

ZIMBABWEAN DEMOGRAPHY: EARLY COLONIAL DATA

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AT THE SEMINAR on African Historical Demography held in Edinburgh in 1981, Ross noted the lack of historical studies on the population of Zimbabwe.¹ He was perfectly correct: in spite of the importance of the subject, historians studying Zimbabwe have paid very little attention to demography. There is a rich literature on the subject that comes from the geographers, summed up and added to by the paper by Zinyama and Whitlow,² but on the whole the geographers have tended to concentrate upon the recent past and especially that period since the first real census of 1962. Among the historians, the study of land apportionment by Palmer frequently referred to population figures but usually at national levels; Cobbing used estimates from the end of the nineteenth century to calculate the Ndebele population in the country; and Mtetwa made considerable use of population figures in his study of the large Duma region in the southern part of the country.³ However, population studies *per se* have been neglected, at least for the early colonial period, with the exception of the work of Johnson, who used data from the early colonial period to show how the population was variously underestimated throughout the colonial period until 1969.⁴ Even so, Johnson's work, though valuable, was based on an incomplete use of the available material.

In 1984 I produced a paper on the question of the pre-colonial population of Zimbabwe.⁵ One part of this paper showed that attempts to project the pre-colonial population back from the apparent increase in the

¹ R. Ross, 'Record of discussion', in C. Fyfe and D. McMaster (eds.), *African Historical Demography: Volume II* (Edinburgh, Univ. of Edinburgh, Centre of African Studies, 1981), 9.

² L. Zinyama and R. Whitlow, 'Changing patterns of population distribution in Zimbabwe', *Geojournal* (1986), XIII, 365-84.

³ R. H. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia* (London, Heinemann, 1978); J. R. D. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos 1820-1896' (Lancaster, Univ. of Lancaster, Ph.D. thesis, 1975); R. M. G. Mtetwa, 'The "Political" and Economic History of the Duma People of South-eastern Rhodesia from the Early Eighteenth Century to 1945' (Salisbury, Univ. of Rhodesia, D.Phil. thesis, 1976).

⁴ R. W. M. Johnson, 'African population estimates — myth or reality?' *Rhodesian Journal of Economics* (1969), III, 5-16. P. Mosley, *The Settler Economies* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), argues from population figures but in discussing basic population data (pp. 111-13) does not take the analysis much further than Johnson.

⁵ D. N. Beach, 'Towards a Population History of Precolonial Zimbabwe' (Harare, Univ. of Zimbabwe, Dept. of History, Seminar Paper 59, 1984).

early colonial period were futile, given the available data. However, I was able to show that there was a basic correlation between the distribution of population in 1911 and that in the Early Iron Age and the first part of the Later Iron Age, data on the latter coming from the early work of Sinclair and Lundmark.⁶ Even so, it also became clear that much more work was needed on the population of Zimbabwe in the early colonial period. In short, a start would have to be made on the historical demography of the country.

Since Zimbabwean historical demography is in its infancy, and since I have had no previous experience in the discipline, it seems to me that best contribution I can make is to begin at the beginning. In other words, I am presenting the basic data collected so far, commenting upon the factors that would have affected its accuracy and making only the most tentative assessments. It is hoped that, at best, this will lay the foundations for future work; at worst, it will be yet another set of extremely unreliable estimates for a region that was previously blank on the demographer's map.

I have collected the population figures supplied by the Southern Rhodesian Native Commissioners of what were, by 1922, thirty-two Districts, for a period of twenty-three years from 1900 to 1922. As will be seen, they have some very serious defects, but they are virtually the only figures available. In addition, I have concentrated upon the rural population, this is not only because they constituted the vast majority of the population but because the calculation of population figures for urban and mining centres poses special problems, primarily those associated with the relatively high mobility and varied origins of town and mine workers.⁷

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIAN NATIVE DEPARTMENT

This government organization was formed in 1894, primarily for the collection of tax and the recruitment of labour. It was headed, for all practical purposes, by the Chief Native Commissioners (CNCs) at Salisbury and Bulawayo until 1913 when the CNC at Salisbury took responsibility for the whole country. Under the CNC, Native Commissioners (NCs) took responsibility for the African population in each District, though this applied mainly to the people outside towns, mines, and, in some cases,

⁶ P. Sinclair and H. Lundmark, 'A spatial analysis of archaeological sites from Zimbabwe', in M. Hall *et al.* (eds.), *Frontiers: Southern African Archaeology Today* (Cambridge, Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 10, BAR International Series 207, 1984), 1-9.

⁷ Thus in thinly-populated Districts, such as Hartley and Gwanda, the mining population if added to the rural figures would seriously distort them. While mining populations fluctuated considerably according to the state of the mining market, many miners from the north were, in fact, in transit on their way to South Africa. See C. van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia* (London, Pluto, 1976).

White-owned farms. In these areas general responsibility for the people was divided between the NCs, the municipal, civil and police authorities and the owners of mines, farms and houses. As far as the population figures were concerned, much depended on the individual NC as to whether he counted people in places in which his responsibility was divided and also as to the accuracy of his figures. Some NCs had Assistant Native Commissioners (ANCs), some of whom were given separate sub-Districts and tendered separate reports giving population figures for the sub-District; on the whole, however, this division of responsibility was a later development. Responsible to the NC and ANC were Native Messengers (NMs), perhaps eight to ten per District, and it was mainly through these men that the NC was able to learn anything of what went on in the District. On special occasions, such as during a census, the NC could call upon the police. In short, there was a very small force for the 'control' of the people.

The Native Department's allocation of Districts had a strong historical continuity, and this was particularly true in Mashonaland. Districts were created to serve each major White farming or mining centre or to control areas with a large population and, in Mashonaland, once Districts had been allocated on this basis (by 1900) there were virtually no changes up to 1923 — except by minor boundary alterations — regardless of the changes in population of the District. However, in Matabeleland there were many more changes, partly because many new Districts were created in the aftermath of 1896–7 rising which were later amalgamated, and partly because, for a long time (in the 1900s), Bulawayo, the biggest town in the country, had no District of its own until the large Bubi District was divided into three smaller Districts. The Matabeleland Districts also varied considerably in size and population.

The bigger the District, the more difficult the NCs found it to count the population; after the first few years of administration virtually every village was known but it was still necessary to track down individuals who tried to avoid notice. Conversely, it was probably difficult for adults in small Districts to escape notice for very long, and this can be seen in the cases of Umzingwani, Chilimanzi, Goromonzi, Marandellas and Mazoe, where the apparent rate of increase decreased earlier than in large Districts. (Towards the end of the period under discussion NCs began to use motor cars: in 1920 NC Ndanga reported that he was now able to visit the southern part of his District more often. He was, of course, confined to the few roads, whereas foot and horse patrols had been more extensive and therefore more difficult for the people to avoid. Thus, the NCs began develop a tendency to rely even more heavily upon their Native Messengers.) However, in every District an apparent increase in population that was in fact due to more villages and individuals being located by the NC was gradually replaced by figures that reflected a real increase.

Much depended upon the NC himself. Some, like Edwards of Mrewa, were in office for the entire period, and others, like Forrestall of Chibi and J. W. Posselt of Charter, for nearly the whole period. Other Districts had a regular turnover of NCs. This did not necessarily affect the population figures one way or the other, though a long-serving NC had more experience, if he chose to use it. Posselt showed both extremes in his early years in office: a 'new broom' in 1903, he made a fairly meticulous census and then relaxed for years, adding to his totals by round thousands until he was forced to supply more accurate figures. A lazy NC might be tempted to keep his estimates low, because this would mean less work in the collection of tax. On the other hand, intelligent guesswork might not have been far wrong.

The role of the CNCs in the collection of population figures was erratic. Unless specific requests were made for certain kinds of information — such as the number of able-bodied men or the number of people living on certain kinds of land — each NC was left very much to his own devices as to the data he supplied, and in some cases even District totals were omitted for years without apparent censure. When the CNC did demand a certain conformity, as when a calculation of the population by multiplying the number of adult male taxpayers by 3.5 was decreed in 1913, there was not necessarily instant obedience: NC Inyanga's 'rebellion' against the rule lasted for four years. At this stage of research, it is difficult to say whether the general failure of the CNCs of Salisbury or Bulawayo to enforce absolutely uniform methods of assessing the population in the Districts is a blessing or a curse. On the one hand, certain categories of information are missing from some Districts and for some periods, but on the other hand some NCs were able to make useful observations that were not affected by preconceived ideas from higher authority.

CHANGES IN METHODS OF CALCULATION

The first 'census' was taken in June 1895, barely nine months after the foundation of the Native Department. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that figures for each District were very low (see Table I), though in some areas they have their uses in calculating the relative wealth of dynasties in terms of livestock. Some NCs counted huts and multiplied by three to arrive at the population figures for their Districts, others seem to have counted people and huts separately, but what was significant was that from then until 1903 — as and when a count could be made both before and after the 1896-7 risings — people were taxed according to the numbers of huts that they owned: until 1901 the tax was 10s. per man per hut, and after 1901 it was 10s. per man per hut and 10s. for each wife after the first. This procedure was adopted because huts were easily counted

and people were not, but the result was a decrease in the number of occupied huts as the bachelors, at least, shared the huts and the tax burden. The 1904 tax ordinance changed the taxation system to simply \$1 per adult male and 10s. per second and additional wives.⁸

In 1903 tax registers were already beginning to be compiled, and they were updated from then on. This was a slow but sure method as far as taxation was concerned, for, although men might put off being registered for a while after they became adults, eventually it would prove difficult for them to continue to claim to be under age. Unfortunately, the tax system made it impossible to calculate population figures from tax receipts alone, though NC Lomagundi tried to do this in 1909. Firstly, there were arrears of tax going back over two years or more, and secondly, a \$5 tax payment might mean five people (all bachelors) or 10 people (five monogamists and their wives, or a polygamist and nine wives). As Tables II-XXXIII show, the individual NCs had no common system of calculating the population from the tax registers until after 1913. Some NCs raised the figures on the tax registers by a factor of three, some by four, some by 3,5, and some by methods that were not purely mathematical. The CNC's order in 1913 that all NCs should raise their population figures by a factor of 3,5 provoked some criticism from NCs who knew that this was giving too small a figure for their Districts. Perhaps the best-informed critic was NC Edwards of Mrewa. He had been in the District since 1895 and was married to the daughter of Chief Mangwende, so he knew something of local family structures. Until 1914 he had calculated his figures by noting the number of adults due to pay tax and then taking samples of the number of children in certain villages to get an idea of the under-age population. He knew that by using the 3,5 factor he would be under-counting the children, and consequently in 1915 his total population dropped from 26 236 to 21 578, although his figures for adults had gone up. This change in the method of calculation was responsible for several apparent drops in population which took place in the years after 1913 in different Districts (e.g. Belingwe, Sebungwe, Selukwe, Bulilima-Mangwe, Hartley, Charter, Inyanga, Ndanga-Bikita, and Gutu). Although it seems certain that in many cases the number of children was underestimated it is not clear how great that underestimate was, especially as the ratio of adults to children could vary from region to region.

Another factor that affected population estimates was the failure to note men who had gone to work out of the District and were not on the tax register. NC Makoni was only one of many who realized this after the 1921 census. However, while full figures for such men compiled at their places of employment are lacking at this stage, it is highly unlikely

⁸ Johnson, 'African population estimates'.

that this factor was ever as significant in Southern Rhodesia as it was to prove in Mozambique and countries north of the Zambezi. In 1910–11, when the local mining industry was employing more local labour than at any other time during the first few decades of the century, between 13 000 and 14 000 local men were working on the mines, with another 1 700 or more on the Rand mines.⁹ If we postulate 6 000 more working in Salisbury and Bulawayo at that time and make a fairly generous estimate for the number of men working in the smaller towns and places such as Kimberley, there might have been 25 000 men out of a total population of around 715 000 working out of their Districts in 1911.¹⁰ This proportion was to rise sharply in the next decades as the towns absorbed more local labour,¹¹ but it seems certain that the great majority of these workers were working for wages away from home precisely because they *were* on the tax registers and had to pay tax.

In short, it seems likely that between 1913 and at least 1923 the sector of the population that was most greatly underestimated was that of children.

FAMILY STRUCTURES AND THE COLONIAL DATA

As can be seen from Tables II–XXXIII, the data on the family that are given in the District reports are thin and erratic. The following are the main points that emerge:

Infant mortality

Whenever infant mortality was mentioned it was reckoned at 50 per cent of births (NC Inyanga 1915; NC Gutu 1915; NC Ndanga 1915; NC Sebungwe 1907, 1912). NC Bulilima-Mangwe, noting that 95 men and 59 women had died in 1916 — a healthy year — and that this gave his District a death rate of 3.66 people per 1 000, thought that the death rate of infants was four times this rate. (NC Gutu also noted in 1915 that women told him that they regarded six births as an average number).

Children

Because NCs were aware of the high rate of infant mortality, the number of children in a District was always underestimated, and although many NCs pointed out that without a registry of births the population would always be wrongly estimated none of them was prepared to undertake such a task with such a high death-rate among infants. No NC ever claimed to have

⁹ Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 96, 101.

¹⁰ T. Yoshikuni, 'The Origins and Development of the Salisbury Municipal Location: A Study of Municipal Control of African Workers in Colonial Harare 1892–c.1923' (Harare, Univ. of Zimbabwe, Dept. of History, Henderson Seminar Paper 61, 1984).

¹¹ T. O. Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia 1898–1930* (London, Heinemann, 1970), 139.

accurate figures for the number of children in his District, though some, like Edwards, probably came nearer to accuracy than most. The category of 'child' meant any male under 14 or 15 years of age, any female under 14 or 15 years not already married and, in most cases, any widows not inherited by their husband's brothers under levirate marriage.

Men

This category was often divided into bachelors, monogamists and polygamists, but it is very rarely shown how wives were distributed within the latter category. After 1903 marriages were supposed to be registered and in 1904 NC Matobo recorded that out of 228 marriages in his District in that year, 118 were with a first wife, 69 with a second, 29 with a third, 6 with a fourth, 4 with a fifth, 1 with a sixth, and 1 with a seventh.

Married women

As noted above, this category could include girls under 14 or 15 years of age and many widows. Between 1904 and 1921 girls seem to have begun to marry later.

Deaths

Deaths were supposed to be recorded, but very often more male than female deaths were recorded. This was because, once a man or a taxable wife was on the tax books, it was very much in the interest of the family to get them off the books as soon as they died. The causes of death were remarkably consistent over the whole period: when NCs gave a detailed breakdown of deaths, as opposed to simple totals, they gave long lists of every conceivable cause and the numbers involved, usually ending up with many single-figure categories such as suicide, snakebite, syphilis, lightning-strikes and so forth. The main killer was pneumonia, in the winter months, followed by dysentery in the hot dry months just before the summer rains. Malaria was usually the third main cause of death, well behind the others, and was often noted as being fatal only if 'complications' set in. Smallpox was endemic but not usually fatal: NC Ndanga reckoned in 1903 that only about 6-7 per cent of smallpox cases died, and after the big vaccination campaign of 1914 still fewer died. The 'Vera' or 'Spanish' influenza epidemic of 1918-19 was the only really serious epidemic in this period, and its effects are discussed in Table XXXIV.

NATIONAL FIGURES

Given all the variations and errors in the methods of calculating the population noted above and in the Tables, it is clear that it is not possible to obtain very accurate figures for the total African rural population of the country for the period under review. This is particularly true for the

period before 1913 because the ostensible increase in the population was illusory owing to the fact that villages and individuals were being recorded for the first time as the administration get to know the countryside better and that exceptionally erratic methods of estimation were in use in some Districts. After about 1913 the population figures in the individual Districts, when graphed, tend to show 'flatter' curves; major losses and gains of population in each District can usually be attributed to factors mentioned in the annual reports, such as changes in District boundaries or immigration from other colonies. In short, it looks as though we are getting a distorted reflection of reality. Just how distorted the reflection was remains to be seen.

If all NCs had conformed at once to raising the figures by the factor of 3.5 decreed in 1913, there would at least be a common basis for discussion. But, although the populations were being calculated on this basis in twenty-three Districts by 1920, in another nine Districts (Marandellas, Makoni, Umtali, Melssetter, Victoria, Umzingwani, Insiza, Gwelo and Selukwe) either the ratio was not used or there is no clear evidence one way or the other for the period between 1920 and 1922. The lack of 'Total Indigenous' figures from South Mazoe for the years 1916-19 means that, for the purposes of calculating a national population figure, figures for the years 1920-2 are the least inaccurate available. In other words, if we make the assumption that the population of the nine recalcitrant Districts was being estimated on a basis of the raising factor of 3.5 or near to it, then the national total for Africans in rural areas (discounting aliens) would have been:

1920	1921	1922
734 305	771 421	788 957

At this point it is possible to try to allow for permutations of error. Looking at the 114 cases in those Districts in which it is possible to calculate from the figures of taxpaying adult males what the 'Total Indigenous' figure for each District would have been if the NC had used the 3.5 raising factor, we find that in only 12 cases is the 'Total Indigenous' figure given (and based on whatever calculations the NC saw fit to use) more than 20 per cent greater than that which would have come from use of the 3.5 factor. Even in Mrewa, where the NC was, as noted above, using a fairly realistic method of estimation, the difference rose from only 8 per cent to 20 per cent between 1904 and 1912. Thus if 20 per cent is added to the 'national' figures for 1920-2 arrived at by the 3.5 factor, we get:

1920	1921	1922
881 166	925 705	946 748

At this point, however, we are reaching the limits of inferences obtainable from these data as far as national totals are concerned. If, as the evidence seems to suggest, the real deficiencies of the data in the 1913-22 period lie in the under-counting of women and children, then official records are not likely to supply the missing people.

DISCUSSION

In spite of their inadequacies, the data do provide some very interesting points for discussion. The main discussion is to be found in my chapter 'First steps in the demographic history of Zimbabwe: The colonial period from 1895 to 1922', in *Demography from Scanty Evidence*.¹² However, the main points of the investigation can be summarized here. After summarizing the text of this article, I discuss the 1920 population distribution map (also supplied here, see Fig. 1) explaining that the distribution of population represented by the symbols for 5 000 and 500-1 000 people is based on the entire documentation for the late pre-colonial and early colonial periods. The national distribution of population thus obtained shows a very marked difference between areas east and west of the main watershed. This in turn calls into question the usefulness in historical cases of conventional geographical divisions of the environment into 'highveld, middleveld and lowveld' areas: clearly the pre-colonial population preferred the 'Great Crescent' of eroded country east of the watershed to the flatter country to the west, and the difference between these two environments seems to have been more important than that between 'highveld' and 'middleveld', although the 'lowveld' remains as an environment that attracted few people. Seen in this light, it is easy to deduce that the very varied economic environments and defensive positions of the 'Great Crescent' were the main attraction.

Archaeological studies confirm that this spatial preference also existed in the period 200-1300, while historical evidence (and the map itself) disproves the myth of widespread population movement as a result of Ndebele raids in the nineteenth century, except for a few cases in Wankie, Hartley and western Charter. Depopulation in Melsetter as a result of the

¹² The reason for this is that the original paper upon which this article is based was presented at the 'Conference/Seminar on the Analysis of Census Data from Colonial Central Africa', held at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee from 18-22 August 1986. When the time came to prepare the conference papers for publication in *Demography from Scanty Evidence: Central Africa in the Colonial Era* (ed. B. Fetter, Boulder, L. Rienner, 1990), it became clear that a complete rewriting was necessary. In order to develop the discussion it became necessary to remove all of the basic data except the graphs and map. Yet, ultimately, the chapter entitled 'First steps in the demographic history of Zimbabwe: The colonial period from 1895 to 1922', in *Demography from Scanty Evidence*, pp. 47-59 must stand or fall on the data. Consequently, with the agreement of the two editors, the data and the discussion are being published separately.

Gaza Nguni emigration of 1889 remains a possibility. With virtually no export slave trade and little import of slaves, the pre-colonial picture is one of stability, but the 1300–1750 period is less well known.

Apart from the temporary effects of war and famine in the southwest of the country in the 1890s, and immigrations into the north-east in 1908 and 1917–18 because of disturbed conditions in Mozambique, there was little movement of population before 1923. Indeed, apart from central Matabeleland, Inyanga and Melsetter, where purchase of land by Europeans drove large numbers of people into less favourable environments, most of the 'Reserves' created by 1920 were in the 'Great Crescent', though large parts of that area had also been appropriated by White settlers. The 1920 population distribution map adds a new dimension to discussion of the land problem.

I conclude the chapter by discussing the available evidence on the nature of the population. Firstly, the population was clearly not undergoing the kind of decline associated with the coming of colonial rule in territories farther north. Indeed, given the general healthiness of the environment and the fact (obtained from other studies)¹³ that crop failures do not seem to have led to many deaths, a second point emerges: it is difficult to see why the population was as low as it evidently was. A possible reason could well be the limited amount of land actually available to the people in pre-colonial conditions — in other words, the amount of land which was close enough to defensible strongholds which could also be cultivated or grazed. However, if the people were, in fact, deliberately limiting their numbers it is not yet clear how this was being done. The chapter is not called 'First steps in the demographic history of Zimbabwe' for nothing.

¹³ J. Iliffe, *Famine in Zimbabwe 1890–1960* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1990).

Figure 1: ZIMBABWE (SOUTHERN RHODESIA) POPULATION 1920

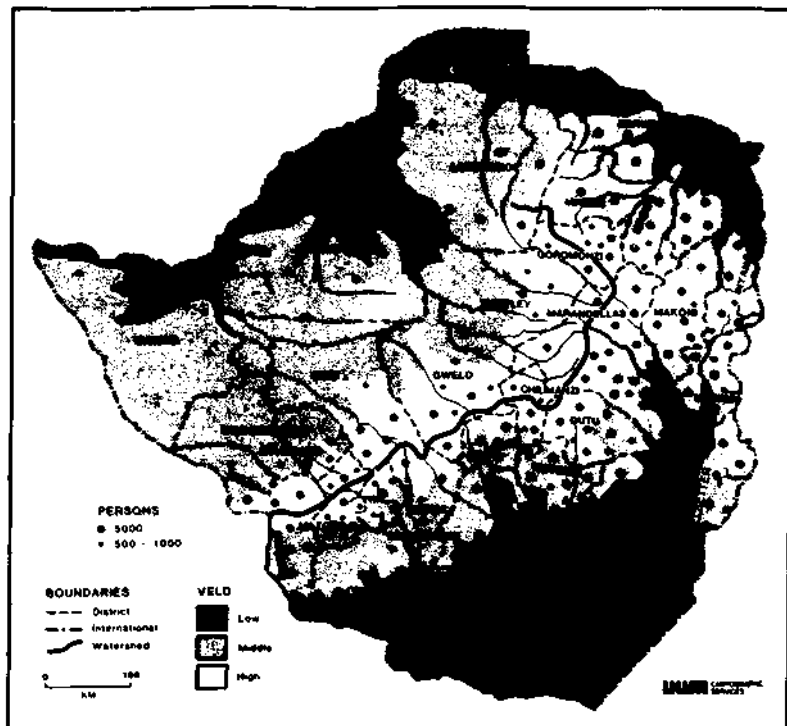


Figure 2: POPULATION ESTIMATES: SALISBURY CIRCLE (INNER)

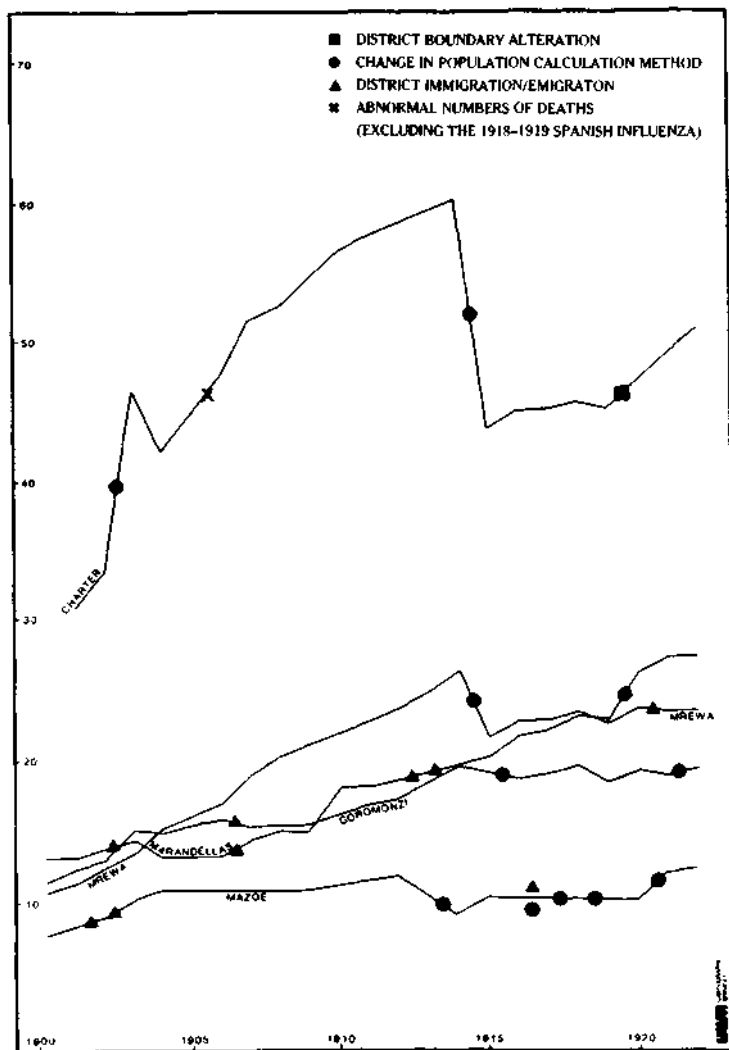


Figure 3: POPULATION ESTIMATES: SALISBURY CIRCLE (OUTER)

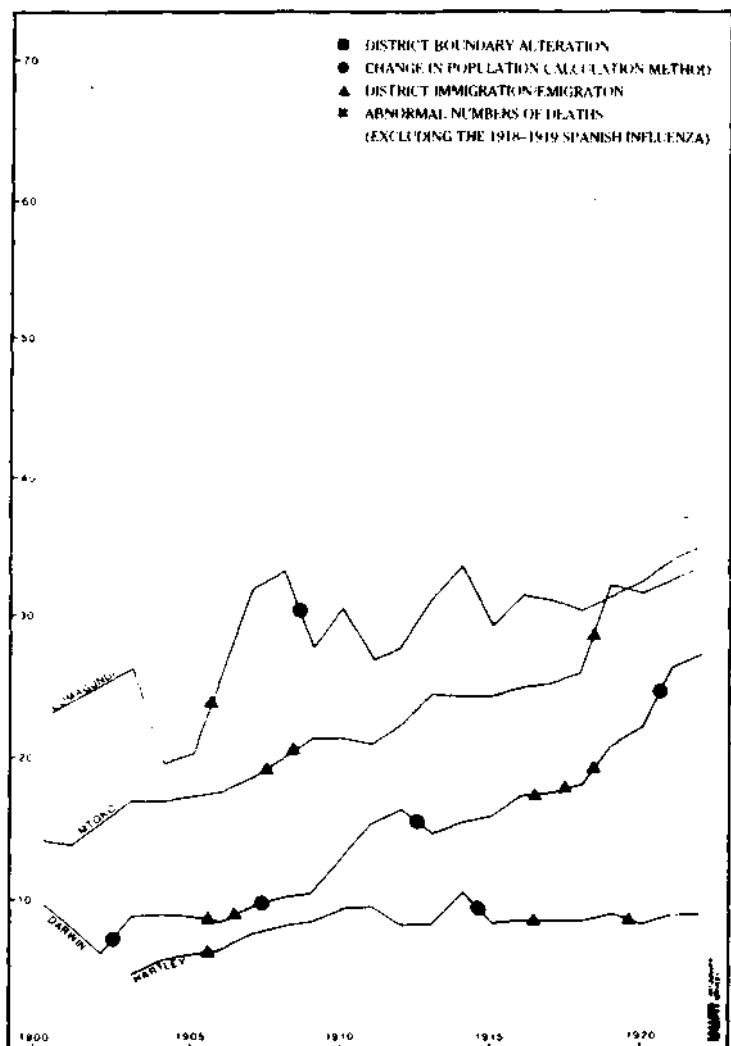


Figure 4: POPULATION ESTIMATES: VICTORIA CIRCLE

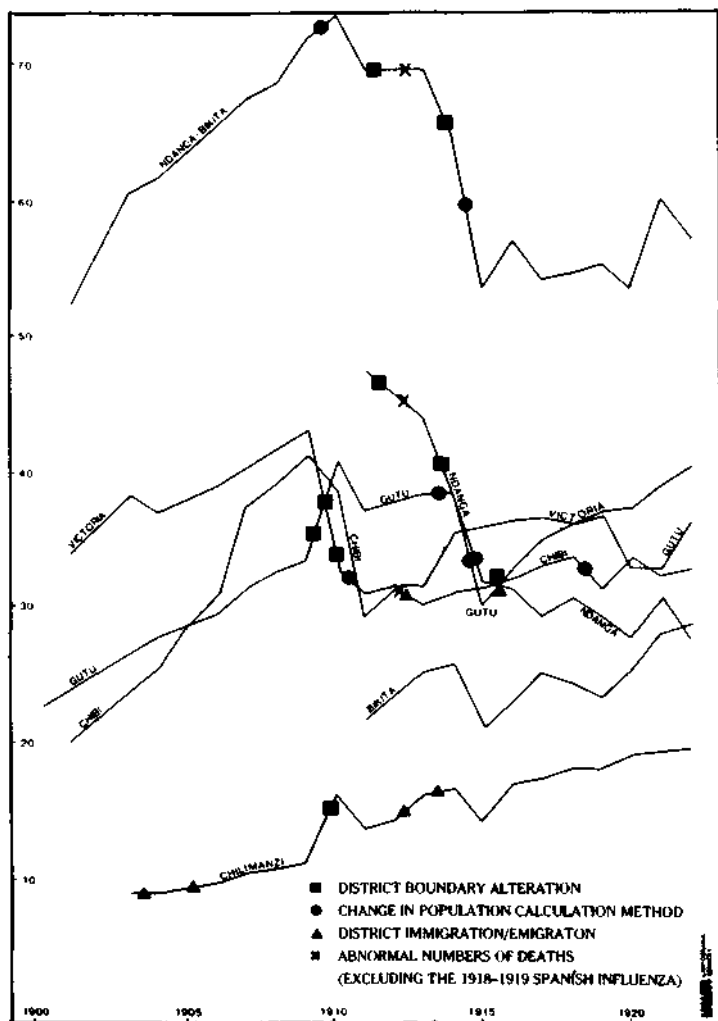


Figure 5: POPULATION ESTIMATES: UMTALI CIRCLE

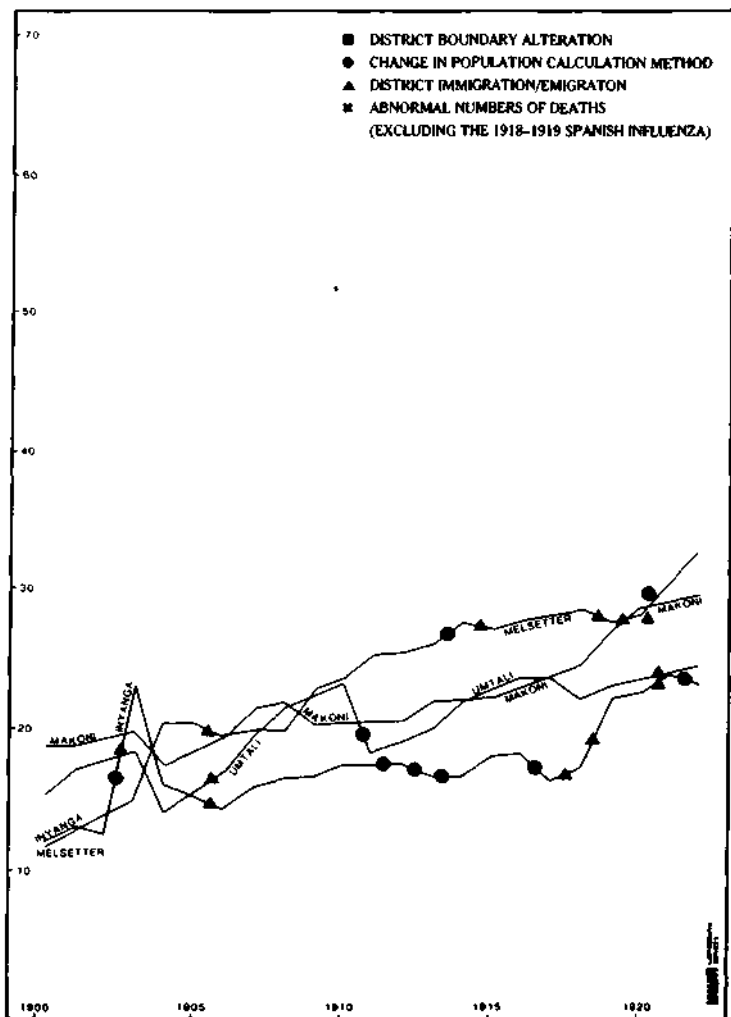


Figure 6: POPULATION ESTIMATES: MATABELELAND CIRCLE (INNER)

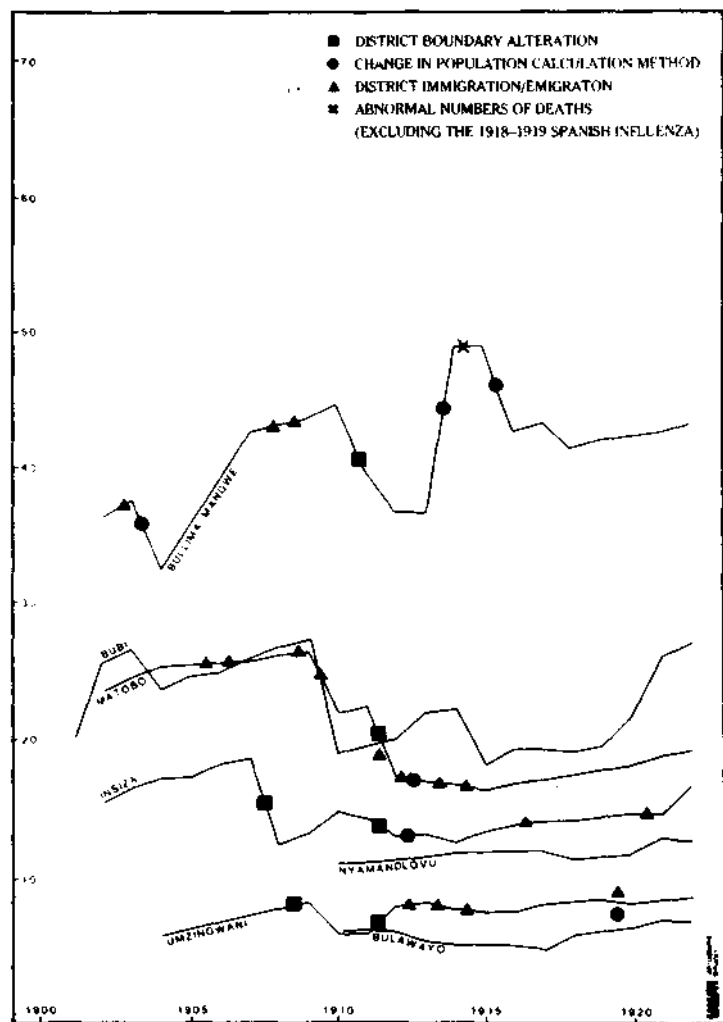
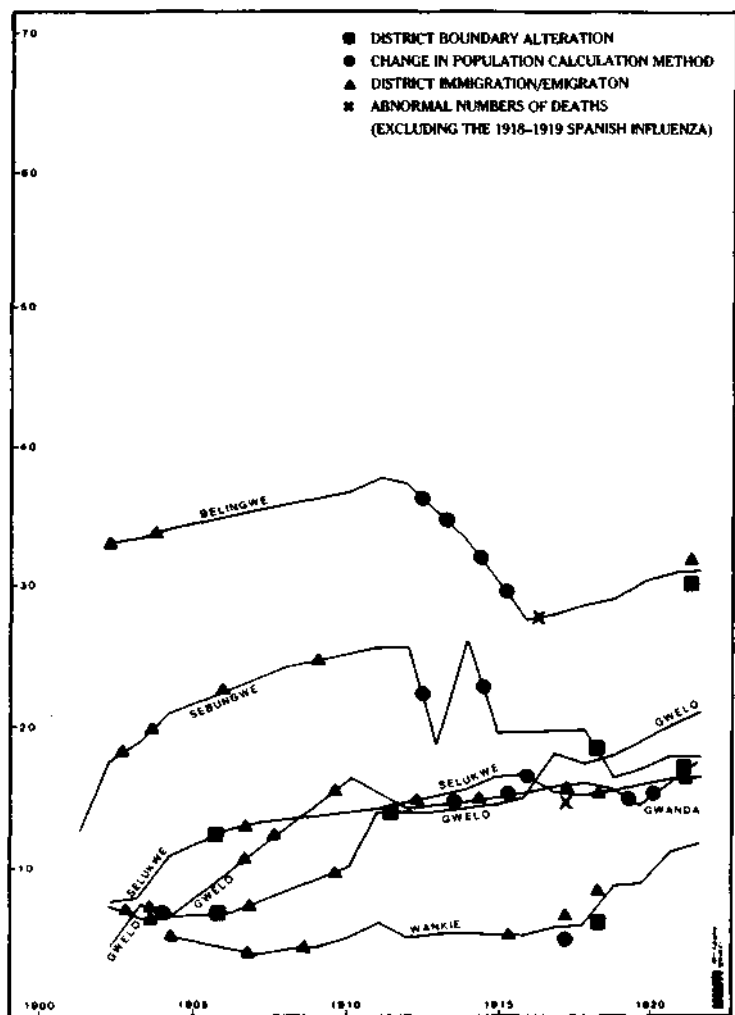


Figure 7: POPULATION ESTIMATES: MATABELELAND CIRCLE (OUTER)



Notes on sources

Throughout these tables and in the main body of the article, unless it is otherwise stated, the figures for each district and each year come from the appropriate NC's Annual Report, except in those cases where a report has not yet been located but the figure for that year is given in the next year's report. These reports are found in the National Archives, Zimbabwe, in files N/9/1/1-25 (Native Department, Chief Native Commissioner: Reports: Annual: 1895-1922) for Mashonaland and for Southern Rhodesia after 1912, and NB/6/1/1-12 (Native Department, Chief Native Commissioner, Matabeleland: Reports: Annual: 1897-1912) for Matabeleland up to 1912. Exceptions are:

- 1895: F/4/1/1 (Statist: Reports: Interim: 1895), Secretary to Native Department, Salisbury, to Statist, 21 Sept. 1895, and [Chief] Native Commissioner Matabeleland to Statist, 30 July 1895.
- 1896: Great Britain, *British South Africa Company's Territories: Report by Sir R. E. R. Martin . . .* [C.8547] (H.C. 1897, lxii, 561).
- 1897: NB/1/1/1 (Native Department, Chief Native Commissioner Matabeleland: In Letters: General: 17 July - 28 Oct. 1897), Acting CNC Matabeleland to Statist, 30 Sept. 1897, and NB/6/2/1 (Native Department, Chief Native Commissioner Matabeleland: Reports: Half-yearly: Apr.-Sept. 1897), Acting CNC Matabeleland to Statist, 20 Oct. 1897.
- 1904C: (Mashonaland) N/3/3/5 (Native Department, Chief Native Commissioner: Correspondence: Census and Statistics: Native Census 1904, 2 Jan. - 27 May 1904), Original Returns from all districts.
(Matabeleland) schedule in 1911C below. *Note:* for both 1904C and 1911C Bulawayo municipal figures are included in Umzingwani.
- 1910E: (Mashonaland) N/3/3/2 (Native Department, Chief Native Commissioner: Correspondence: Census and Statistics: Distribution of Population in Mashonaland, 5-14 Oct. 1910), CNC to Secretary to Administrator, 14 Oct. 1910, enclosing 'Return of Native Population in Mashonaland on 30 September 1910'.
- 1911C: (Matabeleland) Southern Rhodesia, *Report of the Director of Census . . . 1911 . . .* (Sess. Pap. A7, 1912).
- 1921C: N/3/3/8 (Native Department, Chief Native Commissioner: Correspondence: Census and Statistics: Native Census, 1921, 23 Jan. 1920 - 4 Aug. 1921), Acting CNC to Director of Census, 5 Aug. 1921.

The figures given in Tables II to XXXII are those supplied by the NCs, with no attempt made to correct their arithmetic or to perform obvious additions and subtractions. The 'Notes' are a paraphrase or summary of the NCs own explanations of his figures, where any were supplied, and the 'Comments' are my own.

Abbreviations used in the tables

<i>A/B:</i>	able-bodied males between 14 and 40
<i>AL:</i>	alienated land
<i>AllMarr:</i>	all married men
<i>Aliens:</i>	aliens
<i>Bach:</i>	unmarried males over 14
<i>ChilF:</i>	female children
<i>ChilM:</i>	male children
<i>DomAl:</i>	domiciled alien
<i>FlotAl:</i>	floating alien (i.e. alien temporarily resident in the district)
<i>MarrWo:</i>	married women
<i>Mono:</i>	married men with one wife
<i>PEA:</i>	refugees from Mozambique
<i>Poly:</i>	married men with more than one wife
<i>Res:</i>	reserves
<i>SingWo:</i>	unmarried women over 14
<i>TM:</i>	towns and mines
<i>TotAdult:</i>	all adults
<i>TotChil:</i>	all children
<i>TotF:</i>	all adult females
<i>TotInd:</i>	total 'indigenous' African population
<i>TotM:</i>	all adult males
<i>UAL:</i>	unalienated land
<i>Wid:</i>	widows

Table 1
POPULATION ESTIMATES FROM 1895-7 RECORDS

District	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
Beilngwe	3 976 (adults)		35 000	24 451	30 000
Beilngwe (Godhwayo)	4 000				
Bubi			5 971	6 000	
Bulawayo	5 320 (adults)	7 120	9 300	6 602 (town)	
Bulawayo (Shioh)				5 209 (adults)	9 520
Bulilima			20 000	16 098	
Bulilima-Mangwe					30 000
Charter	17 072				
Gambo	16 199 (adults)				
Gwanda	3 989 (adults)	8 411			
Gwelo			18 000	6 700	
Hartley	5 400				
Insiza		7 000	4 856	6 468	
Lomagundi	6 150				
Makoni	20 000				14 209
Maleme			4 500	8 000	
Mangwe		3 000	5 000	8 450	
Marandellas	14 056				
Matobo			5 000		
Matobo-Mawabeni			12 050		4 350
Maveri	4 524 (2772 adults)				
Mawabeni			3 500		
Mazoe	24 248				
Mrewa				20 000	
Mtoko	8 420				
Nyati	3 961 (adults)				
Salisbury	12 411				
Sekulowe				13 500	
Tuli	2 010		2 000	2 000	3 500
Umtali	7 993			23 800	
Umzingwani			5 000	5 961	
Victoria	29 820				22 395

Note: These figures were omitted from the following tables because of the lack of figures from Mashonaland after 1895 and because of the complicated boundary changes that took place during this period.

Table II

GOROMONZI-SALISBURY

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AllMarr	TotM	MarrWo	ChM	ChF	TotCh	Totnd	DomAI	FlotAI	Allens	Res	AL	TM
1900										11 836						
1901										12 684						
1902										13 290						
1903										15 327						
1904C				3 201	5 604	4 602	2 198	2 491		15 095			237			
1904																
1905										15 987						
1906	1 984			2 736		4 532			6 840	16 062						
1907	1 878			2 686		4 410			6 715	15 689						
1908	1 884			2 692		4 409			6 730	15 715						
1909	1 986			2 705		4 425			6 762	15 880						
1910E										16 151						
1910										16 533	250			14 142	2 202	302
1911C																
1911										17 120			350			321
1912										17 662	274			14 877	2 474	585
1913										18 600	328			15 000	3 309	619
1914										19 605	310			16 789	2 915	211
1915																
1916										18 704	2 061	1 191	3 258	18 704	2 067	1 191
1917										19 043			3 255	16 030	3 068	3 200
1918										19 960			3 449	16 147	3 062	3 200
1919										18 658			3 534	15 025	3 633	3 534
1920										19 448			4 056	15 022	3 570	4 056
1921C	2 531	2 107	744			3 898			9 557	18 837						
1921										19 128		7 000	5 671	15 854	3 283	5 671
1922										19 740				16 000	3 490	250

Notes: 1906-7: calculated at 3 per hut. 1903: calculated (?) at 3,2 per hut. 1906: only slight increase because of emigration. 1907: says that there is a slight increase because of immigration from Mazoe (but see figures). 1910E: no village count, used tax registers, estimated total population. 1914: claims there was a careful census. 1916: population down by 2891 because of reduced estimate by ANC Salisbury Town. 1922: claims figure is down on 1921 because previously floating aliens were included.

Comment: apart from a bit of UAL up to 1910 (137 recorded for that year only) the District consisted of reserves, alienated land, small mines and Salisbury Town. Published census figures for 1904, 1911 and 1921 give 19 346, 28 576 and 18 837, respectively, so obviously it depended very much on the NC of the day whether the town and urban figures were included, and whether domiciled alien, floating alien or indigenous town and mine workers were included. As can be seen, frequently the NC assumed that the town and mine figures he had represented aliens.

Table III

SOUTH MAZOE-MAZOE

Year	Back	Mono	Poly	AllMarr	TotM	MarrWo	ChM	ChF	TotCh	TotM	DomA	ForA	Aliens	Res	LAL	AL	TM
1900									8 000								
1901									8 793								
1902									9 387				318				
1903									10 528								
1904C				1 448	2 256	2 267	3 151	3 428	11 104								409
1904																	
1905																	
1906																	
1907																	
1908									11 000							900	1 600
1909									11 180				4 500				
1910E									17 010				5 500				
1910									11 680					8 988		2 372	380
1911C																	
1911																	
1912									12 200								
1913											1 800			6 502	320	2 286	
1914									9 280		1 850	3 500		6 810	340	2 310	
1915									10 627		1 770			6 382	316	2 149	5 000
1916											2 300	4 700		6 142	1 100	2 050	4 700
1917											3 500	4 500		6 570	918	1 784	4 500
1918											4 275	4 525		8 703	522	1 724	4 525
1919											5 236	5 264		7 200	324	1 786	5 264
1920									10 445				21 500	5 818		4 627	
1921C	1 136	1 181	595			2 737			6 369	12 018							
1921										12 400				7 100		5 300	
1922										12 900			21 400	7 500		5 400	

Notes: 1908: figure from 4.47 per hut. 1902-3: increase from immigration. 1911: people not counted for census. 1912: census taken? 1917: indigenous emigrating to other Districts, but domiciled alien figure up because they must now pay tax after 3 months' residence instead of 6. 1918: births exceed deaths by 13 : 1 000. 1 000 more men, women and children registered. 1919: as for 1918. 1921: domiciled and floating aliens total 19 800 men, 2 400 women and children. From the census, previous reports were underestimates, as 3.5x adult male taxpayers gives too low a figure. 1922: all aliens total 19 000 men and 2 400 women and children.

Comment: the indigenous figure for 1913-14 is probably due to the introduction of the 3.5 figure. As in Goromonzi, the NC was never completely consistent in recording the alien population.

Table IV

MREWA

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AdMarr	Total	MarrWo	Tot Adult	ChilM	ChilF	TotChil	TotInd	Aliens	Res	AL + TM
1900											11 000			
1901											11-12 000			
1902														
1903	1 350			2 625		4 343				4 932	13 300			
1904C				2 069	4 160	4 485		3 373	3 735		15 753	1		
1904														
1905														
1906	1 741			2 939		4 620				7 783	17 083			
1907	1 882			2 985		4 708				9 513	19 088			
1908											20 400			
1909											21 216			
1910E											21 852			
1910											22 065			
1911														
1911C				3 359	5 655	5 541					22 974			
1912	2 159			3 549	5 708	5 655	11 363				23 865			
1913			1 306	3 537		5 757					24 811	9	24 811	9
1914			1 356	3 742		6 058					26 236	9	26 236	9
1915	2 404		1 396	3 771		6 093	12 268				21 578		21 578	26
1916			1 471	3 902		6 241					22 717	12	22 693	36
1917			1 460	4 001		6 080					22 933	13	22 903	43
1918			1 409	4 027		6 087					23 236		23 236	32
1919			1 402	4 068		6 003					22 960		22 917	43
1920	3 161	2 496	1 123			5 326					23 730		22 516	214
1921C	3 191	2 496	1 123			5 326				11 804	23 940			
1921	3 134	3 620	1 114			5 340					23 568		23 442	126
1922	2 958	3 791	1 052			5 415					23 621		23 490	131

Notes: 1900: took average per hut in different villages. 1901: same method. 1903: tax register now complete. Last year had 3 000 married men, but no census. Children calculated on average per village. 1911: as nearly accurate as possible with the method adopted. 1915: reduction by 4 641 because 3.5 figure used. 1916: thinks the increase was more than this. 1917: underestimate because of extra tax. 1921: migration to other Districts, still calculated on 3.5, would be 3 000 more if real census taken.

Comment: the pre-1915 figures are probably based on taxpayers plus NC's own method of calculating children.

Table V
MARANDELLAS

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AllMar	Total	Married	Wid	TotalF	Child	ChF	TotalCh	Totald	Abans	Res	LAL	AL	TM
1900												13 249	14				
1901												13 436					
1902																	
1903												14 795					
1904C				2 357	3 689	3 512	173		2 934	3 153		13 461	6				
1905																	
1906					5 684			6 897				13 581					
1907												14 687					
1908												15 359					
1909												15 341					
1910E												15 500					
1910												18 032	52	17 083	161	784	56
1911																	
1911C												18 023	61	17 139			
1912												18 618	110	16 808	474	1 241	147
1913												19 239	62	18 245	143	851	82
1914												19 784	64	18 760	173	851	64
1915												20 440		19 574		808	58
1916												21 894		21 007		815	72
1917												22 144	350	21 301		843	
1918												23 105	350	22 114		901	
1919												22 900	600	22 900		950	
1920												26 228		24 768		1 480	
1921C	2 984	2 391	848			4 486					15 539	26 228					
1921												27 258		25 745		1 513	
1922												27 364		26 264		1 800	

Notes: 1900-3: detailed breakdown by churchdom, with huts. Ratio of people to huts is near but never quite 4. 1903, 1906, 1913, 1914: increase partly due to immigration. 1920: took samples from villages and worked it out on that basis. 1921: used census figures. 1920-3: 'large' numbers, up to several thousands, of workers on the tobacco farms noted but not counted.

Table VI
CHARTER

Year	Beach	Mono	Poly	Admtr	A/B	Total	SinglMo	Married	Total	Chil	ChilF	Total	Admtr	Res	UAL	All
1900																
1901				11 000					30 783							
1902									33 300							
1903						10 631	3 000	12 965	46 074		19 358					
1904C				6 656		10 970		11 445	41 723	8 591	10 717		15			
1904																
1905									47 000							
1906									51 000							
1907									52 000							
1908				6 404		11 242		9 870	54 000							
1910E									55 000							
1910									56 000				43			
1911									57 000							
1911C				7 572		10 000		10 000	57 000							
1912						23 000			58 000		35 000			44	48 000	4 984
1913						23 200			58 000		35 600			41	48 000	9 999
1914									58 500					41	48 500	198
1915									43 482					41	33 753	220
1916									44 551					37	34 707	205
1917									44 845					42	35 928	353
1918									45 200					38	38 730	36
1919									44 884					39	36 200	384
1920									46 982					25	46 717	5 325
1921C	\$ 746	6 005	1 857			10 162			46 412		24 612		15			5 115
1921									46 625							5 255
1922									50 247							5 255

Note: 1903: careful count in August-September, 1903: very careful comparisons, old calculations at 3 per cent gives very correct estimate, adults are as correct as possible, single women calculated at 75 per cent young men, children at 1.25 per cent is too low an estimate. Very detailed breakdown by children, 1906: death rate up? 1907: birth number double 1908: Njanga have more polygamists than Horn, increase later. 1911: also-headed males 14-40 about 1/3 male population. Reports re Njanga polygamy. 1912: increase much faster on high-land, adults and children reduce numbers of children to low areas. 1915: method of using 3.5 consistency underestimates population, 17 000 down. Population increasing very fast, should be 50 per cent over 1910 level in a short time. Many more men can now marry 1919: many children in Bubers sub-division live now. 1920: people moved to Hartley.

Comments: after two initial efforts in 1903, the NC (Poussin) moved by round numbers until forced to quit.

Table VII
HARTLEY

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AllMn	Total	Mn/Wo	ChM	ChF	TotalCh	Totald	DomA	FlsA	Alens	Res	LAL	AL	TM
1900																	
1901																	
1902																	
1903									5 000								
1904C				1 150	1 967	1 827	1 284	1 124	6 182				675				1 197
1904																	
1905																	
1906									6 886				3 000				
1907									7 900				4 000				
1908									8 489				6 000				
1909									8 900				6 600				
1909E									19 000				10 000				
1910									9 630					9 100		260	
1911																	
1911C									9 826				10 000				
1912									8 500	2 000							
1913									8 547	3 158				7 936	7	104	3 658
1914									10 829	2 620	5 563			10 521	7	301	2 620
1915									8 613	3 741	4 906			8 323	11	279	8 647
1916									8 816	4 029	4 482			8 624		1 192	7 511
1917									8 974	4 613	5 335			8 792		2 940	7 793
1918									8 808				7 028	8 600		1 051	6 183
1919									9 376				9 210	9 157		1 345	8 071
1920									8 694				6 743	8 229		1 910	5 213
1921C	1 191	1 027	340			1 823			4 871	9 252							
1921										15 544			9 152	6 547		11 440	6 682
1922										9 386				8 949		2 777	7 189

Notes: 1906: increase because of immigration from Mazoe and Salisbury. 1915: decrease because of new compilation (3,5). 1917: decrease because people moving to other districts for better wages. 1920: decrease because mines closing and 759 people shifted to Charter.

Comments: 1910E and 1921 figures obviously include aliens on mines for 'indigenous'. From 1913 there is confusion of the figures because aliens working on farms are combined with indigenous on the same category of land.

Table VIII
LOMAGUNDI

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AllMar	TotalM	Married	TotalF	ChM	ChF	TotalCh	Total	Alone	Res	UAL	AL	TM	
1900											23 000						
1901																	
1902																	
1903					7 000		5 000			14 000	26 521						
1904C				3 584	5 120	4 991		4 253	5 543		19 807	604				1 156	
1904																	
1905											20 432						
1906											26 155						
											28 955						
1907											32 063						
1908											33 400						
1909											27 800						
1910E											27 800						
1910											30 671		22 541	7 480	500	150	
1911C											27 065		17 035	9 100	920		
1911																	
1912											28 000		17 600	9 400	1 000		
1913											31 445		7 800	21 400	1 192	1 053	
1914											33 637		7 668	21 577	3 392	1 000	
1915											29 347		1 113	7 200	16 800	2 234	1 113
1916											31 670			9 649	19 165	1 578	1 278
1917											31 323		1 000	11 337	16 802	2 184	1 000
1918											30 522			12 000	16 000	2 022	500
1919											31 480			15 000	13 000	2 480	1 000
1920											32 468			15 750	12 788	2 408	1 500
1921C	3 424	4 937	1 519			8 586				29 053	41 519						
1921											34 020		16 720	13 230	2 570	1 500	
1922											35 000		17 500	12 000	3 500	2 000	

Notes: 1900: 23 000 includes 4 000 on the Zambezi. 1906: includes Kanyemba sub-District. Increase due to re-immigration from NER. Estimate based on 3 children per married woman, regarded as low. 1909: whose numbers actually counted, 3.5 per E1 collected is right. Married men up 122 = 3.7 per cent, polygamists up 119 = 11.2 per cent, married women up 128 = 2.4 per cent. More polygamists, but fewer have more than 2-3 wives compared with previous years. 1910: refers to 'usual automatic estimate' but in test-counting entire villages, hopes to have reliable census in future. 1919: N 3/3/7 NC Simoia to SN 3 Feb. 1919, test counting in Simoia sub-division shows real ratio is 4x adult male tax units, as counted in 1911, if 3.5 figure is used then whole country is underestimated by 100 000. Also fewer females than males: adult males 2 713, adult females 2 503, male children 2 753, female children 2 873 for Simoia division. Situation similar for entire district in 1911.

Comment: very irregular figures to 1914, subsequent drop probably conversion to 3.5 system.

Table IX

NORTH MAZOE-DARWIN

Year	Birth	Male	Pop	Admtr	Totals	Immig	Out	NetCh	Total	Admtr	Fluc	UAI	AL	Th
1900									10 000					
1901									8 980					
1902									8 205					
1903									9 346	47				
1904C		1 850	2 306	2 500	2 853	1 200								
1904									9 164					
1905									8 934					
1906									9 682					
1907									10 467					
1908									10 655					
1909									11 215					
1910E									13 237					
1910									15 869	60				60
1911									16 564		16 528			36
1912									15 002		14 874			128
1913									15 609		15 716			91
1914									16 200		16 088			114
1915									17 570		17 420			150
1916									17 805	63	17 605		50	150
1917									18 408	252	15 620	2 628		160
1918									21 097	1 368	17 500	3 587		
1919									22 383		20 964	1 529		
1920									26 331		26 000	400		
1921C	3 734	3 579	902		5 972		12 144		26 459					50
1921									27 425		27 380		35	
1922														

Notes: 1902, estimate. 1903, actual count. 1906, decrease because of moves over border. 1907, increase because of fewer border moves. 1908, includes domestic allans. 1913, decrease not real, probably an overall increase. 1917-19, refugees from FEA. B.I. 252, 1,369, respectively. 1921, census figures used.

Comment: 1913 decrease probably due to 3.3 system.

Table X
MTOKO

Year	Bech	Mono	Poly	AMM	Total	MerrWo	Chibi	Chif	TotChi	TotInd	PEA	Aliens	Res	LAL	TM
1900										14 500					
1901										14 145					
1902															
1903										17 154					
1904C				3 102	4 394	5 348	3 530	3 784		17 056					
1904															
1905										17 586		1			
1906										17 847					
1907	1 516			3 229		5 478			8 477	18 700					
1908	1 646			3 406		5 822			9 360	20 234					
1909	1 724			3 479		6 034			10 488	21 685					
1910E										21 650		6			
1910	1 990			3 457		6 059			9 610	21 124					
1911	1 967			3 720		6 290			9 720	21 717		32			
1912	2 016			3 909		6 177			10 343	22 449		11			
1913			1 308	3 537		5 757				24 811					
1914	2 895		1 560	4 297		6 900				24 472					
1915										24 563		61			
1916										25 175		136			
1917										25 585	6 251	117	14 444	11 141	117
1918										26 116	8 352		14 776	11 316	24
1919										32 200	5 059		15 776	16 375	49
1920										31 875		50	20 525	11 350	66
1921C	3 485	3 707	1 983			8 840			14 562	32 577			21 756	10 878	
1921										33 634		52			
1922										33 635		48	22 424	11 211	

Notes: 1901: taken from an average of villages. 1903: taken from population per chief. 1906: took 1905 and allowed 1.5 per cent increase. 1908: increase includes 5-6 000 from PEA. 1909: more people returning to Districts. 1911: at census, estimated 1 933 away at work.

Comment: the main big increase was from PEA people from 1917, eventually domiciled.

Table XI

INYANGA

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AMarr	Total	MarWb	TotAdult	ChM	ChF	TotCh	TotInd	PEA	Rus	LAL	AL
1900											12 400				
1901											13 370				
1902											12 887				
1903											23 304				
1904C				3 611	4 649	5 672		2 940	3 145		16 406				
1904															
1905															
1906							9 505	2 488	2 827		14 820				
1907							9 800			6 300	16 100				
1908							10 000			6 800	16 800				
1909	800	1 148	2 192?	4 140		5 532	9 672			7 328	17 000				
1910E											17 800				
1910											17 700		1 800	5 700	10 200
1911											17 800				
1911 C															
1912					4 303						17 800		1 300	1 000	13 000
1913											17 000		1 500	3 500	12 000
1914											17 000		2 500	3 200	11 300
1915											18 388		2 897	3 484	12 207
1916											18 572		2 724	3 519	12 329
1917											16 674		2 272	4 105	10 297
1918											17 539	5 268	2 362	4 325	10 832
1919											22 463		3 454	8 365	10 644
1920											22 364		4 107	8 096	10 781
1921 C	2 946	2 586	912			5 032				11 753	23 498		3 959	8 557	11 565
1921											24 081				
1922											23 548		4 866	7 889	10 733

Notes: 1900-1: at 4 per hut. 1903: 1902 tax was £2 470 10s. for 12 887, so 4 941 paid 10s., so adult males 4 941 = 38 per cent, seems unnatural, many women and children, district healthy, so I assume male taxpayers are 25 per cent and raise by 4. Includes 1 084 Katerere people included for the first time, real increase 9 333 because underestimated last year. 1906: many people fled to PEA to avoid tax. 1909: 4 140 male tokens and 2 192 extra female tokens issued, so 4 384 married women are in polygamy (?), 4 140 men minus 2 192 = 1 948, estimate 1 148 are married so 800 bachelors. Children underestimated. 1912: don't think population is increasing so fast, so give same figures as I underestimated before. 1913: at 3.5x male taxpayers would have 15 960 but this is low so I give 17 000, 10 per cent down on last year. 1914: can't get figures down to 3.5, would be 16 170, so estimate 17 000. 1915: took 1914 and 'natural increase'. Infant mortality 50-60 per cent. 1917: using 3.5. 1918: refugees from PEA. 1919: PEA people now counted. 1921: lost 492 to Rusape, and 50 families returned to PEA, but 50 individuals in from PEA. 1922: SN Umtali notes that NC made error in 1921, increase was 462, not 1 097. Some PEA refugees in Mtoko moved into Inyanganga.

Comment: the NC's habit of estimating in round numbers before conforming to the 3.5 ratio in 1917, artificially suppressing what he thought the real figures should be, gives a very 'flat' profile up to then. Immediately afterwards the PEA people added considerably to the population.

Table XII
MAKONI-RUSAPE

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	A/Marr	Total	Marr/Wo	ChMB	ChMF	Total	Total	Res	UAL	AL	TM
1900										18-20000				
1901										18-20000				
1902														
1903										20 000				
1904C				3 397	3 920	4 727	13947	4 064		17 502				
1904														
1905														
1906										19 600				
1907										21 500				
1908										22 000				
1909	2 033			3 733		5 415	4 548	4 734		20 483				
1910E										21 000				
1910	2 091			3 805		5 375	4 490	4 943		20 704	14 832		5 872	
1911C														
1911	2 091			3 805		5 375	4 490	4 943		20 704				
1912	2 254			3 339		5 220			9 391	20 704	16 201		4 503	
1913										22 011	16 741		5 220	50
1914										22 239	18 891	350	2 933	65
1915										22 550	19 218	300	2 969	65
1916										23 228	18 924	314	4 020	70
1917										24 024	19 324	400	4 200	100
1918										24 770				
1919										26 270				
1920										27 870	23 150		4 800	120
1921C	2 700	4 100	1 025			6 803			13 678	28 934				
1921										28 392	23 502	205	4 500	150
1922										28 980	23 990	250	4 500	150

Notes: 1909: low-population ratio between 3,5 and 3,9. 1909: complete census in November. 1910: census in December. 1920: many immigrants from Iryanga and elsewhere. 1921: census showed that men away at work had been underestimated. 231 transferred from Umali to Makoni.

Table XIII
UMTALI

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AllMarr	A/B	Total	MarrWo	TotalF	ChilM	ChilF	TotalChil	Total	Aliens	Free	UAL	AL	TM
1900											15 768						
1901											17 424	500					
1902																	
1903											18 500						
1904C			3 494		4 797	4 886		2 205	2 485		14 353	838				1 527	
1904																	
1905																	
1906	1 622		3 398				5 244			6 796	17 080						
1907											19 955						
1908											21 848						
1909											22 625		10 340	2 000	10 285		
1910E											23 500						
1910		2 266 1 257	3 523								23 500		7 200	1 500	13 500	1 300	
1911C		2 310 1 270	3 580		5 786	5 415					18 450						
1911																	
1912	2 230		3 670	5 595		5 650				7 550	19 100		7 100	1 100	10 900		
1913	2 400		3 750			5 800				8 100	20 050		6 900	950	10 500	1 700	
1914											22 256		7 485	7 015	11 756	2 000	
1915																	
1916											23 579		7 755	1 088	11 844	3 032	
1917											23 970	3 500	13 372	598	10 000	3 500	
1918											22 390	3 500	12 430	590	9 370		
1919											23 387	4 000	13 180	620	9 587		
1920											23 785	4 250	13 680	630	9 455		
1921C	3 106	3 268 538				4 801				23 837	35 550	4 320					
1921											24 153		13 962	850	9 541		
1922											24 758	4 600	14 482	670	9 627		

Notes: 1901: ratio of huts to people is 3,997. 1903: immigration from PEA. 1906: children's figures guesses, rest from tax register. 208 adults down, deaths and emigration to PEA. 1911: figures down because actual count undertaken. 1921: 231 moved to Rusape.

Comment: does not include Umtali urban or detailed mine figures.

Table XIV
MELSETTER

Year	Mono	Poly	Asstn	A6	Total	SingHo	MarHo	Total	Chil	Chif	ToChW	Total	Res	LAL	AL	TM
1900					3 152			4 785			4 062	12 019				
1901																
1902																
1903				3 925	4 931			5 467			5 149	15 537				
1904C			4 150		5 349	618	7 195	3 935	3 519			20 616				
1904												20 616				
1905												19 860				
1906												20 280				
1907												20 280				
1908												23 000				
1909												23 700				
1910 E												23 800	11 017	1 704	10 995	80
1910																
1911 C																
1911												25 400				
1912												25 600	16 079	740	9 071	160
1913												26 050	16 079	2 396	9 071	160
1914												27 706				
1915												27 236	15 923	2 240	8 913	160
1916												27 928	16 279	2 469	9 010	170
1917												28 290	16 461	2 450	9 186	193
1918												28 784	16 057	3 272	9 240	215
1919												27 810	15 600	3 179	8 601	230
1920												28 444	15 980	3 305	8 915	244
1921 C	4 487	2 625	953				5 040				13 358	26 666				
1921												30 606	17 244	3 971	8 817	574
1922												32 860	19 908	4 226	9 131	595

Notes: 1900 census taken on locality 1903 census in 1902 1906 1 233 possible P.A. 1912 migration from P.A. 1914 increase because of group migration previously in Sabi 1 and area 1915 decrease because men left district for work, died or went to P.A. 1919 decrease because people went to P.A. or Transvaal mines 1921 many back from P.A. 1922 NN's note was mistake in Melsetter tab above was corrected on this Table

Table XV

GUTU

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AllMer	TotM	MarrWo	TotF	Chim	Chif	TotChi	TotMf	Atans	Res	LAL	AL
1900											22 750				
1901															
1902															
1903															
1904 C				5 086	7 745	8 696		5 468	6 063		27 970				
1904															
1905															
1906											29 660				
1907	2 556			4 847			7 267	8 000	8 830		31 500				
1908	2 857			4 754			6 954	8 355	9 580		32 500				
1909											33 400				
1910E											40 350				
1910											40 600		35 700	1 550	2 350
1911C															
1911											37 052				
1912											37 800				
1913											38 100		31 250	4 100	2 750
1914											38 300		31 425	4 125	2 750
1915											30 170		22 610	4 460	2 900
1916											32 945	5	24 908	4 871	3 165
1917											34 945		25 926	5 613	3 406
1918											35 945		26 801	5 813	3 631
1919											36 050		26 867	5 837	3 546
1920											32 847		24 909	3 150	4 788
1921C	4 903	3 142	1 307		6 441					16 926	32 719				
1921											32 819		26 475	2 891	3 453
1922											36 078		26 786	4 491	3 801

Notes: 1900: 1/3 males. 1910: border shift with Victoria. 1913: 'carefully considered circumstances' led to figure. 1914: thinks last year overestimated, so allowed only slight increase, less than 1 per cent. 1915: reduction because of new counting method, but 440 people formerly in Chimanzhi included. 1917: has no real idea, the only deaths known are those on the tax register.

Table XVI
CHILIMANZI

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AMarr	AB	TotM	MarrWo	TotF	TotAdul	ChiM	ChiF	TotChi	TotInd	Aliens	Res	UAL	AL	TM
1900									7500-8000									
1901					3 000				7000-8000									
1902																		
1903													9 250					
1904C				1 609		2 846	2 730			1 697	2 399		9 312					
1904																		
1905																		
1906													10 000					
1907	1 306			1 614				2 438		2 572	2 820		10 750					
1908	1 278			1 720				2 521		3 615	2 863		11 000					
1909													11 500					
1910E													13 000					
1910													16 419	81	7 640	3 650	5 200	
1911C													13 556					
1911													14 000					
1912													14 500		10 675		3 830	
1913													16 370	86	11 979		4 391	86
1914													16 892	259	12 202		4 481	259
1915													14 333	642	11 308		3 565	642
1916						4 918		3 458				8 837	17 213	938	12 880	200	4 221	850
1917						5 055		3 543				9 094	17 692	1 706	13 480		4 212	1 706
1918						5 254		3 709				9 496	19 389	1 163	13 000	950	4 439	1 163
1919						5 275		3 553				9 634	18 462	1 165	13 300	1 000	4 162	1 165
1920						5 540		3 631				10 219	19 390	1 026	13 500	3 000	2 890	1 026
1921C	2 912	1 968	681				3 638					10 333	19 532	1 836				
1921						5 628		3 529				10 666	19 873		12 673	4 500	2 700	1 836
1922						5 687		3 537				10 680	19 914	1 568	12 703	4 508	2 703	1 563

Notes: 1900: 2 526 huts. Many fled because of 1899 rising scare. 1901: 2 429 huts. No census. 1906: 500 people on Central Estates transferred from Gwelo. 1910: increase because part of Victoria transferred. 1912: thinks 500 were absent at work in 1911. No census, registers only give male taxpayers and married women, children a rough estimate. 1913: people move in from Victoria because of Private Exactions Ordinance. 1914: Falcon Mine increases population.

Table XVII
NDANGA (INCLUDING BIKITA TO 1909)

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AllMar	TotM	MarWo	Wid	ChM	ChF	TotChil	TotInd	Res	UAL	AL
1900														
1901											52 000			
1902														
1903											60 000			
1904C				10 940	14 238	14 993		15 473	16 305		61 009			
1904														
1905														
1906														
1907											67 000			
1908											60 000			
1909											71 200			
1910E											72 000			
1910	4 020			6 897		9 508	1 200			25 548	47 173			
1911	4 240			6 954		9 497	1 250			25 128	47 029			
1911C														
1912														
1913											43 830	35 058	8 507	265
1914											38 349	30 052	7 660	637
1915											31 976	26 873	4 596	507
1916											31 441	26 146	4 703	582
1917											29 486	23 944	4 950	592
1918											30 624	25 154	4 960	510
1919											29 578	24 066	4 960	552
1920											27 912	23 398	3 962	552
1921C	4 201	3 000	961			5 243				15 162	28 567			
1921											31 738	26 753	4 410	575
1922											27 927	25 442	2 166	315

Notes: 1901: 13 768 huts. 1903: rapid increase noted, smallpox and dysentery not so deadly as thought. 1906: increase of 2 500, fewer polygamists and married women because polygamists not reporting extra wives to NMs, and married women struck off register. 1907: married women up by 2 892 and polygamists by 392. 1908: ditto. 539 for married women and married men up by 602. 13 166 A/B men registered to go to work. 1909: fewer married men and women recorded because overestimated before. 1910: believes last year's count excessive, working on 3,5 now (NB — see comments). Bikita total no longer included. 1912: 23 villages moved to Bikita, so only 206 up, but 174 more polygamists. 1913: reduced because of drought and famine — deaths, fewer births, registration hampered. 1914: reduction because part of the District transferred to Victoria. 1915: reduction because now calculating from taxpaying males, infant mortality 60 per cent. 1916: 1 450 transferred to Bikita.

Comment: this, the most populous district before 1910, suffered a repeated series of reductions. From 1910 the NC was calculating 3.5x male taxpayers and taxable women, and did so until 1915. Famine, border shifts and the 'vera' accounted for most of the rest.

Table XVIII

BIKITA

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AllMar	MarWo	Wid	TotChil	TotInd	Res	UAL	AL	TM
1910	1 850			3 350	4 463	600	11 749	22 012				
1911C												
1911	2 078			3 074	4 242	650	11 936	21 980				
1912												
1913								25 193	12 661	12 532		
1914								25 805	13 067	12 738		
1915								21 297	11 178	10 119		
1916								23 051	12 296	10 755		
1917								25 217	14 625	10 582		
1918								24 510	17 796	6 714		
1919								23 569	18 830	4 115	424	200
1920								25 393				
1921C	2 302	3 583	777		5 522		15 295	27 489				
1921								28 126	22 107	2 013	2 506	1 500
1922								28 794	22 516	2 208	2 570	1 500

Notes: 1910: starts on 1.5x male taxpayers and taxable wives. 1916: transfers from Ndanga.

Comments: although assessed as a separate District from 1910, it was in fact run by the NC Ndanga, and his comments on general factors apply throughout.

Table XIX

VICTORIA

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	AMMarr	A.B	TotM	MarrWo	ChM	ChIF	TotChM	TotInd	Aliens	Res	LIAL	AL	TM
1900																
1901											33 995					
1902																
1903											38 000					
1904C				6 264		9 563	11 670	7 397	8 089		36 719	171				
1904																
1905																
1906											39 000					
1907																
1908																
1909						10 450					43 000					
1910E											37 000					
1910											32 300		15 250	8 100	8 100	850
1911											31 000					
1911C																
1912					6 300						31 500	14 200	8 750	7 600	950	
1913											31 552	14 300	8 250	8 052	950	
1914											35 469	22 569	1 750	9 450	1 700	
1915											35 974	24 000	404	9 620	1 950	
1916											36 374	24 200	440	9 640	2 194	
1917											36 500	24 400	400	9 700	2 000	
1918											36 000	24 400	400	9 700	2 000	
1919											37 000	24 800	400	9 800	2 000	
1920											37 184	18 500	6 884	9 800	2 000	
1921C	4 401	4 076	2 147				9 415			15 145	35 184					
1921											38 932		19 460	7 077	10 360	2 035
1922											40 292		20 346	7 235	10 674	2 037

Notes: 1906: based on 1904 census. 1910: reduction because of border changes with Chilimanzi and Gutu. 1911: actual count at census using notched sticks carried by NMs. 1914: increase because of transfer of people from Ndanga. 1922: real birthrate not known.

Table XX

CHIBI

Year	Each	Mono	Poly	AllMar	TotM	MarWo	ChIM	ChIF	TotChI	TotIid	Aliens	Res	UAL	AL
1900														
1901										20 388				
1902														
1903														
1904C				4 744	6 616	7 012	5 678	6 100		25 406	23			
1904														
1905										28 780				
1906										30 900				
1907										37 200				
1908										39 000				
1909										41 000				
1910E										41 000				
1910										38 225		33 600	4 075	550
1911										29 400				
1911C														
1912										31 432		26 990	2 988	1 454
1913										30 205		26 725	2 727	753
1914										31 000		27 899	2 333	933
1915										31 100		127 900	2 600	1 600
1916										32 000		26 650	2 700	650
1917										33 000		29 520	2 800	680
1918										33 600		26 050	5 000	2 250
1919										31 094		25 437	3 345	2 312
1920										33 607		27 446	3 597	2 564
1921C	2 828	4 414	1 128			8 200			13 160	29 730				
1921										32 102		26 078	3 824	2 200
1922										32 714		26 514	3 700	2 500

Notes: 1901: 2 429 huts. 1906: increase in spite of very high infant mortality because of more births. 1907: claims that increase is 3 700. 1911: says that the actual increase between 1904 and 1911, is 3 371, using the tax register. 1913: decrease is due to emigration to other Districts, and famine killing old people and reducing births. 1916: some immigration from Victoria, but emigration to PEA and Transvaal. 1919: now using 3.5x male taxpayers. 1922: Chibi and Nuanetsi sub-divisions have 22 872 and 9 842, respectively.

Comment: the adoption of the 3.5 ratio in 1919 and the disappearance of figures in round thousands was due to the retirement of NC Forrestall, who had ruled the district since 1897.

Table XXI

BULILIMA-MANGWE

Year	Bach	Mona	Poly	Ambler	A/B	Total	Mazwi	Chief	Chief	Total	Total	DomA	FipaA	Ambur	Rus	LIAL	AL	
1900																		
1901																		
1902										36 429								
1903					6 395					37 479								
1904										32 611								
1904C										32 575								
1905																		
1906																		
1907										42 500								
1908										43 000								
1909										43 500								
1910										44 500					32 572	1 393	10 535	
1911																		
1911C										39 485								
1912										36 667					24 628	1 774	10 265	
1913										36 778					25 200	1 806	9 772	
1914										48 967					28 234	5 033	15 606	
1915										48 974					28 000	5 400	15 574	
1916										42 554				56	31 162	2 761	8 575	
1917										43 149				55	30 901	2 450	9 713	
1918										41 840				26	31 759	1 495	8 560	
1919										42 000				32	35 718	800	5 420	
1920										42 234				34	37 153	721	4 326	
1921										42 715				65	37 750	600	4 300	
1921C	4 982	4 580	2 097				9 710			21 260	42 649							
1922											43 300				85	38 415	600	4 200

Notes: 1900-2: no census, but up because of immigration from Bechuanaland? 1904: counted half of Chief Mazwi's villages and made an estimate for the rest. 1908: emigration to BP. 1909: a few emigrated to BP. 1910: 4 600 due to be transferred to the new Bulawayo and Nyamandlovu districts. 1913: only a small increase because of the border change with Nyamandlovu. 1914: 12 000 up, but not a real increase. NC doubted previous estimates and made a more accurate count while tax-collecting. Many more live outside the reserve than was thought. 33 075 vaccinations. Many away at work. 1915: many deaths from malaria. 1916: used 1.5 ratio — last year was 4? 1921: the census was very useful, and have allowed for some increase and decrease since then.

Table XXII

MATOBO

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	MarrWe	TotChf	TotInd	Aliens	Res	LAL	AL	TM
1900											
1901											
1902						23 746					
1903						24 659					
1904						25 560					
1904C						25 087					
1905											
1906											
1907						25 900					
1908						26 300					
1909						26 600					
1910						22 000		7 887	1 648	12 215	250
1911C						21 433					
1911						22 500					
1912						17 636		6 650	843	9 954	189
1913						17 114		6 761	1 200	8 950	203
1914						17 013		7 456	1 618	7 689	250
1915						16 067	187	7 460	1 548	7 600	246
1916						17 000	500	7 800	1 700	7 700	200
1917						17 350	250	9 000	850	7 500	250
1918						17 700	300	9 180	950	7 620	250
1919											
1920						18 500	250	9 800	3 200	5 600	150
1921C	2 605	2 158	788	3 901	9 930	19 380	250				
1921						19 380		10 050	3 500	5 630	200
1922						19 600	270	10 290	3 560	5 800	220

Notes: 1906: many removals from farms, and people transferred to Tuli. 1907: has been a steady exodus since the 1896 rising, people moving from hills to lower country. 1909: population has risen, but the exodus continues — clearances from farms and young men going to the mines. 1910: two chiefs and their people gone to Belingwe and Gwanda. Previous population slightly overestimated. 1912: one fifth of the district transferred to Gwanda and Umzingwani, also emigration. 1913: using the 3.5 ratio 3 709 gone to Gwanda and Umzingwani. 1914-15: decrease due to removal from farms.

Comment: the District started off the twentieth century with an abnormally high population because so many people had moved there during the 1896 rising. But early reports in the 1900s state that two thirds of the population were local Nyubi, not Ndebele.

Table XXIII
UMZINGWANI

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	MarrWo	TotChil	TotInd	Aliens	Res	LIAL	AL	TM
1900											
1901											
1902											
1903											
1904C						8 123					
1905											
1906											
1907											
1908						8 000					
1909						8 500					
1910						6 100	560	100		8 000	560
1911C						12 513					
1911						6 300					
1912						8 135		105	30	7 400	600
1913						8 512		154	35	7 994	329
1914						8 000		100	30	7 506	274
1915						7 928		140	38	7 435	315
1916						7 817		100	50	7 438	229
1917						8 386		100	50	7 861	375
1918						8 640		80	168	7 928	464
1919						8 885		90	50	8 245	500
1920						8 536		90	31	8 050	385
1921C	1 084	1 038	164	1 446	4 318	6 071					
1921						8 647	300	80	56	8 011	500
1922						9 000		90	80	8 430	400

Notes: from 1902 to 1907 part of Insiza. 1912: increase because part of Matobo and Insiza transferred. 1913: increase because of immigration. 1914: decrease because of moves to other Districts and the closure of mines. 1915: decrease because of moves to other Districts, though aliens up by 41, because many domiciled aliens from other Districts now registered here. 1920: non-taxpaying aliens now included, but 300 moved to other Districts and the Bushtick mine closed.

Comment: 1911C includes Bulawayo Town.

Table XXIV

INSIZA

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	A/B	TotM	MarrWo	TotChl	TotInd	Aliens	Res	UAL	AL	TM
1900													
1901													
1902				2 915				15 888					
1903				2 883				16 827					
1904C								17 145					
1904				2 992				17 095					
1905								17 600					
1906		2 285	668		5 425			18 500					
1907		2 158	691		6 970			18 800					
1908								12 820	415				
1909								13 661					
1910								15 000		300	2 000	12 100	600
1911C								16 481					
1911								14 500					
1912								13 138					
1913								13 487		1 000	3 400	8 358	738
1914								12 398		752	2 584	8 346	684
1915								13 776	273	828	3 272	8 703	967
1916								14 061		941	3 986	8 082	1 042
1917								14 500		1 011	4 073	8 282	1 134
1918								14 565		994		8 452	1 000
1919								14 916		1 014	4 138	8 704	11 000
1920								15 197		1 160	4 068	8 689	1 300
1921C	1 751	1 729	480			2 809	5 060	12 676					
1921								15 000		12 000	4 000	7 588	2 231
1922								17 000		2 000	4 500	8 000	2 500

Notes: 1902: increase, unstated, because of addition of Umzingwani, 5 296 huts. 1903: very healthy year. 1908: some immigration, but Umzingwani separated. 1912: lost 633 taxpaying males to Gwelo and other Districts. Rest of district up by 244 because youths now taxable. 1913: decrease of 1 111 because count taken with care. Last year was merely estimate, but tax is up so population is up. 1917: still emigration from the District, but more immigration, so there is a rise with natural increase — emigration 112 over immigration, but total increase 429. 1921: 127 families emigrated, mostly to Beilwe.

BUBI

Year	Back	Mono	Polv	Althor	AG	TotM	Marble	TotF	Althor	ChM	ChF	TotCh	TotM	Althor	Res	U/L	AL	%
1900																		
1901													20 314					
1902													25 824					
1903													28 727					
1904C													23 958					
1904	2 180			3 305		4 519				4 958	6 623		23 772	148				
1905													24 600					
1906									11 580				25 000					
1907													26 000					
1908					7 800	8 300							27 000					
1908													27 500					
1910						5 283		3 444				10 323	18 648	181				
1911C																		
1911																		
1912													20 186					
1913													22 120	9 420	1 805	10 216	679	
1914													22 500	10 240	1 405	9 846	1 000	
1915						5 237							18 330	732	11 205	1 575	5 550	732
1916													19 688	1 083	12 030	1 585	5 382	1 083
1917													19 800	1 000	12 724	1 176	5 700	1 000
1918													19 445	650	12 730	1 130	5 585	650
1919													19 873	1 800	6 836	1 151	11 886	1 800
1920													21 807		7 138	1 440	13 229	1 000
1921C	2 525	2 848	510			4 150						14 568	24 651					
1921													26 300	9 638	1 500	13 662	1 500	
1922													27 400	10 238	1 500	13 741	1 921	

Notes: for 1910 and 1912 the following extra figures are given:

	Reserve			U/L			AL		
	m	w	ch	m	w	ch	m	w	ch
1910	1 342	888	2 655	440	283	823	3 300	2 273	6 845
1912	2 840	2 400	6 500	382	350	1 000	1 574	1 036	3 000

1901: Bubi and Bulawayo-Shiloh Districts merged to form Bubi. 1902: new NC calculates 258 524 on 6 487 lots, using 4 per lot instead of 3 as before. 1906: death rate 11.5 per 1 000. 1910: adult death rate 3.1 per 1 000. 1912: immigration from other Districts. 1915: now using 3.5. 1916: increase 1 008 including 381 aliens. 1919: last year's figure an underestimate? New NC suggests no real increase. 1920: 1 000 men, women and children on mines. 1921: census led to more accurate count (?). 1922: alien population now counted in total.

Comments: two big decreases, one caused by separation of Nyamandlovu and Bulawayo in 1910, the other by the adoption of the 3.5 ratio.

Table XXVI
 NYAMANDLOVU

Year	Bech	Moro	Poly	Total	MarrWo	Total	Total	Adms	Res	LAL	AL	TM
1910							11 291	29	329	2 831	8 180	
1911C												
1911												
1912				3 281	2 230	6 017	11 500	28	1 225	1 050	9 000	325
1913				3 458	2 375	6 192	11 994	31	2 275	770	8 648	301
1914							12 150		2 500	800	8 560	300
1915							12 220		2 700	900	8 320	300
1916							12 200		2 900	1 000	7 900	400
1917							12 280		5 840	1 170	5 250	
1918							11 880		5 800	980	4 900	200
1919							12 000		5 800	1 000	5 000	200
1920							12 200		3 480	1 180	7 180	400
1921C	1 888	1 502	373		2 285	7 122	13 170					
1921							12 800		3 800	1 100	7 700	400
1922							13 121		3 488	1 300	7 903	450

Notes: 1910: created out of Bubu and Bulahma-Mangwe, but 616 was going to go to Bubu. 1915: bad malaria. 1917: emigration to other districts. 1918: lost 180 from last year due to influenza and moves to other Districts. 1922: ANC Gwasa gives more accurate figure for reserve.

Comment: probably started by using 3.5 ratio.

Table XXVII
BULAWAYO

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	MarrWo	TotChI	Total and DomAI	DomAI	FloAI	UAI	AL	TM
1910						6 290	1 600	1 200		6 290	2 800
1911C											
1911											
1912						6 498			32	4 291	2 173
1913						5 956			32	4 250	1 574
1914						5 850			35	3 798	1 825
1915						5 800			38	3 802	1 780
1916						5 410			40	3 500	1 870
1917						5 245			45	3 300	1 900
1918						6 240			50	4 250	1 940
1919						12 000		1 500	50	4 260	7 540
1920						6 883				4 300	2 583
1921C	429	641	31	706	1 841	3 448		3 448			
1921						7 465			15	4 350	3 100
1922						7 368			18	4 400	2 950

Notes: 1910: created out of Bubi, Bulilima-Mangwe and Umzingwani. 1911-12: no change, floating aliens unknown. 1914: Bulawayo municipal vaccination was 3 661. People moving to reserves in other districts. 1916: decrease because of moves to other Districts, fewer aliens. 1917: same as 1916, Old Nick mine closed. 1918: increase because more aliens now paying tax, and dependents of aliens now counted. 1919: 4 000 indigenous from other Districts in Bulawayo, 1 500 floating aliens. 1920-21: increase because more floating aliens now domiciled. 1922: decrease because domiciled aliens have left.

Comments: the usual urban confusion.

Table XXVIII

WANKIE

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	MarrWo	TotChil	TotInd	Aliens	Res	LAL	AL	TM
1900											
1901											
1902											
1903											
1904C						5 640					
1904											
1905											
1906											
1907						4 252	500				
1908						4 700					
1909						4 800					
1910						5 586	393		5 225	113	621 ¹
1911C						6 663					
1911											
1912						5 536			5 000	176	360
1913						5 700			5 000	150	550
1914						5 500	356		5 240	260	356
1915						4 750			4 150	250	350
1916						4 670 [*]			4 100	200	370
1917						5 120		1 170	3 050	220	680
1918						5 375		1 335	2 970	240	830
1919						9 256	2 000	1 586	6 515	255	2 900 ¹
1920						9 427	2 000	1 632	6 962	283	2 950 ¹
1921C	1 146	1 004	555	2 468	6 326	11 499					
1921						11 520		2 900	5 185	3 158	267
1922						12 085		3 045	5 455	3 585	

* Includes aliens?

¹ Figure includes 900 indigenous and 2 000 aliens.

* Figure includes 228 indigenous and 621 aliens.

¹ Figure includes 950 indigenous and 2 000 aliens.

Notes: 1904: immigration from NWR. 1907: 500 immigrants from South Africa. 34 deaths = 12.7 per 1 000, up by 1.65 on last year, so population is 4 252, up by 300? 1909: immigration from BP, NR and other districts, so 200 up. 1914: 1913 estimate not far out — tax drive, Reserves Commission and vaccination campaign led to count of 5 856. 1916: estimating at 3,5? 1917: some immigrants from Sebungwe now settled, very high infant mortality. 1918: increase due to domiciled aliens, 427 deaths, 300 of them influenza. 1919: big increase because Sebungwe people now counted, and 2 000 floating aliens now counted. 1921: census very thorough, but floating aliens not counted.

Table XXIX

SEBUNGWE-GOKWE

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	A/B	MarHo	TotChil	TotInd	Aliens	Res	UAL	AL
1900											
1901							12 892				
1902				2 980			17 976				
1903							19 035				
1904C							21 211				
1904							21 206				
1905											
1906											
1907											
1908							24 500				
1909											
1910											
1911C							25 560				
1911							25 600				
1912							25 670		3 390	21 980	500
1913							16 834			16 242	592
1914							26 309			25 359	950
1915							19 837			19 167	670
1916							19 941			19 362	579
1917							19 944		2 803	16 963	178
1918							20 300	19	3 157	16 919	224
1919							16 511	21	3 227	13 091	244
1920							17 379	37	3 391	13 695	256
1921C	1 791	1 745	1 222		4 742	7 603	17 283				
1921							18 056	36	3 538	14 260	220
1922							18 186	50	3 585	14 401	200

Notes: 1901: Sebungwe sub-division 8 232, 3 339 huts, Mafungabusi division 4 460, 1 612 huts. 1902: Sebungwe sub-division 10 120, 3 839 huts, Mafungabusi sub-division 7 656, 2 146 huts. 1903: increase 16.06 per 1 000, because more people found, people who fled to NWR returned. 1904: up by 2 171, mostly in Sebungwe, because of more complete census and more people back from NWR. 1907: 50 per cent infant mortality, some back from NWR. 1908: immigration and emigration balance. 1910: immigration from NWR. 1912: stable population because of very high infant mortality, women lose 50 per cent. 1913: decrease because last year calculated on erroneous basis. 1914: 162 people transferred from Gwelo. 1915: decrease because of new computation method. 1917: more accurate figures for AL from owners. 400 emigrated, but natural increase the same? 1918: 4 100 in this count will be transferred to Wankie. Population stable? 'Despite diligent coaxing and multiplication of every adult male on the tax register by 3.5, the population stubbornly refuses to budge one way or the other by more than a hundred or two annually. So that, prolific as the local native tribes are and exposed to no other adverse influences than quite a normal death rate, and a small exodus into other Districts, yet, in our process of computation we always arrive at the same, or practically the same, monotonous total. The inference is obvious.' 1919: 4 100 gone to Wankie, so down by 3 806, so the increase is 292. 1923: most careful checking fails to alter the result arrived at by the 3.5 ratio.

Table XXX
LOWER GWELO

Year	Bech	Mono	Poly	Total	Marrillo	Toif	ChikM	Chif	TarOw	Total	Res	UAL	AL	TM
1900														
1901				1 455		1 896			1 782	4 933				
1902				2 327		2 700			2 900	7 927				
1903														
1904C														
1904				1 836		1 976	1 470	1 718		7 000				
1905														
1906										7 200				
1907										8 000				
1908														
1909														
1910										10 500	4 100	3 000	1 900	1 500
1911C										14 321				
1911														
1912										14 120	3 550	4 000	4 360	2 210
1913										14 450	3 750	1 750	6 750	2 200
1914										14 600	3 600	1 750	6 850	2 200
1915										14 976	4 100	1 726	6 950	2 200
'916										15 420	4 500	1 600	7 100	2 200
'917										18 440	5 150	1 630	7 500	4 160
'918										17 800	5 100	850	8 250	3 600
'919										18 175	5 700	950	8 425	3 100
'920										19 395	6 470	800	8 625	3 509
'921C														
'921	2 785	1 739	522		2 679				11 021	18 946				
'921										20 410	6 770	640	9 400	3 600
'922										21 180	7 460	650	9 450	3 620

Note: 1902: 2 318 hats, 1903: 2 378 hats, 1904: last year used 1.1 per hat, it was hat month, 2 654 hats this year. Immigration from Slovakia and Massachusetts, 1906, down by 830 because 640 people on Federal State, transferred to California. 1907: immigration from other Districts, 1909: immigration from other Districts, 1912: part of Inyo and Sequoia transferred to this District. 1917: increase of 150 hats to cover alien's paying tax, and typing error last year.

Table XXXI
UPPER GWELO-SELUKWE

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	Toth	MarrHb	Toaf	ToChd	ToInd	Alens	Res	UAL	AL	TM
1900													
1901				2 715		3 024	2 261	6 000					
1902				2 963		3 114	2 248	6 316					
1903													
1904C													
1904								11 246					
1905								13 200					
1906								13 600					
1907								13 745					
1908								14 000	3 500				
1909								14 200					
1910								19 371		6 610	3 200	2 750	1 845
1911C								14 337					
1911								14 989		7 313	2 673	2 530	2 273
1912								15 998		7 637	2 240	3 650	1 871
1913								15 970	2 032	7 670	2 013	4 055	
1914								16 795	1 671	8 625	3 018	3 280	
1915								16 972	1 600	10 708	1 600	3 069	
1916								15 789	1 160	8 470	1 435	4 718	
1917								16 557	602	4 287	1 750	8 918	
1918								15 636		4 400	1 760	8 676	1 000
1919								16 200		4 500	1 050	9 656	1 000
1920								16 600					
1921C	2 065	2 635	502		4 300		6 796	16 600					
1921								16 500		5 100	100	10 200	1 100
1922								16 600		5 300	100	10 100	1 100

Notes: 1902: 4 231 huts. 1903: 4 195 huts. 1906: several villages transferred to Gwelo. 1907: immigration. 1913: immigration. 1918: decrease partly due to influenza and partly to mines closing. 1919: most mines closed. 1922: most of the best land in reserve taken, emigration.

Table XXXII

BELINGWE

Year	Bech	Mono	Priy	A/B	MarrWo	TotChl	TotInd	Aliens	Res	UAL	AL
1900											
1901											
1902				4 210			33 183				
1903							33 34000				
1904C							34 335				
1904											
1905											
1907											
1909							36 307	668			
1910							36 973	511	30 768	4 015	2 190
1911C							37 960				
1911											
1912							37 565	474	31 610	1 895	4 060
1913							25 600	465	21 235	1 045	3 230
1914							33 535	460	27 155	2 250	4 130
1915							30 607	388	25 405	3 407	1 795
1916							27 585	478	22 893	3 130	1 562
1917							28 002	556	22 925	2 210	2 947
1918							28 746	630	23 510	2 300	2 936
1919							29 309	1 550	24 039	2 250	3 020
1920							30 558	2 500	25 078	2 340	3 140
1921C	4 500	3 908	1 295		6 613	14 300	30 614				
1921							31 260	2 674	26 110	2 110	3 040
1922							31 083	2 072	27 005	1 665	2 413

Notes: 1902: many left for other Districts, and Mphephu's people gone back to Transvaal. 1904: 1 500 up, but many left District, infant mortality 30 per 1 000. 1913: 'Based on former calculation otherwise than 3.5 to each male taxpaying unit' discrepancy 11 254 down. 1914: says is 2 505 down on 1913 due to error in calculation in previous years. 1915: due to error in previous years, 3 000 down. 1916: 2 932 down due to miscalculation in previous years. 1917: errors of past years now corrected. Deaths up among registered tax unit, don't know why, no epidemic. 1922: 776 fewer aliens on mines, 934 transferred to Gwanda, but immigration balances this.

Comment: NC Belingwe seems to have had serious problems with calculation, 1913-17.

Table XXXIII
GWANDA-TULI

Year	Bach	Mono	Poly	TotM	MarWb	TotF	TotChil	TotInd	DomAM	DomAW	DomAChil	Aliens	Res	UAL	AL	TM
1900																
1901																
1902								7 763								
1903								6 990								
1904C								9 631								
1904								7 090								
1905																
1906												1 200				
1907																
1908																
1909																
1910								16 000						11 110	3 190	2 500
1911C								18 371								
1911																
1912				4 022		4 171	5 884	14 077				1 500		5 271	8 806	1 500
1913				4 200		4 499	6 001	14 700				1 100		7 273	7 427	1 100
1914				4 236		4 536	6 047	14 819				1 100		7 665	7 154	1 100
1916				4 340		4 629	6 221	15 200				699		7 788	7 402	699
1916				4 488		4 735	6 468	15 689	600	84	27	711		7 869	7 820	711
1917				4 597		4 860	6 738	16 195	500	70	35	595		8 345	7 960	595
1918				4 708		3 843	7 874	16 425	788	80	50	918	283	7 780	8 862	918
1919				4 550		3 316	8 036	15 902	900	100	60	1 060	313	6 188	9 401	1 060
1920								14 882				875	637	7 042	7 203	875
1921C 2 188		1 062	587		3 125		8 565	16 329								
1921								16 222					836	7 755	7 381	250 (Indigenous)
1922								17 860					852	6 622	10 136	250 (Indigenous)

Notes: 1903: decrease because Mphephu's people going home. 1904: (immigration from other Districts, some gone to Transvaal. 1906: 500 up. 1907: 1 200 aliens come to work. 1908: 600 up, immigration from Transvaal. 1909: up 600. 1910: big increase because mine population included, also Chief Ngundu's people in from Matobo. 1914: youths now taxed? 1915: 401 aliens left, 371 natural increase. 1916: women and children on mines now counted as aliens because they come from BP. 1918: unexplained drop in indigenous women. 1920: decrease this year only natives on tax register and those aliens on CNC farm No. 2 counted. If the two were joined, would have more than in 1919. 1921: stopped counting aliens on mines. 1922: breakdown between Gwanda and Mtetengwe sub-divisions is 12 121 to 5 939. Increase because part of Befingwe transferred to Gwanda, and immigration.

Table XXXIV

NUMBER OF RURAL DEATHS FROM THE 'VERA' OR
'SPANISH' INFLUENZA

District	Deaths reported in 1918			Deaths reported in 1919	
	Rural	TM	Total	1918 casualties	Total
Goromonzi	500	706	1 325	146	
Mazoe	524	149	752	277	366
Mrewa			131	906 ?	1 037
Marandellas	800			345	
Charter	291				857
Hartley	406	768		383	538
Lomagundi	223	87	310	525	
Darwin	328			421	65
Mitoko	72			1 042	1 092
Inyanga	94			168	
Makoni					
Umtali	415 *		529	252	412
Melsetter	7			94	
Gutu	300 ?			697	
Chilimanzi	489	300 ?	789	72	158
Ndanga-Bikita	379		379	696	
Victoria	156			228	299
Chibi	539		749		371
Bulilima-Mangwe	1 111				
Matobo	108	340	515		
Umzingwani	343	114			56
Insiza	272	134			
Bubi		272			160
Nyamandlovu	400 ?			72	135
Bulawayo	NC Staff got the flu				
Wankie	300		427		
Sebungwe	380 ?			221	330
Gwelo				109	315
Selukwe	321	165	580	244	322
Belingwe	611			426	
Gwanda	47	64		49	

* This figure includes deaths in both the rural areas and towns and mines.

The 'Vera' struck the country in October 1918 and in the rural areas many deaths in 1918 were not reported until 1919. A very provisional figure, based on the above data, for the number of deaths from influenza in the rural areas is 16 836, but this leaves out three Districts and deaths of women and children which were never reported and deaths of people from the Districts who died on mines and in towns.

Even so, of the nine Districts that reported a reduction in the size of population in 1918-19, four did so partly or entirely because of emigration, the closure of mines or the adoption of the 3.5 ratio. However, many NCs reported a reduced increase because of the influenza epidemic. Post-1922 figures might show the real losses in children through reduced adult registration and marriage.