie colliery in 1914; a woman who refused sexual favours was handed a red coloured stick and told that she would die if she ever let it go, while a second reluctant woman was also handed a charm (12).

The basic state of sexual deprivation in the compound also placed the wives of married workers at risk. Quarrels assaults and numerous cases of arson all bore eloquent, albeit bloody, testimony to the insecurity of marriage in a community of poverty and violence (13). Most married workers were at a loss as to how to best protect their wives and their legal rights in the new setting where old beliefs, values, and traditions were badly equipped to compete with commodities and cash.

The literate workers from Nyasaland, even articulate, looked to Zomba to help them out of their difficulties. Feeling that they got little help from the Rhodesian authorities they directed pathetic pleas for assistance to those whom they considered to be more reasonable men. Isaac Manda of the Cam and Motor compound articulated the dilemma of many a married man:

"But don't think that I am a troublesome man

Bwana, because my heart is not well for my wife having been taken away. I am afraid to make battle because perhaps you shall imprison me if I kill a man for the reason of a woman, but it is right therefore that I should complain to you, Bwana" (14).

The same lack of a concerned authority was felt by Simon Banda who wrote from the Eldorado mine: "We are living as if there is no Europeans of the Boma here," he observed, "therefore I thought it right to put my complaint before you". (15). Thereafter followed the inevitable appeal for assistance in an attempt to get back his wife.

The more practically minded Black workers did not waste their time writing to far-off European authorities. Traditionalists sought to protect their wives from the temptations of adultery through the custom of 'eating' their women (16). Others, aware that a jealous neighbour may set fire to a thatched roof also prepared accordingly. A cynical journalist, in the style of the time noted with some truth that:

"In Rhodesia you can always tell when a kaffir has a too attractive wife ... He invariably lives in a kia made of tin sheeting without a thatched roof The tin roof is the bad kaffir's fire insurance " (17).

Clearly such happy marriages as there were on the Rhodesian mines were not as a result of the three-tier compound system.

Prostitution.

For a certain number of women, the compounds must have offered an alternative society to the tightly structured traditional community (18). Others, such as a Shona girl who cut her upper teeth first, were rejected by traditional society and turned to the indiscriminating sanctuary of the compounds (19). Other women may have been forced to prostitution by their husbands who found that the low wages of the mining industry were insufficient for their needs (20). Such cases, however, could only account for a relatively small number of the prostitutes who found their way to the compounds. Basically prostitutes - just like male African labour in the economy - were the product of the process of proletarianisation. Once the redistributive economy of the traditional society was undermined, it offered little security to the young, the old, the powerless or those without kin. Once the standard of living in the rural areas dropped, women who were not part of a family production unit were very vulnerable

Those who had lost their access to land were forced into the urban areas where they could seek cash and fend for themselves. In Rhodesia, unlike South Africa where there was at least the possibility for women to be taken into domestic service, the bulk of the housework was undertaken by 'boys' and the labour market for females diminished accordingly. The overwhelming majority of prostitutes in the Rhodesian mine compounds were women without close family, who for want of anything else, were forced to sell their bodies.

This hypothesis is supported by the evidence we have about the social background of compound prostitutes. Lassi, a Shona woman from the Victoria district only left home after both her parents had died. She sought out her sister who was living in the Gaika mine compound near Que Que and it was there that she first turned to prostitution to make a living (21). It was also only after their parents had died that the Atonga sisters, Sijoma and Sewaya went to live in the care of George Haridi at the Globe and Phoenix compound; again this was the start of a life of prostitution. In 1924 a pimp named Chilopola led a group of travelling prostitutes who made their way from compound to compound throughout Rhodesia. His charges included; Malita a 17 year old woman who was recruited in Nyasaland when her husband died, Anija a 14 year old Achewa girl from Kota Kota who had a mother but no father at the time of her recruitment, and a third woman Anagota who also had no father when she joined the band (22).

Since death and misfortune was no respecter of time, such women made their way to the compounds from the very earliest days of the mining industry. But while individual women may have turned to prostitution at any time that misfortune overtook them, the large scale movements to the compounds can be more specifically dated. This closer definition again emphasises the underlying structural reasons for the presence of these women on the mines.

Prostitution as a means of earning a living was a particularly noticeable feature of the 1920s and 1930s - that is, during those years when proletarianisation had reached an advanced stage (23). In addition, there was a significant acceleration of the trend during those years when the economy was depressed. It is significant that 1921 saw 'an influx of foreign native women' who went to the compounds for purposes of prostitution (24). It is equally significant that the Inspector of Native Compounds chose 1931 as the year in which to draw attention to the fact that prostitution was 'rife' in the compounds. (25)

As parasites within the Black working class, prostitutes shared the fortunes of that class - both in the economy as a whole and in the mining industry in particular. Just as more labour made its way to the mines during the depression so too more women went to the compounds to become prostitutes. Just as the earning power of the Black miners declined as wages fell in successive years, so too did the prices charged by prostitutes. Mahure regularly charged 10 to 15 shillings a time between 1900 and 1910 - by the early 1920s they were accepting 2/6 and at least some were accepting credit tokens in the 1930s (26).

Deprived rather than depraved, these women were pushed into the patterns of behaviour that characterise many underprivileged and exploited socio-economic groups. As the 'scum of the country' they lied, cheated and stole from the Black miners on whom they depended for money (27). The state officials responsible for inspecting the mine compounds felt that prostitutes were at the base of most crime within the African mining community (28). The Black workers themselves felt that the 'mahure and beer' were the most important contributory factors to the 'faction fights' that frequently racked the working class community (29). Yet despite all the conflict, tension and disruption caused by the prostitutes, no action was taken against them by the authorities; indeed, the state and mining industry alike took steps to protect the presence of the mahure in the compounds.

One of the reasons which made women in the compound acceptable was the fact that they improved the health of the workers. Early on it was recognised that a woman who attached herself to a chamwario (lover) produced better quality meals than were usual in the compounds and this tended to increase the productivity of the labourers. (30) The settlers for their part, were more taken with the idea that Black prostitutes in the compound protected White women in the community from sexual assault. "The opinion is freely expressed", the Native Commissioner at Shamva observed, "that the presence of these women has the affect of minimising the danger of 'black peril' cases" (31). Given the amount of sexual deprivation and frustration in the compounds, it is possible that the mahure did in fact indirectly protect the White Women on the mining properties from rape.

Appealing as these arguments might have been in themselves, the mine-owners had other, more deep-seated reasons for approving of prostitution. From at least 1900 the mine-owners were aware that the presence of women attracted workers, lengthened the labour cycle and contributed to the proletarianisation of the Black work-force (32). The more 'voluntary' labour that could be attracted to a mine, the less expensive capitation fees for recruited labour

had to be paid to the R.N.L.B. The more stabilised the labour force, the greater the average level of competence and productivity of the workers - a feature with obvious appeal to any mine-owner.

In Rhodesia, what was good for the mining industry was considered to be good enough for the state. State officials accepted that the mahure assisted labour stabilisation and were thus willing to 'regulate' but not eliminate prostitution in the compounds. The C.N.C. made his acceptance of prostitution quite clear:

"... I do not think that it would be good policy to interfere to any great extent with the native women who congregate on the mines as such interference would be likely to affect the labour supply detrimentally, but their presence in the compound should be regulated in some degree" (33).

This basic acceptance was also evident in the comments of the Inspector of Native Compounds who, in 1931, felt that it would "be good policy to abolish these evils (prostitution and credit) altogether" (34). When, on the one and only occasion when the state did take action against the influx of women into the compounds in 1931, it did so on a very selective basis. On the specific instructions of the C.N.C., the police were asked to eject only those women who had deserted their husbands or parents; that is, those who had an alternative source of income - the prostitutes were to be left strictly alone (35).

There was a price to pay, however, for this unwillingness to eliminate prostitution in the compounds - the growing incidence of venereal disease. It was not so much the cost of treatment that concerned the mine-owners - the workers were made to pay for that - but the fact that it reduced productivity (36). At a large mine, such as the Cam and Motor in 1925, the daily average number of patients suffering from venereal disease in August was 16.5, in September 10.8 and October 15.6. In the three months concerned, the mine lost 1 337 working days from its Black labour force and three years later venereal disease still accounted for the majority of hospital patients at the mine (37). Between 1900 and 1933 thousands of workers in the compounds contracted syphilis and about 250 Africans lost their lives to the disease (38).

A loss of productivity on this scale did concern the industry and the state. Clearly what was ideally required was a system which reaped all the benefits of prostitution without reducing the productivity of the Black miners. It was around this idealised objective that the industry

and state's desire for 'regulation' centred.

As early as 1916, the C.N.C. suggested a scheme for the compulsory medical examination of prostitutes (39). In the wake of this suggestion a few of the larger mines did in fact set up a system of medical checks but venereal disease continued to spread. By the time that the Rhodesian Chamber of Mines initiated a debate on productivity and venereal disease in the Legislative Council in 1923, two large mines had fairly well-developed systems of control. At the Shamva mine, a committee of African women inspected any new woman who wished to take up residence in the compound and at the Falcon mine women were 'compelled to carry a medical certificate' after examination by the mine doctor (40).

In the mid 1920s it seemed briefly that this system of 'regulation' might stay the spread of venereal disease. (41). But as proletarianisation accelerated in the late 1920s and 1930s, so more women from the countryside were forced to turn to prostitution in the towns and compounds. Mines in the Bulawayo district not only had their own resident prostitutes but at weekends they were also visited by literally truck-loads of mahure from the Bulawayo location (42). With prostitution on this scale, the state pushed more forcefully for the voluntary system of 'regulation'. By the late 1920s it was standard practice for women to submit to medical inspection at the compound entrance before prostituting themselves to the workers of such large mines as the Lonely and Wankie (43). Just as the Inspector of Native Compounds was called upon to make certain that the credit system at the mine stores operated smoothly, so too he had to ensure that venereal disease spread by the mahure did not jeopardise productivity. By late 1931 the system was operating smoothly on 'most' large mines (44).

Since prostitutes ensured the 'retention of servants and a permanent labour supply' the industry and the state were always unwilling to eliminate them from the mine compounds. As the purveyors of sex in a sexually deprived community the mahure came to form simply one more lever for social control. By 1933, at least one enterprising N.C. was looking to extend the role of the state so that more tangible benefits than labour stabilisation could accrue to the government:

"Granted that prostitutes are a necessary evil, there is no reason why they should carry on a lucrative but repulsive trade without heavy taxation. Many people will no doubt be horrified at the suggestion of legalising and regulating prostitution; but facts must be faced squarely and cour-

ageously" (45).

Although the state never came to legalise the activities of the mahure or tax it, the government in partnership with the mining industry was a willing supervisor of a system of 'regulated prostitution'. Sex, together with food and drugs formed part of the web of social control exercised over the working class in Central Africa.

Charles van Onselen, St. Anthony's College, Oxford. The author explores these other aspects of social control in his doctoral thesis, "African Mine Labour in the Political Economy of Rhodesia, 1900-1935".

FOOTNOTES

1. The evidence for these paragraphs is to be found in chapters 5 and 6 of my thesis, "African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933", currently being completed.
2. National Archives of Rhodesia (N.A.R.) Salisbury, are the source and place of deposit for all files mentioned in this study. For cases of bestiality see for example: at the Blanket mine D/19/5, Case No. 24 of 1908; at the Globe & Phoenix mine, D3/32/16, Case No. 902 of 1920, and D3/32/21, Case No. 64 of 1924; at the Broken Luck mine D3/32/20, Case No. 917 of 1923.
3. Many young boys were hired by single workers to do their cleaning, cooking and house-keeping. For cases of sodomy involving boy servants and over-crowding see: D3/32/21, Case No. 1592 of 1923; D3/37/11, Case No. 438 of 1925? D3/37/8, Case No. 325 of 1924, and D3/32/9 Case No. 392 of 1917. Most cases of attempted sodomy appear to have been promptly reported to the 'compound police' by reluctant victims. Less frequently homosexual relationships developed which involved the exchange of money. See for example, D3/32/4, Preliminary Examination Rex vs. Chabwana 1914, and D3/37/14, Case No. 201 of 1928.
4. In the Gaika compound two girls aged 6 and 10 who were in the care of an aunt were raped see, D3/32/3, Case No. 234 of 1913. In the Globe & Phoenix compound, the 3year old daughter of a prostitute was raped, see D/32/21 Case No. 1609 of 1923.
5. Ibid. See also D3/37/3, Case No. 85 of 1918.
6. There were numerous cases of girls under the age of 12 being raped at the mines. For examples see, Rhodesia Herald, 29 Jan. 1909 (Eldorado mine compound);

- Rhodesia Herald, 26 Oct. 1917 (Golden Kopje and Asbestos mine compounds); Rhodesia Herald, 16 May 1919 (Eiffel Blue mine compound), and Rhodesia Herald, 10 Feb. 1920 (Shepherd's Reef mine compound).
7. Interview with Alec Chirwa, former 'boss boy' at Wankie Colliery and Gath's Asbestos mine (1920-1960), at Triangle, Southern Rhodesia 23 Feb. 1973.
 8. For examples see, D3/32/20, Case No. 528 of 1923 which centred around Mava, a prostitute in the Eva mine compound, and D3/32/20 Case No. 679 of 1923 where the conflict revolved around Bitiyema, a prostitute in the Gaika mine compound.
 9. In several important respects early white miners were just as isolated and sexually deprived as black workers and there are thus significant similarities in their behaviour. At the Imani mine in 1901, W.H. Mitchell with the assistance of 3 Africans and another white miner raped a woman called Zandile see, D3/19/3, Case No. 23 of 1901. More frequently, however, white miners asked black workers to arrange for the services of the mahure see, S1175/7A, Compound Inspector's Report, Nov. 1928 and footnote 10 below. Since white miners could afford to pay more for their services, the mahure seem to have been less than reluctant to go to the European single quarters. At the Globe & Phoenix mine in 1920, for example, a white miner who was willing to pay 19/- had little difficulty in arranging meetings with 'Annie' and 'Mary' see, D3/32/16, Case No. 682 of 1920.
 10. S1542/kl, Statement by Maweni, enclosure, Commissioner of Police to British South African Police, 10 March 1934.
 11. A8/3/8 Compound Inspector's Reports, Gwelo, July 1919.
 12. D3/31/1 A.N.C. Wankie to Superintendent of Natives, Bulawayo, 14 Feb. 1914.
 13. For cases of assault revolving around the 'eternal triangle' see for example D3/37/2, Case No. 270 of 1917 or D3/32/2 Case No. 259 of 1909. For fatal assaults in such cases, See Rhodesia Herald, 5 May 1904 (Golden Valley mine compound), and Rhodesia Herald 30 Aug. 1912 (Eldorado mine compound). 'A match in the thatch' was a frequent sequel to a 'roll in the hay'. For an example of a case where marital difficulties culminated in arson see D3/37/3 Case No. 168 of 1918.
 14. S138/22, I. Manda to Chief Sec. Zomba, 7 Dec. 1925.
 15. S138/41, S. Banda to Nyasaland Administration, 24 Jan. 1925.
 16. 'Eating', 'refers to a custom, more or less common amongst many native tribes, of "bewitching" a woman so that she shall be a danger to any man who has congress with her except the man who performs the spell which consists in eating a piece of food after he has thrust it into and withdrawn it from the woman's private parts' S138/100 N.C. Wankie to the Superintendent of Natives, Bulawayo, 18 Dec. 1923.

17. Report by John Stuart, a journalist who visited many Rhodesian mine compounds during a tour in 1909, see Rhodesia Herald, 3 Dec. 1909.
18. In particular beer-selling in the compounds opened new possibilities for the independence of African women, see, NB6/1/19, Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds Div.5, for the year ended 31 March 1907. At least one tribal association raised this problem with the administration see N3/21/1, Loyal Mandabele Society to H.M. Jackson, Bulawayo, 4 March 1916. Running away to the mine compounds was still one avenue of 'womens' liberation' during the 1920s see, S138/22, A.N.C. Penhalonga to N.C. Umtali 17 June 1927.
19. See for example, the case reported in the South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-1905, vol. 4, p. 119.
20. On a small mine see, H.J. Lucas, 'Early Days on a Small Working', Rhodesiana, No. 20, July 1969, p. 17. In the compounds of larger mines, a woman would frequently live with one chamwario (lover-husband) but sell her services to other miners. See for example D3/32/21, Case No. 1609 of 1923.
21. D3/32/3, Preliminary Examination, Case No. 121 of 1913.
22. For the George Haridi case see, D3/32/22, Case No. 899 of 1924. The Chilopola case is perhaps untypical since there appears to have been an element of 'witchcraft' present in the 'recruitment' of women. This does not, however, detract from the facts about their loss of kin see, D3/32/23, Case No. 1991 of 1924.
23. A neat if somewhat anecdotal illustration of this is to be found in L. Vambe 'An Ill-fated People!' (London 1972), pp. 198-200. Vambe recounts the story of Misi the first prostitute in Mashonganyika.
24. N3/22/6, A.N.C. Shamva to N.C. Mazoe, 3 March 1921.
25. S1175/17, Inspector of Native Compounds to Medical Director, 16 Feb. 1931.
26. For 1905 prices see, D3/19/3, Case No. 58 of 1905. In the Wankie Colliery compound in 1920 Yao mahure from Kota Kota town charged 2/6 a time - Chirwa interview op cit. (It is significant that Chirwa stressed that these women came from Kota Kota in Nyasaland. This accords with the impression that is gained from the evidence of court cases - see for example, the case of Chilopola in footnote 22 above. Any detailed study of prostitution in central Africa in the future could do worse than start by examining religion, family life and the socio-economic structure of Kota Kota town in the early 1920s) On mines other than Wankie, where the competition amongst mahure was less keen, the average price of the 1920s appears to have been 5/- see, D3/32/20, Case No. 528 of 1923. For the role of credit tokens (valid at the mine store) in prostitution see, G.N. Burden, 'Nyasaland Native Labour in Southern Rhodesia' (mimeo. Salisbury 1938), appendix 'B'.

27. NB6/1/17, Report of the Acting Inspector of Native Compounds Division 1 for the year ended 31 March 1905.
28. See for example NB6/1/20, Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds Selukwe Division for year ended 31 Dec 1907.
29. Chirwa interview, op cit. Alec Chirwa felt that women and beer - in that order- were at the base of 'faction fights' at Gath's Asbestos mine compound in 1922, 1923, 1926 and 1934.
30. Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Prevalence and Prevention of Scurvy and Pneumonia amongst Native Mine Labourers, 1910, paragraph 63. See also A3/12/19/1, Acting Compound Inspector, Hartley, to Medical Director, 14 July 1915.
31. N3/22/6, A.N.C. Shamva to N.C. Mazoe, 3 March 1921. The mayor of Bulawayo was not anxious to eliminate prostitution in the Bulawayo location for the same reason. See his evidence to the Native Affairs Commission 1930, Chairman H.M. Jackson) in ZAN 1/1/1, pp. 47-48.
32. See for example NB 6/1/17, Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds, Sebakwe Div. 1 for the year ended 31 March 1905 or Southern Rhodesia, Debates in the Legislative Council, 4th Session of the 7th Council, 30 May 1923, col. 65, speech by the Medical Director,
33. N3/22/8, C.N.C. to Sec. Dept. of the Administrator, 1 Oct. 1918.
34. S 1175/17, Inspector of Native Compounds to Medical Director, 24 April 1931.
35. The police should 'deal with young girls and married women who run away to mines, and whose parents or husbands desire to get them back. I do not think it would be advisable to go beyond these classes of women on mines". S138/60, C.N.C. to Staff Officer, British South Africa Police, 30 Sept. 1931.
36. At Globe & Phoenix mine, workers in the compound hospital had to pay £2 for treatment in the 'red light ward' see, S1175/6, Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds Matabeleland, July 1927.
37. The Cam & Motor mine at the time employed about 1 800 workers. For evidence about venereal disease at the Cam & Motor compound see S1175/2, Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds Salisbury, Oct. 1925, and S1175/7A, Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds Dec. 1928. In 1927 it was estimated that 75% of all Black workers at another large gold mine - the Rezende in Mashonaland - had a history of venereal disease. See Southern Rhodesia, Conference of Superintendents of Natives and Native Commissioners of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia, held at Salisbury, 12 Dec. 1927 p50.
38. Estimates based on figures contained in S.R., Reports on the Public Health, covering the period 1906-1933.

39. N3/21/1 C.N.C. to Sec. Dept. of the Administrator, 20 Sept. 1916.
 40. Southern Rhodesia, Debates in the Legislative Council 4th Session of the 7th Council, 30 May 1923, cols. 54-65.
 41. See for example, Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into Native Education, 1925, p.91.
 42. The visits to the mine compounds were organised by Indian middle men who owned the means of transport in the location. See for example, S1175/7A, Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds Dec. 1928. See also, ZAN 1/1/1, Native Affairs Commission of 1930, oral evidence of Mshwelo (p.88), C.N.C. (p.15) and Sagonda (p. 58)
 43. The system was introduced at Wankie in late 1928 see, S1175/7A, Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds Matabeleland, Aug. 1928. By June 1931 it was also operating at the Lonely mine see, S1175/18, Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds for June 1931.
 44. Ibid. Also S1175/18, Report of the Inspector of Native Compounds for August 1931. Not all managers were equally willing to arrange for the system which the state desired. See for example the problems with the reluctant management of the Sherwood Starr mine in ibid.
 45. S138/22, N.C. The Range, Enkeldoorn, to C.N.C. 13 Feb. 1933.
-