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**QUENCHING THE THIRST OF AN AFRICAN CITY: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
HISTORY OF BEER IN COLONIAL SALISBURY, C. 1900-1979**

BY

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**BEING A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
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APPROVAL FORM
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The undersigned certify that they have read and supervised the student, **JEFFERSON NDIMANDE** dissertation entitled: **QUENCHING THE THIRST OF AN AFRICAN CITY: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BEER IN COLONIAL SALISBURY, C. 1900-1979**, the project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of a **MASTER OF ARTS IN AFRICAN HISTORY**.

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December 2018.

DECLARATION FORM

I declare that this dissertation is my own work. I am the only author. It has not been submitted to any other institution in order to obtain a qualification.

JEFFERSON NDIMANDE

Signature.....

Date.....

Dedication

To my morning star shining brightly.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation has benefited immensely from the tremendous help and support of friends, colleagues and mentors. I am indebted to my dissertation supervisor, Dr Terence Mashingaidze for his assistance, placidity, inspiration, erudition, guidance and steady hand as he helped shape this work from conception till it became a research idea and a dissertation. His colossal, immeasurable support and intellectual contribution to my development and this research cannot be enumerated. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the teaching faculty in the Department of History at Midlands State University who provided feedback and critiqued the research. The Department also provided a stimulating academic environment which was characterised by professionalism and intellectual rigour.

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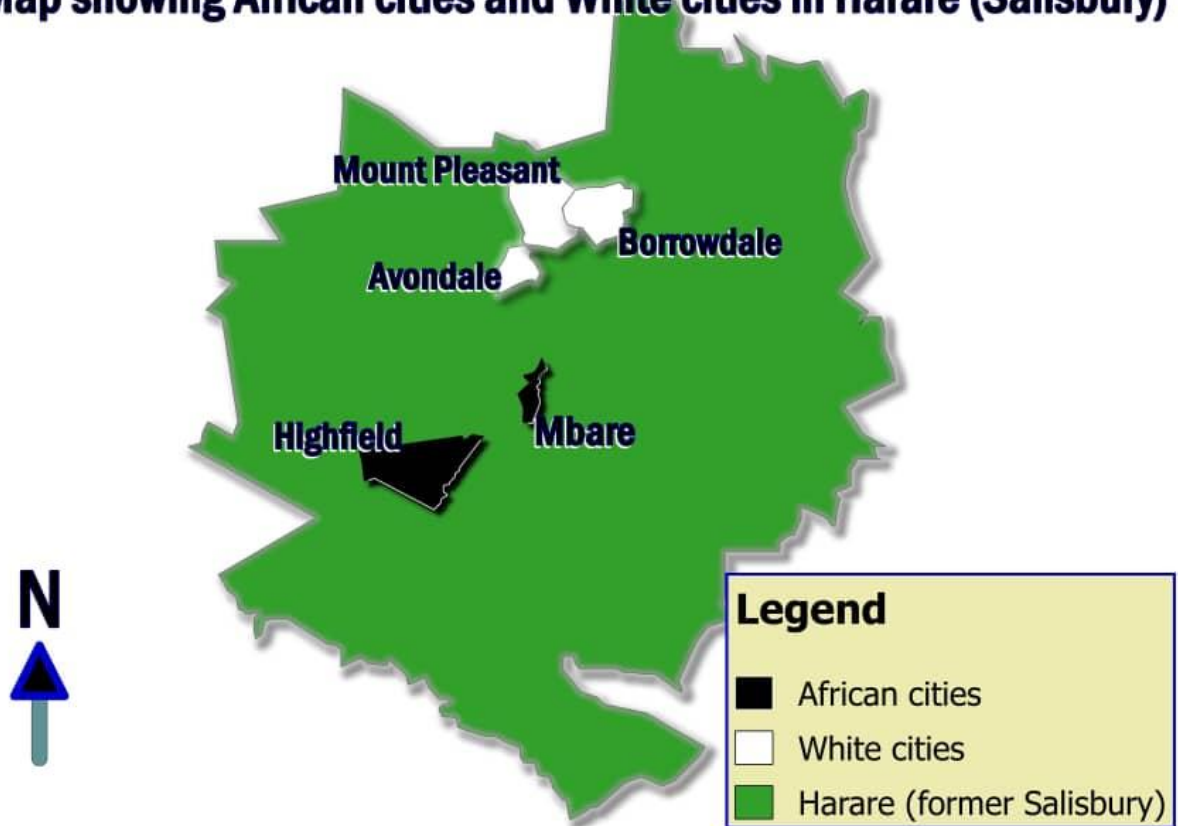
This work would not have been possible without the assistance of Loveness Nyakonda. She was an anchor and pillar of strength during the course of my studies, listened patiently to my ideas, critiqued them and offered support when the going was tough. She believed in this research from the very beginning. She was always willing to get me the various books which I needed, even at short notice. Words will never be enough to thank you.

ACRONYMS

BSAC	British South Africa Company
HCC	Harare City Council
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
RB	Rufaro Brewery
SCC	Salisbury City Council
TB	Tuberculosis
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
WHO	World Health Organization

MAP OF SALISBURY

Map showing African cities and White cities in Harare (Salisbury)



ABSTRACT

Using a social history approach informed by the subaltern, the study explores colonialism in colonial Harare and the African experience using the lens of beer. This is achieved through employing archival sources, oral interviews, oral histories approach as well as theoretical innovations of the citizen and subject, subaltern to capture the voices of Africans. It argues that the colonial state's attitude towards African beer wavered, vacillated and oscillated between confrontation and contempt and patronizing benevolence. Abhorrence for African beer was seen in laws and acts passed to outlaw beer, when this failed, the state moved towards accommodation and acceptance provided the terms were controlled by the state. This was achieved through adoption of the Durban System; a beer monopoly was created which criminalized African beer. The monopoly allowed the state to realise profits at the same time these sales helped build the city as social amenities such as clinics, hospitals, schools, as well as recreational facilities such as football stadium. This in turn gave birth to illegal brewing and beer becoming a site of contestation and struggle. Africans shaped beer as they brewed illicit brews such as skokiaan, made traditional brews out of sorghum and circumvented the authorities by drinking in shebeens. The history of beer is complex and goes beyond beer being consumed for social and recreational purposes, in fact as Charles Ambler and Jonathan Crush observe, 'drinking must be conceived not simply as a weapon of domination but also as a relatively autonomous form of cultural expression- and thus a potent form of resistance. Music, entertainment, brewing of illegal brews by Africans served as ways of expression which demonstrate how beer was part of a broad discourse of struggle (s0 between the citizen and subject.

INTRODUCTION

The study offers a socio-economic historical analysis of alcohol and the colonial African city of Harare in Southern Rhodesia. The occupation of the territory now known as Zimbabwe by the Pioneer Column brought colonial rule which intended to alter and shape the African city and its relationship with beer. Colonialism shaped and influenced patterns of interactions between Blacks and whites as clear beer and wines were the preserve of whites. The colonial state forbade African consumption of all European-type bottled beers and wines.¹ The history of alcohol in colonial Zimbabwe is entwined and meshed with histories and discourses of conflict and struggles of race, gender, class, and ethnicity. Alcohol was seen as a tool used by both colonizers and Africans in their attempts to seize power.² The history of beer is complex and goes beyond beer being consumed for social and recreational purposes. As Charles Ambler and Jonathan Crush observe, ‘drinking must be conceived not simply as a weapon of domination but also as a relatively autonomous form of cultural expression- and thus a potent form of resistance.’³ Studies in colonial beer policies enable one to construct and understand colonial social history as beer shaped the social relations. Colonialism helped shape alcohol consumption as it built beer houses, drinking houses which were the preserve of the European Whites. In contrast, local Africans’ illicit brews such as skokiaan were an endeavour to define their own social space by circumventing the authorities and drinking in shebeens. Alcohol shaped social order reinforcing the colonial and empire’s views that the two races, Blacks and Whites, had to be kept separate and be kept apart. Through beer, empire’s attitudes on race

¹ Charles Ambler, ‘Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia’, *Journal of African History*, 31 (1990), pp.295-313.

² Lynn Schler, ‘Looking through a Glass of Beer: Alcohol in the Cultural Spaces of Colonial Douala, 1910-1945’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 2/3 (2002), pp. 315-334

³ Charles Ambler and Jonathan Crush, "Alcohol in Southern African Labour History," in Ambler and Crush, eds., *Liquor and Labour*, 3-4.

and class relations were reinforced. European liquor or clear beer was the preserve of White Europeans. Blacks were forbidden to take wine, lagers or distilled spirits.⁴ Alcohol therefore reveals the histories of social control, social ordering, social order as well as histories of resistance towards colonialism and the social order imposed by the colonial state. Within the city, beer 'interacted' with gender, sexuality, religion, social control, race, and ethnicity, class thus revealing and unmasking the social and economic interaction with the city.

Within Shona society, beer was the preserve of men. It was drunk by men but brewed by women. The coming in of colonialism transformed and inverted the widely accepted social order as women began to drink. One notes how beer was genderised first by making it the preserve of men, then secondly how this state of affairs changed as women began to brew beer and also imbibe beer. Colonialism also witnessed women brewing and selling beer illegally thus offering a challenge to the dominance of the colonial municipal authority. The colonial encounter transformed beer and beer related culture. It was also used as a weapon to fight the colonial system as shebeens became hubs for nationalist sentiment, meeting places to express political dissent and subvert the colonial State additionally; beer also became a form of escapism and coping mechanism by the African against brutal colonial rule.

Before the advent of colonialism, beer had been an everyday part of African society. Beer was pervasive within Shona society as it was used in work parties to motivate and thank those who participated and helped the farmer. It was used also used in social gatherings such during weddings where it served to lift the spirits of guests.

Beer has always been at the epicentre of African society as it played an important role in the social, political, religious and economic life of society. It was important in the social fabric of

⁴ Michael O. West "Equal Rights for all Civilized Men": Elite Africans and the quest for "European" Liquor in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1924–1961, *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (1992), pp. 376-397.

African society. In the world of the metaphysical, it served to connect the living and the dead uniting them and serving as a bridge between the past and present. Beer was brewed, produced and drank thus serving as a conduit and medium of communication connecting the ancestors with the living. It therefore bound them in eternal unity emphasising the continuity of the relationship between the living and the dead.

Beer was also ritualistic, an important part of society as it brought society together through drinking, feasting and celebrating. It was not just a social lubricant but a tool for social cohesion and a pivotal part of society at large. It was important in cementing social relations, friendships, marriage ceremonies as well as when one hosted guests. Beer was used in religious ceremonies of worship, libations, thanks-giving, and appeasement of ancestors. Beer was also used in political ceremonies and occasions. Furthermore, beer was also used in celebrations such as birth, weddings and in solemn ceremonies such as funerals. A woman who brewed beer expertly was valued greatly and praised.

Colonialism transformed the cultural, economic and social meaning of beer. The dissertation is concerned with the issues of production, consumption and the relationship between the colonial state and its African subjects. It grapples with the question of Who drank what?, Why did they drink it?, understanding patterns of consumption. By casting an eye on African beer and imbibers, one analyses the types of beers that were available. This requires one to wrestle with questions and issues of production, distribution and consumption as well as the dynamics and the differences which existed.

The study further examines issues of gender, class and race. It addresses how and why male attitudes toward drinking women change, what was the impact of this change, how did drinking change and shape relations between and among the Africa imbibers in light of the realisation that beer drinking created a divide and class among African imbibers. Colonialism

integrated beer into the citizen and subject dichotomy as well as aids in exploring the system shaped and informed social and cultural processes as well as the relationship between beer, power, the African and the state.

Beer binds people together and serves to reinforce social hospitality and communality during ceremonial and everyday activities. It is a common cultural marker of wealth and status; it may represent a payment of tribute to chiefs, and it is essential in the redistribution of wealth. The processing and consumption of beer pervades many cultural acts, and because of its social, economic and political value it is of great significance, both as a dietary staple and as a luxury food. Beer has been a central part of urban and social history yet it is seldom studied. Beer is often viewed from a moral perspective whereby it is blamed for promoting social ills such as prostitution, crime, theft, stabbings, fights and a general social ruckus.

AIM AIND OBJECTIVES

The study intends to examine the socio-economic impact of African beer production and consumption in Salisbury. Thus, its objectives are:

- To describe the origins of beer brewing in Salisbury.
- To discuss the connection between African beer production, consumption and the rise of nationalism in Salisbury.
- To analyse the colonial State's responses to African beer production and consumption as well as its consequences.

ORIGINS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CITY OF SALISBURY (HARARE)

Salisbury was established following the invasion of Mashonaland by Europeans. It was established by Cecil John Rhodes and his British South Africa Company (BSAC). They made it their capital because of, among other things, weather conditions and its centrality with other

borders. Harare is no different from other cities in Africa and the region at large; it was a product of colonialism. It was shaped by the social, economic and political imperatives of the colonial project and enterprise. By the 1930s, Salisbury had firmly established itself as the capital and political hub of Southern Rhodesia. Ranger notes that Salisbury ‘...was the centre of Rhodesia’s economic and political system...’ The end of the Second World War in 1945 was a turning point in Salisbury’s urban history and subsequent development. There was an industrial boom which drew both European and African migrants into the city in search of job opportunities. Several industries specialising in different areas, among them railways, engineering, manufacturing and canning, emerged in the city. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953-1963 also facilitated the development of Salisbury as it became the Federal capital which enjoyed resources from the three federal territories; Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. More so, the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on 11 November 1965 and with it the liberation struggle, brought some changes and dynamics in the development of Salisbury as a colonial city.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The study contributes to the social and urban history of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in general and Salisbury (Harare) in particular. The study’s focus on beer offers new lenses and prism of exploring the social, urban, economic and political developments in colonial Harare. This is a departure from earlier literature which discusses the economic and political exclusion of African as spearheading nationalism. In this study beer brewing as a social phenomenon is treated as not only having played a central role but also had a tremendous effect on the economy and politics of Salisbury and subsequently, the whole country. Thus, it is important to examine how social activities could be used for the economic and political agitation of Africans. The study adds to the existing body of knowledge through examining

the relationship between beer and politics during the colonial period. Not only did shebeens become important social spaces and places in Salisbury but pivotal political tools where political gatherings and planning took place. As such, they had an effect on the economy which this dissertation seeks to understand and explain.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

The study employs a largely qualitative case-study approach in depicting the socio- economic impact of African beer brewing and drinking in Salisbury. The research utilises various sources obtained from archival repositories in Zimbabwe. These include the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), and the Harare Municipal Library, and the Harare City Council's own archives. These provide rich insights on both the research subject and time frame. This information is combined with newspaper articles from the Bantu Mirror, the Rhodesia Herald as well as the Chronicle in confirming and reinforcing the primary information from the archival material. Furthermore, photographs give a pictorial view of the scenes which generally characterised African beer sites. Such visual analysis is buttressed by views from the town clerk's department/ the city council's town planning department. The study employs archival material, augmented by oral interviews where possible. It uses the National Archives of Zimbabwe as the main source of archival material. The bulk of primary material utilised in this dissertation was obtained from the National Archives of Zimbabwe. This repository contains a swathe of material relating to the administration of beer, policy, committee papers, memoranda, and letters from the public, and records of interviews with interest groups, newspaper clippings and paper reports among others. From these sources, an archival document analysis is deployed in order to construct a deeper understanding of the dynamics which shaped colonial beer policies. This helps in understanding the origins of beer brewing in Salisbury, the colonial mechanism that were existent at the time and the political

environment triggering Africans to resort to beer brewing. The archival material is made of the following sources; correspondences, memoranda, by-laws and annual reports. Whereas correspondence and letters give agency to the official voice of the governing authorities, the annual reports reveal the progress and challenges faced in Salisbury due to beer regulations.

However, it is important to critique and challenge the nature and character of the colonial archive. The colonial archive is not neutral; it has its own bias and prejudice as it reflects the prism and view of the colonial administrators and officials. One therefore notes that Africans are often portrayed in the various official reports and correspondence as infantile, irrational, and incapable of thinking for themselves and in need of child-like guidance from the State and benevolent Whites.

To curb the weakness of the colonial archives, the research gave agency to African voices by engaging Africans through in-depth interviews. Interviews with Africans aged 55 years and above give agency to the African voice and this agency is, in most cases, suppressed in the colonial archival documents. As such, interviews enables the research to engage with all angles in order to give a nuanced approach to the colonial history. Whenever one is writing history of the common man, it is impossible to produce a fine product after consulting only elite institutions like the colonial archives. This is the reason why Allan Isaacman in his books *Cotton the mother of poverty* and *Dams, displacement and delusion of development, Cahora Bassa and its Legacies in Mozambique, 1965-2007* relied much on life histories in order to capture the views, emotions and perceptions of the Africans. This dissertation, therefore, made use of in-depth interviews in order to make the invisible visible. Although interviews run throughout the dissertation, they are used in the final chapter (chapter 4) more than other chapters. This is because the final chapter focuses on social significance of beer drinking and beerhall naming. It is nearly impossible to get the social significance of beer to Africans through reports by the white elites. The significance of interviews in this section,

therefore, is that they give agency to the subaltern voice. However, oral interviews and testimonies have their own limitations including the establishment of the respondents and memory lapse. It is in this regard that secondary sources are consulted not only in establishing the dates in which particular events occurred but in making sense of the debates and arguments used by earlier scholars on the same subject.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SUBALTERN THEORY AND HISTORY FROM BELOW

This study is informed by, but not limited to the history from below and subaltern. The history from below approach tells the story and experiences of the ordinary working people. In this case, it is a story of the colonised and marginalised African. Associated with E. P. Thompson, history from below is a lens of looking at the past as centrally constructed by the actions of ordinary working people as they responded to their times and circumstances.⁵ History from below is written from the perspective of marginalized, subordinated, and resistant groups of people, in opposition to the dominant forms of history of the day. In the study, the voices and experiences of the African, both male and female are captured, amplified thus ensuring that the subaltern does not just speak, but is heard and claims their space in the discourse. These concepts are useful in considering the experiences of the African in relation to beer production, consumption and how they challenged the system which regulated what beer they drank, where they drank it and at the same time appropriated African beer through the Durban system for the benefit of the state. By seeking to subjugate the African, a form of local resistance based upon the colonial state's government ability of space, drinking places as well as controlling who could brew 'kaffir' beer and where it could be sold, resistance to the colonial system can be gleaned. At the same time though the African imbibed in spaces controlled by the colonial system, forms of resistance, interaction,

⁵ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1964.

creativity emerged and can be seen through forms of entertainment, the (re)making and (re)negotiation of gender roles all challenged colonialism's notions of social order and control.

Furthermore, the social history analytical framework examines how ordinary people make creative choices to survive, sometimes contravening institutional dispensations (contexts/structures) in the process.⁶ The study therefore focusses on the African and their interaction with beer showing how they (re)negotiated and navigated relations with the colonial administration through everyday acts such as illegal brewing of beer, drinking in shebeens, the rise of shebeens, the rise of African music and forms of creative expression, brewing of skokiaan, seven days brew and chikashu brew. By so doing, the African reclaimed and owned 'their' beer. Social solidarity, overt and covert forms of nationalism could be expressed at the beerhall, shebeens and through illegal brews made by the Africans. These were ways and methods of circumventing the authority of the colonial state. These Africans, occupying a low position in the colonial city make up, constitute the subaltern, those whose voices the study attempts to give agency to. The study is cognisant of the fact that though the common people constitute the subaltern, their experiences are not heterogeneous or homogenous. Intersectionality based on gender, sex, social class, language, ethnic group exist thereby giving the subaltern multiple and complex identities. Ordinary activities such as beer drinking became communicative spaces which in the process enabled the subaltern to make sense of their lives, activities and to transform beer and the spaces into weapons of resistance.⁷ By so doing, an alternate history of beer is provided which does not privilege the state or colonial municipal administration but centres the imbibers and gives them a voice.

⁶ H. Kaelbe, 'Social history in Europe,' in *Journal of Social History*, Volume 37, Number 1, 2003, p.31.

⁷ P. Hannock and M. Tyler, *Beyond the confines: Management, Colonization and the Everyday*, *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 34(1), Sage Publication, 2008, pg.30.

Furthermore, the work of Antonio Gramsci has been crucial in helping historians analyse colonialism. Gramsci's concept of hegemony describes how the dominant classes gain and maintain power over the subordinated or subaltern classes through a combination of coercion and consent. With respect to beer, its production, consumption and where it was consumed buttressed the social order of created by colonialism. Gramsci, writing from a Marxist perspective, uses the term 'subaltern classes' to describe those groups 'subordinated by hegemony and excluded from any meaningful role in a regime of power' Gramsci writes: 'the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as "domination" and as "intellectual and moral leadership"'⁸ Coercive social control as well as domination of the subaltern was visible in how the colonial state sought to control through enacting laws, control of space and spatiality, controlling who drank what and where as well as which beer. This was done to enforce, project and create disciplinary forms of power and subdue the African as a subject.

Another useful theoretical intervention which helps scaffold the study is Mahmood Mamdani's citizen and subject.⁹ Colonialism was about differentiation and othering, this was equally true even in beer where social, economic and political order were maintained but at the same time this institutional segregation be it in beerhalls, beer consumption or in beer production led to resistance. In a nutshell, European beer regimes give an insight into how Europeans ruled Africa and how Africans responded to it.¹⁰

⁸ Q, Horare and C.N. Smith, *Selections from the Prison Notebook of Antonio Gramsci*, (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1971).

⁹ M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1996).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

LITERATURE REVIEW

The dissertation builds upon the strands of social history produced in Africa and anthropological studies of beer in Africa. It begins with histories of beer produced in Africa paying attention to political economy discourses, discourses of power and discourse analysis. This section makes a historiographical literature review of the social histories produced from the 1940s to the recent times. The study of beerhalls has been one of the popular strands in the studying of beer.

Literature produced in the 1970s focused on beer and labour particularly in the South African mines. These conceptualized beer-drinking as a response to the demands for European labour as well as a form of entertainment on the part of the African labourer to relieve the stress of work. Literature on African beer brewing and drinking has been vast that a scholar often engaged in debates as to how important beer was during the colonial period. There is a unanimous voice by scholars that beer played a pivotal role in the fight for freedom, equality and eventually nationalism. Ambler, making a reference to Northern Rhodesia, notes that beer and beer laws were at the centre of contestation and the reason why Blacks in present-day Zambia fought colonial rule.¹¹ Ambler gives political agency to African beer.¹² In the same vein Michael West argues that the banning of European liquor to Africans in Southern Rhodesia had political connotations.¹³ The struggle for European liquor resulted in the rise and creation of African elite. However, in as much as Ambler examines the acrimonious conflicts beer brought between Blacks and Whites, he did not look at the social fabric that beer had on Africans and European responses. This dissertation draws from Ambler's article

¹¹ C. Ambler., "Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia", *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (1990), pp. 295-313.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ M.O.West., "Equal Rights For All Civilized Men": Elite Africans And The Quest For "European" Liquor In Colonial Zimbabwe, 1924-1961", *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (1992), pp. 376-397.

the political importance of beer in colonial Africa. Nonetheless scholarship tended to miss the social economic history of beer and this dissertation seeks to unravel the intrinsic social and economic position of beer in the development of Harare.

Michael West links the creation of the African elite due to the quest for European beer to the aspect of sexuality as men refusing to drink with women. African society saw a link between libido and beer did not allow their women to drink.¹⁴ Therefore it discouraged and frowned upon men and women drinking together. However, this analysis of the gendered dimension of beer created a socio-economic shift to Africans. West lays an important background to how beer was to influence society. This helps analyse the social and economic history of beer in colonial Harare and how important beer drinking shaped the society and the economic standpoint of Africans in urban Harare. Works by West are important in the study of Africans and beer, however, there is a gap that West leaves in how not only European but African beer created an African society that was to change the course of colonial rule social and economic status of Africans in Harare.

In his study of South Africa, Mager examines the relationship between the colonial government and African beer brewing.¹⁵ Mager's argument is centred on how Europeans feared that beer would have an economic impact on production and political effect. Referring to Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa, Mager notes that beer was used to politically control chiefs and in turn control the masses. Thus, beer was used as a political tool.¹⁶ Mager's work is important as it reveals how beer could be used as a political, which means it had also an

¹⁴ M.O.West., *Liquor And Libido: "Joint Drinking" And The Politics Of Sexual Control In Colonial Zimbabwe, 1920s-1950s*, *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (APRIL 1994), pp. 108-111

¹⁵ A. Mager., "The First Decade Of 'European Beer' In Apartheid South Africa: The State, The Brewers and The Drinking Public, 1962-72",

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

economic value which affected the social standing of Africans. This dissertation concurs with Mager that beer had political importance and that it shaped the social and economic status of African.¹⁷ Mager did not link the politicisation of beer with the social value it had on the life of Africans. This helps understand the social and economic history of beer in Southern Rhodesia regarding Harare.

Dummet attempted a scientific analysis of the effects of beer on Africans using Ghana as an example.¹⁸ He uses the scientific lens to argue that this is why Europeans did not allow Africans to drink European liquor because it had health hazards. In as much as this is problematic in buttressing the argument of Europeans not allowing Africans to consume beer, there are other scholars who point to the racial aspect as being the pillar upon which such laws were enacted in various African countries. Nonetheless, Dummet comes up with an important analysis that Africans had behavioural issues when they took European liquor and that this again propelled an invention of African beer that would match the European standards.¹⁹ This dovetails well into the argument of this dissertation that beer had an important social and economic bearing on the lives of Africans. In Southern Rhodesia beer brewing and drinking in Harare had social and economic meaning far from what the Europeans perceived. Thus the dissertation seeks to assess the impact of beer on the socio-economic impacts of Africans.

Beer drinking and masculinity has had scholars debate on what shaped the gender dimension on beer drinking. Mager links the gender aspect with South African nationalism.²⁰ To Mager

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ R.Dummett., "The Social Impact of the European Liquor Trade on the Akan of Ghana (Gold Coast and Asante), 1875-1910", *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (1992), pp. 376-397.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ A.Mager., 'One Beer, One Goal, One Nation, One Soul': South African Breweries, Heritage, Masculinity And Nationalism 1960-1999, *Past & Present*, No. 188 (Aug., 2005), pp. 163-194.

beer drinking cannot be separated from the history of national struggle in South Africa. This is true in most African countries Chimhete argues that in Southern Rhodesia beer drinking was central to the movement of nationalist sentiments.²¹ Ambler made the same claim about Northern Rhodesia. This thinking has led to Africa beer scholars to research deeply into how beer was used to fight colonialism. However, Mager like other scholars before her tends to overlook the link between the social aspect of beer brewing and drinking with nationalism. This leaves a gap in which the social aspect of beer needs to be studied.²² One is left to wonder how beer in Southern Rhodesia just like in other African counties shaped the society, economy and culture. This dissertation therefore draws from the masculine argument and attempts to refine and define the social position of beer in colonial Harare.

One of the key and important works is by McAllister who attempts to position beer brewing and drinking within the Xhosa culture and analyses the socio-political and economic relation between the Xhosa and beer.²³ This article forms the background to understanding how beer can shape a society as it is intertwined with culture, but it is important to note that Xhosa culture is not a reflection of all African cultures. This dissertation attempts an examination of how the Shona in Harare relate to their beer, what position they allocated to beer. This will bring out the social and economic history of beer brewing and drinking In Harare. The relation of people and beer vary across culture. Thus, this dissertation attempts to close the gap between beer and its social status on one hand and its political use on the other.

²¹ N.Chimhete., 'African Nationalism, Municipal Beer Outlets and Shebeens in Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1960s – 1980', *Journal of Southern African Studies*

²² A.Mager., 'One Beer, One Goal, One Nation, One Soul': South African Breweries, Heritage, Masculinity And Nationalism 1960-1999, *Past & Present, No. 188* (Aug., 2005), pp. 163-194.

²³ P.McAllister., Culture, Practice, And The Semantics Of Xhosa Beer-Drinking, *Ethnology, Vol. 42*, No. 3 (Summer, 2003), pp. 187-207.

Rupali et al argue that in Malawi policymakers should consider giving women more economic opportunities to avoid informal beer brewing which has caused a lot of harm to society.²⁴ The increase in violence, drinking and sexual risk has been associated with easy access of the African informal beer. Just like other scholars Rupali et al focuses on the effects of beer and fails to trace the root cause of such effects.²⁵ This article is important as it highlights the economic aspect of women trying to carve a niche to survive an economy that side-lines women. MacPhee argues that it was the divisions within which the African society had that allowed the colonial policy in Mbare to divide and rule Africans. This is seen by the drinking spaces in which women were not allowed in council run beer halls. Thus the heterogeneity with which identity culture, beliefs and class within the African society allowed Europeans to suppress Africans. However, MacPhee was able to pinpoint that this resulted in the sprouting of shebeens.²⁶ This helps understand the survival strategies adopted by the marginalised. This dissertation can benefit from such analysis by arguing that even in Harare most shebeens were operated by women who were not allowed in council beerhalls and who were not allowed to drink side by side with men. This brings out the social construct of the African society and helps examine the social and economic history of beer in Harare.

Beer has been blamed in North America for causing cultural degradation in indigenous communities. Derksen argues that beer has been responsible for destitution and erosion of culture and this gave the British and the French power to take over societies.²⁷ However, in

²⁴ J. Rupali et al., Informal alcohol in Malawi: Stakeholder perceptions and policy recommendations, *Journal of Public Health Policy*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (February 2014), pp. 119-13.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ B.MacPhee., "Some of us had Troubles and Some of us Were Free:" Illicit Brewing and African Community Formation under Settler Colonialism in Zimbabwe, 1890-1950, Master's Thesis, Dalhousie University Halifax, Nova Scotia April 2017,p2.

²⁷ S. Derksen., Colonialism, Consumption, and Control: The Illinois Country Liquor Trade, 1750-1803, PhD Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon 2017, p1.

Africa beer was used as a tool to fight colonialism. In North America it was the opposite as the loss of culture gave the colonisers power to introduce theirs. This analysis is important as it draws comparisons across cultures and the history of colonisation. Derkens provides an assessment that if culture is not upheld within the beer brewing and drinking aspect it can have negative consequences on the freedom of a people.²⁸ Nonetheless this dissertation seeks to understand how beer shaped the society and economy in Colonial Harare.

CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

The dissertation is divided into four chapters which investigate the social and economic history of beer in colonial Harare. The first chapter encompasses the background and traces the origins of beer brewing in colonial Zimbabwe. Critical to this chapter is the attempt to examine the social, economic and at times, religious motivations behind the emergence of African beer brewing in Salisbury. To this end, Chapter one reveals the economic and political relationship between blacks and whites. Chapter two analyses the relationship between beer brewing and nationalism. African beer came because of the various acts imposed by the colonial government which failed to bode well with Africans who generally felt suppressed and oppressed. Thus, this chapter analyses how beer became a tool in which nationalist could gather in the fight for economic and political freedom. This will enhance the understanding of beer as having an economic and political power. Chapter three examines the consequence of African beer one of which was the rise of shebeens. This involves the political alertness of Africans and the response of the state in curbing such an effect on their political dominance. Africans became politically involved and the state increased its control by unleashing police in various cities in Salisbury. This chapter assesses the state's attempts to control African beer brewing and its impact as well on African nationalism. Chapter four

²⁸ Ibid

advances the history from below approach. It mainly uses interviews to tap on the experiences of ordinary men and women. This is done in order to give a nuanced discussion on the social significance of beer. All chapters facilitate an in-depth socio-economic historical analysis of alcohol and the colonial African city, Salisbury.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS OF BEER BREWING IN HARARE

For nearly a century it has been one of the fundamentals of White policy of differentiation between natives and whites regarding intoxicants and kaffir with the participants now well known to sophisticated natives in industrialised areas must be placed in that category. The differentiation is amply justified by social psychologist who can scientifically state cause and effects.²⁹

The history of colonialism in Southern Rhodesia just like anywhere else in Africa has been that of exploitation, racial segregation, and maltreatment. This has been informed by the colonial ideology especially in Southern Rhodesia that the two races Black and White should live separately. The colonised African was the subject whereas the European was the citizen. This was made clearer by the 1930 Land Apportionment Act which divided the whole country on racial basis to come up with two distinct types of settlement, one for Africans or Blacks and another for Europeans. This also resulted in the establishment of locations, schools, hospital, beer drinking and liquor related amenities. This chapter argues that beer brewing by the local government in Salisbury was a way of forestalling traditional African beer brewing and selling so as to deprive Africans of their sources of income. This was done in order to ensure that Africans were deprived of alternative sources of income and would largely survive on providing labour for the settlers. Beer brewing and selling by the municipality would not only ensure the availability of African labour but was also a strategy to tap revenue from the Africans. The beer Act of 1936 had many negative effects which resulted in African abandoning municipal beer for home brewed. Europeans limited the amount of alcohol an African could buy and consume, limited the days and time. Africans were not allowed to drink European liquor or buy African beer and take it home, Europeans

²⁹ NAZ, S560/139 S482/560/39, Kaffir Beer Act 1936, Report on Committee of Inquiry of Kaffir Beer Act of 1936.

associated beer drinking with moral decay such as the spread of prostitution and extravagant spending of money. The British government in Southern Rhodesia wanted to ban African access to any kind of beer arguing it was having a negative effect on industrial progress. Thus the chapter argues that the origins of home-made beer, and shebeens in Salisbury was caused by the colonial ideology that portrayed an African as an “irresponsible being who only thinks of beer and women”³⁰

THE HISTORY OF BREWING

The brewing and sale of ‘Kaffir’ or African Beer can be traced as far back as 1908. It started in Harari Township present day Mbare, which those days was a small location with barely 2 000 inhabitants.³¹ The Township of Harari was an African dormitory town created by the colonial government to accommodate African labour. The development of the capitalist economy required labour close to the factories and because Europeans did not allow African access to European liquor Africans started brewing African Beer to satisfy their alcohol desires. Africans have always been known to brew and drink beer even before colonisation thus the move from rural areas to township did not stop the culture despite heavy contestation by the government to ban or regulate beer drinking. Traditional sorghum beer brewing and selling provided Africans with Money to Pay taxes and access other commodities. The government tried to curb this by enacting the 1895 regulations which restricted Africans from brewing and selling beer.³² The regulations were aimed at those Africans residing in the Salisbury location that inhibited labour supply by following an

³⁰ NAZ, S560/139 S482/560/39, Kaffir Beer Act 1936.

³¹ The Bantu Mirror, 18 April 1936.

³² NAZ, S560/139 S482/560/39, Kaffir Beer Act 1936, Report on Committee of Inquiry of Kaffir Beer Act of 1936

alternative economic route and simultaneously provided a recreational enclave that encouraged absenteeism and insubordinate behavior.³³

Brewing techniques were then extremely primitive, and in accordance with the African custom, females were regarded as the best brewers. The beer of that time was a seven day brew and it frequently happened that a complete batch of beer would turn sour and had to be destroyed or “doctored.”³⁴ In 1911 the government drew an Act to regulate the brewing and selling of beer by Africans.³⁵ By 1921, the population of Harari had grown to such an extent that a proper brewing plant was warranted.³⁶ In 1922, a building was constructed, incorporating a malting yard, steeping bins, souring room, boiler house, cooking house and a beer hall. The colonial government had to tap into the African drinking culture by modernizing the brewing and selling of beer. This was done to limit people from brewing beer illegally. This resulted into the permit system and introduction of Municipal beer halls in which women were not allowed to enter, buy or drink beer. This was in contrary to the Shona culture of women being at the centre of beer brewing and drinking.

Up to 1945, however, no qualified brewers were employed, and the brewing was left to Africans under limited supervision. The quality of the beer was erratic, and production did not exceed 90 000 gallons in any one year.³⁷ This was because Europeans employed men who were not able to brew the quality required by the African population. The result was the spread of illegal shebeens across Harari and Salisbury. It then became obvious that a proper brewery would have to be built, and that more modern methods

³³. NAZ/LG47/3, Town Clerk to Chief Inspector, Municipal Police 30 July 1897.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ NAZ GEN-P/SAL - Rufaro: The Story of African Beer in Salisbury, 1969.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

of brewing would have to be used. In 1947, the Council employed the first qualified brewer, and as a result, production increased by 100%.³⁸ These brewers included women for the first time since the first beer act of 1911. This was to change the social and economic history of Africans in dramatic fashion. Beer became associated with politics and status.

In May 1954, the original Southerton Brewery was commissioned at a cost of \$186 000 (£93 000) and production rose to 1 773 000 gallons the following year.³⁹ But by 1962, this brewery had become outmoded and on the advice of the Director of African Administration, Mr. R. C. Briggs, the Council decided to build a very much larger one. The new Brewery, which cost \$£620 000 was named the Rufaro Brewery and was officially commissioned on the 15th December 1964.⁴⁰ This resulted in the city of Salisbury to pride itself of having one of the largest and most modern African Beer Breweries on the continent. This came with effects on Africans and Europeans as the course of African life was changed by such developments. To cope with demand, extensions were commissioned subsequently which increased the total cost of the Brewery to \$1 087 084 as of 30m June 1969.

THE BEER BREWING PROCESS

African beer is quite different in taste and appearance from conventional Euro-type beer. No hops were used in the brewing of African beer, and the taste was slightly sour, rather than bitter, due to the lactic acid used in the brewing process. The whole brewing process took about 60 hours, as against eight to ten weeks for a lager beer.⁴¹

³⁸ The Bantu Mirror, beer halls by the Chief Native Commissioner- Salisbury. 29 August 1936.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ The Bantu Mirror, Enemies of African Progress. Too Much Sport and Kaffir Beer, 31 August 1940.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Fermentation of African beer continues right up to the time of consumption, and the final product contains 6% of solids in the form of suspended cereals.⁴² This is how the customers traditionally want their beer, and it is mainly to those solids and high protein content that African beer owes its great nutritional value. One gallon of good African Beer contains approximately 2 800 calories and about 26.6 grammes of proteins, as well as having a high vitamin content.⁴³

To a greater extent the basic principles of brewing African beer are parallel to those of the conventional brewing industry. This involves mashing, conversion; cooking, fermentation and filtration are vital process common to both. There are, however, substantial differences and, generally speaking, the brewing of African Beer is very much simpler, and the period of time involved is much shorter. In the conventional brewing industry, refrigerated fermentation and storage cellars with temperatures of as low as 31 degrees F to 29 degrees F are vital, and the need for such refrigeration and auxiliary insulation adds considerably to the capital costs of the plant and brewery buildings. African Beer is not stored at all prior to consumption, and the need for expensive storage cellars is accordingly obviated. The Rufaro Brewery prides itself on being second to none as far as modern plant and brewing methods were concerned.

The four types of African Beer produced by the Rufaro Brewery were;

- i. Rufaro Beer – which was marketed on draught only, retails at 5c (6d) per litre. It had an alcoholic strength of approximately 2.5%.
- ii. Rufaro Ngoto.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

- iii. Rufaro Mhamba - retailed on draught at 7.5 c (9d) per litre and in packaged form at 10c (1s) per quart carton. Its alcoholic strength was approximately 4%.
- iv. Rufaro Sportsman – retailed in packaged form only at 10c per quart carton and also had an alcoholic strength of approximately 4%.⁴⁴

AFRICANS AND ILLEGAL BEER BREWING

The policy of separation did not go well with Africans and forced them to form their own beer drinking spots. Since the establishment of the colonial rule first by the Company Government and the Responsible Government in 1923 the colonial state always emphasised separation regarding beer and liquor. Africans were not allowed to drink European liquor. This led the government to have African beer administered by the government. This meant Africans could not drink side by side with Europeans. This was not an issue but the Beer Act did not allow Africans to take beer home and did not allow them to easily access the permits to brew. Thus the Government emphasised that Africans be banned from drinking in European areas and not have access to the same bar services as Whites. This did not go well with Africa who since the precolonial period had a social history of drinking unlimited amounts of beer and who were not used to the system of separation and this allowed men in Salisbury to start brewing beer illegally without permits and furthermore to supplement their incomes.

The Beer Act of 1936 did not allow Africans to drink outside the beer halls. According to Mager, Africans being social beings did not agree to the aspect of drinking beer within the

⁴⁴ NAZ GEN-P/SAL - Rufaro: The Story of African Beer in Salisbury, 1969.

secluded places under the supervision of the Europeans.⁴⁵ This can be highlighted by the letter to the Auditor General by the Native Commissioner that;

Whether all kaffir beer supplied at beer halls should be consumed on the premises or within a defined enclosure adjacent thereto and whether provision might not also be made at certain beer halls for customers to be permitted to purchase and take away with them limited quantities of beer for home consumption.⁴⁶

Thus, there were divisions as shown by the above quote on how the issue of access to beer and taking beer out of the municipal beer halls was concerned. Africans wanted to drink beer within the comfort of family and friends outside the supervision of the boss boys and European supervisors. This resulted in Africans residing in Borrowdale farms to start brewing beer at their homes despite heavy police presence.⁴⁷ The success of illicit beer brewing was attributed to the “The racket system” police involved in illicit beer brewing and selling.⁴⁸ The control of Africans on beer was not just a sign of control but to Africans it carried social and economic disruptions of the way of life hence the need to fight the system and uphold African culture of beer brewing and drinking.⁴⁹ Profits from African beer were not allowed to be for medical, education and drugs to help the welfare of the Africans.⁵⁰ This worsened the need to brew home-made beer and opened up shebeens in which profits made were not controlled by the government.

Furthermore, in 1942 a ministerial authority was obtained to allow the Salisbury municipality to appropriate from African beer halls profits an amount equal to the losses incurred on rents

⁴⁵ A.Mager., “One Beer, One Goal, One Nation, One Soul’: South African Breweries, Heritage, Masculinity and Nationalism 1960-1999”, *Oxford University Press on behalf of The Past and Present Society*, No. 188 (Aug., 2005), pp. 163-194.

⁴⁶ NAZ S1539/13188, Native Beer halls, Letter by Native Commissioner to the Auditor General Salisbury, 6 August 1937.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ NAZ S/14/2, Native Act, Kaffir beer brewing license, 1937.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ NAZ, D1311/2079/5/5, Kaffir beer account of Salisbury 1937.

in the location.⁵¹ This meant economically Africans drinking in the municipal beer halls were contributing towards enriching Europeans. Thus Africans advocated for the money from municipal beer to be used in the African Affairs Fund and clinic and hospital expenses to be covered from beer profits so that they could benefit directly from their money. This led women who were not employed to start opening up shebeens and sell beer so as to tap into beer profits. Europeans did not want profits from municipal beer halls to be used on African affairs as it would raise their standard of living. The Salisbury Auditor General complained that;

Most of the work done in the location appears to be for the benefit of the natives' resident in it and can therefore reasonably be regarded to some extent as constituting a matter of native affairs. The rent charged is very low.⁵²

This created the need to control the profits from African beer and the result was sprouting shebeens in Salisbury. This was a colonial ideology of suppression of Africans economically and socially so that Europeans would dominate and control Africans in all aspects of life. However, Africans were not docile but very alert of such colonial mechanisms of control.

The state failed to enforce the prohibition of African beer. The white employers lacked consistency in enforcing the Beer Act and this allowed Africans to manipulate the loopholes by brewing beer and the culture continued until the state realised it was uncontrollable and required a more effective system. The result was the state giving in to Africans brewing beer for sale and without permits. The State blamed employers and the police for lacking the will to enforce the 1936 Beer Act as stated by the Secretary to the Prime Minister that, "the prohibition of the sale of 'kaffir' beer except by authority in terms of the section 6 of the Act

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

(it is not being enforced effectively in industrial areas)”⁵³ The police became involved in the racket system and Africans found it possible to continue brewing African beer illegally. The failure of the police to deal with the issue was commented by the Auditor General in 1938 that, “the police tried to stop illegal beer brewing since 1911 but the action of the police had very little effect”⁵⁴ Thus the failure of the Government to legally control beer brewing gave African an opportunity to operate individual shebeens.

The Act of 1936 put an end to the permits system. The system known as the permits system whereby employers of labour kept a record of Africans who wished to brew beer.⁵⁵ The permits allowed Africans to brew beer under government supervision on the amount they brew, the price which it was sold and even how profits were used. This tight control did not go well with Africans who felt politically controlled on a social drink. Thus the government wanted to be ahead of Africans and put an end to the permit system. Thus people revoked the permits and brewed illegally without European supervision. The Auditor General noted that, “For every ten permits issued there were other ten people illicitly brewing beer and the police boys were in the racket as well thus my proposals is we close shebeens on mines farms and locations operating illegally as a warning”⁵⁶ Those who remained on the permit system were given conditions to operate or it would be revoked or the brewer punished. This caused division with the government as Cox Bullock Secretary for Native Affairs stated that “for Africans with permit any abuse of his permit by the native brewer such as permitting drunkenness or brewing beyond or being in possession of more than the amount allowed by his permit should be made an offense.”⁵⁷ While the Native Commissioner of Salisbury said

⁵³ NAZ S235/476 Southern Rhodesia Report of Committee to enquire into the working of the Kaffir Beer Act 1936, Salisbury, August 1937.

⁵⁴ NAZ S567/132 Police and the boss boys control over Kaffir Beer in Salisbury, 13 June 1938.

⁵⁵ NAZ S 237/36, Kaffir beer regulations.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

that “There will be no need however, to permit restrict natives to brew beer that is controlled by the government”⁵⁸ Drinking is not a native custom but results in the worst features of our industrialised native lives leading to squalor and disease. In our urban areas it is therefore considered wise to grant a monopoly of supply to the municipal authorities in well controlled beer halls” Africans were able to take advantage of such disagreements and continued to access beer in homes shebeens and by 1938 there were reported to be more than 34 shebeens in operation in Salisbury.⁵⁹

The municipality in Salisbury believed Africans were being wasteful of their wages. Such far moved opinions affected how capital treated labour not only in Salisbury but the whole of Southern Rhodesia. This resulted in Africans paid low wages with capital arguing that African needed no money. This was contrary to the same system they were introducing to the Africans of capitalism and the use of money. This was reported by the commission of inquiry as the committee also understood that it had been suggested that African employees in the industrial areas were being impoverished by extravagant spending on beer and the consequent association with loose women as a result of their illicit beer trade.⁶⁰ This prompted the need to cut wages and ban beer brewing. The result was disaster as Africans brew more in shebeens and others disserted work. This also had effects on the national level as labour migrated to the Union of South Africa in search of better wages. Commenting on the extravagance one African said “that spending on beer was not excessive that the position was inclined to be exaggerated and that beer drinking was not necessarily associated with loose women.”⁶¹ The colonial government wanted to justify banning beer brewing and there was a

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ NAZ S235/476 Southern Rhodesia Report of Committee to enquire into the working of the Kaffir Beer Act 1936, Salisbury, August 1937.

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ NAZ S89/123, African Responses on the Kaffir Beer Act, 1938.

shift in the general opinion that gambling was a greater cause of thriftiness than buying beer. The views with regard to the amount of money being spent on beer, women and gambling were conflicting giving Africans more justification to continue with the culture of drinking and opening up more illegal shebeens.

Africans did not comply with beer being part of their rations. In Salisbury the rationing of beer is was generally objected to on the grounds that the African employees were not satisfied with it and would go elsewhere to buy beer where they can drink with their friends in a more social atmosphere which was not possible in all cases to arrange the European supervision demanded by the regulations. For Africans beer rationing meant control on the amount of beer one would consume and that in the case of the small worker the amount was even minimal to quench alcohol thirst. For unemployed Africans this meant no access to beer at all and the only way to access it was to brew it illegally and make profit from it. Africans did not like rationing but opted to go and drink with friends. One employer in Main Way Meadows said his Africans appreciated beer being given to them but they preferred being able to buy beer and drink it with their friends.⁶² Other objections to rationing would appear to be that the Africans were not satisfied with it as it does not provide for their social desires and they went elsewhere to obtain beer where they can enjoy from the communal cup. This resulted in the Auditor general to state that “the possession of Kaffir beer be prohibited except by authority to ration or sell in the case of natives in employment except by the written permission of the native commissioner to possess sufficient for their reasonable consumption”⁶³

⁶² NAZ S1542/3, Power alcohol 1932-1939.

⁶³ NAZ S235/476 Southern Rhodesia Report of Committee to enquire into the working of the Kaffir Beer Act 1936, Salisbury, August 1937.

In order to discourage money use a Native Remittance Agency under the control of the Native Department was instated in 1939. This agency had to hidden motives; one to control African money and reinvest it before remitted and discouraged Africans to have money to spend on beer and subsequently give up drinking. This was more for Africans from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland who resided in Highfield. The idea was good for Europeans to discourage Africans from drinking but it only worsened the situation by allowing Africans to have more reasons to brew beer illegally and further dessert work. The Native Commissioner defended Africans and said that, “As it was stated by several witnesses that many of the alien native labourer continue to send their money home some through their employers, some through their friends some through the post office.”⁶⁴ The commissioner had to make such a statement in defence of labour migration, a move that would benefit capital despite the Tripartite labour Agreement.⁶⁵ Labour from the northern territories was difficult to manage thus the need to allow a system of willing remittance not that one based on the control of the government.

In addition the government strongly wanted to control money expenditure of the Africans because having access to money made African rowdy with money. Despite again differences in opinion between officials on how the government should control. The Native commissioner refused that Africans were irresponsibly spending their money as he started that,

“There are other ways open to the native of spending his money, He is in many cases addicted to gambling, his standards of living has improved, he is developing more expensive tastes in food he eats, the clothes he wears, so that if it can be truly said of the Northern natives

⁶⁴ NAZ 178/9/1/2, Native Commissioner Salisbury 12, 78, 1939.

⁶⁵ P Uledi and J Mtisi, “Negotiations skewed in favour of one territory at the expense of the other”: Central African Labour History from 1946 to 1948 in relation to Southern Rhodesia labour needs, *Unpublished*, 2018, p.12.

that he is not remitting money to his home his thriftiness cannot altogether be attributed to extravagant spending on beer and women. Almost without exception it was considered by employers that if too many restrictions are placed on the supply of the beer to native labourers it will result in their going elsewhere. Although stricter discipline can be more easily enforced, high wages can be paid and the attraction of the high wages will offset the restrictions of freedom.”⁶⁶

This gives a new lens on how Africans were spending their monies and this changed to some extent the government need to control how Africans spend their money. One employer in defence of his employees said that, “a large number of natives are not drinking at all now, that there is a steady tendency for the use of the non-toxicants that are tea and cocoa as beverages are increasing in demand amongst them and the provision should be made in the locations to meet this want. The natives are beginning to see the evil of drink and the growing native public opinion will be the best solution”⁶⁷ Beer was part of Africans before colonisation and it was difficult for the Responsible government to do it in forty years but rather enforce a system in which Africans continued with the beer culture.

Complaints were made of the illicit brewing and selling of beer by African squatters in private area close to Salisbury. Illicit beer brewing continued to affect the supply of labour as Africans moved away from places of employment and this affected production. On the promulgation of the 1936 Act Africans resented the provisions and this resulted in a lot of shebeens and Africans would go in search of it resulting in labour shortages. One employer informed the committee of inquiry that the promulgation of the new Act be stopped because

⁶⁶ NAZ D1311/2079/5/5, Kaffir Beer Accounts Salisbury 1942.

⁶⁷ NAZ S1539/13188, Native Beer halls, Salisbury District, 1937.

and beer on his compound be allowed as Africans were going elsewhere for drinks.⁶⁸ It became employer's outcry that Africans be allowed to brew beer under the permit system. Thus for capital to continue having access to labour and maximise on it they were forced to put pressure on the government to allow Africans to brew beer be it for consumption or for sell as long as they had beer within their reach. This would allow them to be more productive on work. Thus the commission discovered it made economic sense to allow Africans to brew beer despite conflicting views regarding Africans productivity when allowed access to beer.

Africans forced the government to brew beer for sale. Africans in Salisbury and around Southern Rhodesia did not only want to brew beer but wanted to brew it for profit. This meant the amount brewed was against stipulated by the government to those allowed to brew it. This meant an upset to capital as they complained it was causing among other things drunkenness and that this would have a negative effect on production. Where beer was not allowed Africans proved absent from work on a number of days.⁶⁹ One farmer in Salisbury said that, "natives find to object in brewing beer if they are not allowed to sell it."⁷⁰ The farmer was supporting Africans to brew beer citing it was what made them work. One witness considered that "sale of beer by natives should be allowed, and to brew reasonable quantities and to sell it at a controllable price allowing a reasonable profit"⁷¹ Thus by 1939 both capital and government officials were changing their views on how Africans should be treated in respect of beer. Africans were not as passive as the colonial officials had regarded them to be as shown by their resistance to not brew beer.

⁶⁸ NAZ S235/476 Southern Rhodesia Report of Committee to enquire into the working of the Kaffir Beer Act 1936, Salisbury, August 1937.

⁶⁹ NAZ D13311/2079/5/7, Proposed amendment of the Kaffir Beer Act 9 August 1945.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

The failure of the government system to allow Africans access to beer on Sunday is to blame for the spread of shebeens in Salisbury. On Sundays in Salisbury Municipal beer halls were not being opened and this would offset Africans who were home and not working. This resulted in women brewing beer for them to access. One government official argued that it “did not make sense to open the municipal beer halls on weekdays when Africans were at work and close it on weekends when they were home, it did not make economic sense”⁷² Arguments made by the Secretary of Native Affairs was that on Sundays beer halls were closed because “only one European was available for supervision”⁷³ This resulted in illegal beer brewers taking advantage of the system and brew beer. One African said that, “the price of beer charged by illicit brewers was high on Sundays because they knew selling was illegal and they were taking a risk”⁷⁴

Furthermore, illegal beer brewing became a profitable business for those involved. Shebeens attracted elite Africans, and industrial workers. Thus this resulted in profits made and these were re- invested into the business. This was said by one police that, “there is evidence, however that the illicit beer trade is a very lucrative business”⁷⁵ One official said Africans should be allowed to brew beer amongst themselves but not sell it.⁷⁶ However, this proved ineffective proven by various actions taken by employers and the government itself. This method of obtaining beer had thus become a custom in the life of the Africans labourer who regarded it as an essential part of his social life in the course of his employment and many were attracted by the profit to be made. The government could not admit that controlling commercial beer brewing was possible and argued that, “If Africans are allowed to brew and

⁷² NAZ S3455/6/2, Kaffir Beer Act Correspondences 1942-1950.

⁷³ NAZ S235/393, Preparatory papers 1935-1936.

⁷⁴ NAZ D1311/2079/5/5, Kaffir Beer Accounts Salisbury 1942.

⁷⁵ NAZ S345/12/8, Police commissioner in Salisbury 12/9/39.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

sell beer the selling price of beer should be fixed with a view to limit profits”⁷⁷ One employer of a mine said that by not allowing beer on his compound the result was illicit brewing in the compound and vicinity. His labourers absented themselves and drunkenness increased showing that beer business was making profit. It was this profit that allowed African to continue to brew against government orders.

Employers engaged in deals with labourers to brew beer without the knowledge of the government. Capital became aware that they could not challenge Africans drinking and partnered with them by even providing capital to satisfy the social needs of their workers. This gave African beer brewers the power to continue to brew unlimited amounts of beer for sell. Employers argued this stabilised labour movements and worker productivity. The Committee of Inquiry reported Africans on Acturus mines “brewed their own beer the money to buy ingredients being advanced by the employer and deducted from their pay”⁷⁸ The employer stated they did not sell and if there was any drunkenness he fined the African brewer. However, the lack of consistency in policy by government and capital allowed Africans to get into the beer business. Nonetheless allowing individual to brew sufficient for their own requirement led to indiscriminate brewing in compounds, and African locations destroyed the possibility of effective control of the quantity brewed. Captain of the committee Harding stated that, “experience has shown that where natives are thus allowed to possess beer they brew more than is required and hide the surplus beer and sale inevitably takes

⁷⁷ NAZ D1311/2079/5/5, Kaffir Beer Accounts Salisbury 1942.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

place”⁷⁹ However, it is clear that there were different views by different stakeholders which allowed Africans to make huge profits.

WOMEN AND SHEBEENS: THE INCREASED SCALE OF ILLICIT BEER BREWING

Shebeens challenged not just the colonial state’s exclusion of women from beer but patriarchal dominance by both the state and traditional African cultural mores and beliefs. Colonialism had further reinforced the domesticity of women. Women were expected to occupy certain spaces and places; women were to exude some form of respectability. Domesticity helped achieve this. Beerhalls, shebeens and beer were therefore not expected to be spaces and domains for women. Beer included and excluded, in this case it excluded women as imbibers, producers and actors. Due to the patriarchal nature of traditional African society, women were the invisible ‘other’ especially in beer consumption. The colonial state further solidified this invisibility and exclusion of women rendering them third class subjects. Patriarchal ideology as well as the Durban System together with racism was responsible for the rise of shebeens. This became alternative spaces and places for women to express themselves as entrepreneurs as well as a meeting place for Africans. Shebeens as institutions challenged the state’s ideas of social control, order and space.

The prohibition of women to drink beer together with municipal beer outlets boycotts of early 1970s led women to set-up shebeens. Europeans denied African women the right to drink beer due to patriarchy ideologies. In African culture, there were occasions when women

⁷⁹ NAZ S235/476 Southern Rhodesia Report of Committee to enquire into the working of the Kaffir Beer Act 1936, Salisbury, August 1937.

would drink beer, usually at occasions and such women had positions in the patriarchal system. Women were expected to drink beer which was different from that of men and not get drunk. Outside that, African men did not feel comfortable drinking in the presence of women. Resultantly early shebeens were owned by women who wanted to have access to beer. For the government it was thought that women drinking would lead to prostitution as noted by Colonel Morris that, “Native women of the prostitute class are naturally attracted to places where this uncontrolled beer drinking takes place and it can be assumed that to a certain extent immorality goes hand in hand with illicit beer selling but it does not follow that one evil is necessarily a concomitant of the other. Women should not be allowed into the beer halls until 6pm in the evening and should leave at a given time”⁸⁰ The Secretary of the Prime Minister stated that,

Women beer sellers are also often purveyors of vice and disease and that young boys are now in a habit to experiment with prostitutes. The prostitutes know they have a chance of selling their damaged goods when alcohol has lessened their control of the conscious mind. The new practise introduced by industrialised natives has gone hand in hand with demoralisation and the spread of disease (no beer to any African). Attempts at total prohibition elsewhere have resulted in a deplorable state of affairs, with hidden shebeens where some of the most deleterious concoctions ruin native constitutions and their morals. If any system of beer selling is not fairly controlled is a concomitant of prostitution, then we should abolish that contributory cause of disease. No one really knows what actually takes place at beer selling shebeens. Separate drinking rooms for women or Sunday opening. Beer selling is definitely connected with prostitution. Abuse is bound to follow control of amount sold and to who would be impossible. I foresee most of the wages earned spent on beer.⁸¹

⁸⁰ NAZ S1542/K1, Memoranda draft brewing permits for prescribed areas. Remits granted in terms of the Kaffir Beer Act 1936, 1941.

⁸¹ Ibid.

In actual fact this was not so as women who drank were not prostitutes but it cannot be dismissed that shebeens were frequented by prostitutes in search of clients-this was after all business. Nonetheless the control of women's drinking behaviour led many of them to open up illegal beer brewing points in Salisbury.

In 1939 the government gave in and admitted that it could not stop African beer brewing by legal means. Acts passed by the government failed to prevent Africans from brewing beer. In response, the state employed police infiltration, use of ration was objected to, banning of alcohol on farms and mines led to work being deserted and neglected. Africans found ways to get access to beer and the government was failing to control it and came up with a way of institutionalising it into the system of Africans through education, and legalising it at a commercial scale. The Secretary of Native Affairs remarked that,

It should not be overlooked that Kaffir Beer has been the national drink in Africa from the Equator to the Cape before the advent of the European, that sale if not by way of cash has taken place for many generations , either by barter or other means such as in the form of labour in return for beer. Having this in view it can only be by means of gradual process such as the education of and the creation of public opinion amongst the natives that we can hope completely to control and decrease beer drinking. For several years ministers and officials concerned have been attempting to draft a law to improve the conditions attending to supply, consumption and sale of native toxicants, having regards to the ultimate welfare of the native population and at the same time attempting to meet the views of those sections of the European population which are more particularly affected by the problem.⁸²

This marked the beginning of new thinking on the part of the government on how best to control African beer culture, a culture that had existed for generations. In the interest of national development and capital having access to labour the government could only educate

⁸² NAZ S235/393 Native Affairs, Salisbury District 1940.

Africans on the evils of beer drinking. Nonetheless it should be stated that Africans continued to brew beer and by 1939 it was clear that beer was part of an Africans life and law, act or government regulation should not try to separate beer from them but rather support it.

In conclusion, the state has been solely responsible for causing illegal beer brewing because they did not understand the African drinking culture. This resulted in the state coming up with policies that were contrary to African culture regarding beer drinking and Africans found ways to frustrate Europeans by deserting work and brewing beer in the homes. The spreading of shebeens was because the state tried to ban the drinking of alcohol in African home-setting and that Africans be given a limited amount of beer. This was coupled with the need to supervise the drinking habit. Thus the spread of shebeens owned by women started in Harari as early as 1908 and by the beginning of the Second World War Africans were making profits in illegal shebeens forcing the government to accept and commission the modernization of beer brewing by finding the Southerton and later Rufaro breweries.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF AFRICAN BEER BREWING IN SALISBURY: THE CASE OF RUFARO BREWERY

The preceding chapter discussed the origins of beer production wherein it was established that the Southern Rhodesian. For the government, brewing of African beer was a way of ensuring that Africans in urban areas had no alternative source of income thus in turn would always be available as a source of cheap labour. More so, beer brewing was a way of widening the municipality's revenue base. This chapter now shifts focus to the social and economic history of African beer brewing paying particular attention to the breweries which were established, from the short lived Southerton Brewery to the much celebrated Rufaro Brewery. A discussion of the social and economic history of African beer brewing cannot be complete without looking at the impact of beer brewing particularly to the Africans. Such impact was not always negative as the chapter shall reveal. In the end, culture, policies and politics was shaped by African beer. As such, the chapter shall give more attention to Rufaro Brewery whose revenue provided the authorities with money to finance African administration improve infrastructure in African township and balance the Native Location Account among other things.

COLONIAL RULE AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE 'DURBAN SYSTEM' 1890-1964

Alcohol was a cause for concern for the Rhodesian government since the early years of colonial rule. The agitation that produced restriction on the sale of beer in the 1895 Beer Regulations was primarily directed at the effect beer sales had on labour supply.⁸³ The regulations aimed at forestalling traditional African beer brewing and selling so as to deprive Africans of one of their sources of income. African beer brewers had alternative sources of

⁸³ R.Pary ., "The Durban System and the limits of colonial power in Salisbury 1890-1955" in J Crush and C Ambler (ed) *Liquor and Labour Supply in Southern Africa*, Ohio, Ohio University Press,1992,p.78.

income for taxation and other financial obligations they had to meet; hence they shunned employment in small industries and mines around the township of Salisbury. One White colonial official in 1894 said:

It is a shame to see day after day, crowds of these lazy niggers coming into town with calabashes of the vile stuff and after disposing of it for cash, they clean home to their kraals. The brutes are too lazy to work and not only do they find this an easy way of obtaining money but invariably under cover of darkness take other people's properties home with them too.⁸⁴

Traditional sorghum beer brewing and selling provided Africans with money to pay taxes and access other commodities. The 1895 Beer Regulations were an instrument for the process of the pauperisation of Africans in Rhodesia. One gleans how the state through structures such as the courts moved towards controlling what the subjects drank and at the same time how the state would move into the production of beer production to create a monopoly. The laws were aimed at those Africans residing in the Salisbury location that inhibited labour supply by following an alternative economic route and simultaneously provided a recreational enclave that encouraged absenteeism and insubordinate behaviour.⁸⁵ However, although beer brewing and selling had negative effects on labour supply, the state had no desire to stamp out beer altogether, recognising its nutritional value as well as ubiquity.⁸⁶ In the end it compromised by allowing Africans to brew alcohol for their own use.

Traditional brewing techniques were followed. In accordance with African custom, females were regarded as the best brewers. They prepared a seven day brew using sorghum, maize, water, millet, bulrush among other things.⁸⁷ Africans were fond of sorghum beer and drinking

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ . NAZ/LG47/3, Town Clerk to Chief Inspector, Municipal Police 30 July 1897.

⁸⁶ R.Pary, " The Durban System, p121

⁸⁷ Ibid.

it was part of their culture. The Rhodesian government despised the African brewers and it was determined to curtail their activities.

Parry states that in 1909 the Durban System which was based on the monopolisation of the production and sale of beer in town was introduced by the Durban Municipality.⁸⁸ Two years later the 1911 Native Affairs Commission, keenly aware of the financial constraints of the Africans, recommended the adoption of the Durban System in Southern Rhodesia.⁸⁹ The Kaffir Beer Ordinance was passed in 1911 and permitted the Salisbury and Bulawayo municipalities to implement a similar system. The Salisbury Town Council responded by enacting another law prohibiting the manufacture of kaffir beer for sale.⁹⁰ However, the by-law passed by the council had little impact on brewers because it was difficult to prove that beer was being brewed for sale. Most African brewers claimed that beer was for their own consumption and not for sale.

Adoption of the Durban System was followed in most respects with one important difference. The council did not manufacture its own beer but retail suppliers bought in bulk from the Salisbury brewery.⁹¹ The implicit relationship between finance, housing and alcohol was made more explicit with the passage of Kaffir Beer Act of 1912. The Act gave the council a *de jure* monopoly over the sale of sorghum beer and provided a clear financial incentive for tackling the issue of beer brewing.⁹² Sorghum beer revenue was used by the Native Affairs Department and most of it was ploughed back into African locations and townships.

However, before 1915, the efforts by the municipality to curb the trade in sorghum beer were sporadic and ineffectual. The steady increase in population by 1912 meant that brewing had

⁸⁸ R.Pary, "The Durban System, p123.

⁸⁹ NAZ D3/5/21/1032, Location Superintendent to Town Clerk, 3 March 1914

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² R.Pary, "The Durban System, p123.

become a thriving industry both for the council and African beer brewers. In 1911 the Inspector of Locations reported that the location was full of people and overcrowded.⁹³ The ‘achievement’ reflected increased municipal powers over the commonage and intensified police activity on the brickfields but it was mainly the result of the population increase and serious accommodation shortage.⁹⁴ The town council made a large profit without major capital investment after 1912. It bought beer for between 10d and 1 shilling per gallon and sold it in the beer halls for 2 shillings a gallon. The municipality justified the high profit margin on the monopoly trade on the grounds that a reduction in beer price would lead to an increase in drinking and drunkenness.

The table below shows the relationship between income accrued by the council from selling African beer, expenditure and the profit margin between 1914 and 1930.

Table 1: Location and beerhall profits, Salisbury location 1914-1930

	Revenue £	Expenditure £	Profit £
1914	778	448	330
1915	1,885	448	1,134
1916	1,554	642	912
1917	1,411	1,006	405
1918	891	717	174
1919	1,227	776	451
1920	1,593	977	616
1921	2,109	1,287	822
1922	2,579	1,488	1,091
1923	2,173	1,375	798
1924	3,815	2,202	1,613
1925	5,202	2,459	2,743
1926	4,846	2,356	2,490
1927	4,791	2,314	2,477
1928	4,912	2,286	2,626
1929	4,414	1,993	2,421
1930	2,957	1,506	1,451
Total	47,137	24,582	22,554

Source: Municipality of Salisbury “Mayor’s minute’s 1908-9to 1938-9”

⁹³ NAZ D3/5/21/1032, Inspector of Locations to Town Clerk, 13 October 1911.

⁹⁴ The Rhodesian Herald 25 August 1916, p8.

As shown on the table, throughout the period 1914 to 1930, council accrued more revenue than its expenditure. The council's profit margin was cumulative, beginning with a lower margin between 1914 and 1921 then a rapidly increasing profit margin between 1922 and 1930. The rapid increase in profit margin shows the establishment of the Durban system and its successes where the council was able to monopolise African beer selling.

Parry notes that from the mid-1920s the municipality stated that huge profits were necessary to counterbalance the supposed tendency for the rest of the African Affairs account to run a deficit.⁹⁵ Between 1914 and 1930 sorghum beer profits amounted to £22,554, while expenditure on the location exceeded revenue by £53 for the period.⁹⁶ By acting as retailers only the municipality guaranteed itself a profit of 1 shillings 2d each gallon sold. The Salisbury municipality was not blamed for the poor quality of beer, but the blame was heaped on the South African Breweries which manufactured the beer.

Harari Township population growth warranted a proper brewing plant by 1921. The relative growth of industry in Salisbury and natural reproduction in the location facilitated population increase. Thus beer acted a pull factor for labour in Salisbury, while it is ironic that the authorities wanted to ban its consumption. A building incorporating a malting yard, steeping bins, souring room, boiler house, cooking house and beer hall was constructed in 1922.⁹⁷ However, up to 1947 no qualified brewers were employed and brewing was left in to African under limited supervision.

⁹⁵ NAZ GNP/SAL, Rufaro, The story of African beer brewing, p9.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ R. Parry, The Durban System.

The quality of the beer was bad and production did not exceed 90,000 gallons a year.⁹⁸ Meanwhile, beer from the major supplier South Africa Breweries was also erratic in both quality and quantity. Parry states that the beer remained like this until the municipality took over brewing operations in August 1936.⁹⁹ Despite the mushrooming of the hop beer industry after 1922 the beer hall was able to make a profit of between £2,400 and £2,800.¹⁰⁰ However, the Mayor noted that;

Between 1930 and 1936 sales fell from an average of 4,000 to 500 per year as the hop beer brewers expanded their share of the market by offering a more convenient service and a cheaper more powerful product while the quality of the beer received from the Brewery continued to decline.¹⁰¹

The growing consumption of hop beer meant a shift in the cultural framework through which material reality was mediated, towards a new positive formulation of urban culture. This culture emphasised hard living and continual improvisation. This was clearly reflected in shebeens in the 1930s and 1940s.¹⁰² Shebeens were houses that turned into semi-beer halls and sometimes brothels by African urban dwellers.

Shebeens sold beer from private African brewers, European Liquor and Rufaro sorghum beer. Hop beer brewers competed effectively with the council beer halls, thus the municipality's monopoly over brewing beer and selling of beer was undermined. The Durban system was not fully implemented because of the fiscal conservatism of the municipality which showed itself in its marked reluctance to spend any more than was necessary within the location.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ NAZ MS/TC/12/7J1, Municipality of Salisbury, Town Clerk Papers, Location Superintendent to town Clerk, 12 November 1929.

⁹⁹ NAZ S138/11, Municipality of Salisbury. Mayors Minutes 1908-9 to 1938-9.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² NAZ, GNP/SAL, Rufaro, The story, p1.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

The surplus from the sale of sorghum beer was used on roads and other amenities in white areas for instance road and sewage systems.¹⁰⁴

The colonial administration was ambivalent towards alcohol use encouraging it as a central means of financing African administration while simultaneously condemning its effects on the workforce, claiming that it brought inefficiency.¹⁰⁵ At the end of the day Africans financed and paid for their own administration, social amenities and housing with minimal input on the part of the council bureaucracy. Thus council was satisfied with their relative monopoly because it managed to finance African administration and other amenities in Europeans residential areas by using proceeds from sorghum beer. Faced with the perennial problem of balancing the Native Location Account, the municipality upheld the idea of the Durban system.¹⁰⁶ However, the town authorities were not prepared to gamble on their suspect ability to enforce their legal monopoly. Rather than producing beer themselves, the Salisbury Municipality preferred to retail beer produced by the South African Breweries.¹⁰⁷ Only when the Native Location Account began to show a deficit did they implement the Durban system by taking control of brewing themselves in 1936.¹⁰⁸ The Durban system promised a measure of social control through housing provision without the administration having to draw on revenue from White taxpayers and voters.¹⁰⁹ The use of alcohol provided powerful linkages –both emphasising the continuity between the town and the countryside and cementing urban based bonds. For Blacks, as for White workers, the consumption of alcohol was a central cultural reference point. As with the sharing of food, that of beer was

¹⁰⁴ NAZ S568.9 Salisbury Beer. The Rufaro brewed Hop Beer, 1938.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 18 to 28 March 15 April to 10 July 1952, 3 to 201 February, 1953 Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd 1953, p935.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

principally 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.¹¹⁰ The mass consumption of alcohol in particular sorghum beer by African workers enlarged the market for the council as well as the African beer Brewers.

Alcohol was equally significant for the construction, mediation and shaping of gender relations in the location. During the tobacco boom of the mid 1930s, women were employed to undercut male wages in the tobacco processing barns. Before the boom, economic opportunities for females in the formal sector were few.¹¹¹ Some women survived by providing basic services such as cooked food, beer and sex for the male counterparts. In 1932, the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference requested that segregation between sexes be introduced in the beer halls, The Chief Native Commissioner advised the town council that this was the correct thing to do, but that such a step would result in a falling of revenue from the beer halls as bachelors would spend less money there than they did before.¹¹²

The Municipality continued to drive towards the full implementation of the Durban system. In 1947 it employed the first qualified brewers and production increased by 100%.¹¹³ After 1947 the council beer hall was guaranteed of better quality beer, so the demand for council beer rose and the beer hall reaped huge profits for the council. In May 1954 the original Southerton Brewery was commissioned at a cost of £93,000 and consequently production rose by 1,773,000 gallons per annum.¹¹⁴ In 1952 the Minister of Native Affairs noted that “all

¹¹⁰ NAZ S138/12, Municipality of Salisbury, Mayors Minutes 1954-55.

¹¹¹ The Sunday Mail In Depth, June 10-16, 2012, pD8.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ NAZ GNP/SAL, Rufaro, The Story, p10.

thinking people have been alarmed at the extent of the traffic in illicit and harmful liquors”.¹¹⁵ The problem arrested the attention of the Native Affairs Department, the police and the government. The Minister asserted that there was one point on which all seemed to agree which was; that the African would have his drink whether he got it legally or otherwise.¹¹⁶ Africans were determined to access liquor and they resorted to illegal brewing and selling of sorghum beer. He further noted that it had been proven in many parts of the world that ‘human race does not take kindly to prohibition’¹¹⁷ Where prohibition had been tried it resulted in over indulgence, smuggling, the rise of cartels and crime.

In the parliamentary debate of May 1952, the Minister of Native Affairs argued;

This does not suggest that the reply to our present difficulty is to be found in indiscriminate access to liquor but it certainly does indicate that to reduce the illicit brewing of harmful liquids it is necessary to provide more reasonable access to wholesome beer than has been the case in the past.¹¹⁸

The Minister advocated for the controlled provision of sorghum beer and the regulation of its consumption. The amendments to the Native Beer Bill in 1952 were designed to curtail illicit brewing and drinking and the consequent crime that arose out of that practice. The Bill proposed the widening of the existing restrictions by increasing the classes of persons who might obtain beer for issues to their employees in the beer halls and the beer gardens, which was a few feature.¹¹⁹ Before the Bill there had been the illegal practice of employers permitting their employees to brew and sell beer on mines, farms and plots surrounding urban centres.

¹¹⁵ NAZ GNP/SAL, Rufaro, Salisbury Municipality Liquor Understanding Department, July 1977, p4.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Debates of the Legislative Assembly.p952.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

UPSETTING THE APPLE CART: KACHASU AND SKOKIANA

The town mayor reported in the 1950s that most of the large-scale sorghum beer brewing *Kachasu* and *Skokiana* distillation took place at Epworth Mission, St, Mary's Mission and surrounding Tribal Trust Lands.¹²⁰ This disrupted the state's monopolisation of African beer and at the same time symbolically and literally created a counter-culture. The two represented disruption, African creativity and agency as well as the subaltern fighting back and taking ownership of their beer. *Kachasu* was an alcoholic beverage distilled from ingredients such as beer, brown bread, *sadza*/maize meal and various wild fruits, for example *masawu* and distillation also took place in the Salisbury townships. *Skokiana* was a potent alcoholic beverage brewed from thin maize porridge with the addition of yeast sugar and malt derived from *rapoko*, among other ingredients. *Kachasu*, *Skokiana* and sorghum beer which found their way into the townships undermined the Durban system in Salisbury as these brews which were cheaper competed for the market with the Municipality's Southerton brewery before 1964.

Beer from mines and farms was illegally transported into Salisbury and this weakened the Durban system which thrived for a monopoly over brewing and selling by the Salisbury municipality. The Minister of Native Affairs agreed that the purpose for which African beer profits might be used was extended to enable the profits to be used for the erection, maintenance and furnishing of African beer halls and gardens and for the manufacture and supply of African beer. It was in this context that the Southerton Brewery was commissioned in 1954. The Municipality aimed at a monopoly and huge returns for investments in African areas.

Meanwhile during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1953-1963 in the then Northern Rhodesia a man called Max Heinrich, who had studied fermentology in Berlin, perfected the

¹²⁰ NAZ GNP/SAL, Liquor Undertaking Department, p.5.

art of sorghum beer brewing.¹²¹ Heinrich adjusted the beer recipe all the time depending on the customer's response until it was perfect and met with customer's full approval. The recipe details were always entered into a book right up to the perfect formulation. Heinrich's workers referred to the recipe book as 'e-book-u' the root of what is now one of the most famous beer names not only in Southern Rhodesia, but across Southern African north of the Limpopo- Chibuku.¹²²

ESTABLISHMENT OF RUFARO BREWERY

Rufaro Brewery was constructed in 1964 after the Southerton Brewery commissioned in 1952 had become out-dated.¹²³ The deterioration of Southerton Brewery warranted the construction of Rufaro Brewery which became one of Africa's most modern breweries in terms of technology, expertise and production of replica traditional African beer.¹²⁴ Rufaro Brewery operated under the Salisbury Municipality Liquor Undertaking Department until 1979 when it was leased to Chibuku. Chibuku was introduced to Southern Rhodesia from the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia in 1962.¹²⁵ By 1962 the Southerton Brewery had become outmoded and the council decided to construct a large one. The new brewery which cost £310,000 was named Rufaro Brewery and was officially commissioned on 15 December 1964.¹²⁶ Rufaro is a Shona word for happiness. It is important to note that Chibuku was introduced in 1962 before the construction of Rufaro Brewery. Chibuku had already consolidated its position on

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² NAZ GNP/SAL, *Unoziveyi nedoro reVatema mu Salisbury, Mibiro Mikuru Inopiwa Pachena*, July 1968, p6.

¹²³ NAZ GNP/SAL, *The story of African Beer in Salisbury 1969*, p3.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

the Southern Rhodesia market and it provided stiff competition to Rufaro Brewery. The activities of Chibuku undermined the Durban system as the council only had relative monopoly on the brewing and selling of sorghum beer.

By 1979 Chibuku had become a famous brew in Rhodesia as various breweries were opened in different towns like Fort Victoria and Umtali. Chibuku competed for the Salisbury beer market with Rufaro Ngoto, Rufaro Mhamba and Rufaro Sportsman. More so private sorghum beer breweries, hop beer brewers and *kachasu* and *skokiana* distillers among other breweries undermined the Municipality monopoly over sorghum beer brewing and selling in Salisbury Township.¹²⁷ Hop beer was brewed using hops, maize, and water. It was strong but cheaper and inevitably undermined the Durban system.

Rufaro Brewery produced sorghum beer which was sold in the Municipal owned beer halls in Salisbury. It consolidated the Durban System adopted by the Salisbury Municipality in 1911.¹²⁸ The Durban system advocated municipal monopoly over sorghum beer brewing and selling in township. Rufaro Brewery and the beer halls established by the Municipality after 1964 were a mixed blessing for Africans who resided in Salisbury Township. The beer halls provided entertainment in the form music and draughts.¹²⁹ However, they facilitated the spread of Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI) and poverty in some instances due to extravagancy and generally social problems associated with drunkenness.

RUFARO BREWERY AND THE DURBAN SYSTEM 1964-1979

¹²⁷ The Sunday Mail in depth, June 10-16-12, p d8.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ NAZ GNP/SAL, The story of African beer in Salisbury 1969, p4.

The Rufaro Brewery was constructed by the council on the advice of the Director of African Administration.¹³⁰ It became one of the largest and most modern beer breweries in Africa.¹³¹ Its construction was a huge step towards the realisation of monopoly over traditional beer in Salisbury. Production of sorghum beer rose to approximately 11/4 million gallons each month after the building of the brewery. This was because of better equipment and up to date expertise as well as the positive response of Africans to Rufaro Brewed beer among other things.¹³²

It was commissioned as a way to make a replica of African traditional beer. Thus the recipe for Rufaro beer was based upon the brew that Africans had always favoured. Sorghum, maize, water among other things was used for the brewing of Rufaro beer. Four types of African beer were produced and these were Rufaro beer, Rufaro Ngoto, Rufaro Mhamba, and Rufaro Sportman. Rufaro beer was marketed on draught only at 6d per litre (1.5% vol). Rufaro Ngoto and Mhamba were retailed on draught at 9d per litre and in packed form at 1 shilling per quart carton 3% alcoholic strength.¹³³ Rufaro Sportsman was retailed in packaged form 1 shilling per quart carton strength. The Durban system was producing fruits as the Municipality could brew and sell large quantities of sorghum beer after 1964. More so, population growth that is over 215 000 Africans in Salisbury in the 1960s, meant a ready market for Rufaro beer. The traditional beverage was quite different from the conventional lager beer and the most notable difference was colour, texture and flavour. African beer was pinkish-brown thick and opaque with a characteristic sour taste imparted by the lactic acid used during brewing. Rufaro Beer had high calorific content and contained valuable proteins

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ NAZ S138/11, Municipality of Salisbury, Mayors Minutes 1964-65.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

in addition to vitamins within the B group.¹³⁴ This was how the consumers traditionally wanted their beer and it was mainly to these solids and high protein content that African beer owed its great nutritional value.

African beer was retailed by over 50 selling outlets within the greater Salisbury area operated by the municipality, the government, the Town Council, the British South Africa Police, the armed forces as well as various private industries licensed to sell it.¹³⁵ Rufaro Brewery provided “good and cheap beer to Africans and money for helping Africans and African housing schemes.¹³⁶ The Municipality’s liquor Undertaking Department was itself the largest retailer of African Beer in the Salisbury area and operated 29 selling outlets. Being a Municipal trading enterprise, the Liquor Undertaking Department was not subject to company income tax nor was African beer subject to excise duty. The exemption from taxation and relative monopoly enabled the undertaking to be a cut above the rest of the private brewers and this facilitated a huge profit making profit making potential.¹³⁷

The Municipality enjoyed a benevolent monopoly in the brewing and retailing of African beer within its jurisdiction and this gave the Liquor Undertaking Department a very substantial profit making capacity. Between 1956 and 1957 the profit was £100,000 but by 1968/9 it had jumped to £1,400,000.¹³⁸ This rise was due to the construction of Rufaro Brewery and population growth, among other reasons The African beer regulation laid down the purpose for which African beer money could be spent. Apart from the development of the Liquor Undertaking Department itself, the beer proceeds were used mainly in the health,

¹³⁴ NAZ LG52/6, Southern Rhodesia Government Report of the Native Commission, 1965.

¹³⁵ J.May, Drinking in Rhodesia, p36.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ NAZ GNP/SAL, Liquor Undertaking Department, p12.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

sporting, recreational, social and cultural development services in the African township. An example of this was Mufakose polyclinic.¹³⁹

“MONEY GOES BACK TO THEM¹⁴⁰”: THE IMPACT OF AFRICAN BEER BREWING TO AFRICANS IN SALISBURY

Consumers received a first class product in addition to benefits in health, sport, and cultural development in their township which were financed by the Undertaking.¹⁴¹ The Undertaking's investment in African Townships dealt a blow to illegal African beer brewers who settled in the township and this was evidenced by the booming Rufaro profits. Africans began to shun sorghum beer from unauthorized brewers and selling outlets because of the better taste and quality of Rufaro beer and some intended to benefit from the downstream investment made by the Liquor Undertaking in health and recreation. The people's response consolidated the Undertaking monopoly.

Rufaro proceeds were ploughed back into African townships, for instance in the provision of education, health and recreation. The Reference Library in Harare Township, the new polyclinic in Mufakose Township and the George Hartley swimming pool in Harare Township were some of the benefits brought by Rufaro to Africans in Salisbury.¹⁴² Most health services were heavily subsidised from African beer profits and voluntary organisations, for example the Rhodesia Red Cross, were grant aided from Rufaro profits.¹⁴³ A building and X-ray equipment in Lobengula Road were some benefits of income generated from Rufaro brewery. After 1964 tuberculosis (TB) patients at Beatrice Road Hospital

¹³⁹ Ibid

¹⁴⁰ NAZ, S/Ru503, Rufaro Brewery, Supercedes: Salisbury Liquor Undertaking Department, Annual Reports 1965-1977

¹⁴¹ NAZ GNP/SAL, Rufaro, The story, p11.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

benefited from Rufaro revenue. The brewery revenue settled bills for African tuberculosis patients at the hospital and this helped Africans to access medication better than before 1964. Rufaro Stadium, Parirenyatwa Hospital and the Edith Opperman Maternity Clinic were built using beer profits.

Rufaro investment in health services was directed at the medical examination of Africans maternity wards and child welfare as well as clinic and an Infectious Disease Hospital along Beatrice Road.¹⁴⁴ Africans could access health services and this ensured a healthy workforce and a disease free society. The clinics and hospitals alleviated the plight of Africans as medical care was now readily available. However, medical services for Africans remained limited and could not cater for the booming African population in Salisbury. The ratio of doctors to patients was very low for Africans as the colonial government largely neglected African health services due to the extractive nature of their investment. African health care was usually left in the hands of missionaries.

By 1964, 305 Africans as well as 34 whites were employed at Rufaro in beer brewing.¹⁴⁵ Between April and December 1964 the Municipality realised £53, 437 a month from the sale of Rufaro beer while the sale of European liquor or lagers was £ 27, 657.¹⁴⁶ Revenue from Sorghum beer was more than that from lagers because the number of Africans in Salisbury was way greater than that of whites. Thus Rufaro Brewery enjoyed economies of scale. In the year 1962/3 the brewery profit was £96,552 and in 1963/4 it was £174,927. In 1964/5 an estimated £318,000 was expected. The booming Rufaro profits made the investments in Africa Township possible and together with the employment it provided, improved the quality of life of Africans in Salisbury. Between June 1957 and July 1966 the Liquor

¹⁴⁴ NAZ, S167/7/8 Salisbury African beer profits. Native Beer Account.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

Undertaking Department had contributed £1.263, 084 for the purposes of health, sporting, recreation, social and cultural developments in African townships.¹⁴⁷

Rufaro operated seven beer gardens in Salisbury; two were in Mufakose, one in Mabvuku and four in the city. It also boasted of a large transport fleet five bottle stores in Salisbury, with two in Mufakose and one in Mabvuku.¹⁴⁸ Some Africans were employed as bar patrons as well as at the brewery itself. This alleviated unemployment problems in African townships. More so, the construction of beer garden in African locations provided entertainment like music, draughts and sorghum beer. Recreation and entertainment were boosted by the Vito Tavern in Harare and Central Bottle Store in Salisbury City Centre. Moreover the Shawasha Complex comprising a lounge, cocktail bar, bottle store and beer garden was constructed and this alleviated the relative lack of entertainment services for Africans.¹⁴⁹

J May notes that preference for public drinking places were not confined to African townships alone.¹⁵⁰ A survey in the 1960s revealed that the 'pub' had more buildings, held more people, took more of their time and money than church, cinema, dancehall and political organisations together. Wolcott has described the municipality operated beer halls as a major, if not the most dominant of the introduced social institutions among urban Africans.¹⁵¹ The beer halls provided an arena in which the individual could expand or sustain his involvement in the potential new experiences and contacts made possible in African circumstances. May

¹⁴⁷ NAZ GNP/SAL, Rufaro, The story, p14.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p15.

¹⁴⁹ J.May, Drinking in Rhodesia, p16.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ H.F.Walcott., Plastic Mugs for traditional brew, p17.

states that the opportunity for social contacts was the best of the beer halls and also pleasure in the music and dancing.¹⁵²

The beerhalls provided a forum for the exchange of information about available jobs and women. News from home and available resources in the time of trouble, and for the tracking of people who spoke one's own language were done at the beer halls. They offered music and dancing, both traditional and modern games of various kinds and served as a meeting place for people, clubs and organisations.

The beerhall network allowed people not only to establish themselves when they were newcomers in the urban areas, but met their needs for group participation and social contacts as town dwellers and, at the same time, maintain ties from home.¹⁵³ Lemert argues that the social values facilitated by the consumption of alcoholic drinks sprang from recognition of their function in reducing social distances and strengthening group bonds.¹⁵⁴ These values evolved around fellowship, social unity and group morale. The pub was an important meeting place where people discussed current issues. They were the nearest recreational places which everyone could reach with least effort, there was not much else an African could do besides going to the pub.¹⁵⁵ Beer and women were almost inseparable and in the places where one found beer one could easily get women and vice-versa. On some occasions a man was forced to get a woman for the night simply because he happened to meet one and was 'compelled' to spend money entertaining her with drinks.¹⁵⁶ Female prostitutes were always inclined to take advantage of one's drunken state to maximise their earnings. By ditching the man who had

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Interview with B. Sagiya, Glennorah B, 11 August 2018.

¹⁵⁴ E.M.Lemert, *Alcohol and the North West Coast Indians*, California: California University Publication in culture and Society, 1954, p34.

¹⁵⁵ T.F.Plant, "Alcohol problems are part of the Nation", by the Cooperative Commission of the study of Alcoholism, Washington, 1957, p38.

¹⁵⁶ J.May, *Drinking in Rhodesia*, p36.

provided her with all the beer she wanted, the prostitute assured herself of a cash payment from the next man.¹⁵⁷ The relative 'absence' of women in the urban centres like Salisbury meant that prostitution was a viable institution. Prostitute's presence led to a large inflow of customers in the beer halls and this benefited the authorities who were now fully implementing the Durban System.

African beer revenue was used for low cost African housing, sporting and recreation, play centres and community halls. The Harare Community Hall was one of the fruits of African beer revenue ploughed back into the African townships. Between July 1960 and June 1969 the Liquor Undertaking Department provided £1,655,651 for the purposes of low-cost African housing, sporting and recreation as well as health and community halls.¹⁵⁸ Low-cost African housing schemes alleviated overcrowding in African townships. More so, sporting and play centres gave Africans opportunities to showcase their talents and provided entertainment. Examples of football team's that arose then include Dynamos and Rufaro Rovers. A total of £3,891,755 had been contributed by the Liquor Undertaking Department for the developments in African townships.¹⁵⁹ This ensured better standards of living than on the reserves and farms. Sorghum beer revenue provided capital cost for street lighting and this enhanced visibility during the night and reducing crimes, In addition, the revenue was used to pay for Administrative Buildings leased to the African Administration Department and the Liquor Undertaking Department.¹⁶⁰ Carter House and African Women hostels in Harare were subsidized by the revenue from Sorghum beer.¹⁶¹ The subsidies ensured low

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ NAZ GNP/SAL, Rufaro, The story, p12.

¹⁵⁹ NAZ GNP/SAL, Liquor Undertaking Department, p9.

¹⁶⁰ D.H.Reader and J.May, *Drinking patterns in Rhodesia, High field African Township*, Occasional paper No. 5 University of Rhodesia, Department of Sociology, 1974, p34.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

rentals for African women who resided at the Women Hostel. Crater House catered for both African men and women and this alleviated accommodation problems.

However, as a modifier of behaviour, alcohol did not necessarily fulfil only a social integrative function but could bring about behaviour which was personally and socially destructive. To some Africans the beer halls appeared as a serious threat to the home and family, and a major source of crime, juvenile delinquency, sexual promiscuity and weakening moral standards generally.¹⁶² The beer halls provided a temptation to people to drink excessively in a situation where there was a large degree of tolerance to drunkenness, and no established norms of behavior. African men complained of the inadequacies of the general facilities and services in the beer halls, the inadequate toilet facilities, and the long queues for draught beer, the overcrowding lack of physical comfort and shade.¹⁶³ Bales identified four attitudes to drinking, abstinence, retriial, convivial and utilitarian or indulgent.¹⁶⁴ Abstinence was usually religious and convivial, where alcohol was used to create solidarity and because it loosened the emotions leading to social ease. Utilitarian drinking was where drinking was done to further personal satisfaction.¹⁶⁵ Drinking in the urban setting in the beer halls obviously had little ritual connotations and could be looked at as both convivial and utilitarian. Utilitarian drinkers showed that they were aware of the utilitarian effects of drinking, that is its use in relieving anxiety and drank to some extent for personal effects.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² The Bantu Mirror, 11 August 1964, p12.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ D.H.Reader, *Alcoholism and Excessive Drinking. A sociological Review Monograph supplement No 3*, National Institute for Personal Research Psychologia, Africana, 1967, p22.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ M.Maudsley, *The Pathology of mind*, Macmillan: London, 1979, p123.

May states that in African townships the young people were drinking for convivial reasons and the elders ones tended to drink for indulgent and utilitarian reasons.¹⁶⁷ Drinking to cement urban based bonds by young Africans contributed to the profits of the Liquor Undertaking Department. However, beer halls facilitated moral decadence as the youths were exposed to places with few norms of behavior. The drunkenness that prevailed at the beer halls hindered means of sanctioning adherence to moral and cultural values like respect for elders and abstinence.

As a man's responsibilities increased so did his anxieties, and alcohol instead of being principally a social asset, became an acknowledgement way of reducing Africans anxieties and insecurity. Many families, especially in the low income groups, were suffering because the father enjoyed himself at the expense of everyone else in the family.¹⁶⁸ Beer halls became a mixed blessing for Africans. While drinkers were happy to have beer halls, non-drinkers would go to the beer halls for fun and leisure. May states that excessive drinking in the towns was thought to be a major cause of marriage breakups, juvenile delinquency, malnutrition and lack of school fees.¹⁶⁹ Fees could not be paid if the father drank most of his wages which is what the colonial officials complained in the initial years of colonial rule. Urban beer halls and drinking places inaugurated under the Durban System were held by a few of the men to be a government plot by constantly narcotising them with alcohol. May argues that since the coming into power of the Rhodesia Front Government there had been a deliberate effort not only to break African political thinking but drowning him in beer.¹⁷⁰ The policy of giving the pubs a new look by building beautiful brick shades all-round the inside of the beer garden, the music, the warm fire during the cold season, and the provision of snack bars, were geared

¹⁶⁷ D.H.Reader and J.May, *Drinking Patterns in Rhodesia*, p19.

¹⁶⁸ J.May, *Drinking in Rhodesia*, p17.

¹⁶⁹ T.F.Plant Alcohol, problems, p45.

¹⁷⁰ City of Salisbury, Rhodesia, The Liquor Undertaking Department, 12 Annual Report 1975-6, p23.

towards attracting Africans.¹⁷¹ This policy paid dividends as far as the authorities were concerned, for not only were the African people drowning in beer, both the old and the young, but the authorities collected handsome profits both in money and political apathy amongst Africans. Beer gardens and other introductions lured Africans to beer halls. Improvements in the beer drinking facilities were an attempt by the authorities to shock – absorb the effects of unemployment, discontent and political frustration on the part of Africans.¹⁷²

However, after political meetings were banned in the 1960s Africans held them at beerhalls and sports stadia and the concentration of people at beer halls led to easy and effective means of spreading information. After 1964 Rufaro beer and the beer halls led to the financial problems for African drinkers. Money difficulties were mostly encountered and these covered being carried away by the mood of moment to spend far larger sums than had originally been intended.¹⁷³ The loss of money through theft when the man was drunk and also the acknowledgement that more money was being spent in beer halls than the man's financial commitment warranted led to the money problems in African and European families in Salisbury.¹⁷⁴ Alcohol consumption after 1964 led to a lot of problems and problems. According to Plants drinking was a repetitive use of beverage alcohol which caused physical, psychological or social harm to the drinkers and others.¹⁷⁵ African men and women spent a lot of money in beer halls and this led to school dropouts divorce and loss of jobs.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ E.M.Jellinek, Phases of Alcoholic addiction, p124.

¹⁷⁴ T.F.Plant, Alcohol Problems p45.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

May argues that a 28 year old market research assistant testified to have lost two jobs due to coming to the office drunk.¹⁷⁶ Drinking problem seemed contingent on the economic situation prevailing among the African population. Wages were not sufficient to cover both family responsibilities and an acceptable level of recreational drinking, a situation which tended to lead to 'escape' drinking and greater difficulties.¹⁷⁷ Troubled African men seemed to seek solace in drunkenness, but this only worsened the situation. Drinking was another expense that left the home with inadequate basic needs. However, the problems of drinking were accompanied by a reluctance to forgo both the social and the alcohol pleasures of the pub. Drinking was partly because of the anesthesising effect of alcohol and partly for the social integrative effect, tension reducing. The more the Africans drank beer the more they became poor and the authorities realized profits.

Alcohol though a tension relieving ingredient, had serious negative effects on health. The 1954 World Health Organization (WHO) Committee on Alcohol report made the unequivocal statement that alcohol was a drug whose pharmacological action was intermediate in kind and rated between addiction and habit forming drugs.¹⁷⁸ Continual use of sorghum beer led to addiction in its worst cases. D.H Reader and J May state that alcohol damage of the individual might develop, but did so only in minority of users.¹⁷⁹ The social damage that arose however, extended beyond these individuals themselves. The social problems from beer drinking in African locations included divorce, spread of Sexually Transmitted Infections, poverty and loss of employment. These problems affected non-drinkers more than drinkers thus the beer halls and Rufaro Brewery were a curse to Africans in Salisbury.

¹⁷⁶ J.May, *Drinking in Rhodesia*, p17.

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Mr Y Nyamurota Budiriro 4 on 4 August 2018.

¹⁷⁸ J.May, *Survey of Urban African Drinking Patterns in Bulawayo Municipal Townships* Institute of Social Research, University of Rhodesia, 1972, p34.

¹⁷⁹ D.H.Reader and J.May, *Drinking Patterns*, p23.

Differences in the function of alcohol in different societies were determined by different cultural patterns, relating for instance to the need for the release and control of aggression and the natures and intensity of anxieties among other things.¹⁸⁰ Alcohol could serve as a way or means of achieving identification. In different societies it was used to express individual symptoms. A person could drink his beer with his meal which might be an aspect of the culture which accepts its usage as a refreshment or nutritional supplement.¹⁸¹ However, it has been noted that an unknown proportion of social drinkers were occasionally inclined to take advantage of the cultural use of alcohol and allow their individual motivations to predominate in drinking.¹⁸² This was mainly the case among the youths in Salisbury who could drink without fear of the elders who were in the rural areas.¹⁸³ D.H. Reader states that when individual motivations predominated in drinking alcohol lost its character as an ingredient of a beverage and become a drug.¹⁸⁴ Social drinking was any form of alcoholic drinking which in its extent falls within the traditional and customary 'dietary use' or the ordinary compliance with the social drinking customs of the whole community. Most Africans in Salisbury were not in this category of drinking because they were motivated by personal interest that is drinking for self-satisfaction and not for stress relieving or addictive purposes. Reader states that symptomatic drinking was any form of drinking in which alcohol is used, not for dietary or social purposes but as a no-addictive drug for the behavioural expressive or alleviation of personality symptoms.¹⁸⁵ Salisbury beer drinkers in particular Africans drank alcohol for the sake of relieving stress and stimulating activity. Excessive drinking was drinking which in its extent went beyond the usages of social drinking within a given

¹⁸⁰ I. Mandaza, *Race, Colour and Class in Southern Africa*, Harare: Sapes Books, 1994, p74.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid, p87.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ D.H. Reader, *Drinking Patterns in Rhodesia*, p19.

¹⁸⁵ J. May, *Drinking*, p24.

society.¹⁸⁶ The atmosphere at beer halls and beer gardens were conducive to drink beyond social usage and extravagancy. Alcoholism was any form of alcoholic excessive drinking of a habitual symptomatic or addictive nature.¹⁸⁷ This was the case in Salisbury beer halls as drinking beer tended to encourage alcoholism which had negative effects on health.

The inability to stop drinking has been termed an illness by certain scholars as it tended to affect Africans in Salisbury. T Toller states that in medical language, drunkenness, strictly speaking was a disease, produced by a remote cause giving birth to actions and movements in a living body that disordered the functions of health.¹⁸⁸ The Rhodesia Administration was aware of the health hazards of alcohol but it continued supplying even more sorghum beer to halls and gardens in and around Salisbury. This had a negative impact on the social, economic and political activity of the African drinker. Money lost to beer led to economic and social chaos in African townships while drunkenness kept some Africans aloof from political activities in Salisbury in particular and Rhodesia in general.

Maudsley argues that dipsomania was a well-marked form of mental degradation, if not actual mental derangement, which showed itself in a fierce morbid craving for alcoholic stimulants and was greatly aggravated by indulgence. Dipsomania cases became frequent in Salisbury due to beer halls and beer gardens. This also had serious, social, economic and political effects on the African drinkers. However, Reader postulates that it was not understood or known whether alcoholism itself was a disease or merely symptoms of some underlying disorder. The WHO Committee on Alcohol stated in 1952 that;

Alcoholics are those excessive drinkers, whose dependence upon alcohol has attained such a degree that it shows a noticeable mental disturbance or an interference with their body or mental health, their

¹⁸⁶ J.May, Survey of the Urban African Drinking, p23.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ T Troller

interpersonal relations and their smooth social and economic functioning or who show the prodromal signs of such developments. They therefore require treatment.¹⁸⁹

The availability of beer halls in Salisbury encouraged excessive drinking and financial instability amongst overspending Africans. However, Bacon states that the WHO definition of alcoholism though widely accepted was basically a sociological definition arrived at by non-sociologist.¹⁹⁰ The definition was descriptive rather than definitive and thus masked the non-addictive and addictive aspects of alcoholism. Alcohol addicts and non addicts faced serious health risks and this threatened the wellbeing of the African society in Salisbury. Jellinek has contended that the notion of disease was attached to the alcoholic only. It did not apply to excessive drinking alone, but also to the loss of control which occurred in only a proportion of alcoholics and then only after a long period of excessive drinking. Alcoholics were at the highest risk of contracting diseases from beer. However, the non-addictive alcoholic was also a sick person but his ailment was not excessive drinking so much as the psychological or sociological difficulties from which alcohol intoxication gave him temporary relief.

Alcohol was tension relieving but its negative effects on both the drinker and the society outweighed its advantages. Occasional and systematic excessive drinkers tended to take care of the stress of living in a normal, that is socially acceptable, way within a society. WHO states that only on occasions after a long accumulation of stresses or on account of some heavy stress, the alcoholic's tolerance for tension lowered and they took major relief in alcoholic intoxication. This was usually the case in Salisbury where low wages, settler brutality and poor living standards combined to work against Africans.

¹⁸⁹ J. May, *Survey of Urban African Drinking Patterns in Bulawayo Municipal*, p30.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p23.

Africans drank both Rufaro sorghum beer and lagers at beer gardens. In worst cases alcohol consumption led to chronic alcoholism among Salisbury Africans. Chronic alcoholism was the alterations of the central nervous system, which without anatomic tension, appeared in persons who had consumed excessive quantities of alcohol over a long period. All lasting mental and nervous disturbances as well as others of the organic system were evidence of chronic alcoholism. This happened among Africans and Europeans in Salisbury. Knupfer notes that chronic alcoholism was the result of all the lasting disturbances of the psychic and physical functions produced by the habitual abuse of alcohol. Continuous use of alcohol affected Africans and Europeans, social, economic and political activities because alcohol interfered with mental and other functions of the human bodies. However, the crowd pulling effect of the beer halls and gardens led to the exchange of ideas and intensive interaction among Africans. In the late 1970s the pub became a place for exchange of social economic and political views and these fuelled nationalist feelings amongst Africans.

As social life became more varied and complex with urbanisation the motives for drinking heavily became diversified. Jellinek observes that some assessment of the role of social-economic factors in the ecology of excess drinking and ultimately alcoholism should not be neglected.¹⁹¹ The type of economic insecurity which was prominent in Europe in the course of the Industrial revolution was of particular relevance to Rhodesia where poor overcrowded housing and economic insecurity were common in African urban life.¹⁹² The poverty and subordination of Africans in Salisbury facilitated excessive drinking. The price of food in relation to the price of alcoholic beverages was another economic factor, and where alcohol was cheaper it would substitute to a larger extent food, Chimuto notes that it was observed in Salisbury that a working man's lunch was often a mug or more of beer obtained at one of the

¹⁹¹ E.M Jellinek, Phases of Alcoholic addiction, p32.

¹⁹² Interview with Mr Chimuto at Budiriro 4 on 3 August 2018

beer halls situated in the industrial sites.¹⁹³ Some men relied on beer in the evening and as the main part of the intake of food.

Unemployed youths found sustenance in the drugs left at the bottom of beer mugs and African beer was a cheap but an inadequate substitute for food on many occasions for some people in the townships.¹⁹⁴ The justification of municipal officials for the encouragement of beer drinking and the increase and improvement of outlets was very often that the money went back to the people in the form of social welfare and housing. Municipal beer profits were the main source of township welfare money.¹⁹⁵ However, the Municipality's justification failed to take into account the high social costs of heavy drinking. Increased production and consumption, which was made to seem most desirable, might, in fact, have added to the need for welfare service. Thus African beer became both a blessing and a curse to the Municipality because it led to large profits while it also facilitated increased demand for welfare services like medical care. The Municipality exploited most of the beer profits for amenities in Europeans residential areas, among other things, and little was ploughed back into the township. May argues that there are a number of explanatory hypothesis concerning both the drinking patterns of particular peoples and cross cultural comparison.

D.Horton in his well-known cross cultural study, maintained that the primary function of alcoholic beverages in all societies was the reduction of anxiety. Peoples habitually subjected to stress of food scarcity, acculturation or war, drank heavily to reduce the anxiety to generated. The 1960s witnessed massive municipal police raids in African townships for illegal tenants. The influx control laws noted that Africans living in urban areas were deemed sojourners, temporary labourers occupying urban housing as long as they proved to have

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with K Chabuda at Budiriro 4 on 3 August 2018.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

legal employment and thus the legal right to stay in towns. Salisbury rules for African residency, for example that pass laws were both restrictive and oppressive. These were partly a response to urban violence and political activism in the 1960s and in this context of oppression and deprivation alcohol was used to reduce stress and anxiety. Horton states that the heavy drinking could generate anxieties and the amount of drinking allowed was the interplay between the anxiety reducing and anxiety producing function of alcohol.

Child, Bacon and Barry support Horton's general ideas though they suggest greater stress on the importance of dependence conflict as a source of anxiety. Referring to the American Indians, Dozier suggests that social-cultural deprivation was a powerful incentive to heavy drinking.¹⁹⁶ In Salisbury, colour bar on the job market and different syllabi in European and African schools facilitated heavy drinking on the part of Africans to reduce stress. Dozier also proposes that alcohol use provided new modes of social interaction to substitute for those which had been lost owing to severe shocks of acculturation.¹⁹⁷ This was also the case in Salisbury where alcohol was used to cement urban bonds. Migrant labourers and local Rhodesians in Salisbury strengthened urban social relations through beer drinking in a plethora of beer halls erected by the Municipality.

There was widespread heavy drinking and frequent drunkenness among the urban Africans and both types may be combined under convivial and utilitarian drinking.¹⁹⁸ Stress drinking might be accounted for by a number of social-cultural and economic factors. Social and

¹⁹⁶ E. P. Dozier, "Problem Drinking among American Indians, The role of Socio cultural Deprivation" *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*. No.27 1968.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ NAZ R/RU 503: Rufaro Brewery – Salisbury Liquor undertaking Department, Annual Report, 1965-1977.

individual conditions in the African townships made a high rate of heavy or excess drinking probable:

- A) Economic factors: inadequate housing, economic insecurity, the low price of beer in relation to other food and promotion of beer consumption by vested interest in a situation where there was already environmental support for heavy drinking.
- B) Stress resulting from transition from one type of society to another from a subsistence /agrarian to an industrial economy. Culture contact difficulties were Particularly apparent according to Dozier when contact with the dominant culture was confined largely to the dominant culture were usually rebuffed.
- C) Socio-cultural deprivation: economic and social and political overt discrimination, poverty poor housing and lack of education and opportunities. These were the factors which had been shown to be associated with delinquent behavior and the readiness to find relief in high levels of drinking; discrimination in education and neglect of Africans as well as lack of political authority became an incentive for drinking in Salisbury.
- D) Strong kinship ties: Kinship ties were weakening in the urban situation and social controls operating in the traditional structures could not survive in strength in a modernising population.¹⁹⁹

Transition from a traditional to a modern economy and migrant labour created a multiracial society with weak kinship ties and alcohol had an effect of strengthen urban based bonds. Added to the above considerations was the situation where the beer hall had become the most important recreational institution in the townships, where social participation was sought and found and the drinking of beer proved a temporary resolution of stresses and anxieties. The

¹⁹⁹ J.May, Drinking, p19.

African townships could be seen as providing a climate in which heavy drinking might well be expected to be widespread.

Though there appeared to be little alcoholism of the type usually found in Western society, certain individuals appeared to drink enough to cause some degree of physiological change and therefore, dependence. In weekend drinking and weekend drunkenness, the African drinker was following a pattern which was 'accepted' by the members of his community. Jellinek has described such drinking as possibly functional, where people drank to achieve a certain preconceived result and this could be directly correlated with the need for release and control of aggression. In that case, the Africans ailment was not excessive drinking but rather the social and psychological difficulties from which alcohol gave temporary surcease.

The majority of African men preferred the beer halls for the possibilities of social participation and group enjoyment of drinking. Beer halls provided for entertainment such as music and dancing and games such as draughts were very popular and helped to create a convivial atmosphere.²⁰⁰ They played very important part in the urban social life in providing meeting places, decent recreational facilities and a focus for community life. The Salisbury Mayor wrote in 1967 that the Rufaro Brewery had been an important contributing factor to the level of happiness and tranquillity which the Municipality had been able to maintain.²⁰¹ It had been instrumental in developing an important social institution within the townships. Without, these adjustments to urban conditions of living would have been very much more difficult for the thousand patrons whose leisure hours were spent in the beerhalls.²⁰² Beer halls provided not only a necessary social milieus but a cheap form of liquor which, thought

²⁰⁰ NAZ S86, The Rhodesia Herald, 23 July 1967.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

it might not be as nutritionally valuable as was previously thought, provided a useful adjunct to what was often a deficit diet.²⁰³ However, lack of comfort and inadequate services were felt to be a drawback, particularly in the more austere beer halls, among the more urbanized there was a growing dislike for the traditional sharing of mugs and a preference for packaged beer which was more hygienic.²⁰⁴

Beerhalls brought undeniable problems to Africans in Salisbury. Beerhalls were blamed for many social problems such as excessive drinking, crime. Beer was blamed for juvenile delinquency, broken marriages, the spread of prostitution, absenteeism from work and rowdiness in African employees.²⁰⁵ Beer gardens had an essentially volatile atmosphere especially when crowded, and tensions brought in by the patrons from outside were not always happily resolved.²⁰⁶ Walcott's description of the Bulawayo beer gardens was applicable to Highfield;

Most violence was interpersonal, resulting in fights and stabbing, but there were still incidents of collective violence and mob reaction, and if the stories recounting such incidents were not necessarily accurate they were nevertheless effective in keeping everyone mindful of how quickly a beer garden crowd could get out of hand.²⁰⁷

Peer pressure drunkenness and overcrowding as well as theft encouraged violence and a general atmosphere of discontent in the beer gardens. In Salisbury, the beer halls were undoubtedly the most important centres of urban African social life, as they did not centre on a traditional activity but instead adapted to meet the needs of an urbanising people.²⁰⁸ Beer

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ J. May, Survey of Urban African, p32.

²⁰⁵ NAZ S85, The Rhodesia Herald, 19 February, p6.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ H.F Walcott, Plastic mugs, 35.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

halls were accused of being a major factor in encouraging prostitution, gambling, alcoholism, crime and delinquency and of being a threat to basic social institutions.

The need for cash gave rise to the brewing of traditional beer (ndari) and traditional controls began to break down in the new situation.²⁰⁹ The beer brewed for sale in rural areas found its way into urban centres through illegal transportation. The absence of many men from the villages and their frequent returns from town bringing with them their urban drinking freedoms and also money to pay for 'ndari' even if traditionally, they were not yet of an age to drink with their elders, contributed further to changing rural drinking patterns.²¹⁰ The growth of a number of commercial outlets, both bottle stores and beer gardens, had narrowed the gap between town and country drinking, styles, traditional drinking giving way to urban patterns of organisation at social gatherings.

There was no doubt however, that the whole pattern of drinking in the rural areas was undergoing considerable change and was probably a reflection of the general change which was occurring in all but the most remote areas.²¹¹ The changes were brought by largely increasing communication with the urban areas and imposed changes in organisation through local councils and the introduction of community development schemes. Considerable resentment especially on the part of women was discernible where rural beer halls were organised by local authorities, both on moral grounds, because the women were deprived of a means of earning money, often the only means of providing school fees and clothing.²¹² Women and some men tended to emphasise on the negative aspects, but it must not be lost of

²⁰⁹ NAZ GNP/SAL, Liquor Undertaking Department, p8.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² NAZ, S230/1/8, African beer 1970.

that those places probably had the same function as the town beer gardens in helping to meet social and recreational needs. Rural beer halls served as meeting places for men from neighbouring villages, where people might share interests and problems or relax and enjoy a more varied environment than village drinking might provide and obtain social contacts with visitors from the town and elsewhere.²¹³ The Durban system introduced in 1911 in Salisbury was now being extended to other parts of the country including rural areas.

More women than men were abstainers and married women tended to drink moderately. Those who frequented the beer halls tended to be unmarried women of 'low statuses, old women, past childbearing age and largely 'free' women who wholly or partly relied on their earnings as prostitutes for a living.²¹⁴ The unmarried, divorced or deserted who frequented the beer halls were regarded very differently, and the men competed in buying drinks for them with the object of gaining a temporary and at times permanent sexual partner.²¹⁵ The presence of prostitutes was greatly appreciated by the male patrons and though there were many young people always present in the beer halls not all of them actually drank. Young people came to the beer halls for the company and amenities provided especially by the music and women.²¹⁶ The prostitutes however, had a negative impact of spreading sexually transmitted disease among the African labour force. There were undoubtedly heavy drinkers among the youths and their drunkenness and drunken behavior was a source of great concern for the elders. The beer hall accelerated moral decadence as morals, ethics, and customs were easily disregarded by the drunken youths. Older people complained of lack of parental control and respect for their elders that the young people displayed, especially when drinking.

²¹³ NAZ, T56/1-3, Kaffir beer brewing and Municipality control 1967.

²¹⁴ City of Salisbury, Rhodesia, Liquor Undertaking Department, 12 Annual Report, 1975-6,p12.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

There was a pattern of weekend excessive drinking which, though it might not appear pathological or deviant in the light of urban Africans values was nonetheless excessive by western standards, with ensuring social costs and considerable exposure of a large number of people to alcoholic risk or at least , to problem drinking through addiction.

In addition, people not tied to stable interaction networks were socially isolated from responsible sanctioning agents, not only escaped negative sanctions for deviance but were not exposed to positive sanctions for adhering to norms.²¹⁷ Heavy drinkers could be expected to be among these relatively isolated people, who would, in addition have the greatest need for the companionship of the beer halls. The absence of a stable family relationship, an informal visiting relationship, membership in formal organizations, significant religious participation or access to others by telephone, all were considered to be social isolation or freedom from the actions of possible sanctioning agents.²¹⁸ The period after and during the second world war ushered in a new era of industrialisation in Rhodesia. The growth of industry facilitated rural to urban migration especially among the youths. In urban centres the absence of parents and other relatives led the youth into beer drinking. No parents or elders were available to regulate the youth's behavior and advice from other elders in the urban centres usually fell on deaf ears.

Heavy drinking among Africans at a high level of literacy was often a result of dissatisfaction with the job and wages in Salisbury. There was slightly more unemployment among the literate group as it included a number of school leavers who had not yet obtained employment.²¹⁹ Those who were employed compared their pay with that of Europeans in the same trade, both economically and in terms of advancement. The subordination of Africans

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ The Rhodesia Herald, 19 February 1965, p7.

²¹⁹ The Bantu Mirror, 11 August 1951.

through low wages and inferior working positions led to anxiety and stress among urban workers and this warranted intoxication. More so school leavers had nothing more to do than patronise beer halls which proved to be the best if not only entertainment areas for Africans in Salisbury. This encouraged excess consumption and it paid dividends as far as the Municipality was concerned although it had a wholly negative effect on Africans welfare.

WHO notes that only on occasion after accumulation of stress or on account of some heavy stress was tolerance for tensions lowered and the individual took major relief in alcoholic intoxication. The desire to do away with stress was superseded in most cases by the full blown excessive drinking regardless of any stress or anxiety.

Pre alcoholic drinking did not result in over intoxication, but in the subject reached towards covering,' a state of surcease from emotional stress'.²²⁰ After a period of intoxication the effects of alcohol would release tension from the consumer. The prodromal phase is when the apparently non-intoxicated drinker might go through quite elaborate behaviors, for instance conversation with no memory of them that day after.²²¹ This type of amnesia without loss of consciousness had been termed the 'alcoholic palimpsest' by Bonhofer. Palimpsest syndrome was revealed by behavior which showed that, for the particular drinker alcohol had ceased to be a beverage and had become a drug which one needed.²²² The palimpsest stage was terminated by the onset of loss of control which was seen to be a crucial symptom of alcohol addiction.²²³ Rufaro Brewery facilitated the transition from pre-alcoholic to chronic alcoholism among Africans in Salisbury. The loss of control induced by alcohol led to the altering of African decisions making capabilities and this had negative effects on most African families in Salisbury. Prolonged intoxication led to huge Rufaro profits after 1971.

²²⁰ J. May, Drinking, p7.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² J. May, Survey of African Drinking Patterns, p23.

²²³ Ibid.

The profits from Rufaro beer had been reinvested in African townships and this alleviated the plight of Africans.

Table 2 Expenditure financed by beer profits 1976/77

Activity	Amount
African Health Service	\$584 873
African Swimming Bath	\$71 290
African Welfare Service	\$734 912
African Affairs-street lighting	\$51 527
African Housing Capital Development Fund	\$534 850
Total	\$1 977 452

Source: Salisbury Municipality: Liquor Undertaking Department 1977, 13 Annual Report

For the year ending 30 June 1977 Rufaro provided \$1 977 452 in total for the welfare and infrastructural developments in African Townships.

Table 3 Final Account for the year ended 30 June 1977 Five year Performance

Rufaro Sales (Beers)	1972/3 Ltr	1973/4 ltr	1974/5	1975/6	1976/7
Draught	49 648 447	57 297 326	58 805 310	57 638 538	60 809 958
Beer	6 511 213	5 723 053	7 736 993	7 65 910	4 864 500
Packaged Beer	201 236	291 700	127 244		
Bottled beer					
Total	56 361 896	63 312 079	66 669 547	65 245 448	65 674 458

Source: Salisbury Municipality Liquor Undertaking Department 1977, 13 Annual Report.

The production shows an increase from 1972 up to 1977 and this reveals that the brewery was making money for the Municipality.

Table 4 Income to the Undertaking for a five year period

Sales to	1972/3	1973/4	1974/5	1975/6	1976/7
Colonial	6 717 622	7 725 903	8 966 110	8 353 513	8 873 535
Outlets	152 417	198 808	219 092	207 939	244 498
Tow outside	395 042	377 378	409 623	409 910	211 093
Customers					
Sundry					
Income					
Total	7 265 081	8 302 089	9 594 825	8 971 362	9 392 126

Source: Salisbury Municipality Liquor Undertaking Department 1977, 13 Annual Report.

Table 5 Expenditure financed by beer profits 1976-77

Surplus for the year \$1 631 544

Less contribution to

Revenue

African Health Services \$584 873

African Swimming baths \$71 290

African Welfare \$734 912

\$1 391 075

Capital

African Affairs-street lighting \$51 527

African Housing Capital development Fund \$543 850

\$1986 452

Net Deficit carried down \$354 908

Surplus brought forward from previous years \$483 805

Net Deficit for the year brought down \$354 908

\$128 897

Source: Salisbury Municipality Liquor Undertaking Department 1977, 13 Annual Report.

Table 6 Rufaro Expenditure for the 13 years ended 30 June 1977.

Year	African Health	African Housing	African Welfare	Other	Liquor U. Dpt	Total
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1964/5	89 514	-	119 202	15 112	125 502	412 330
1965/6	95 002	-	255 886	17 488	81 384	449 760
1966/7	103 708	-	314 566	27 332	46 216	491 822
1967/8	106 196	680 000	350 596	18 330	40 000	1 195 124
1968/9	113 860	300 000	33 240	34 810	40 000	871 910
1969/70	133 261	350 000	939 765	25 609	100 000	1 548 635
1970/1	162 004	544 510	476 982	30 068	310 000	1 523 564
1971/2	232 617	608 631	613 921	125 022	112 224	1 692 415
1972/3	291 142	606 587	702 991	63 013	-	1 663 733
1973/4	340 802	660 226	656 453	98 907	100 000	1 856 388
1974/5	455 968	709 117	719 600	150 171	-	2 034 916
1975/6	355 824	546 835	681 487	89 087	-	1 853 233
1976/7	584 873	543 850	734 912	122 817	-	1 986 452
Total	3 244 773	5 549 816	7 021 601	817 766	955 326	17 589 282

Source: Salisbury Municipality Liquor Undertaking Department 1977, 13 Annual Report.

For the 13 year ending 30 June 1977 a total of \$17 589 282 had been reinvested in African townships as well as the Liquor Undertaking Department. Rufaro Brewery revenue financed social and economic developments in African Townships, and European residential areas. Moreover, the Brewery provided government revenue. After the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) Rufaro revenue and agricultural products like cotton and tobacco helped to shield the Rhodesian government from the British sanctions. The revenue helped the smith regime during UDI, to maintain a favourable balance of payment despite its expulsion from the Pound Sterling Area or the British Empire.

In spite of Rufaro Brewery profits, the private brewers were able to compete successfully with beer halls and the brewery itself. It was impossible to estimate the amount of liquor brewed or distilled privately and sold.²²⁴ Kachasu distillation and selling was on the rise in the 1960s and shebeens of all types became popular and were well patronized. The shebeens sold European liquor illegally, Rufaro beer, Kachasu and Skokiana. Most though not all ran

²²⁴ NAZ GNP/SAL, Illegal Brewing Activities, Letter from Ellert to the Officer Commanding the BSAP, Salisbury, 1964.

some sort of brothel as well and some were quite frankly primarily, brothels, and one such establishment was run by a nursing sister in the well-kept house set in a pleasant cultivated garden.²²⁵ The girls chosen for their beauty lived on the premises and were not expected to do anything but beautify themselves and ply their trade.²²⁶ Servants usually did all the menial labour of the house.

The presence of prostitutes at well-run shebeens or brothels acted as a pull factor for the men in the council beer halls. Relatively better class shebeens were patronized by high class well off people who came for the comfort of good seats and gold beer, and converted comfortably away from the noise of the beer halls. Better class shebeens kept girls for any customer and also provided bedrooms. This threatened the potential revenue of Rufaro Brewery. More so it led to the spread of diseases and the breaking up of many families due to the father's promiscuous behavior at the shebeens. Chibuku also undermined the Durban system. The Sunday Mail states that between 1962 when the first brewery opened in Fort Victoria and 1979 twenty additional breweries were opened in every major population centre.²²⁷ The introduction of convenient wax coated cardboard carton "Shake Shake" made a huge impact in 1979. The Shake Shake could be bought and taken away with no deposit because the cardboard container was not returnable. The Chibuku Shake Shake rendered effective competition to Rufaro Ngoto and this negatively affected the Municipality's revenues. According to the Sunday Mail, the people's beer Chibuku became available in red and blue pack that spread across the country like veld fire.²²⁸ The city of Salisbury was not spared by the spread of Chibuku and this impacted negatively on Rufaro Brewery revenue.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ The Sunday Mail in depth, 1979.

²²⁸ Ibid.

Chibuku was determined to monopolise beer brewing in Salisbury as it had done in other parts of the country, for instance in Fort Victoria. Chibuku constructed the Chibuku Stadium in Chitungwiza under Chief Seke who was the first to build a council bar in 1962 to specifically sell Chibuku. Chibuku had provided funds for the construction of the beer hall. After a series of talks with the Salisbury City Council in 1979, the council decided to lease Rufaro Brewery to Chibuku.²²⁹ According to the Sunday Mail, ‘Chibuku bought the plant equipment and transport while brewing and distributing both Chibuku and Rufaro beer though the Municipality kept the beer outlets’ The leasing of Rufaro Brewery to Chibuku ended the Municipality’s monopoly over brewing and distribution of sorghum beer which the Durban System advocated. The end of the monopoly meant the decline of revenues for the Municipality.

²²⁹ NAZ GNP/SAL, Salisbury Municipality, Mayors minutes August 1979.

CHAPTER THREE

“THE GREAT ENEMY OF AFRICAN PROGRESS”: AFRICAN BEER DRINKING AND STATE-AFRICAN RELATIONSHIP IN SALISBURY, 1900 - 1979

INTRODUCTION

This chapter assesses the state’s attempts to control African beer brewing, consumption drinking and the impact thereof. The chapter captures the relationship between the State and Africans. It attributes the relationship to the colonial State’s attitude towards African ‘kaffir’ beer drinking or vice versa. The chapter argues that the relationship between the State and Africans on kaffir beer drinking was an extension of the stereotypical views on each other and the tensions that already characterised their co-existence. Whereas the State considered “kaffir” beer as an enemy of African progress which continuously siphoned the latter’s monetary accumulations and “productive capacity,” the Africans considered the colonial State to be a racial and segregatory institution whose socio-economic policies placed them at the receiving end.²³⁰ It was out of these opposing views that tensions were built between the State and the Africans especially so regarding the consumption of kaffir beer. In this regard, the chapter’s findings feeds to the overall argument in that it explores the avenues through which Salisbury’s socio-economic history can be examined. Newspaper articles and interviews make the bulk of the sources utilised in this chapter.

A TWO RACE TIER: STATE-AFRICAN RELATIONS

The separation of the two races in Southern Rhodesia in the 1930s was to have a profound impact on African beer. The colonial officials came up with a separationist policy as a way of

²³⁰ The *Bantu Mirror*, 31 August 1940.

avoiding clashes between the two races in culture, norms and values. This was to have a bearing on African beer brewing and drinking. The state allowed Black Africans to brew beer on a commercial basis; this was after a long struggle for the need to ban it in the pre-1939 period. Blacks were not allowed to drink European liquor while whites did not even taste African beer which they considered inferior. One observes how beer permeated, informed and intersected with ideas of race, empire and class whereby Europeans viewed 'their' beer as superior because of the superior race ideology. Furthermore, through beer, one is able to explore the nature of colonialism in a settler colony such as Southern Rhodesia. This separation of the two races resulted in the Africans moving the agenda of nationalism demanding rights, freedom and independence. Beer began to be more than just a drink but a political symbol as it became a source of inspiration, a pull factor for Africans to discuss how race relations affected their way of life. Through beer drinking, the state regulated who drank what, where and even with whom. Beer drinking was racialised and in the process provided the social and political capital that Africans needed to rally behind the clarion call of nationalism. This is shown by one African beer brewer in 1965,

Beer in Southern Rhodesia has become a barometer in which one can know which race he/she is. I cannot drink white liquor nor drink my Rufaro beer in a white place. Take your beer to town and that is when you know you are black, you will be forced to throw it away, pay a fine, poor work for two days community service. White drink all they want when they want but the law is on their side, the state does not do anything. This is the reason why all African amenities are poor including the beer itself compared to the European liquor.²³¹

Thus race determined how the state related with Africans, beer was one aspect in which race relations could be gleaned as it had profound implications on race relations especially during Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). This was as well-articulated by one

²³¹ NAZ S675/1-3, African beer and beer gardens, African voices, 1965.

commissioner who said that “race determined who drank what kind of beer in Africa and Asia”.²³² For Southern Rhodesia race relations were important in analysing the Black majority independence, because it did not only affect beer drinking but access to quality education, health, land and better social amenities.

Furthermore, race allowed the state to suppress Africans because whites thought Africans were a people without a vision. This resulted in the colonial state treating Africans as people without rights which is why the State tried to control beer brewing and beer drinking by Africans. This explains the 1911 beer regulations which did not allow Africans to brew beer, the 1936 African Beer Act and subsequently the commercialisation of African beer. In all these regulations the state came up with brewing regulation based on race and racial superiority informed by Victorian sentiments. Race relations are well-explained by the poor whites who were helped by the state to get wealth from Africans so as to be on the same class with other whites. Despite being poor, these Whites were forbidden by the state to mix with Black Africans let alone drink African beer.

The state had double standards as it only allowed Africans to brew and drink beer so as to control them. This was through laws which banned certain types of beer, criminalisation of African brewing as well as through the state establishing the Durban System thus ensuring a monopoly over African beer. The first 30 years of colonial rule were marred by the State trying to control, ban and abolish the African drinking culture. Beer therefore had from the onset emerged as a site of struggle between the state and the African. White capital thought Africans as lazy believing that abuse of beer was inevitable when Africans were allowed to drink.²³³ The efforts by the state yielded nothing as the beer culture grew stronger and stronger because of the need to control how Africans drank. However, by 1936 the state

²³² NAZ T90/123, 2-5, Native Commissioner and African beer, 1939.

²³³ NAZ GNP/SAL African beer Act 1936.

realised that the drinking culture was something strong and could not be stopped therefore; it introduced permits this move was then followed by the commercialisation of beer brewing. This was to control Africans given that in areas where beer was forbidden African absentee work, thereby capital was affected as productivity and profits took a hit. In 1960 the Secretary of the state noted that, “Africans can only be controlled with that which they love the most, allow them to drink beer and use that against them”²³⁴ In the same vein, the behavioural report of 1956 had shown that Africans performed well if allowed to drink socially. This resulted in the building of more beer gardens and renovations of municipality beer halls. The control was in work productivity and the accumulation of funds used to develop the state. However, it should be noted that the interests of the state and capital converged and in a paradoxical manner though the African was disadvantaged they were to realise some benefits through the State-capital relationship. One should not lose sight of that the state related with Africans in a skewed manner which essentially disadvantaged the African. Thus the commissioning of the Southerton brewery, later on Rufaro was a way to control Africans in a bid to avoid industrial action and forestall nationalist sentiments in the early years of colonisation.

The control of Africans through beer was to benefit the state. The state benefited as there was a modicum of peace and tranquillity as Africans were allowed to drink in pubs, beerhalls, shebeens and beer gardens. This reflects how the state related to Africans as shown by the reason they allowed African beer which they had earlier on despised. Africans did not realise the reason why Europeans were suddenly improving the drinking areas as well as supporting the drinking culture. The control of Africans by the State was illustrated by the Minister of Natives in 1946 as he said that;

²³⁴ NAZ T65-7/4-12, African beer and the Federation, 1961.

If the state wants to control Africans, why not do it in a profit sharing scheme, in which Africans are allowed to drink their own beer, while the state benefits from the profits and worker productivity. This can only be the best way to tap into African culture for the benefit of the state and capital in this colony. The African drinking culture has its roots in the evolution of human beings and cannot be stopped by a mere regulation. Africans can be controlled if understood very well, which the state has not invested much into.²³⁵

By enabling Africans to enjoy their beer, the state was not engaging in an act of benevolence. Instead the State had ulterior motives as this was a method of controlling and disciplining the African by ensuring that they drank in controlled spaces which they paid for. The spaces where Africans drank were therefore policed by the state in what was akin to governmentality of space. This way, the African imbiber was reminded of their subservient position in the two-tier state as a subject and subaltern. However, Africans were not passive, they sought to retain and gain agency in these controlled spaces by making them their own as they used drinking gardens to discuss politics and how they could fight the colonial state. The African 'rebelled' and used creativity to own and at the same time subvert the colonial state, thus beer gardens and beer drinking was a subtle form of inverting and challenging State power and authority. Minimising European supervision in African beerhalls turned out to benefit both races as Blacks freely bought beer resulting in huge beer profits for the state whilst the Blacks found a safe space in which they discussed politics freely as well as the nationalist moment and movement.

Despite the state allowing Africans to brew and consume beer the state retained the power to punish those who did not imbibe within the confines of the law. The state sought to regulate and control the African's body as well as how and where they drank beer. Africans were not allowed to drink in the Salisbury city centre. Thus beer drinking was policed as certain spaces

²³⁵ NAZ T90/123, 2-5, Native Commissioner and African beer, 1939.

and places within the city were out of bounds for the Black African. Those found loitering around European bars or beer gardens were fined or had to do community service. In some extreme cases those who were found drinking European liquor were imprisoned without trial thus showing how seriously the State took the issue of race and beer. Furthermore, Africans were not allowed to take beer out of the Municipality beer halls or beer gardens. The relationship between Africans and Europeans in so far as beer was concerned was filled with tension and acrimony. The Government of Southern Rhodesia in 1937 made it clear that they did not want Africans drinking because, drinking would promote crime, vice, prostitution and spread of diseases as more Africans were coming in towns and this would cause squalor.²³⁶ Thus because of this the State would punish Africans who drank unlawfully and recklessness. One African commented in the Bantu Mirror that,

Europeans think we are bad people when it comes to drinking, they say shebeens will attract prostitutes and disease, but even within the white beer halls you find loose ladies. This is just a way to justify their drinking and not allow Africans access to such social privileges. Africans are responsible drinkers, they have been drinking powerful home brewed beer since they whites even came. This just a way to deny us what is due to us.²³⁷

Africans were aware of the State's attitude towards African drinking. Rhetoric by colonial officials was just words to arm the government on how best it could stop or minimise African drinking. Thus the State had reservations when it allowed Africans to drink. According to Nugent, this was typically the colonial mentality across Africa in which the colonial State wanted to deny Africans certain rights like drinking, social gatherings and even sports as a way to dominate all aspects of life, since they had appropriated land and all economic

²³⁶ NAZ S156/2/7/9/1, African Beer drinking and social ills.

²³⁷ Bantu Mirror African beer in Salisbury 1946.

opportunities.²³⁸ Thus the colonial State was eager to control Africans and this resulted in sour relations between the two races as Blacks grew tired and resentful as time went by resulting in the struggle for total control.

State- African relations were similar to that that of a horse and rider. The colonial government believed that beer was evil and dangerous to Africans and despised its brewing whether for social drinking or commercial purposes. Nevertheless the state found ways to exploit African beer drinkers because it would insert superiority for the White men if the government allowed Africans to drown in drunkenness.²³⁹ There was a shift in ideology as the State realised that attempting to ban African beer brewing was futile, instead a drunk African could be exploited more. Since colonial occupation whites sought domination and this was only possible through expropriation, but more could be achieved if the African man inebriated. Thus beer came from being evil to African, a drink that was not to be consumed to being a useful weapon in the hands of the State for the purposes of exploitation, domination, asserting superiority, and diversion of the Africa's social and economic condition. Sir Morris in 1937 had alluded to the fact that beer diverts the African mind from being productive and hence should be banned, the 1950s saw this lie of thinking shifting as the colonial state now believed African beer can be used to divert Africans from sober thinking like rebellion, absenteeism from work and being uncontrollable.

Salisbury as the commercial and capital city was exposed to several kinds of beer which allowed the State to reap and realise healthy profits. The introduction of Rufaro beer, with its several brands resulted in the State having to monopolise the profits. In as much as the State can be applauded that profits from Rufaro beer managed to improve African housing and

²³⁸ P. Nugent., "Do Nations Have Stomachs? Food, Drink and Imagined Community in Africa" *Africa Spectrum*, Vol. 45, and No. 3, *Continuities, Dislocations and Transformations: 50 Years of Independence in Africa* (2010), pp. 87-113.

²³⁹ Ibid.

built a football stadium, this was a smokescreen as the State controlled the profits and used them to further colonial developments. The state wanted to develop Salisbury as much as possible and there was need for accumulation of funds to do that. By 1979 Salisbury was the third richest city in Sub-Saharan Africa because of the industrial developments, housing, and buildings. This was made possible because of the centralisation process which included the formation of the Rufaro brewery which was the biggest brewery in Sub-Saharan Africa. Different brands of beer were used by the State to attract labour from rural areas and other cities. Thus beer was used by the State to lure more Africans for labour exploitation and financial mobilisation. One notes that beer helped build Salisbury.

AFRICAN BEER, THE ENEMY OF AFRICAN PROGRESS

The production and consumption of beer was not detached from Southern Rhodesia's racial politics. Regardless of the dynamic guises under which Africans were prohibited from drinking beer, race relations remained central and a defining element in state policies. In this regard, agents of state policies among whom were Native Commissioners, Chief Native Commissioners and police officers issued statements which justified the State's position to restrict African beer production. In reality, these "justifications" were intended to contain African beer brewing and consumption. They provided *prima facie* evidence which supposedly expressed the view that Africans were careless drunkards who had a poor sense of budget. Like most of the socio-political issues in Southern Rhodesia, this again distorted the socio-economic and political realities of the Africans.

The colonial State harboured thoughts against Africans' use of money on beer. From such thoughts, it established that beer halls were a trap against African poverty. This phenomenon was not only limited to Salisbury as a colonial city. It stretched to and encompassed other areas in Southern Rhodesia. For instance, the 1940 Bulawayo Town Council meeting revealed that the Bulawayo Municipality was making profits of over £1

500 a month from the Location Beer Hall in sales of beer to the Natives.²⁴⁰ It even placed future projects at £25 000.²⁴¹ Despite the fact that this was financially rewarding to the local governing authorities, the State remained concerned about the welfare of Africans. It stated that the Location Natives were spending about 50% of their income on beer, a position which prompted Councillor Davies to advise the Council that the natives were not supposed to be allowed to spend such large sums of money on beer. Instead, the money was supposed to be used on other areas where the African had “genuine need.”²⁴² To this end, Davies remarked, “the Africans would feel it just if this money were used for their education as this would teach them the best way of spending their money.”²⁴³

In Salisbury, Africans continued to spend enormous amounts on beer. Reverend Ibbotson revealed that in November 1939, Africans spent £2 500 on beer drinking in beer halls thereby leading to monthly profit sales on beer to record £1 800.²⁴⁴ Given such a scenario, White employers who were not willing to pay more wages to their African workers started to argue that Africans had no need for money. One such employer noted,

The fact that Africans spent such an enormous amount of money on beer made his European people refuse him, whenever he tried to ask for more wages to be given to Africans, for they said that, if the Africans were to have their wages increased, it would mean the increase of beer consumption.²⁴⁵

In this regard, the biggest fear from employers was that should they increase African workers’ wages, they would consume more beer. The net effect, however, was not on beer

²⁴⁰ The *Bantu Mirror*, 28 September 1940.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ The *Bantu Mirror*, 28 December 1940.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

consumption per se but the effects thereof. In most cases, such consumption negatively affected production levels through absenteeism from work, drinking during working hours or bad behaviour in work premises. Ironically, this transpired against the backdrop of African low wages. Their family responsibilities increased the financial burden. Apart from paying rent, they had wives and children to look after.

However, the state's concern on African spending capacity was influenced by the need to effect the Africans to make financial donations to the war fund rather than spend it on beer and other items. The state advocated a careful and strict use of money. It advised Africans introspect after drinking beer. This was so because many Africans, after drinking beer, ended up buying unnecessary things. "Some Africans," Rev. P. Ibbotson noted, "spend money on unnecessary things such as eyeglasses that they do not need; some buy fountain pens and a number of pencils which they cannot use except to hang on their coats with the intention of trying to look well before people."²⁴⁶ The state considered this to be extravagant. Interestingly, the shopkeepers were selling things that were not of use to Africans because they wanted to maximise profits. In this context, Africans were supposed to use their discretion in determining the things they wanted and leave the other things that were not necessary.

The colonial state's views about Africans' spending more on beer at the expense of important things ignored the dynamics which influenced African beer brewing and consumption. As had been revealed by Percy Ibbotson's report, poor living conditions characterised the lives of Africans who were in the Salisbury in the 1940s. The report noted the low level of wages paid to Africans living not only in Salisbury received relatively the highest cash wages of £2 145 as compared to Africans in other urban areas. This resulted in

²⁴⁶ The *Bantu Mirror*, 28 December 1940.

Africans engaging in beer brewing to supplement their wages. Thus the economic relationship between the state and Africans on one hand and capital and Africans on the other caused massive informal sector in the name of beer brewing. This resulted in the state coming up with stringent measures to stop such developments because beer selling became a lucrative business. The report noted that; “It is indisputable that the majority of urban Africans are bearing a heavy burden owing to the increased cost of living to meet which no extra wages or allowances are being paid”.²⁴⁷ The growth and sprouting of illegal shebeens in Harari and Highfield was as a result of Africans being given low wages in the workplace and this was a safety valve as more Africans came to urban areas for employment, and the capital exploitation of minimising costs and maximising profits exposes how State and capital related with Africans.

The Great Depression of October 1929 adversely affected the economy of Southern Rhodesia as well as how the state related with its citizens, Africans in particular. The economic depression had negative repercussions on labour and as these sections shows, the relationship of African labour in particular and beer as a result. Almost all the different sectors of the economy found it imperative to minimise operational costs by cutting down on labour inputs and consequently unemployment became rife. However, the state saw unemployment as a problem that was detrimental only to the Whites. The Chief Native Commissioner in 1930 noted that,

Fortunately the effects of unemployment so far as natives are concerned, do not lead to serious problems of feeding and housing which such conditions produce among Europeans. The reason of (sic) this is that there are comparatively few detribalized natives who depend on the receipts of wages for their living. When periods of unemployment prevail, the regular native worker being more skilled in whatever work he may be employed at

²⁴⁷ Percy Ibbotson, Report on a survey of Urban Conditions in Southern Rhodesia, August 1942-June 1943

retains his job, while the less skilled tribesmen returns to his home in the reserve, lies comfortably on the products of husbandry.²⁴⁸

This report shows how the state neglected the African worker in Salisbury. This resulted in more individuals resorting to illegal beer brewing. In essence the State had a direct effect of the development of African beer and when it tried to stop what it had created, it became difficult to do so because of a plethora of factors such as African drinking culture, unemployment and the more marginalised Africans were becoming in cities.²⁴⁹

Another fear from the colonial state was that beer made Africans “unproductive.” Although this position held by the state was not static, it nevertheless affected state-African relations. The State was pressurised by changes over time which affected its labour supply. For instance, whereas the Great Depression had presented the state with no employment opportunities, the labour shortages during the Second World War forced the state to maximise on the available labour. As such, the state had to ensure that the employed Africans don’t lose any man days through either inefficiency or absenteeism caused by excessive beer drinking.²⁵⁰ It was those who were excessively drunk that caused African beer takers to be viewed as unproductive. However, this was not a unique feature of the colonial state. Even the independent African state had problems with African beer drinking. Workers’ Committees of the Manicaland based State Coffee Estates had challenges with curbing beer drinking which they cited as detrimental to workplace progress.²⁵¹ This partly explains the crisis of expectations which characterised the early years of

²⁴⁸ NAZ GEN-P/MAR, Report of the Native Commissioner for the 1930 year.

²⁴⁹ D. Morris., *Social and Cultural aspects of drinking, A Report of the Amsterdam Group*, The Social Issues Research Centre, Oxford, 1998, p7.

²⁵⁰ *The Bantu Mirror*, 6 April 1942.

²⁵¹ Records of the Regional Labour Relations Officer, Chipinge. General Agriculture and Plantation Workers Union. Letter from Mauriicia Farm Manager to “who it may concern,” – the Labour Office Chipinge. Dated 16 January 1991.

Zimbabwe's independence as some Africans thought that independence entailed a complete overturn of the colonial state hence could drink at workplaces.²⁵²

The colonial state's justification of the idea that beer halls were an enemy of African progress is found in some of its official statements. The *Bantu Mirror* of 1936 captures the African beer drinking menace. It noted that "Africans are gradually losing their sense of sobriety."²⁵³ Although it attributes some of the reasons for this to "the rather limited leisure at their disposal and fabulous sums paid for the undermining evil," it categorically stated that the "hour devoted unduly to beer halls,"²⁵⁴ was the distinctive among the issues that were affecting Africans at the time. However, the state's perception of African beer drinking was not homogeneous. Other officials considered themselves not altogether opposed to beer, a substance they referred to as "this rather gratifying drink." According to advocates of this view, the individual's sense of good judgement was supposed to be the judging factor.

The state also ascribed road accidents to the beer drinking problem. The majority of road accidents were noted to have been due to the disturbance of the nervous system by an over-dose of alcohol on the part of Southern Rhodesian citizens.²⁵⁵ Despite Africans being not much privileged to own personal cars at the time, their behaviour when using roads was cited as equally disturbing to road users. By 1940, the state expressed the dangers found in beer drinking by noting that;

The beer customers are like little children. But they do not realise the danger that lies at the bottom of the beer cups : they believe that they

²⁵² Box 1248/2-2-7-3F. Work Stoppages (Jan 1981 – October 1985. Correspondence from D. J Butterworth, Acting Regional Industrial Relations Officer Manicaland to the Chief Industrial Relations Officer.

²⁵³ The *Bantu Mirror*, 18 April 1936.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ The *Bantu Mirror*, 18 April 1936.

are enjoying the world: they need loving leaders who care for their future.²⁵⁶

The above statement expressed the colonial state's belief that it was the moral right of the Salisbury municipality to ensure that its inhabitants accept the warnings given to them. According to the statement, the problem in beer drinking was found in the after effects of drinking.

A major turning point in State-African relations with specific reference to beer was ushered by the Second World War. As argued by Mlambo and other scholars who discuss the wartime as a watershed for the colonies, World War II became an external stimulant in the colonial economies.²⁵⁷ For instance, it led to a high production drive in minerals production.²⁵⁸ On the agricultural side, it inspired a food production drive in which tobacco, beef and other products were produced on a high scale.²⁵⁹ With specific reference to Southern Rhodesia, World War II slightly affected state perceptions on "kaffir" beer. Gopito testified that the wartime forced the State to relax its strict enforcement of the laws.²⁶⁰ Informing this view was the stance from most Africans that they gained financially from selling "kaffir" beer. This happened at a time when the state appealed for money from Salisbury Africans in an endeavour to raise the war funds. To this end, the colonial state was caught between letting Africans sell "kaffir" beer the proceeds of

²⁵⁶ The *Bantu Mirror*, 31 August 1940.

²⁵⁷ A. S. Mlambo, "From the Second World War to UDI, 1940 – 1965," in Raftopoulos B and Mlambo A, *Becoming Zimbabwe, A history from the pre-colonial period to 2008*, Harare, Weaver Press, pg. 75.

²⁵⁸ R. Dumett, "Africa's Strategic Minerals during the Second World War," *Journal of African History*, 26, 4, 1985.

²⁵⁹ C. Munhande, "Global war and local economy: a study of the impact of the 2nd World War on Southern Rhodesian tobacco industry with specific reference to marketing, 1939 – 1965," *The Dyke*, Vol. 2.2., See also N. Samasuwo, "Food production and War supplies: Rhodesia's beef industry during the Second World War, 1939-1945," pg. 487.

²⁶⁰ *Interview* with Mr. Gopito conducted by Simbai Mutimbanyoka and Susan Ziki at 2843 Old Highfield on 16 February 2018

which could indirectly benefit it or banning it altogether. In the end, they chose the former position.

Laitana Kalongoda offered striking insights which warrants a comparison between Southern Rhodesia and other British colonies.²⁶¹ Her narrative gives an almost similar situation for Nyasaland, present day Malawi.²⁶² Kalongoda noted that the Second World War changed State-African perceptions on beer. Nyasaland Africans who were unable to raise the State required war funds resorted to beer brewing. More so, some of the Nyasalanders who were unwilling to come to Southern Rhodesia to seek employment started to brew traditional beer the purpose of which was to raise money which they partly contributed to the Nyasaland War Fund.²⁶³ Such a step by Nyasaland Africans gained a lukewarm response from the Nyasaland Government. Although they could not totally sanction it, they could also not openly discourage it as they did in years before the Second World War. Part of the explanation is found in that the State endeavoured to raise war funds by whatever means possible.

In spite of such similarities in the cities, different dynamics punctuated State-African politics altogether. There were differences between what took place in the villages and in the towns of both countries mentioned above. During the Second World War, Africans in the reserves were allowed to brew beer at any time and for any purpose other than selling. The difference was as a result of the idea that towns contributed more money through sales obtained from kaffir beer than was contributed from the reserves.

²⁶¹ *Interview* with Mrs Laitana Kalongoda conducted by Simbai Mutimbanyoka and Susan Ziki at 363 Engineering, Highfields, Harare, 5 March 2018.

²⁶² Laitana Kalongoda is the daughter of a Malawian migrant worker who came to Southern Rhodesia in search of employment in the farms. She shared an interesting story of her experiences whenever she visited Nyasaland with her late father. This experience enriched the study's findings because it presents the opportunity for a comparative narrative.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

However, cases were noted in which the Africans brewed beer in the reserves closer to the city after which they transported it to the town for sale. This was so because in the reserves they brewed it under the guise of performing traditional rites which was not so easy to do in the towns.

AFRICAN BEER AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

This section addresses the reactions of Africans to “kaffir” beer laws. It notes that Africans were not passive recipients of a system they loathed. One among the varied ways through which the Africans responded to kaffir beer can be found in the advancement of nationalistic politics. Although the rise of such politics was not exclusively linked to kaffir beer, the consumption of beer nevertheless provided conducive environments in which Africans discussed nationalistic politics. Therefore, this section infuses the rise of nationalism within the general context of the consequence of African beer drinking. One such result was the springing up of shebeens in Southern Rhodesia’s urban locations such as Mbare and Highfields. This involved the political alertness and consciousness of Africans and the response of the state in curbing such an effect on its political dominance. Africans became politically active and the state increased its control by unleashing police in various townships in Salisbury. It is upon such a backdrop that this section’s findings relate to the study’s argument by assessing the state’s attempts to control African beer brewing and its impact on African nationalism.

An interview with Mr Gopito established that beerhalls became inseparable from nationalistic politics.²⁶⁴ Whereas Africans used undesignated kaffir drinking places to discuss their nationalistic politics, the State used beer halls as areas where they could find those who opposed them. Gopito noted that owing to the treatment they received, “it became difficult

²⁶⁴ *Interview* with Mr. Gopito conducted by Simbai Mutimbanyoka and Susan Ziki at 2843 Old Highfield on 16 February 2018

for elders to go to beerhalls... Beerhalls became a deterring place.”²⁶⁵ The colonial State used beer halls to trace and identify Africans who were leading discussions on African nationalism. While it was easy to trace leading nationalistic figures using beer halls, it was not so easy with “kaffir” beer.²⁶⁶ This was so because beer halls were easily identifiable yet kaffir beer drinking places remained a mystery for the colonial State to establish. However, Gopito noted that in Highfields, “if they suspected you of being an agent of nationalist politics, they would torture you till you admitted.”²⁶⁷

Regardless of the nationalist stance which was simmering behind beer drinking tendencies, the colonial state continued to suppress African beer drinking. According to Gopito, police officers usually invaded beer drinking places.²⁶⁸ He recalled several incidents when the police came to Highfields and spilled “kaffir” beer which was contained in drums;

When the police came to Highfields on that day, we all ran away with our cups which were full of beer. We hid nearby while we observe what was taking place. The police spill the beer on the ground and left.²⁶⁹

This positioned reinforced the “negative” perceptions Africans had about the colonial state. They thought that this move by the state was meant at prejudicing the Africans of their rights to beer. After having been previously barred access to certain beer drinking places, they regarded this as an extension of the colonial state’s racial politics.

The chapter engaged the debates on state-African relations outside “kaffir” beer and infused it within the state-African relations at beer consumption level. It discussed the

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ *Interview* with Gopito, 16 February 2018.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

tension and acrimony which punctuated state-African relations. In most cases, such antagonism extended to social spaces. In this regard, the study observed that racial politics were a central feature in African perception of colonial governance. Even in cases which were not entirely racial or discriminatory, Africans perceived themselves as victims of the colonial system. In return, the colonial state's stereotypical views on Africans influenced its socio-economic policies which Africans did not always receive passively.

CHAPTER 4

BEER DRINKING AND AFRICAN SOCIAL LIFE IN SALISBURY, 1960s - 1980

INTRODUCTION

The chapter explores the nexus between beer drinking and African social life. It uses beer drinking as a prism with which the social life of Africans can be explored. Chibuku beer sponsored a football tournament the Chibuku Cup which provided prize-money to winners as well as entertainment to football-loving fans. Beer was therefore central in the social, leisure and entertainment life of the African. Although the chapter admits that those who did not patronise beerhalls cannot certainly be measured by this prism, it acknowledges the fact that among urban Africans, some attended beerhalls for the social comfort it offered rather than because of the desire to consume alcohol. The chapter extends its discussion to include the social significance of beer among the Shona. This is achieved through an examination of beerhall related social activities. The study observed that an analysis of beerhall names often reflects this social significance. This chapter offers a three-dimensional contribution to existing urban historiographies. First, it gives agency to the African voice. Secondly, it contributes to an understanding of African social life through an examination of names. Lastly, it challenges conventional literature which traced the social history without paying attention to nomenclature.

BACKGROUND

There are existing strands on beer brewing and consumption. Social history accounts attach the significance of beer brewing and drinking to Shona social and religious activities. It also depicts African social relations from music.²⁷⁰ Urban history narratives focus on beer drinking as an offshoot of the growth of African townships.²⁷¹ However, a major turn

²⁷⁰ See; M. Chikowero, *African Music, Power and Being in Colonial Zimbabwe*, Indiana University Press, 2015.

²⁷¹ See; C. M. Magumbwa, "A social history of Mabvuku, 1952-1963," BA Honours Dissertation, Economic History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2018.

in the historiographical account was witnessed when literature started to establish linkages between beer consumption and the development of African nationalism.²⁷² Representatives of the above strands are Mhoze Chikowero, Charmaine Magumbwa and Nathaniel Chimhete. Unlike Chikowero who discusses the nexus between beer and African music, Chimhete connects beer drinking and African nationalism hence treats “shebeens as hubs of African nationalism.”²⁷³ Chimhete’s analysis shifts scholarly trends in examining beer drinking as not solely a social phenomenon but a political move. This chapter acknowledges and benefits from the insights found in existing strands.

Existing urban or social historiographical accounts exclusively rely on archival sources. Although archival sources proffer colonial administration’ narratives, they, at times, prejudice African voices. Isaacman notes that being a colonial creation, the archives provides “...a subtle colonial discourse that masked and distorted social realities...”²⁷⁴ To unmask the social realities in the urban spaces, therefore, this chapter gives agency to subaltern voices in examining the social significance of beer. It relies on interviews conducted in Highfield, being one of the oldest African townships in the country. The interviews were useful in gaining the participants’ past experiences. They gave in-depth information on the beerhall naming. The interviews were useful in gleaning the participants’ past experiences and bringing out the voices of those who were subjects and subalterns in the colonial state. They gave in-depth information on the beerhall naming demonstrating African agency and creativity. The life histories approach gave useful insights into Highfield during

²⁷² N. Chimhete, “African Nationalism, Municipal Beer Outlets and Shebeens in Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1960s – 1980,” See Also; N. Chimhete, ‘The African Alcohol Industry in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, 1945-1980’, MA Dissertation, Economic History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2004, pg. 7.

²⁷³ See N. Chimhete, “African Nationalism, Municipal Beer Outlets and Shebeens in Salisbury. See also; M. Chikowero, *African Music, Power and Being in Colonial Zimbabwe*.

²⁷⁴ A. Isaacman, “Peasants and Rural Social Protests in Africa”, *African Studies Review*, Vol 33, No. 2, (September 1990), pp.1-120.

the 1960s. As shown by Kate Bird, life histories approach allows the exploration of complexity and inter-relationship.²⁷⁵

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF BEER AMONG THE SHONA, 1960s – 1980

Throughout the colonial period, beer carried a significant meaning. In most cases, the meaning was inextricably linked to the day to day life of the Shona. Beer has been central in the social, economic and political life of the Shona. Through everyday practices such as working on the fields, language particularly idioms and proverbs as well as rites of passage, one catches a glimpse into the role that beer played in Shona society and one gleans how beer informed and shaped Shona worldview. Beer played a critical part in the socio-economic exchange, it bound and divided people. For instance gender relations were visible within beer production, beer brewing and beer drinking. Men tended to imbibe brews which were made by women and in the process due to the patriarchal nature of African society; beer was regarded as the preserve of men. Beer therefore included yet at the same time excluded, older men would not drink with the youth. Beer also served as a common cultural marker of wealth and status. Beer lubricated social and economic relations as it mediated relations. The type of beer one drank indicated their social standing or position as well as the economic strata which they belonged to. Additionally, it was a demarcation line of sorts as it created social boundaries-both seen and unseen. It reinforced social hospitality, communality during ceremonial and everyday activities. Politically, beer was used as a form of paying tribute to chiefs as well as kings within the state.

In this section, the relationship between beer drinking and music is used to depict the social activities of Salisbury Africans. More importantly, the intersection between music and beer is used to account for the nature of classes within African societies. Whereas as

²⁷⁵ K. Bird, "Reflections on using life history approaches," *Chronic poverty research centre, Overseas Development Institute*, k.bird.ra@odi.org.uk

existing studies discuss the rise of African middle class using income inequality as the benchmark, this study employs social activities in beerhalls as an avenue of tracing the creation and composition of African social classes. Furthermore, this section observes that artists adhered to certain social standards when plying their trade.

Beerhalls were perceived in different ways by different people. For workers, a beerhall was social a place and space where social gatherings took place after work. Others regarded them as sources of income. Another group, mostly religious, took the moral high ground and perceived beerhalls as a place of moral decadence and sin. These divergent and dynamic views on beerhalls were also echoed on beer itself. Unlike in the rural areas where “mukwerere,” or “gasva” kinds of traditional beer were used for rain-making ceremonies or cleansing rituals, in the urban set-up, beer largely played social function. This rural-urban dichotomy also accounts for the difference attached to the importance of beer. When some people frequented beerhalls to drink beer, others did so because they wanted to make friends. Given such a scenario, it became difficult to prescribe and homogenise conditions for attending beerhalls. It always differed depending on individuals and the area. The following section discusses beerhall names and the social activities attached to them.

BEER AND MUSIC IN HIGHFIELD

Part of beer’s social significance in Highfield included its co-existence with music. Beer and music forged which resulted in a symbiotic relationship in so far as the imbiber was concerned. This influenced the introduction of live bands in beerhalls. The introduction of bands was an improvement from the old system of relying on disco machines or jukeboxes. Live bands, just like the disco system, had their own social significance. Most of the interviewees and discussants from Highfield confessed preferring the latter to the former. There were both social and financial reasons attached to such a preference. Financially, live bands were better than disco. Informing this view was the idea that at

live shows and with live bands, people paid their money once and were assured of all-night entertainment including their favourite songs. On the other hand, the disco machine worked differently as the moment one's favourite songs were over, they had to pay again if they wanted to listen to their own playlist. However, other beerhalls were tolerant and could accede to regular customers' playlist.

On the social front, live bands were also favoured over disco machines. The former attracted many people from Highfields and beyond. With an increased audience, live bands gave life to social activities such as interaction and forming social bonds. For those who consumed alcohol, music refreshed the mind and helped them relax. Occurring in a colonial setup, music became perceived by some as an outlet for defiance. Thus, Mhoze Chikowero records, "yet "Skokiaan," the song, fascinated so many ears that it quickly became a song of many moods. It became subject to a multiplicity of readings and mis-readings as it was refracted through various class and cultural lenses."²⁷⁶ In contrast to this social activity in Highfield, Mbare portrayed a different picture with shebeens playing a central role. Music communicated way of life. Thomas Mapfumo's song "Shabhini" (Shebeen) revealed the manner in which people squandered money in shebeens. It was a form of social commentary. Unlike beerhalls which were purposefully and informatively named, the shebeens assumed the name of the central figure, normally the owner/operator. These were often owned and operated by women, thus the previously patriarchal nature of beer consumption and 'ownership' was turned on its head as women became central players in the industry.

The introduction of music in beerhalls also brought with it social classes among the African imbibers. A discussion with "Mudhara Gidza" and others revealed that social classes were evident in beer halls.²⁷⁷ The discussion identified Leonard Dembo, Paul Matavire,

²⁷⁶ M. Chikowero, *African Music, Power and Being in Colonial Zimbabwe*.

²⁷⁷ Discussion with "mudhara Gidza" and his friends at Machipisa Shopping Centre, 24 December 2018.

John Chibadura, Oliver Mtukudzi, Thomas Mapfumo and Simon Chimbetu as part of the prominent musicians who featured in Highfield. Regardless of the idea that they performed in Highfield, social class also defined their performance. Chimbetu, Mtukudzi and Mapfumo preferred beerhalls which sold Western Liquor as compared to Matavire and Chibadura who performed in any beerhall.²⁷⁸ The first group played in Mushandirapamwe beer garden while Ketai Muchawaya, Paul Matavire and Chibadura could play in any other beerhalls such as Machipisa Bar, The Stones and Mushayabhande bars which were meant for African beer. The idea of preferring some beerhalls at the expense of others was influenced by the type of beer sold in certain beerhalls. Mushandirapamwe beer garden sold European beer. Informants recall that at some point, Mushandirapamwe beer gardens recommended formal dressing for its patrons and customers.²⁷⁹ This was unlike other beerhalls which sold African beer and had no dress code for patrons and customers.

Given these two contrasting views, patrons who frequented Mushandirapamwe beer garden considered themselves to be of better social standing than those at Machipisa, Pachedu or any other bar in Highfield. At Machipisa Bar and Pachedu beer garden, imbibers queued to purchase beer fearing that stocks of matured beer would be depleted thus forcing them to buy fresh beer. This was never an issue at Mushandirapamwe beer garden because European liquor was always ready and available to drink. To account for the differences in Mushandirapamwe beer garden and Machipisa Bar can be explained by the entrance fee. However, due to memory lapses and the passage of time, there were difficulties in establishing the exact figures with respect to the entrance fee charged by both outlets. The informants only remembered that they paid 50 pence or 75 pence for a mug

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

cup of beer.²⁸⁰ However, it can be established that at Mushandirapamwe, owing to the quality and type of beer consumed there, these figures were lower than what was paid there. It was due to these differences that those who patronised Mushandirapamwe Beer Garden considered themselves of a better social status.

BEERHALL NAMING IN HIGHFIELD

This section discusses the nomenclature of beerhalls in Highfield. It relates the beerhall names and the social activities which took place at the specific beerhall. This enables the research to explore the significance of beer African everyday life. Naming is a social, economic and even a political activity. Despite the section being primarily concerned with Highfield, it makes comparisons and contrasts with Mufakose and Mbare beer halls so as to be in a position to have a broader scope of African social life. The section's key observation is that names of beerhalls embodied many facets of social life. Such an observation reinforces Shumirai Nyota, Jacob Mapara and Davie E. Mutasa's argument. The trio demonstrate that there is purposeful and informative naming of African beer halls.²⁸¹ According to them, beer hall names "*also function as cautionary statements because they warn the same imbibers and would be drinkers.*"²⁸² However, there are differences between Nyota, Mapara and Mutasa's collective focus and that of the on-going study. Whereas Nyota et al address changes and continuities in beerhalls names after independence, this study primarily focuses on the colonial period. Most significantly, unlike Nyota *et al* who adopt a general appreciation of beerhall names across Zimbabwe, this study uses Highfield as a prism to capture African social life. A sole concentration on Highfields gives a greater

²⁸⁰ Almost all the discussions produced similar figures. In cases where discussions failed to produce the exact figures, it remained within the \$0.50 - \$0.75 range.

²⁸¹ S. Nyota, J. Mapara and D. E. Mutasa, 'Purposeful naming: The case of beer halls named during both the colonial Rhodesia era and present day Zimbabwe', *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, Vol. 24 No. 1. 2009, pg. 141.

²⁸² Ibid.

appreciation of the intertwined forces which punctuated the African's social life. For instance, the name Pachedu beer garden and Mushandirapamwe beer garden are complementary by nature thereby communicating the oneness among Highfield residents demonstrating a sense of oneness and solidarity. Also, this study's main thrust is to trace the social factors at the centre of names.

One of the earliest beer halls to be established in Highfield was Machipisa bar. It became one of the biggest beer halls. Svondo Charles Mutero noted that normally, people named beer halls in accordance with the obtaining circumstances.²⁸³ He related beer hall names to his personal story.

My name is Svondo Charles Mutero. I was born in 1952. I was the first surviving son of my parents. I was named Svondo due to circumstances. Literally, Svondo means a week. My mother had challenges with baby boys. Each time he gave birth to a baby boy, he would die within a week. She had a series of deaths of male children. So naming me Svondo, implied that I would die after a week. My mother had lost hope in having children. Fortunately, I survived the first week and up to now, I am still surviving. This brought joy to my mother such that the last baby boy was named Muvigei, itself a name given due to circumstances. Translated, Muvigei means hide him. So my mother was suggesting that they should hide my young brother from the public so that people could not see him. She still had fears concerning the survival of her baby boys....²⁸⁴

Svondo Charles Mutero's story resonates with that of beerhall naming. It communicates African people's ability to express social factors through names. However, Machipisa Bar was named so because it is situated within the Machipisa Shopping Centre.²⁸⁵ One

²⁸³ *Interview* with Svondo Charles Mutero at Machipisa Shopping Centre, 24 December 2018.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ Informal discussion with people who were drinking beer at Machipisa Shopping Centre, 24 December 2018. Among those discussing were an old man named "mudhara Gidza." Mudhara Gidza had rich personal stories with Highfield beer halls. However, a follow-up interview with him failed to materialise. From the informal discussion, he alluded to cases in which he used to migrate from one beer hall to the other in search of his friends and female partners.

gleans that geographic location may lend a beerhall its name. This is unlike beerhalls such as Rambanai, Pachedu and Mushayabande which symbolise certain social factors. Unfortunately, due to failure to be rehabilitated, Machipisa Bar is now closed. This is unlike beerhalls such as Rambanai, Pachedu and Mushayabande which symbolise certain social factors. Unfortunately, due to failure to be rehabilitated, Machipisa Bar is now closed.

One of the earliest beerhalls located within Machipisa Shopping Centre is Pachedu Beer Garden. The name “Pachedu” personifies friendship, intimacy, belonging and oneness. Thomas Gurazhira noted that Pachedu beer garden is symbolic.²⁸⁶ It signifies the friendship of those who used to come and drink there. Generally, the people who patronised Pachedu beer garden were friends. Gurazhira revealed that friends and drinking mates would assist each other when drinking alcohol:

Only friends came to Pachedu Bar. These could be people with long history of friendship.... Interestingly, they gave each other dates on when to buy beer. For instance, a group of 3 or more friends rotated the responsibility of buying beer amongst themselves. If it occurred that the person supposed to buy beer was broke, he could ask the next person to buy with the hope of settling him next time.²⁸⁷

This conduct was not homogenous. Other friendship groups never put schedules when buying beer. “To some,” interjected Innocent Chinomona, Gurazhira’s friend, “whoever had more money on the day bought beer.”²⁸⁸ This was the expression of genuine friendship and true love.

The friendly atmosphere obtained at Pachedu garden made it extremely difficult for people to drink on their own. An informal discussion with Thomas Gurazhira, Innocent

²⁸⁶ *Interview* with Thomas Gurazhira at Machipisa Shopping Centre, 24 December 2018.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ Innocent Chinomona during a discussion at Pachedu Bar. The discussion was among Innocent Chinomona, Thomas Gurazhira and two other respondents who were not identified by name, 24 December 2018.

Chinomona and Terrence Mutema revealed that Pachedu Bar made those who drink alone feel uncomfortable.²⁸⁹ Reinforcing this observation was Terrence Mutema's testimony. Mutema noted that in the late 1970s, Josephat visited Pachedu garden on his own.²⁹⁰ Upon arrival, he found everyone seated in groups of two or more people. What even made Josephat fail to fit in the other groups was the idea that he was a new arrival to Highfield.²⁹¹ It appears he was suspected of being a spy, informer or sell-out as this was during the war of liberation.²⁹² The idea behind the name Pachedu resonates with that which Nyota *et al* discuss. Maintaining the argument that the naming of beerhalls in Zimbabwe was purposeful, they give examples such as Farai (Be happy), Wasarawasara (if you remain behind, you lose out), and Zindoga (lonely one).²⁹³

Both a discussion and interview conducted at Machipisa Shopping Centre identified one beerhall in Mbare as Rambanai.²⁹⁴ When translated, the term Rambanai means divorce. As such, Rambanai Bar mirrors the societal social ills associated with beer. Interestingly, one notes that issues of love could also be found in the beerhall. Hearts could be broken there, love could be found, however, the general consensus was that marriages also ended there. Gidza's account reveals that Rambanai Bar was named as such due to the fact that it was said to be a contributory cause to divorce among married couples.²⁹⁵ Gidza's account was supported by findings from a discussion with a group of five men who were drinking at

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Interview with Terrence Mutema, Pachedu Bar (Machipisa Shopping Centre), 24 December 2018.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ For more information, See: Nyota et al, Purposeful naming," pg. 148-161.

²⁹⁴ There was consensus in interviews carried and discussions contacted that Rambanai Bar was one of the prominent beer halls in Salisbury.

²⁹⁵ Interview with "mudhara Gidza" at Machipisa Shopping Centre, 27 December 2018.

Pachedu gardens. They unanimously noted that many couples divorced because of Rambanai Bar. One of the discussants observed that;

...At Rambanai. Many things happened. Some men gobbled their pay there... some could promise their wives that they were going to the rural areas. Upon arrival at Rambanai Bar for a drink or two before proceeding, they could lose both bus fare and groceries to prostitutes. This infuriated many married women to the extent of settling for divorce...²⁹⁶

In this regard, Rambanai Bar is an expression of the Shona social life. It captures the day to day experiences of the Salisbury residents. Furthermore, it clearly gives the perceptions, emotions and views of participants with regards to beer drinking and beerhall naming in Salisbury. The discussion in Highfield revealed that Rambanai Bar offers different memories to people.²⁹⁷

Joshua Mberi recalled a 1969 social-marital incident at Rambanai Bar. According to him, a friend and his wife fought after the former used his pay to hire the services of a prostitute.²⁹⁸ Constance Gudhla expressed similar sentiments though from a different incident. In 1975, Gudhla witnessed a physical confrontation between two families who clashed over a prostitute.²⁹⁹ Resultantly, wives from both families divorced their husbands.³⁰⁰

A discussion with those who partook in the social activities revealed that since the mid-1960s, divorce became the norm such that on almost every month, there was either a physical confrontation or divorce emanating from the activities at Rambanai Bar.³⁰¹

Whereas Nyota et al offer an explanatory account of the dynamic meanings of the name Rambanai, this study managed to illustrate the activities which characterised Rambanai

²⁹⁶ Discussion with 5 men who were drinking beer at Machipisa Shopping Centre, 20 December 2018.

²⁹⁷ Discussion carried in Highfields, 27 December 2018.

²⁹⁸ *Interview* with Joshua Mberi at “The Stones” Bar (Old Highfield), 20 December 2018.

²⁹⁹ *Interview* with Constance Gudhla at 3288 Old Highfields, Harare, 20 December 2018.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ Discussion carried at “The Stones” Bar (Old Highfield), 20 December 2018.

Bar. It established a link between the theoretical meaning of, and the actual social activity which took place Rambanai Bar.

Beerhalls found in Old Highfield and Canaan include: “The Stones” Bar, Katanga Bar, Mangwende Bar and Willowvale Bar. Whereas Willowvale Bar and “The Stones” Bar are located in Old Highfield, whereas Katanga Bar is in Canaan. “The Stones” Bar was built using stone work, a factor which prompted it to be named “The Stones” Bar.³⁰² Although informants were unable to explain the idea behind naming Katanga Bar as such, they noted that Mangwende Bar is along Mangwende Drive while Willowvale Bar is situated along Willowvale Road hence their respective names. One may postulate that the name Katanga has connotations of rebellion as the province of Katanga in the then-Zaire attempted secession. Katanga may then be read as a site of rebellion both towards the colonial state as well as to the general societal norms expected. Regardless of the fact that the names “The Stones” Bar, Katanga Bar, Mangwende Bar and Willowvale Bar do not explicitly depict the social ills like the names Rambanai Bar and Pachedu bar, they were not spared in the activities which took place elsewhere. Constance Gudhla recounts her experience at “The Stones” Bar. According to her, the social activities such as prostitution and friendship were also part of “The Stones” Bar. Constance Gudhla recounts her experience at “The Stones” Bar.³⁰³ According to her, the social activities like prostitution and friendship were also part of “The Stones” Bar.

During 1976-1977, new beerhall outlets were opened. The new establishments fell in the category of beer gardens, bars and bottle stores. Unlike the earliest beerhalls to which respondents feigned ignorance regarding their establishment, informants had personal experiences with the opening of new ones. From interviews conducted in Highfield, it

³⁰² Discussion with 5 respondents at Machipisa Shopping Centre, 27 December 2018.

³⁰³ *Interview* with Constance Gudhla at 3288 Old Highfields, Harare, 20 December 2018.

was noted that Usahwira Beer Garden, Willowvale Beer Garden, Utsanana Public Bar and Beer Garden and The Sportsman Cocktail Bar were established during this time.³⁰⁴ Outside Highfield, Tafara Bottle Store in Tafara Township and Dumukwa Beer Garden in Zengeza Township were also established. These different beerhall categories had unique advantages and disadvantages to customers. For instance, bars were limited in operational time as compared to Beer gardens. Joshua Mberi recalled;

Apart from the prices and the general levels of hygiene, other factors also influenced customers' choice on beerhall outlets. Bottle stores and bars had limited time. Normally, they closed at 1130pm, a time when most people will be expecting to continue enjoying especially during weekends. This prompted us to shift from bars to beer gardens where we could spend the whole night there. This normally happened during month ends when people had money....³⁰⁵

Evidence gathered from informants revealed that an increase in beerhall outlets gave them a wide array of entertainment and where to drink. This was important in their social life as they were not constrained in their leisure activities and free time. It gave them a variety from which to make a choice.

The Chibuku brand was popular with African imbibers. Its marketing strategy realised the importance of football to the African working classes whose past time was football (soccer). For instance revenue from beer sales had been pivotal in the construction of Rufaro Stadium, one gleans the strategic value that lay in sponsoring what was the most popular game among the Africans. It was in this vein that the Chibuku Cup was launched. One discerns the nexus between beer, marketing and entrepreneurship as brewing companies sought to maximise

³⁰⁴ *Interview* with “mudhara Gidza” at Machipisa Shopping Centre, 27 December 2018. Also; *Interview* with Joshua Mberi at “The Stones” Bar (Old Highfield), 20 December 2018. Also; *Interview* with Terrence Mutema, Pachedu Bar (Machipisa Shopping Centre), 24 December 2018. Also; Discussion with 5 respondents at Machipisa Shopping Centre, 27 December 2018.

³⁰⁵ *Interview* with Joshua Mberi at “The Stones” Bar (Old Highfield), 20 December 2018.

profits using both beer and football. A football stadium was like a cathedral where thousands of African spectators congregated to watch matches. This was not lost to savvy beer marketers who then exploited the love for beer and football. Though the cup was short-lived due to the war of liberation which was at its peak in the 1970s, the cup proved to be a hit and evokes nostalgia among informants who remember it fondly. Billboards, magazines targeted and aimed at an African readership and audience, newspapers were all used as advertising mediums. Beer was deliberately advertised to the African imbibers through sleek advertising and marketing campaigns. However, African produced brews or illegal brews were also sold by entrepreneurial Africans who sought to capitalise on the popularity of football. An alternative economy or what can be termed an informal economy emerged where African beer was sold to those going to the stadium and other imbibers.

CONCLUSION

The chapter discussed beer drinking and African social life in Salisbury from the 1960s to 1980. It demonstrated the social significance of beer to the African urban residents. The chapter used Highfield as an example in depicting the nexus between beer and social life for various reasons. First, it used Highfield because it is one of the earliest urban locations to be established in Salisbury. Secondly, Highfield offers the nationalist account whose cause was also found in beer. Thirdly, solely focusing on Highfield gave an in-depth examination of the African social forces. Like Nyota et al, the article argues that there is purposeful naming of beer halls. A thread cutting across the whole chapter is that beerhall naming was closely related to activities taking place at various beerhalls in Salisbury. Such activities include social gatherings for entertainment as well as social ills like prostitution leading to divorces. These bring out the significance of beer, beer brewing and beer drinking among urban residents in colonial Zimbabwe.

CONCLUSION

The study sought to examine the socio-economic impact of African beer production in Salisbury. Succinctly, its objectives were to trace the origins of beer brewing in Salisbury, to discuss the connection between African beer production and the rise of African nationalism in Salisbury and finally to analyse the colonial state's response to African beer production and the consequences which followed thereafter.

The earlier narrative has demonstrated that the desire to have an active and alcohol free workplace led to the prohibition of beer brewing and selling in the early years of colonial rule. However, the need for revenue led to the adoption of the Durban System in 1911 and this was consolidated by the construction of Rufaro Brewery in 1964. More so, revenue from sorghum beer was ploughed back into African communities in a bid to improve social amenities and the African's social conditions. On the other hand, private players such as African beer brewers and Chibuku among other brewers competed for the sorghum beer market with Rufaro Brewery after 1964. Illegal beer brewers weakened the Durban System and, as a result the Salisbury Municipality failed to fully monopolise beer brewing and selling. The traditional seven days brew and Chibuku commanded a sizeable share of the market and this reduced Rufaro potential revenue. It is also important to note that although Rufaro paid dividends and reaped profits for the Municipality it had negative social, economic, and political effects on the Africans.

The Brewery brought social unrest due to increased cases of drunkenness, undermined moral values and social disintegration through fighting and quarrelling. The economic security of African families was under threat as the beer halls extracted the meagre wages of African beer drinkers. Rufaro Brewery led to the negligence as far as politics was concerned because some Africans spent most of their time drunk and had little or no concentration on political

matters. However, political meetings had become illegal in the 1970s and beer halls and beer gardens provided alternative meeting places for Africans. African political parties were usually formed and led by educated people like Joshua Nkomo and Joseph Msika. The elitist nature of the political parties initially hindered mass participation but African nationalism began to be spread at beer halls and stadia like Rufaro where Africans from different social classes met with relatively less police interventions.

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