White Workers and the Production of Race in Southern Rhodesia, 1910-1980

Nicola Ginsburgh

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of History

The University of Leeds

September 2017

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Scholarship on lower class whites, the worlds of white labour and poor whites in African settler states have been dominated by a geographical focus on South Africa, Algeria and to a lesser extent Mozambique and Angola. Research on the Southern Rhodesian settler population has tended to focus on middle class and rural whites. Wage labourers comprised a significant part of the Southern Rhodesian settler population and offer the opportunity to redress these current imbalances and challenge orthodoxies concerning white workers in racially-stratified labour markets. Through examining the struggles over the racialisation and gendering of particular categories of work, this thesis unearths the ways in which race, gender, ethnicity and nationality were differentially understood and performed. It examines white workers outside of the typical temporal and thematic parameters which have been pursued by labour historians of Southern Rhodesia by interrogating the neglected realms of culture and identity and extending the chronological focus from the first decades of settlement through the Second World War, the Central African Federation and Rhodesian Front period to the end of minority settler rule in 1980. Through analysing women as part of the formal labour force it reveals the diverse experiences of white women in the colonies, examines how work was gendered, and corrects a longstanding omission in existing labour histories. Its originality lies not only in its focus on under-researched aspects of female wage labour, white identity and class experience in Southern Rhodesia, but in its methodological and theoretical synthesis of work on gender, whiteness studies, settler colonialism, emotions, the New African Economic History, space and borders.

Contents

List of Tables

List of Illustrative Material

List of Abbreviations

AEU: Amalgamated Engineering Union

AMWR: Associated Mine Workers of Rhodesia

ICA: Industrial Conciliation Act

ICU: Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa

RALE: Railway Association of Locomotive Employees

RAWU: Railway African Workers' Union

RF: Rhodesian Front

RLP: Rhodesia Labour Party

RMGWA: Rhodesia Mine and General Workers' Association

RNA: Rhodesian Nurses Association

RRAEA: Rhodesian Railways African Employees' Association

RRM: Rhodesia Railways Magazine

RRR: Rhodesian Railway Review

RRWU: Rhodesia Railways Workers Union

RTA: Rhodesia Teaching Association

SRLP: Southern Rhodesia Labour Party

UDI: Unilateral Declaration of Independence

ZANU: Zimbabwe African National Union

ZANU PF: Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

ZAPU: Zimbabwe African People's Union

NAZ: National Archives of Zimbabwe

TNA: National Archives of the UK

NASA: National Archives of South Africa

ICOMM: Institute of Commonwealth Studies Collection

<u>Introduction</u>

This thesis focuses on wage labour as an important arena of racial socialisation. It explores the self-activity of men and women in the worlds of work in which racial, gender and class identities were forged and remoulded, shaped both by changes in material production, dominant ideologies and the struggles of men and women at the point of production as well as at the cultural level in peoples' daily lives. Whereas in colonial territories authorities and employers relied almost exclusively on indigenous labour, in settler states sections of the colonising population were also incorporated into wage labour. Racial hierarchies which underpinned the settler colonial structure were replicated in the organisation of the workplace; settlers laid claim to particular racial identities by constructing and performing 'white' work which was contrasted with the work (or its perceived absence) of racialised others. Scholarship on lower class whites, the worlds of white labour and poor whites in African settler states have been dominated by a geographical focus on South Africa, Algeria and to a lesser extent Mozambique and Angola.[1] The idiosyncratic nature of settler colonialism in Southern Rhodesia offers a fresh perspective from which to challenge orthodoxies concerning white workers in racially-stratified labour markets. The country's particularism reflects both its peculiar constitutional status as combining elements of both a dominion and a colony in its relative autonomy from the metropole and in its demographic character. Europeans never totalled more than five percent of the total population. White workers were essential yet subordinate allies in the settler colonial structure. Their experiences both as exploited workers and as part of the privileged white minority offer insight into how race and class shaped one another and how boundaries fundamental to settler colonialism were produced and policed.

There are three interrelated structuring principles at the heart of this thesis. First, it sets out to explore how class position affects the ways in which individuals contest meaning and how class structures the ways in which race is lived and experienced. Second, it

---

[1] See Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonisers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001). Antoinette Errante, 'White Skin, Many Masks: Colonial Schooling, Race and National Consciousness among White Settler Children in Mozambique, 1934-1974', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36, 1 (2003), pp.7-33. Ali Yedes, 'Social Dynamics in Colonial Algeria: The Question of Pieds-Noirs Identity', in *French Civilisation and its Discontents: Nationalism, Colonialism, Race* edited by Tyler Stovall, Georges Van Den Abbeele (Plymoth: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.235-250. Jeremy Krikler, *White Rising: The 1922 Insurrection and Racial Killing in South Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005). Charles van Onselen, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914* (Harlow: Longman, 1982).

seeks to interrogate the ways in which white workers were active agents in the production of race. It achieves this by investigating white workers' political organisations and the ways in which trade unions sought to present a collective identity for their membership as well as the processes of inclusion and exclusion that this entailed. Gender is the third organising principle. This has involved examining the struggles over the racialisation and gendering of particular categories of work and analysing why these boundaries shifted over the colonial period, but also researching white women as *workers*. Through analysing women as part of the formal labour force, the thesis aims to shine important light on diverse experiences of white women in the colonies, reveal how work itself was gendered, and correct a longstanding omission in existing labour histories. Wider employment trends have been analysed by unpicking the tensions between ideologies of race and gender which tried to fix particular types of work as the domain of white men and the demands of industry and the economy.

A Brief Overview of the Historiography and History of Rhodesian Settler Colonialism

In 1886 large gold deposits were discovered on the Witwatersrand in South Africa. Known as the mineral revolution, the concentration of vast sums of wealth in the hands of mine owners and investors on the Witwatersrand precipitated the European annexation of land north of the Limpopo River in search of greater gold deposits. By 1889 mining magnate Cecil Rhodes was granted a royal charter from Britain which allowed territory covering Mashonaland and Matabeleland to be ruled by his British South Africa Company (BSAC) and the following year the first settlers had arrived as part of the Pioneer Column. The colony had a shaky start. Struggles over land, cattle and taxes between settlers and the Shona and Ndebele people who already inhabited the area led to a series of African uprisings from 1896-7. Ten percent of settlers were killed before the uprising was crushed by imperial reinforcements from South Africa and local settler volunteers.[2] Prophecies of a Second Rand fell flat, but nevertheless the newly founded Southern Rhodesia found economic potential in coal mining and low grade ore gold deposits and agriculture and the settler population gradually increased.

Doubt took root amongst early Rhodesian settlers regarding the future of European presence in Africa. Anxieties over settlers' ability to successfully farm and mine in a

---

[2] Suzanne Dawson, 'The First Chimurenga: 1896-1897 Uprising in Matabeleland and Mashonaland and the Continued Conflicts in Academia', *Constellations*, 2, 2 (2011), pp.144-153. L. H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965), pp.129-139.

hostile African environment were compounded by fresh memories of African rebellion. Nevertheless early Whig historians weaved the extension of British rule north of the Limpopo into a narrative of the unrelenting spread of civilisation under the aegis of British imperialism.[3] Settlers depicted themselves as the direct bearers of the white man's burden, enlightening and educating Africans, developing industry, agriculture and extracting mineral wealth.[4] Settler identity was created in reference to a host of external others and a set of unifying foundational mythologies. The cult of Rhodes and an emphasis on the struggle and hardships of pioneer society were coupled with a loudly proclaimed Britishness in opposition to both Afrikaners and Africans.[5] Rhodesian authorities put particular effort into attracting and manufacturing the *right type* of white settler. Discriminatory immigration stipulations ensured that Rhodesia developed as a specifically British settler society and that whites who entered the colony possessed adequate skills and capital so as not to become public charges.[6]

The growing number of whites in the colony sustained a hostile relationship to the BSAC and gradually campaigned for responsible government. Given the option to be incorporated into the union of South Africa, hostility towards Afrikaners and attachment to the British Empire encouraged settlers to vote for responsible government in 1923. Settlers saw this as the first step towards the much coveted dominion status held by older settler states such as Canada and Australia. While Rhodesian settlers gained control over their own affairs, London retained the right to intervene in settler legislative matters. Over the first decades numerous measures were engineered to uplift and discipline whites while keeping Africans uneducated, poorly paid, tightly controlled and to prevent the rise of an African middle class. A limited multiracial franchise prevented the majority of Africans from voting; Hut taxes were levied to speed up processes of

[3] Stephen Constantine, 'Migrants and Settlers', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol IV, The Twentieth Century*, edited by Judith M. Brown and W. M. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.163-4. James Rochfort, *Cecil Rhodes: A Biography and Appreciation by Imperialist* London: Macmillan, 1897) Howard Hensman, *A History of Rhodesia* (Edinburgh; London: W. Blackwood, 1900); Percy F. Hone, *Southern Rhodesia* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1909).
[4] Robert Bickers, 'Introduction: Britains and Britons over the Seas', in *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, edited by Robert Bickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.11. See L. H. Gann and M. Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964); Gann, *Southern Rhodesia*; Colin Leys, *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959).
[5] Julie Bonello, 'The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890–1914', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 43, 2 (2010), pp. 341-367; Allison K. Shutt and Tony King, 'Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Studies* (2005), 31, 2, pp.357-379.
[6] Alois S. Mlambo, 'Building a White Man's Country: Aspects of White Immigration into Rhodesia up.until World War II', *Zambezia*, 25, 2 (1998); '"Some are More White Than Others": Racial Chauvinism as a Factor in Rhodesian Immigration Policy, 1890 to 1963', *Zambezia*, 27, 2 (2000), pp.139-160.

land alienation and proletarianisation; Pass laws and the Masters and Servants Act were implemented to control the black workforce and African mobility. In the wake of the Great Depression Industrial Conciliation Acts were enforced which protected the white skilled monopoly of jobs and frustrated African job progression into semi-skilled and skilled work. Land Apportionment gave the best land to whites who were further supported by government subsidies which greatly disadvantaged African farmers. Despite Whitehall's power to intervene to protect African interests, such legislation went ahead unimpeded.

After the Second World War the triumphalism of previous settler historiography was tempered by the dual challenges of decolonisation and African nationalism. In Southern Rhodesia two large African strikes in 1945 and 1948 further rocked settler complacency. Yet, paradoxically, across southern Africa these challenges coincided with the consolidation of white rule and the extension of segregationist practice.[7] A year after the decolonisation process signalled its beginning with Indian independence in 1947, Nationalist rule in South Africa was reaching its apogee with the implementation of apartheid. While Kenyan settlers united in a violent counterinsurgency campaign against Mau Mau nationalists, Southern Rhodesia found temporary reprieve from the pressures of decolonisation in the short-lived Central African Federation which joined together the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.[8] White immigration soared while limited reforms, such as ending the prohibition on Africans purchasing liquor, were made to prove the Federation's multiracial credentials. These largely tokenistic gestures did little to satisfy rising African nationalist movements and by the early 1960s the Federation had dissolved. While former British colonies such as Ghana, Kenya, Zambia, and Malawi emerged as independent states Britain refused to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia so long as its constitution prevented African majority rule. Dropping the 'Southern' prefix, Rhodesia reacted violently and rapidly to rising nationalist resistance to settler rule. The Rhodesian Front (RF) were elected in 1962 by the predominantly white electorate on back of promises to uphold minority rule and their leader Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia from 1964 to 1979, became a symbol of settler defiance and white supremacy. By 1965 the RF were capitalising upon a sense of British betrayal to cement support for Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) as they illegally declared themselves an autonomous state and became an international

---

[7] Shula Marks, 'Southern Africa', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol IV*, p.565.
[8] On the politics of Federation see Andy Cohen, *The Politics and Economics of Decolonisation in Africa: The Failed Experiment of the Central African Federation* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2017).

pariah.[9] Rhodesian settlers portrayed themselves as the bearers of traditional British values while the metropole was invariably considered to be a site of moral degeneration which was prepared to sell out kith and kin for the sake of political expediency.[10] A guerrilla war between African nationalist forces and the Rhodesian counterinsurgents raged from the 1960s and white rule eventually became increasingly untenable towards the end of the 1970s. In 1980 majority rule was finally won and Robert Mugabe elected the Prime Minister of independent Zimbabwe.

Throughout the period of minority rule settlers were keen to present themselves as a politically and culturally uniform community. Ian Smith described mutual interests and ideals of Rhodesians including loyalty to the queen and the British Empire and a dedication to the national sports of cricket and rugby.[11] Under the RF this imagined community was presented as a classless bastion of civilisation on the frontlines against barbarism and communism. Yet such self-valorisation was widely challenged. The intransience of the white community fighting bitterly to uphold racist minority rule in the face of a popular nationalist movement and international criticism generated a body of research from a generation of scholars in solidarity with the liberation movement.[12] However, in rightly drawing attention to the oppression and inequality at the heart of white minority rule, much of this nationalist historiography tended towards teleological narratives and romantic exaggeration. By plastering over divisions within both the colonised and colonising population, such scholarship replicated homogenising patterns emblematic of the previous settler and Whig historiographies.[13] Thus it was observed that 'all whites had domestic servants, all dressed in approximately the same fashion, all shared the same drinking and eating habits, nearly all went on the same sort of holidays to similar places…neither would their sport nor recreation, nor schooling of their children vary widely'.[14] Kenneth Good claimed that 'the sameness of white attitudes, precisely characterises white Rhodesia'.[15] James Alfred Mutambirwa argued that Europeans 'were united and their attitudes and behaviour toward the Africans were the

---

[9] Tinashe Nyamunda, ''More a Cause than a Country': Historiography, UDI and the Crisis of Decolonisation in Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42, 5 (2016), pp.1005-1019.

[10] A particularly vitriolic defence of white rule in the face of supposed British degeneracy is given by Guy van Eeden, *The Crime of Being White* (Nasionale, 1965).

[11] Ian Smith, *The Great Betrayal: The Memoirs of Ian Douglas Smith* (London: Blake, 1998).

[12] Terence Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97* (London: Heinemen, 1967); *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930* (London: Heinemann Education, 1970); Eshmael Mlambo, *The Struggle for a Birthright* (London: C. Hurst Company, 1972).

[13] See Brian Raftopoulos, 'Problematising Nationalism in Zimbabwe: A Historiographical Review', *Zambezia*, 26, 2 (1999), pp.115-134.

[14] Frank Clements, *Rhodesia: the Course to Collision* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1969), p.65.

[15] Kenneth Good, 'Settler Colonialism in Rhodesia', *African Affairs*, 73, 290 (1974), pp.23-24.

same'.[16] Yet this image of a white ruling class and a black working class, of, as Henri Rolins describes, 'two separate communities, one superimposed on the other, an aristocracy composed of white landowners and entrepreneurs, and a black proletariat',[17] insufficiently explains the extent of fragmentation within both the colonising and colonised population. Certainly this dualism often tells us much more about imperial and colonial ideologies than the actual functioning of settler colonialisms.[18]

In the wake of independence a wave of research emerged which challenged the idea of a cohesive anti-colonial movement. In particular this scholarship examined the ways in which nationalist organisation and mobilisation was fractured by gender, age and ethnicity and examined how these tensions continued to manifest themselves into the 1980s.[19] Research into the settler community was also produced which challenged the image of white uniformity.[20] Together, this work complicated traditional colonial frameworks which, Terence Ranger argued, had the unintended consequence of distorting both black and white humanity.[21] Outside of the Zimbabwean context, research into settler colonialism examined how social boundaries of class, gender, religion and ethnicity were replicated in new colonial environments, as well as how these divisions were obscured.[22] This work explored the disjuncture between totalising pronunciations and public assertions of absolute power from settler statesmen and ideologues and the reality of social experience of settlers and indigenous peoples.[23] Fruitful studies were produced with regards to white women, undesirable white ethnic and national groups, mental illness and sexuality, which have simultaneously

---

[16] James Alfred Mutambirwa, *The Rise of Settler Power in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), 1898-1923* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980), p.27.

[17] Henri Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, translated by Deborah Kirkwood (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1978), p.vii.

[18] Harald Fischer-Tine and Susanne Gehrmann, 'Introduction: Empires, Boundaries and the Production of Difference', in *Empires and Boundaries: Race, Class and Gender in Colonial Settings* edited by Harald Fischer-Tine and Susanne Gehrmann (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp.4-5.

[19] Norma Kriger, 'The Zimbabwean War of Liberation: Struggles within the Struggle' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14, 2 (1988), pp 304-322; Jocelyn Alexander, Joann McGregor and Terence Ranger, *Violence & Memory: One Hundred Years in the "Dark Forests" of Matabeleland* (Oxford; Portsmouth, NH: James Currey, Heinemann, 2000).

[20] Dane Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987); Peter Godwin and Ian Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia, 1970-1980* (Harare: Baobab Books, 1995).

[21] Terence Ranger, 'Europeans in Black Africa', *Journal of World History*, 9, 2 (1998), p. 256.

[22] Alan Lester, 'Reformulating Identities: British Settlers in Early Nineteenth-Century South Africa', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 23, 4 (2004), 515-531.

[23] Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda', *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of Cambridge Press, 1997), pp.1-56; Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds (eds), *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.6.

complicated the idea of a homogeneous white community and elucidated state endeavours to engineer particular visions of white society.[24]

Despite this work, popular and state-sanctioned history in Zimbabwe has seen the persistence of earlier Manichaean narratives. In 2004 Terence Ranger coined 'patriotic history': a hyper-nationalist narrow version of the past which had been instrumentalised by the ruling party ZANU-PF to legitimise its own authoritarian actions. In this highly selective account of the past, Zimbabweans have been divided into revolutionaries and sell-outs.[25] The opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), has been portrayed as nothing more than a tool of the remaining whites and imperial powers. In the early 2000s a series of struggles regarding white land ownership and Mugabe's increasingly anti-West rhetoric coupled with more fervent calls for indigenisation generated a large amount of western media attention and academic research. The relationship of whites to power, wealth and land and the links between MDC, international donors and white commercial farming has prompted discussions about the legacies of settler colonialism and place of whites in contemporary Zimbabwe.[26]

Studies of Whiteness have become a popular framework to grapple with issues of belonging, especially to the land and how whiteness is articulated in the postcolonial state.[27] The best of this work has been attentive to the complex processes in the creation

---

[24] Harald Fischer-Tine, *Low and Licentious Europeans: Race, Class and 'White Subalternity' in Colonial India* (New Dehli: Orient Blackswan, 2009), pp.5-6, has argued that imperial, nationalist and subaltern historians have largely tended to fall into a racialised dichotomy of oppressor and oppressed. Examples of work which has explored fragmentation and the hidden and outcast whites of settler societies include, Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2010); 'Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31, 1 (1989), pp.134-161; Will Jackson, 'Bad Blood: Poverty, Psychopathy and the Politics of Transgression in Kenya Colony, 1939-59', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 39, 1 (2011), pp.73-94; David Arnold, 'European Orphans and Vagrants in India in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 7, 2 (1979), pp.104-127. Alexandra Lindgren-Gibson, ' "I Wish I Could See You as Often as I Could See Your Letter": Imperial Anxieties and Working-Class Family Life in the Raj', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 17, 3 (2016).

[25] Terence Ranger, 'Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 30, 2 (2004), pp. 215-234; for a critique see Ian Phimister, ' Narratives of Progress: Zimbabwean Historiography and the End of History', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 30, 1 (2012), pp.27-34.

[26] MDC has been increasingly supported by western powers and white farmers. Nevertheless MDC's roots were in the Zimbabwean trade union movement. See Munyaradzi Gwisai, 'Revolutionaries, Resistance, and Crisis in Zimbabwe' in *Class Struggle and Resistance in Africa*, edited by Peter Dwyer and Leo Zeilig (Chicago: Haymarket, 2009), pp.219-251.

[27] See Rory Pilossof, *The Unbearable Whiteness of Being: Farmers' Voices from Zimbabwe* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2012). J. L. Fisher, *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles: The Decolonisation of White Identity in Zimbabwe* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2010). Lea Kalaora, 'Madness, Corruption and Exile: On Zimbabwe's Remaining White Commercial Farms', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 37, 4 (2011), pp.747-762. Kate Law, 'Mostly we are White and Alone': Identity, Anxiety and the Past in Some White Zimbabwean Memoirs', *Journal of Historical Sociology* (2014), pp.297-318; *Gendering the Settler State:*

of white racial identity and stressed the diversity of the white population, their backgrounds, political beliefs and experiences. It has attempted to denaturalise white identity by arguing that it was not created by reference to skin colour or heritage but 'what mattered was being white and laying claim to the history of civilisation and responsibility'.[28] Despite these strengths Rory Pilossof has critiqued the application of whiteness to Zimbabwean history noting its proponents have failed to explore the ways in which 'white' was constructed historically as well as who defined who was white. He has further accused whiteness scholars of ignoring the processes and consequences of how whiteness was legally and socially enforced.[29] Moreover, due to the centrality of white farmers in recent struggles, attention has centred on the rural white population. Yet this focus can distort attempts to deconstruct white identity. David McDermott Hughes is typical in this regard arguing that 'whites differed, of course, by national origin, date of arrival, and place of residence. But, through "self-serving osmosis," they identified with pioneers and farmers'.[30] Whilst Hughes identifies the importance of the landscape and natural imagery to settlers' attempts to cultivate a sense of belonging in Zimbabwe, his use of the experiences of farmers and individual writers and artists to generalise about whites in entirety ultimately acts to plaster over crucial divisions. Attempts to examine settler identity must reckon with the fact that Europeans in Rhodesia were overwhelmingly urban. Class divisions and the worlds of white labourers comprise a significant part of the settler population who have largely been overlooked and offer the opportunity to redress this current imbalance.

Radical History

This thesis is indebted to previous Zimbabwean radical history which challenged liberal and conservative assumptions regarding the perceived benefits of settler rule for Africans and focused its attention upon issues of class formation, class struggle and

---

White Women, Race, Liberalism and Empire in Rhodesia, 1950-1980 (New York: Routledge, 2016). Karin Alexander, 'Orphans of the Empire: An Analysis of Elements of White Identity and Ideology Construction in Zimbabwe', in *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation,* edited by Brian Raftopoulos and T. Savage (Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004), pp.193-212.

[28] Luise White, *Unpopular Sovereignty: Rhodesian Independence and African Decolonisation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p.35.

[29] Rory Pilossof, 'Reinventing Significance: Reflections on Recent Whiteness Studies in Zimbabwe', *Africa Spectrum*, 49, 3 (2014), pp.141-2. For further criticism of the homogenisation of whites in Zimbabwean history see Andrew Hartnack 'Whiteness and Shades of Grey: Erasure, Amnesia and the Ethnography of Zimbabwe's Whites', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* (2014), pp.1-15.

[30] David McDermott Hughes, *Whiteness in Zimbabwe: Race, Landscape, and the Problem of Belonging* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.5. Fisher, *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles,* also displays homogenising tendencies in which all Europeans speak with a singular white voice.

political economy.[31] Endeavouring to restore agency to the working class as subjects who made their own history under given circumstances historians such as Charles van Onselen and Ian Phimister paved the way for social histories of Zimbabwe.[32] Labour historians have continued to examine workers struggles as well as the relationship between nationalism, trade unions and party politics while Zimbabwean social histories have proliferated, proving increasingly attentive to ethnicity, gender, nationalism and urban history. Despite this richness white labour has mostly featured as a passing reference.[33] The work completed in this regard has focused on the period of white worker militancy and trade union strength in the early twentieth century and interrogated the structural position of white wage labourers and struggles over the racial division of labour. In particular, in the 1970s Marxist scholars sought to understand white workers' reactionary politics and support for the Rhodesian Front. Giovanni Arrighi noted that the white wage labouring class were inherently conservative due to their struggle to perpetuate the conditions that entrenched their superior position, namely, the lack of a white reserve army and a stabilised, educated African workforce. He continued that, since the dominant section of capital in Southern Rhodesia was the agricultural bourgeoisie and white workers were employed primarily by international capital while white agriculture relied on African labour, the two classes could be reconciled as no great conflict existed between them.[34] Phimister examined white miners and stressed the double sided nature of their structural position: simultaneously vulnerable to being undercut or replaced by African workers yet privileged through higher wages and skilled employment opportunities afforded by the super-exploitation

---

[31] Giovanni Arrighi, 'The Political Economy of Rhodesia', in *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa,* edited by Giovanni Arrighi and John S. Saul (New York; London, Monthly Review Press, 1973), pp.336-377; Peter Harris, *Black Industrial Workers in Rhodesia* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1974); D. G. Clarke, *Contract Workers and Underdevelopment in Rhodesia* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1974).

[32] Ian Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle* (London; New York: Longman, 1988); Charles van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1933* (London: Pluto Press, 1976).

[33] Brian Raftopoulos, 'Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 21, 1 (1995), pp.79-93; Brian Raftopoulos and Lloyd Sachikonye, *Striking Back: The Labour Movement and the Post Colonial State in Zimbabwe, 1980-2000* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2001); Beverly C. Grier, *Invisible Hands: Child Labor and the State in Colonial Zimbabwe* (Social History of Africa Series); Teresa Barnes, *"We Women Worked So Hard": Gender, Urbanisation, and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956* (Portsmouth, N. H.: Heinemann, 1999; Oxford: James Currey, 1999); Tsuneo Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe: A Social History of Harare before 1925* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2007); Michael O. West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002).

[34] Arrighi, 'The Political Economy of Rhodesia', p.342. The reserve army of labour here refers to the Marxist conceptualisation of a 'relatively redundant population' who are surplus to the needs of capitalist accumulation being not directly involved in the valorisation of capital. For more on the reserve army of labour see section three Progressive Production of a Relative surplus population or Industrial Reserve Army of Karl Marx, *Capital* https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch25.htm [accessed 7 July 2017].

of African workers. White workers' conservatism reflected their reliance on the colour bar for their high pay and conditions which was formalised under the 1934 Industrial Conciliation Act.[35] Phimister defined white workers as an 'aristocracy of labour' in the classic sense of the phrase, taking Eric Hobsbawm's formulation of an upper strata of the working class, who were in receipt of better wages, and were more politically moderate and 'respectable' than the ordinary proletariat.[36] Moreover, Duncan Clarke looked at how white workers of various skill, occupations and wages were united under a *general white worker interest.* He argued that white skilled trade unions embraced white semi-skilled and unskilled interests due to 'familial and social bonds and an objective socioeconomic interest in 'systems maintenance''.[37]

In South Africa, three major positions came to the fore from scholars working within the radical framework. The first was the idea that white wage earners were all members of the working class, albeit divided by ideological constraints of race, a position propagated by the early South African Communist Party.[38] The second utilised the conceptual framework developed by Nicos Poulantzas and proposed that no white working class existed.[39] The third was a position formulated by Harold Wolpe which demonstrated a multiplicity of class positions held by various groups of white workers, influenced by Erik Olin Wright and Guglielmo Carchedi's theorisation of the new middle-class.[40] Wright identified the new middle class as occupying 'contradictory class locations' in which wage earners combined elements of both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.[41] While the proletariat and bourgeoisie can be said to have distinct sets of

[35] Ian Phimister, 'White Miners in Historical Perspective: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1953', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 3, 2 (1977), p.201-204.

[36] See Eric Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1964), p.272. For a critique of the labour aristocracy see Charles Post, 'Exploring Working-Class Consciousness: A Critique of the Theory of the 'Labour Aristocracy'', *Historical Materialism*, 18, 4 (2010), pp.3-38.

[37] Duncan Clarke, *The Distribution of Income and Wealth in Rhodesia* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1977), p.21.

[38] Alex Callinicos and John Rogers, *Southern Africa after Soweto* (London: Pluto Press, 1977), pp..42-44.

[39] Nicos Poulantzas, 'Marxism and Social Classes', *New Left* Review, 78 (1973), pp. 27-54. This was most forcefully realised in Howard Simson, 'The Myth of the White Working Class in South Africa', *The African Review*, 4, 2 (1974), pp.189-203. Robert Davies, 'The White Working Class in South Africa', *New Left Review*, 82 (1973), p.51. Davies did modify his position in a later article, arguing that unskilled white labour positions did exist, but they were limited to apprenticeship roles which would allow for the progression into skilled work. White wage earners in all sectors became 'labour aristocrats' or part of the 'new middle class''. See Robert Davies, 'Mining Capital, the State and Unskilled White Workers in South Africa, 1901-1913', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 3, 1 (1976), p.56.

[40] Harold Wolpe, 'The 'White Working Class' in South Africa', *Economy and Society*, 5, 2 (1976), pp.197-240. Erik Olin Wright, *Classes* (London: Verso, 1985). Guglielmo Carchedi, 'On the Economic Identification of the New Middle Class', *Economy and Society*, 4, 1 (1975), pp.1-86.

[41] Erik Olin Wright, *Classes*, p.43.

interests, those occupying contradictory class locations are pulled in two directions.[42] Wright's thesis was developed by Carchedi who defined the new middle class as 'all those agents who perform both the global function of capital and the function of the collective worker.'[43] Just as many workers performing different roles are involved in the creation of a product, in the same way capitalists divide their functions into several roles.[44] The functions of capital include those of supervision and the power to hire and fire and discipline the working class. Essentially a function of capital can be defined as one 'which corresponds to the maintenance of economic exploitation and oppression, a function which is one aspect of [the] work of supervision and management and which we call [the] work of control and surveillance.'[45] Using this analysis, Wolpe was able to differentiate between employees such as white miners who took on supervisory and coercive functions which generally lessened the productive element of their employment, and other types of white wage labourers who did not play the function of global capital.

Extending the Thematic and Temporal Focus of Research on White Labour

Despite this rich body of literature, Jon Lunn's observation over twenty years ago on the general deficit of work on the culture and identity of white workers in Rhodesia remains pertinent. His own work on Rhodesian railway workers is a notable exception.[46] Overall research on white workers has been dominated by debates regarding whether the colour bar served their interests or those of the state and employers. While recognising the outstanding contribution made by early radical historians, there has been considerable criticism of its more determinist elements, the marginalisation of gender and the deployment of an instrumentalist conception of ethnicity and the state.[47] In a similar vein Jeremy Krikler has criticised the tendency of research on class and race in South Africa to be characterised by a crude economic determinism in which social actors are reduced to motivating sets of opposing class interests. He has argued for an approach influenced

---

[42] See Alex Callinicos and Chris Harman, *The Changing Working Class: Essays on Class Structure Today* (London: Bookmarks, 1987).
[43] Carchedi, 'New Middle Class', p.1.
[44] Ibid., p.21
[45] Ibid., p.24.
[46] The productive points of tension between our respective approaches are given greater attention in Chapter One.
[47] See Jon Lunn, *Capital and Labour on the Rhodesian Railway System, 1888-1947* (Basingstoke: Macmillan in Association with St Antony's College, 1997). For critique of Phimister and van Onselen on issue of ethnicity see Enocent Msindo, 'Ethnicity, Not Class? The 1929 Bulawayo Faction Fights Reconsidered', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32, 3 (2006), pp.429-447. For critique on gender see below.

by the primacy of politics as elaborated by Tim Mason who, in reaction to vulgar mechanical interpretations of Nazism and the Holocaust, argued that ideological and political factors repeatedly overshadowed economic interests.[48] This thesis hopes to guard against the reductionism characteristic of research which assigns an overbearing explanatory power to seemingly autonomous processes, whether 'economics' or 'language', through synthesising insights from recent work in settler colonial studies with a materialist class analysis informed by labour histories. Its originality lies not only in its focus on the under-researched realms of white work, including a long-overdue engagement with gender and white women in wage labour, but in this methodological synthesis. In four important additional ways this thesis advances beyond the existing historical literature.

First, it has sought to bridge the gap between structuralist and consciousness-centred accounts of white workers through using the category of class experience.[49] The notion of class experience was developed and popularised by British Marxist historians in reaction to the reductive and mechanical Marxist models influenced by Althusserian ideas of history as a process without a subject. Experience, because it incorporates how meaning is contested and cognised by subjects experiencing material processes, contains the potential to mediate between structure and consciousness. This relationship between material process and human subjectivity was articulated by Russian linguists in the early twentieth century who saw language as part of social being. In particular, Valentin Volosinov's sophisticated conception of language grounded the discursive in the material and postulated that different social actors use language in different ways and this is subject to change. As a result of numerous social classes using the same language, 'differently oriented accents intersect every ideological sign. Sign becomes an arena of the class struggle.'[50] This 'multi-accentuality' of the sign refers to the struggle over meaning in language. Language does not simply reflect immediate reality, but *refracts* social being:

---

[48] Jeremy Krikler, 'Re-thinking Race and Class in South Africa: Some Ways Forward', in *Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital,* edited by Wulf D. Hund, Jeremy Krikler and David Roediger (Piscataway: Transaction Publishers, 2010), pp.133-160. While vulgar Marxist analyses which reduce everything to 'economics' exist, this focus overlooks the complexity of Marx's thought. For a sympathetic critique of Mason see Alex Callinicos, 'Plumbing the Depths: Marxism and the Holocaust', *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 14, 2 (2001), pp.385-414. For a Marxist theorisation of the relative autonomy of the state from capitalist interests see Fred Block, 'Beyond Relative Autonomy: State Managers as Historical Subjects', *Socialist Register*, 17 (1980), pp.227-241.
[49] Peter Alexander, 'Coal, Control and Class Experience in South Africa's Rand Revolt of 1922', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 19 (1999), pp.31-45.
[50] Valentin Volosinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1929; 1986), p.23.

> Every sign...is a construct between socially organised persons in the process of their interaction. Therefore, *the forms of signs are conditioned above all by the social organisation of the participants involved and also by the immediate conditions of their interaction.*[51]

In other words, class structure does not automatically produce an unmediated class consciousness, but through the category of experience, structure and consciousness are organically linked through the contestation over the meanings attached to particular signs. Therefore, by looking at the language of various white workers, historians are enabled to identify varying 'class experiences' and the struggle over meaning therein: whether that be the meaning over racial identity, status, or refractions of hegemonic gender roles. In particular this thesis has looked at competing notions of Britishness and how these were rooted in broader class divisions across the settler community.

Peter Alexander has used the concept of class experience to explain variations amongst the white South African workforce. For example, by understanding white miners in their supervisory capacity as locating a contradictory class position, as opposed to white mechanics, whom he defines as being part of 'a racialised dual working class', Alexander traced their different 'class experiences' despite their similarities and the fact they were both regarded as 'workers' by management. He argued that the different attitudes of miners and mechanics towards 'officials', the former claiming that as supervisors they should be considered in the same bracket, while the latter recognised a difference between the 'men' who worked as mechanics and the 'gentlemen' who worked as foremen etc, 'surely reflected a different "experience."'[52] This thesis maintains that while the conceptualisation of Rhodesian workers as labour aristocrats is correct at a descriptive level of separation from the black proletariat, notions of contradictory class locations, the racialised dual working class and class experience substantially deepens this analysis, and should be utilised to elucidate differences *between* white workers, as well as their relationship to white employers and African employees.

Second, it seeks to incorporate a wider range of workers than has traditionally been examined. Mining has dominated research into white workers across Southern Africa. This reflects the importance of the mining sector more generally. Yet, as shown in Table One, mining and quarrying never accounted for more than fifteen percent of total economically active Europeans and as early as 1926 the manufacturing sector employed

---

[51] Ibid., p.21.
[52] Ibid., p.36.

more Europeans than mining and quarrying.[53] Nevertheless the disproportionate focus on white miners remains. White miners often supervised large numbers of black workers in ways which cannot be generalised to account for the experiences of all white workers in Rhodesia. Exploring every type of work performed by whites is clearly beyond the scope of any study; however, this thesis aims to broaden the analysis outside the well-trodden furrows of mining labour to account for the variation of white worker occupations. This thesis disproportionately focuses upon the Rhodesia Railways. It was drawn to the railways due to their centrality to imperialism and the contested notion of colonial railways as a vector of modernity and progress, but also because of the exceptional richness of the Rhodesia Railway's trade union records. Railways enabled settlement, influenced social identifications and created new public spaces and social relations. In colonial territories they informed racial and national identities and produced hierarchies of labour in which racial status was constructed and proclaimed.[54] Moreover, the railways consistently employed a significant proportion of the country's white population and boasted the strongest and largest trade union. The railways also employed Europeans in a wide range of different types of work including skilled and unskilled, manual and clerical. In this regard the railways offer the historian the opportunity to examine a multiplicity of white experiences and identities and struggles over different types of work.

Third, it seeks to extend the temporal focus on white workers who have not received sustained attention beyond the Second World War. White trade unions were increasingly incorporated into the state machinery and the popularity of various labour parties declined corresponding to an increase in measures designed to secure the socioeconomic position of whites. Lunn has critiqued the proposition that the colour bar is proof of white worker co-option and argued that this fails to grasp the complexity of the relationship between settler colonialism, capital and white workers. White workers engaged in struggles over the labour process and the organisation of work beyond the erection of the colour bar.[55] While recognising this important insight, Lunn's study ends in 1947 and therefore omits how these struggles continued *across* the settler colonial period. Acknowledging that class is not defined solely through subjective definitions,

---

[53] Appendices, p.295.
[54] Laura Bear, *Lines of the Nation: Indian Railway Workers, Bureaucracy and the Intimate Historical Self* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Lunn, *Capital and Labour*; John Butcher, *The British in Malaya, 1880-1941: The Social History of a European Community in Colonial Southeast Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).
[55] Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* pp.10-11.

the existence of 'traditional' class identities, labour parties, industrial militancy or representation has encouraged this thesis to extend the study of white workers beyond its typical chronological parameters. Chapters Four and Five look at the Federation and Rhodesian Front periods on which there is a notable dearth of literature. This timeframe has enabled the author to militate against the tendency of existing research to present a static white worker identity by interrogating how multiple social identifications underwent change over the period of settler rule.[56]

Finally, crucial insights made by labour historians utilising whiteness studies and transnational approaches have yet to be critically adapted in the Southern Rhodesian context. The following outlines how work on gender, whiteness studies and developments in settler colonial studies and labour histories will be synthesised in this study.

White Women in Rhodesia

From the mid-nineteenth century British women migrated to the colonies and dominions of the British Empire in significant numbers. They went as wives and as single women incentivised by increased marriage and employment opportunities.[57] Whereas early frontier societies were populated largely by men and have been described as homosocial arenas characterised by high levels of violence, rowdiness and high levels of alcohol consumption, the gradual strengthening of colonial structures saw the erosion of this explicit homosociality as the presence of women increased.[58] The symbolic role of white women required a projected image of a sanitised colonial femininity.[59] Prospective female settlers were reassured that 'on the whole the lot of the Rhodesian housewife is much more pleasant than that of her sisters in England'.[60] The oppression and exploitation of white women was often eased in the settler context through the use of indigenous domestic staff. In this way white women became overseers of labour processes within the home rather than housewives burdened by the tasks of child rearing and cleaning. Women in Rhodesia were largely expected to conform to idealisations of

---

[56] Lunn, *Capital and Labour.* See Chapter One below for more detailed analysis.
[57] Philippa Levine, 'Preface', in *Gender and Empire,* edited by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.vii.
[58] Philippa Levine, 'Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?', in *Gender and Empire,* p.8. See also Diana Jeater, 'No Place for a Woman: Gwelo Town, Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1920', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26, 1 (2000), pp.29-42.
[59] Philippa Levine, 'Preface', p.vii.
[60] Manchester University Special Collections, Foreign and Commonwealth Office Pamphlet Collection, Notes for Prospective Settlers, April 1922, issued by the Southern Rhodesia's Settlers' Board, p.13.

doting housewives; to be sporty, pretty, able to control and instruct domestic servants while keeping enough distance to prevent 'familiarity' or friendship.[61] Hilary Callan's landmark study looked at the ways in which women were incorporated into their husband's social spheres and has been influential in the ways in which scholars have conceptualised the role of white women in settler colonies. Callan argued that 'the social character ascribed to women [was] an intimate function of her husband's occupational identity and culture.'[62] Nevertheless, while settler ideologies of domesticity and particular visions of white femininity encouraged women to remain in the home there are severe limitations to formulations which place women exclusively as wives and mothers. Karen Tranberg Hansen has criticised Callan in this regard, pointing out that women were social actors in ways which were not solely determined by their relationship to men. Importantly, Hansen recognised that employment and voluntary work provided women with alternate sources of identity.[63]

In her study of the Witwatersrand, Lis Lange organically links the experiences of the labour process to the experiences of the conditions in which that labour is reproduced. Lange achieved a class analysis of men and women through looking at 'aspects of class experience that are not confined to the workplace. Family, domestic life and its physical and social extension, the neighbourhood, seem to have been essential elements in forging white working class identity'.[64] Acknowledging the importance of experiences of domesticity, this thesis maintains that the role of women in wage labour in Southern Rhodesia has been significantly underplayed.[65] Zimbabwean labour historians have faced considerable criticism for their continued neglect of gender and their

---

[61] See *Southern Rhodesia's Welcome to Women: Facts and Advice for the New Settler,* 1947.

[62] Hillary Callan, 'Introduction', *Incorporated Wife*, p.1. For discussion on how women's wifely duties extended into their husband's professional spheres in Rhodesia see Deborah Kirkwood, 'Settler Wives in Southern Rhodesia: A Case Study', in *The Incorporated Wife*, edited by Hilary Callan and Shirley Ardener (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp.143-164.

[63] Karen Tranberg Hansen, 'White Women in a Changing World; Employment, Voluntary Work and Sex in Post-World War II Northern Rhodesia', in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance,* edited by Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp.247-258.

[64] Lis Lange, *White, Poor and Angry: White Working Class Families in Johannesburg* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003) p.102.

[65] There is considerable work on white women's work in South Africa, see for example, Jessica Howell, Anne Marie Rafferty, Anna Snaith, '(Author)ity Abroad: The Life Writing of Colonial Nurses', *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 48 (2011); Keith Shear, ''Not Welfare or Uplift Work': White Women, Masculinity and Policing in South Africa', *Gender & History*, 8, 3 (1996), Martin Nicol, ''Joh'burg Hotheads' and the 'Gullible Children of Cape Town': The Transvaal Garment Workers' Union Assault on Low Wages in the Cape Town Clothing Industry, 1930-1931', in *Class, Community and Conflict*; Elsabe Brink, ''Maar 'n klomp "factory" meide': Afrikaner Family and Community on the Witwatersrand during the 1920s'', in *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives*, edited by Belinda Bozzoli (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1987), pp.177-209.

marginalisation of women.[66] Focus upon particular groups of workers, particularly miners and rail workers, produced labour histories in which women appear only as skokiaan queens, prostitutes providing services to men on compounds, or as instruments for the depression of male wages.[67] Moreover, as Kate Law has highlighted, white women are largely absent from the existing historiography on Rhodesian settlers.[68] Most work completed on white women has focused on middle class women.[69] Here I seek to address both of these absences through investigating lower-class white women, both as wives and mothers bound by an ideology of domesticity in which they affirmed and subverted hegemonic gender roles; as important actors in the creation of gendered and racialised identities within workers' communities; and as wage labourers outside the home.

Research into gender and Empire has been instructive in moving beyond the dichotomy of white women as oppressed victims or empowered villains.[70] Labour historians too have sought to recognise how race shaped the oppression of white working class women. With regards to the US Dana Frank's examination of white female unions has shown that while they were subordinated to male counterpart unions, or controlled directly by men, white women took part in walk-outs in protest at the employment of black women,

---

[66] Renowned labour historians of Zimbabwe Brian Raftopoulos, Ian Phimister, and Lloyd Sachikonye have been criticised for the continuous glaring omission of women from their work despite the explosion of research on women. See Teresa Barnes, 'Democracy and Historiographies of Organised Labour in Zimbabwe', *International Review of Social History*, 3, 48 (2003), pp.457-471. Exceptions include Ian Phimister, 'Lashers and Leviathan'.

[67] Despite labour historians' marginalisation of women, more sustained research into the lives of women on compounds does exist. See Jane L. Parpart, 'Class and Gender on the Copperbelt: Women in Northern Rhodesian Copper Mining Communities, 1926–1964', in *Women and Class in Africa*, edited by Claire Robertson and Iris Berger (New York: Holmes & Meier/Africana Publishing, 1986), pp.141–160.

[68] Law, *Gendering the Settler State.*

[69] For work on the women's club movement see Amy Kaler, 'Visions of Domesticity in the African Women's Homecraft Movement in Rhodesia', *Social Science History,* 23, 3 (1999), pp.269-309. Studies of prominent white women are much more frequent. See Donal Lowry, '"Making Fresh Britains Across the Seas": Imperial Authority and Anti-Feminism in Rhodesia', in *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*, edited by Christopher Fletcher, Laura Nym Mayhall and Philippa Levine (London: Routledge, 2000), pp.175-190; '"White Women's Country": Ethel Tawse Jollie and the Making of White Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23, 2 (1997), pp.259-281. Hansen's study is also limited to the dominant classes. Ushehwedu Kufakurinani's doctoral thesis is an exception; *White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890 to 1980* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2014).

[70] Kate Law, *Gendering the Settler State,* p.5. See also Beverley Gartrell, 'Colonial Wives: Villains or Victims', in Callan and Ardener, *The Incorporated Wife,* pp. 165-186. Although many have noted that the arrival of white women and wives in greater numbers coincided with a growing social distance from colonised populations, claims regarding the destruction of previously egalitarian relationships between the races and the characterisation of women as *more* racist and intolerant than their male counterparts has received considerable criticism. For an overview see Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge* and Barbara Bush, 'Gender and Empire: The Twentieth Century', in *Gender and Empire,* edited by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

and white women tried to exclude non-whites from their unions.[71] Ushehwedu Kufakurinani has detailed how white women employed as clerks and typists in the Rhodesian Public Service rallied to exclude Africans from particular types of employment. [72] Building on these insights, it is argued here that Rhodesian white women were active agents in the exclusion of Africans from particular types of employment and in racial oppression more generally, whilst suffering inequality and oppression under patriarchal society. With regards to wage labour, white women received lower pay and worked in inferior conditions than their male counterparts and male dominated trade unions repeatedly failed to take women workers' demands seriously. When women did take employment it was seen as a temporary or extraordinary measure; a stop gap for young women on the route towards their 'natural' life's work of marriage and childbirth or a necessary sacrifice in times of war or male absence.

Work is an important arena for the construction and expression of gender. As Ava Baron has argued 'in learning to work and in working, in struggles between workers and employers over the nature and meaning of work, both sides construct and contest definitions of masculinity and femininity.'[73] In industrial Britain, male skilled workers were active agents in gendered segregation across the workforce and skilled work itself was intricately linked to these workers' own identities as men. Yet these skilled workers did not only unite to oppose women's entrance into their trades; they also rallied against unskilled men challenging their monopoly.[74] In Rhodesia, unskilled men were invariably African. White male struggles around skilled work were struggles of differentiation from both white women and African men. Their demands were framed not only with reference to race and nation, but were gendered claims over the 'rights' of men to exist as sources of provision within the idealised nuclear family unit. White male workers generally opposed the employment of women on the basis that women represented a form of cheap labour which threatened to undercut their own wages, but also because they represented a psychological threat by undermining the ability of men to prove manliness by being the sole breadwinner. In South Africa women's entrance into wage labour has been linked to cultural crises of masculinity as well as outbreaks of

---

[71] Dana Frank, 'White Working Class Women and the Race Question', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 54 (1998), p. 91.

[72] Kufakurinani, *White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe,* Chapter Two.

[73] Ava Baron, 'Introduction', in *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labour,* edited by Ava Baron (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), p.137.

[74] Sonya Rose, 'Gender at Work: Sex, Class and Industrial Capitalism', *History Workshop*, 21 (1986), pp.120-126.

Black Peril.[75] Jonathan Hyslop has argued that campaigns against mixed marriages by white men in 1930s South Africa were inflamed by the increasing entrance of Afrikaner women into industrial labour. By arguing for certain protections for white women, men sought to re-establish gender hierarchies, but this also helped men and women to coalesce around a white racial identity.[76]

Since the 1990s work on intimacy and gender has increasingly adopted intersectional frameworks which interrogate how experiences of gender, race and class shape one another.[77] This has involved acknowledging that hegemonic ideas about gender derived from bourgeois idealisations of domesticity which the white lower classes variously failed to replicate. How white men and women *should* appear and behave was often at odds with the lived reality of gender.[78] Struggles over work, male unemployment and female wage labour give insight into competing constructions of social identities, their reworkings and subversions; the panics and anxieties that result from perceived aberrations to normative social behaviours; and the attempts to impose or reinstate social hierarchies. Kufakurinani has argued that 'given the incessant labour demands, the state's interests predominated and always came first in its white women recruitment policy.'[79] White women's role in biological reproduction and the racial socialisation of children, bourgeois ideals of family life and ideas about masculinity and femininity existed in uneasy tension with continuing labour shortages and settler commitment to the colour bar. By charting white women's employment rates and the types of work they performed across the colonial period this thesis examines the ways in which conservative gender ideologies influenced state policy and recruitment patterns and the circumstances in which women variously internalised and transgressed idealised gender norms.

---

[75] Timothy Keegan, 'Gender, Degeneration and Sexual Danger: Imagining Race and Class in South Africa, ca.1912', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27, 3, (2001), p.461.

[76] Jonathan Hyslop, 'White Working Class Women and the Invention of Apartheld: 'Purified' Afrikaner Nationalist Agitation for Legislation against 'Mixed' Marriages, 1934-9', *The Journal of African History*, 36, 1 (1995), p.60. See also Marijke du Toit, 'The Domesticity of Afrikaner Nationalism: Volksmoeders and the ACVV, 1904-1929', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29, 1 (2003), pp.155-176.

[77] Elisa Camiscioli, 'Women, Gender, Intimacy, and Empire', *Journal of Women's History*, 25, 4 (2013), pp.138-148.

[78] Rosalind O'Hanlon, 'Gender in the British Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV, The Twentieth Century*, edited by Judith M. Brown and W. M. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.393. See also Catherine Hall, 'Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century', in *Gender and Empire,* p.71.

[79] Kufakurinani, *White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p.20.

For a Critical Application of Whiteness

Pioneered in cultural and literature studies, whiteness studies gained popularity in the US context but has significantly broadened both its disciplinary and geographical scope. Scholars such as Theodore Allen, Noel Ignatiev and David Roediger demonstrated how whiteness could provide a useful theoretical framework for labour historians,[80] while whiteness has grown in popularity in imperial and colonial contexts, particularly in Australia, South Africa and Britain.[81] Scholars of whiteness studies argued that while the idea that race is socially constructed had become common currency within academia, work on race had focused too heavily on non-white subjects and inadvertently reified 'whiteness', presenting white people as raceless and the 'norm' from which other cultures and ethnicities were to be constituted and judged.[82] The most vociferous critique of whiteness studies came from Eric Arnesen who challenged what he saw as the propagation of identity-based politics rather than a rigorous engagement with the scholarship on race and class.[83] Lambasting whiteness scholars' 'arbitrary and inconsistent definitions of their core concepts', he argued that whiteness studies suffered from an inability to define precisely what whiteness is.[84] There is some validity in this criticism. In a single edited collection, *Re-orienting Whiteness* provides no less than ten definitions.[85] This inconsistency alludes to the fact that whiteness, like race more generally, operates according to authors' theoretical frameworks and perspectives. As a result of particular authors making race so central that it overdetermines all other social relations, whiteness has invariably been used to describe other more rigorously defined processes and phenomena. More positively this contestation reveals that some are attempting to clarify whiteness as an ideology anchored in material contexts and human agency.

---

[80] Theodore Allen, *The Invention of the White Race* (London, New York: Verso, 1994-1997); David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 2007); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York; London: Routledge, 1995).

[81] Alastair Bonnett, 'How the British Working Class Became White: The Symbolic (Re)formation of Racialised Capitalism', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 11, 3 (1998), pp.316-340. Alfred J. Lopez (eds), *Postcolonial Whiteness: A Critical Reader on Race and Empire* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005); Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *Talkin' Up to the White Woman: Aboriginal Women and Feminism* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2000), Melissa Steyn, *'Whiteness Just Isn't What it Used To Be': White Identity in a Changing South Africa* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

[82] See Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (London: Routledge, 1993); Richard Dyer, *White* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997); Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

[83] Eric Arnesen, 'Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 60 (2001), pp.3-32.

[84] Ibid., p.9.

[85] Leigh Boucher, Jane Carey and Katherine Ellinghaus (eds), *Re-Orienting Whiteness* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

This thesis hopes to build upon existing whiteness literature in several respects. Recent research on colonial anxieties provides a useful framework to probe the Janus-faced nature of David Roediger's 'psychological wage', and to provide an understanding of whiteness which reflects its complexities yet restores its utility.[86] Noel Ignatiev's work on the Irish in the US also provides useful comparison with non-British whites in Rhodesia. Moreover, this thesis generally accepts Theodore Allen's argument that the modern notion of the "white race" emerged as a ruling class policy of social control.[87] Allen used a Marxist conception of class which has also been adopted here.[88] The best exposition of this definition is provided by Geoffrey de Ste Croix who posits that class

> (essentially a relationship) is the collective social expression of the fact of exploitation, the way in which exploitation is embodied in a social structure.[89]

This formulation requires the exploitation of one class by another. Because this relationship between exploiter and exploited is necessarily antagonistic, distinct interests emerge in the struggle over surplus value, although those interests may not be consciously recognised by the members of each given class. While class struggle gives rise to class consciousness, the former's existence is not conditional on being able to identify explicit formulations of the latter. This notion of exploitation necessarily produced an understanding of class predicated on the relationship between exploiter and exploited. Yet numerous social groups exist that do not easily fit within this paradigm. Ste Croix's formulation shines light on a way out of this dichotomous abstraction; the relationship of a class to *other classes.* Ste Croix argues that, while the relationship to the means of production is fundamental to understanding class, it is not the only concern, and its overemphasis has led to a narrow definition of class; class should be understood as a relationship between people. From a dichotomous perspective of class white workers in southern Africa simply appear as members of the working class. However, if we take into account their relationship to other classes, in particular, the African workforce, we can see how particular groups of white wage earners cannot be defined as being part of the working class, but rather fall into various intermediate strata.

---

[86] Jeremy Krikler has called for historians of race and labour of southern Africa to build upon the seminal work of David Roediger. Jeremy Krikler, 'Lessons from America: The Writings of David Roediger', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20, 4 (1994), pp.663-669.
[87] Allen, *Invention.*
[88] The ambiguity and arguments surrounding class in the classical Marxist tradition have undoubtedly been accentuated by the fact that class was never given detailed formulation by Marx. His chapter on classes in *Capital* was left famously unfinished.
[89] G. E. M. de Ste Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient World: From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp.43-44.

This means that Allen's work on the US requires some adaptation in the settler colonial context of Rhodesia. The ideological function of the 'white race' was to provide justification for Empire in general and minority rule in particular. It was central to the settler-colonial project in that race offered a means through which settlers could claim that they had better right to land, to employment, indeed more right to exist, than any indigenous inhabitant. White workers occupied different class positions from the majority of African workers; race operated here not to divide a multiracial working class as such. It sought to influence the conflation of skin colour with class and succeeded in creating a racialised occupational and class structure. However, its success was muted by white poverty, African struggle and uneven class development. The wealth, status and power of the settler colonial project was not equally shared; being white came with privileges but these privileges came with more limitations and provisos the further down the socioeconomic scale an individual came. Nevertheless the lower classes were not passive recipients of elite constructions of race. White workers' production of race (or production of whiteness) has three meanings here. It refers to the ways in which dominant racial ideologies were internalised, subverted and experienced; the attempts to create a coherent white class identity; and the struggles to lay claim to particular rights or privileges for white workers through appeals to ideas of innate racial difference and the need to possess a degree of skill, education, wealth and status which remained above the general level of the African population.

Wages of Whiteness in the Settler Colonial Context

David Roediger's *Wages of Whiteness* was a response to the triumphalism and romanticism of working-class whites which had permeated many US labour histories.[90] He claimed that labour historians had characterised the working class as passive instruments of ruling-class ideologies, reduced racism to job competition and by giving primacy to class as an objective reality - as opposed to race's transitory, imagined and ideological nature - had oversimplified and grossly distorted issues of race. Roediger sought to ameliorate these deficiencies by focusing upon working-class agency in the making of race and racial meaning and argued that class formation was intricately and inextricably tied to the development of whiteness. His seminal text, *The Wages of Whiteness,* emerged as an attempt to answer the question formulated by Werner Sombart

---

[90] Herbert Hill, 'Myth Making as Labour History: Herbert Gutman and the United Mine Workers of America', *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society,* 2, 1 (1988), pp.49-127.

over a century ago: 'Why is there no socialism in America?'[91] He laid the blame at the door of white supremacy; specifically, the white working class's complicity and propagation of white supremacy. Roediger argued that, while the white working class may have not always been materially better off than African Americans and both were exploited by capital, white workers were paid a 'psychological wage' in which 'status and privileges conferred by race could be used to make up for alienating and exploitative class relationships.'[92] Yet there were some weaknesses with Roediger's account. For Roediger, class and race were meaningless abstractions unless they appeared as part of the human consciousness. In delineating the working class through this definition of 'class as consciousness', Roediger erroneously characterised the working class as exclusively white and male. Working-class interests in *Wages* therefore appeared only as white male interests.[93] Moreover, in stressing the role of oppressed and exploited social groups in creating racial categories in order to alleviate their own position, Roediger significantly underplayed the role of capital and the state in the formation of racial categories and the benefits they might accrue from such taxonomies.[94]

Deborah Posel has critically adapted Roediger's psychological wage to examine civil servants in apartheid South Africa. The apartheid government provided employment to whites who were unable to compete in private labour markets, yet it was generally considered that this recruitment policy had created a workforce plagued by mediocrity, or worse, ineptitude. Consequently many white civil servants were treated with

---

[91] Werner Sombart, *Why is there no Socialism in the United States?* (London: Macmillan, 1976). See also Eric Foner, 'Why is there no Socialism in the United States?', *History Workshop Journal*, 17, 1 (1984), pp.57-80.

[92] Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness,* p.13. This idea of the psychological wage came from eminent African-American scholar W.E.B. DuBois, but Roediger's utilisation of the concept differed from and obscured DuBois' original context and intentions. See Arnesen, 'Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination', pp.9-13; Allen, 'On Roediger's Wages of Whiteness', <http://clogic.eserver.org/4-2/allen.html#note1> [accessed 19 November 2013]. DuBois had argued the psychological wage acted as 'a wedge between the white and black workers…there probably are not today in the world two groups of workers with practically identical interests who hate and fear each other so deeply and persistently and who are kept so far apart that neither sees anything of *common interest*.' My emphasis, W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (London: Cass, 1960), p.700.

[93] Kolchin, p.160. Allen, 'On Roediger'. For more criticism of the tendency of labour historians to ignore how women were implicated in racial privilege, see Dana Frank.

[94] Roediger's later work including, *How Race Survived US History* (London: Verso, 2008), has rectified this omission, detailing how capitalism benefits from racial division of labour and states quite clearly: 'white supremacy did not rise as a result of agitation, or even sentiment, among the white poor', p.3. Nevertheless, Roediger maintains that the white working class has universally benefitted from racial divisions. In contrast Allen has argued 'their own position, vis-à-vis the rich and powerful – the matter that lay at the root of that old civil strife – was not improved, but weakened, by the white skin privilege system.' Allen, *Class Struggle,* p. 12. See also Michael Reich, 'The Economics of Racism', in *The Capitalist System: A Radical Analysis of American Society*, edited by Richard C. Edwards, Michael Reich and Thomas E. Weisskopf (London: Prentice Hall, 1978), pp.381-388.

contempt; there was an element of shame in taking these jobs that had been safeguarded for unskilled whites. Posel argued that '"the status and privileges" attached to whiteness could themselves be the source of some indignity and humiliation in the workplace and beyond.' Certainly, the psychological wage is better seen as 'a mix of costs and benefits, pleasures and pains'.[95] This tension is helpful for understanding the specific anxieties felt by white workers in the settler colonial context. Chapter Two of this thesis shows that, while relief during the Great Depression was made available to whites, accepting assistance from the state involved a significant element of shame. Employment camps in particular reveal how the state tried to hide these whites away.[96] While relief can be seen as a privilege denied to Africans, it is harder to reconcile the idea that such camps would confer status or a psychological wage as defined by Roediger. Likewise Chapter Four demonstrates how white workers were berated by established settlers who criticised their demands for high pay and status which it was considered they did not deserve. The fact that some whites secured status and employment on account of their skin colour was periodically highlighted to shame and discipline white workers. It was also reflected in the accusations made by elite Africans towards lower-class whites, who they pointed out were inadequate, unskilled and unworthy of the wages they received. More generally poor whites were often presented as an aberration of the white race. The tensions between self-identification as inherently superior and the reality of low paid work and relative poverty could in fact be a source of profound dislocation. White skin could offer a sense of pride and status, but also profound anxiety over racial status; over the feared removal of privileges attached to race. The failure to live up to the standards demanded of the master race often resulted in psychological distress rather than pride.

Harald Fischer-Tine and Christine Whyte have argued that dynamics of panic, anxiety and shame can give insight into how Empire was experienced.[97] Insecurity and anxiety both propelled and structured the ongoing production of settler identity.[98] Such anxieties reflected the perceived and actual vulnerabilities of white workers; their tenuous access to power; the questionable racial status of some who self-identified as white workers; their proximity to poor whites and the existence of poor whites amongst their number. White male British workers felt threatened by racialised and gendered groups who

---

[95] Deborah Posel, 'Whiteness and Power in the South African Civil Service: Paradoxes of the Apartheid State', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25, 1 (1999), pp.99-119.
[96] Neil Roos, 'Work Colonies and South African Historiography', *Social History*, 36, 1 (2011), pp.54-76.
[97] Harald Fischer-Tine and Christine Whyte, 'Introduction: Empires and Emotions', in *Anxieties, Fear and Panic in Colonial Settings: Empires on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*, edited by Harald Fischer-Tine (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p.6.
[98] Bonello, 'The Development of Early Settler Identity', pp. 341-367.

challenged their monopoly or compromised the ways in which they performed their racial identities through work. As Chapter Three demonstrates, these anxieties were experienced and articulated through ideologies which routinely pathologised the colonised population and framed Africans as inherently violent, lustful and unstable.[99] For white workers anxieties were regulated through dynamics of pride and shame. The shame of poverty was transformed through pride in work, in trade unionism and the struggle against unscrupulous capitalists and employers. These in turn were reified as the essence of what it meant to be white. Pride was also engendered through defining the white male worker in relation to several white social groups which could be used to emphasise white vulnerability: the youth, the elderly, women and impoverished whites. These whites needed protection; they were portrayed as innocent and unable to defend themselves from the self-interested actions of the white elite, the settler government, global capitalism and Africans. White male workers positioned themselves as the protectors of the weak as well as the harbingers of civilisation.[100] Anger was also seen as a legitimate expressed emotion towards the perceived and real threats posed by employers and Africans. Chapter One utilises Barbara Rosenwein's notion of emotional communities to explore these dynamics. In particular it interrogates what men and women's differential emotional expressions tell us about the ways in which gender was experienced and performed. It will be seen that these expressed emotions were structured by race, class and gender and continued to be important markers of white worker identity throughout the period under study.

Imperial Flows of Labour

Colonial historians have increasingly adopted methodological approaches which treat metropole and colony within a single analytic field.[101] In recent years labour historians of Southern Africa too have sought to move beyond the nation-state as their primary analytical framework and argued that this focus has obscured the global processes central to class formation and struggle. As Philip Bonner, Lucien van der Walt and Jonathan Hyslop have argued, 'international flows of migrant workers, capital, political agitators, publications, cultures and public spheres are crucial to the histories of working

---

[99] Fischer Tine and Whyte, 'Introduction: Empires and Emotions', p.18.
[100] For similar tendencies in South Africa see, Krikler, 'Re-thinking'.
[101] Stoler and Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony'.

classes in the modern world'.[102]   In particular, Jonathan Hyslop has argued that international flows of labour within the British Empire were central to the formation of the highly racialised identities of white workers across Empire. Hyslop argued that, prior to the First World War, the white working classes within the British Empire should not be considered as consisting of '"nationally" discrete identities', but as an imperial working class, connected by international flows of labour and a common ideology of 'white labourism'. White labourism refers to the militancy and radicalism of white workers which was mediated through racist ideologies.[103] Nevertheless the concept of white labourism has faced criticism for its tendency to downplay the heterogeneous political currents within the white working class. With regards to South Africa Kenefick has argued that there were countervailing 'non-racialist' elements, primarily in the case of radical Scottish migrants, while van der Walt has pointed to the presence of syndicalist and anarchist ideologies.[104] Duncan Money has coined the term 'passive white labourism' to describe the ideologies of white miners on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt during the Second World War who he has argued 'did not, for the most part, make claims for political inclusion or make claims for higher wages and better treatment on the basis of their "whiteness"'.[105]

These different manifestations are also evident in Southern Rhodesia. The dominant ways in which workers articulated their grievances were likewise informed by global flows of labour as well as workers' experiences in South Africa and Britain. White workers were pragmatic and drew on a range of available epistemologies and rhetorical devices in order to protect their own structural position while framing themselves as progressive and respectable. At times white workers agitation was formulated through explicitly racial appeals and the language of socialism. In other periods particular white labour organisations were at pains to dissociate themselves from any racist connotations

---

[102] Philip Bonner, Jonathan Hyslop, and Lucien van der Walt, 'Rethinking Worlds of Labour: Southern African Labour History in International Context', *African Studies*, 66, 2–3 (2007), p.139. For flows of African labourers across national contexts see van Onselen, *Chibaro*; Brian Raftopoulos and Ian Phimister, *Keep on Knocking: A History of the Labour Movement in Zimbabwe* (Zimbabwe, Baobab Books, 1997).

[103] Jonathan Hyslop, 'The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself 'White': White Labourism in Britain, Australia, and South Africa Before the First World War', *Journal of Historical Sociology,* 12, 4 (1999), pp.398-421.

[104] William Kenefick, "Confronting White Labourism: Socialism, Syndicalism, and the Role of the Scottish Radical Left in South Africa before 1914", *International Review of Social History*, 22 (2010), pp. 29–62; Jonathan Hyslop, "Scottish Labour, Race, and Southern African Empire c.1880–1922: A Reply to Kenefick", *International Review of Social History*, 22 (2010), pp. 63–81; Lucien van der Walt, "The First Globalisation and Transnational Labour Activism in Southern Africa: White Labourism, the IWW, and the ICU, 1904–1934", *African Studies*, 66, 2–3 (2007), pp. 223–251.

[105] Duncan Money, 'The World of European Labour on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, 1940-1945', *International Review of Social History*, 60, 2 (2015), pp.225-255.

or the ideologies of class war. Recourse to outright racist sloganeering and a heightened stress upon white skin occurred when white workers felt particularly threatened, but was also influenced by the dominant ideological justifications of settler-colonialism which changed from conquest to decolonisation. The settler project was justified variously through the language of civilisation, segregation, multiracialism, and the maintenance of standards, and white workers drew upon these narratives in their own agitation. The expansion of certain industries and high turnover of labour meant that new migrants, social groups, ideas and ideologies were continually introduced into the labour force. These new additions meant that the socialisation of new arrivals into normative behaviours was a continual process; but it also meant that existing white workers' identities, cultures and politics were constantly modified. Notably, Chapter Four examines the presence of some radical non-racialist currents in the Southern Rhodesian workforce that have been overlooked within the existing scholarship. Moreover, it will be demonstrated that, while the language of radical worker militancy lessened over the colonial period it never entirely dissipated. It is a principle aim of this thesis to explore and explain these variations.

Whiteness and Settler Colonialism

White workers' ideas about race were also conditioned by their specific experience of settler colonialism. Often conflated with colonialism and imperialism, the settler colonial structure must be understood as a specific formation in its own right. While colonialism is traditionally understood as a relationship premised upon the exploitation of an indigenous majority by a foreign minority, Patrick Wolfe has convincingly argued that settler colonialism is centred upon a logic of elimination and that

> whatever settlers may say – and they generally have a lot to say –
> the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity,
> grade of civilisation, etc.) but access to territory. Territoriality is
> settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element.[106]

Dialectically opposed, colonialism seeks to reproduce itself to enable continued exploitation, while settler colonialism is geared towards its own annihilation; to erase indigenous presence altogether. Settler societies in Africa have tended to combine both colonialism and settler colonialism as defined here. Reliance on indigenous labour characterised settler states whose inhabitants remained acutely aware that their high living standards were only enabled through the super-exploitation and oppression of the

---

[106] Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8, 4 (2006), p.388.

indigenous majority. Therefore, no matter the intensity of settlers' desires towards elimination, more often than not these were ultimately kept in check by the countervailing demands for exploitation (although this is not to say that genocidal episodes were entirely absent from settler colonies in Africa).[107] Settlers may well have wanted the indigenous population to 'go away' to realise their fantasies of white supremacy and secure unchallenged sovereignty – but then who would fulfil the domestic role in the house? Who would work down the mines? Or labour on commercial farms? What this 'going away' meant, as Veracini has argued, differed amongst settlers: 'being physically eliminated or displaced, having one's cultural practices erased, being 'absorbed', 'assimilated' or 'amalgamated' in the wider population, but the list could go on.'[108] If physical elimination was out of the question because it depleted essential sources of labour, cultural assimilation provoked similar distaste. That the indigenous population were essentially different was a key reasoning behind the justification for their differential treatment. Across central and southern Africa the idea that Africans were inherently rural and tribal was central in legitimising migrant systems of labour which allowed Africans to be paid at single man's wages. Settlers urged Africans to stay 'traditional', while simultaneously pursuing economic and political policies that disrupted the very foundations of traditional indigenous society. Subject to an array of legal, political and economic sanctions that rendered them outside of the settler body politic, Africans were routinely imagined as living beyond the boundaries of white civilisation. However, the presence of Africans, at work, in urban areas and in settlers' very homes could not be completely denied. Dane Kennedy has demonstrated how settlers kept distinctive racialised identities through erecting and policing racial boundaries which stressed difference and prevented interaction. Kennedy revealed how 'prestige served as a psychological substitute for the physical separation of the races, an attempt at emotional disengagement from the indigenous peoples encountered in daily life.'[109] Racial theories worked not just to legitimise the oppression of indigenous people, but as an apparatus to control and regulate the white population. Yet, white prestige could never be boiled down to a particular set of rigidly defined rituals and appropriate behaviours; prestige and the ideas of racial difference that underpinned it were understood and performed

---

[107] Casper W. Erichsen and David Olusoga, *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide* (London: Faber, 2011).

[108] Lorenzo Veracini, 'Introducing', *Settler Colonial Studies,* 1, 1 (2011), p.2. See also, Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

[109] Kennedy, *Islands of White,* p.154.

differentially across different sections of the settler community. It is contended here that white workers not only performed their racial identities in idiosyncratic ways in order to differentiate themselves from Africans, but they also imagined the erasure or elimination of the indigenous population in ways that reflected their position in the settler community. White workers faced a unique challenge from Africans who threatened to displace them in the labour process. Periodically white labour organisations would outline a vision of an entirely white labour force; these fantasies sprung from the desire to eliminate Africans from the world of work in which white workers made their identity. This desire expressed itself in proposals for white labour schemes, in struggles over the delineating lines of 'black' and 'white' work, over the labour process itself, in vocal resentment and violence towards Africans and in attempts to create white classed spaces. *Territoriality* therefore must be modified here to include these struggles to make the workplace white as well as the cognitive dissonance involved in the perpetual disavowal of the importance and productivity of African labour.

The specificities of the settler colonial context also have important consequences for understanding who was perceived to be white. The social, political and economic context in which race is made is fundamental to the ways in which racial difference and racial identities are expressed. Formerly oppressed groups can become part of the privileged racial group while new racialised others emerge. Noel Ignatiev's *How the Irish Became White* sought to elucidate how the Irish were transformed from an oppressed racial group in Britain to violent oppressors of African Americans in the US.[110] By detailing the discrimination the Irish faced in the US Ignatiev observed that this metamorphosis was not a simple process; 'it was by no means obvious who was "white"'.[111] In many settler societies the difference between indigenous and settler; freeman and slave was paramount, both of which were delineated through skin colour. Colour had such an overbearing structuring effect on Rhodesia that European minority groups, although discriminated against, could be united under the homogenising language of whiteness in order to oppose African interests. Stereotypes and prejudices against non-British whites did not erect insurmountable barriers to their inclusion in the Rhodesian community, nor to claiming the privileges and power that white skin

---

[110] See also Karen Brodkin, *How Jews Became White Folks & What That Says About Race in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

[111] Ignatiev, p.49. For criticism see Andrew Hartman, 'The Rise and Fall of Whiteness Studies', *Race and Class*, 42, 6 (2004), p.34; Peter Kolchin, 'Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America', *The Journal of American History*, 89, 1 (2002), p.163; Arnesen, 'Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination', pp.13-21.

conferred. Those who were most successful in this regard were arguably those who professed loyalty to Britain and her Empire. Roy Welensky, who rose from railwayman to the premiership, famously described himself as 'half Jewish, half-Afrikaner, but 'a hundred percent British' in what Donal Lowry has described as a phenomenon of 'non-British loyalism' to Empire which occurred throughout the white dominions.[112]

The permeability of colonial boundaries was underscored by the existence of what Stoler and Cooper have called 'interstitial groups'.[113] In Rhodesia poor whites, non-British whites and mixed-race groups disrupted attempts to fix an uncomplicated colonial binary. In this thesis it is argued that white workers' physical, structural and conceptual proximity to these social groups meant that their reactions towards them were characterised by a particular intensity. Interactions with these interstitial groups are important precisely because they reveal how race was articulated. What follows demonstrates that the boundaries which delineated desirable and undesirable social groups expanded and retracted over the period of minority rule. It reveals that non-British whites were not unilaterally or consistently regarded as undesirable and there was considerable confusion over racial categorisation and the precise way this internal hierarchy of Europeans should work in practice, particularly in relation to the not insignificant Coloured population and white women.

Sources

This thesis has utilised a wide range of rich primary source material based in archives, private homes, social clubs, trade union headquarters and museums across the UK, South Africa and Zimbabwe. It has responded to advances in what has been termed the 'New African Economic History' which has aimed to utilise new methods and sources in researching long term economic patterns.[114] Broadly, this New Economic History has sought to overcome some of the deficiencies of the 1970s and 1980s whereby a lack of data resulted in analysis conducted at a high level of abstraction. With regards to labour and demography the field has seen a critical re-examination of census data and the use of

---

[112] Donal Lowry, 'The Crown, Empire Loyalism and the Assimilation of Non-British White Subjects in the British White Subjects in the British World: An Argument against 'Ethnic Determinism'', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31, 2 (2003), p. 114.

[113] Stoler and Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony', p.6.

[114] Morten Jerven, Gareth Austin, Erik Green, Chibuike Uche, Ewout Frankema, Johan Fourie, Joseph Inikori, Alexander Moradi and Ellen Hillbom, 'Moving Forward in African Economic History: Bridging the Gap Between Methods and Sources', *African Economic History Working Paper Series* (2012), p. 6. Antony Hopkins, 'The New Economic History of Africa', *Journal of African History*, 50 (2009), pp.155-177.

micro-studies to update broader statistical patterns. Genealogical data has also been used to map European demographic trends in South Africa.[115] This thesis has relied upon a close examination of successive Rhodesian censuses to extract long-term employment patterns and demographic data relating to gender and ethnicity. In this respect the work presented here reflects broader trends in African Economic History and compliments the ongoing project of the Global Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations which aims to produce an inventory of all the types of labour people were engaged in across the world from 1500 to 2000.[116]

The census is undoubtedly riddled with inaccuracies and assumptions. It reflects the political and ideological concerns and biases of the particular state that initiated it. As Ravai Marindo has argued, early censuses prove more thorough in their collection of data of livestock than of its data on Africans.[117] The census material on Europeans while more accurate, still has its own flaws. For example, criminals and perceived degenerates were likely to evade the census. Moreover, individuals have their own agendas and biases when filling in census forms. The process of registration

> entail[s] some form of dialectical tension between the legalistic
> fiction or convention fixed, defined or stated identities, and the
> more messy social and cultural reality of individuals' capacities for
> having multiple attributed, aspirational, or imagined relations of
> identity and goals for their self-representation.[118]

How people categorise themselves is often at odds with how the state might categorise them and the census can create categories and labels disjointed from the reality of peoples' lives or exact experiences. In Rhodesia the occupation recorded may be more of a reflection of individuals' claims to particular status. Occupations which may have invited shame, such as waitressing or lowly manual work, may have been omitted or redefined by individuals. Nevertheless, the census data presented here gives a good indication of broad employment and demographic trends.

Beyond the methodologies characteristic of the New African Economic History, this thesis has used quantitative and qualitative methods to explore the relationship between

---

[115] Jeanne Cilliers and Johan Fourie, 'South African Demographic and Development Trends over Three Centuries', *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 27, 2 (2012), pp.61-86.
[116] For information on the Global Collaboratory project see https://socialhistory.org/en/projects/history-labour-relations-1500-2000 [accessed 12th September 2017].
[117] Ravai Marindo, 'Death Colonised: Historical Adult Mortality in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)', *Zambezia*, 26, 2 (1999), pp.147-168.
[118] Simon Szreter and Keith Breckenridge, 'Introduction: Recognition and Registration: The Infrastructure of Personhood in World History', in *Registration and Recognition: Documenting the Person in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.20.

employment patterns and the realms of ideology, culture and identity. Its strength lies in its use of a cross section of material; from Legislative Assembly Debates, Parliamentary reports, and national newspapers, to underused sources including trade union journals, a selection of white memoirs and original interviews conducted by the author. The ambivalences and tensions between these sources have allowed the author to explore how meaning was constructed and contested by different classes of settler society. Print material including the *Bulawayo Chronicle* and *Rhodesia Herald,* both owned by the Argus Press, a publishing company with strong links to Johannesburg mining companies, as well as *Rhodesia Railways Magazine,* which was owned by the Rhodesia Railway Administration, have offered incisive points of contrast with independent trade union journals such as the *Rhodesia Railway Review, Rhodesian Trade Union Review* and the *Granite Review*. Letters and journal articles written by African trade unionists and nationalists, as well as memoirs of the African middle class, have enabled the author to interrogate how white workers were perceived by certain sections of African society. The androcentric bias of these sources has been alleviated through using the *Rhodesia Nurses Newsletter,* which was written and produced by women*,* as well as women participants in original interviews and women-authored memoirs.

The white memoirs used here are of varying quality.[119] Printed by independent publishers, they often lack a coherent structure or compelling narrative which goes some way in explaining their neglect by historians of Rhodesian settler colonialism. Nevertheless, what at first appears to be of only of use to the Rhodesian nostalgic has proved invaluable in detailing alternative visions of the Rhodesian past and individual experiences of work. It is precisely these memoirs' inclusion of seemingly mundane and innocuous detail which has provided texture and depth to the following partial reconstruction of the worlds of white labour. In addition, a small number of original interviews were conducted over the period 2014 to 2017 in Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom. Historians have increasingly used ideas about collective memory to interrogate processes of remembering and how social identities are constructed. Collective memory refers to how particular representations of the past are shared through schools, newspapers, museums, memoirs, place names and language etc. As Laurent Licarta and Chiara Volpato have argued, 'group members relate to shared

---

[119] Daphne Anderson, *The Toe-Rags: The Story of a Strange Up-Bringing in Southern Rhodesia* (London, A. Deutsch, 1989), represents the best of this work.

representations of their past in order to define their social identity.'[120] The relationship between collective memory and social identity means that there may be a reluctance to discuss events which impact negatively upon self-identification or that may invoke feelings of guilt. Interviewees may invoke a particular historical narrative or memory in order to evade uncomfortable pasts.[121] Although competing collective memories exist, the dominant white settler collective memory has commemorated a selective past which has emphasised uniformity amongst whites. In these interviews the author has taken up Edna Bay's challenge to 'ponder the points where collective and personal memory converge and diverge.'[122] Interviewees' individual memories both drew upon and contradicted collective memory; assertions of white uniformity were articulated alongside subjective experiences of class, gender, race and nationality. These subjective experiences help to unearth neglected voices and understand how ideologies of race, class and gender were differentially understood and performed across the Rhodesian settler population.

---

[120] Chiara Volpato and Laurent Licata, 'Introduction: Collective Memories of Colonial Violence', *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 4, 1 (2010), p.6.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Edna G. Bay, 'Protection, Political Exile, and the Atlantic Slave Trade: History and Collective Memory in Dahomey', *Slavery & Abolition*, 22, 1 (2001), p.47.

Chapter One: The Making of White Worker Identity

Introduction

Prior to the First World War white industrial action and labour organisation was largely absent. Due to a shortage of skilled labour employers generally offered higher wages than those on the Rand in South Africa.[123] As a result, by 1903 there was a white labour surplus and many of the whites who arrived lacked the necessary skills to fill skilled positions. Newly arrived and insecure European labour included Italians, Greeks, Portuguese and Spaniards who threatened to undercut skilled white labour which was predominantly comprised of British men. On the mines hiring non-British Europeans on lower wages proved particularly prevalent during periods of recession in 1902-3 and 1907-8.[124] Across Southern Rhodesia the bulk of unskilled labour needs were met by Africans. Yet Africans proved reluctant to work in inhuman conditions in exchange for poor wages. In 1903 mine owners had been forced to set up the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau in order to secure a consistent supply of African labour. For white workers, moreover, conditions in these early years were poor; working twelve hours a day was not uncommon, overtime was unpaid and authoritarian tactics were regularly used by employers to quell dissent and instil discipline.[125] Struggles to establish trade union organisations were met with fierce resistance from management.[126] Only in the building industry were attempts at organisation successful; the first white trade union in the colony was established in 1910 in a bid to secure uniform wages amongst European employees.[127] Notably, this first trade union was formed upon a racially exclusive demand which invoked an imagined standard of living determined by race and gender. These racially exclusive appeals would remain a central rallying cry of white labour organisation throughout minority rule.

From the outbreak of the First World War, the position of white workers altered. The cost of living rose by fifty-nine percent between 1914 and 1920 and an acute shortage of skilled labour put remaining white workers in a strong position to challenge employers.[128] Under conditions of skilled white labour shortage a lightning strike of

---

[123] Marguerite Elaine Lee, *Politics and Pressure Groups in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1923*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1974), p.169.
[124] Phimister, *Economic and Social*, pp.189-190. Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.24.
[125] Gann, *Southern Rhodesia*, p.226.
[126] Lee, *Politics and Pressure*, p.166.
[127] Ibid., p.165.
[128] Ian Phimister, 'Gold Mining in Southern Rhodesia, 1919-1953', *The Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 10, 1 (1976), p.27. Lunn, *Capital and Labour*, p.91.

firemen at Bulawayo in 1916 saw the men gain an extra shilling a day. The Rhodesia Railway Workers Union (RRWU) was established in the same year. Davy Payne was elected the first General Secretary and the subsequent years witnessed a number of successes for the union. In 1917 five hundred men signed resignation letters in protest at their conditions which ultimately forced the administration into arbitration in 1918. Two successful strikes in 1919 and 1920 saw railway workers secure a twenty-five percent raise and eight hour day.[129] Although the RRWU sought to unite European men from all grades, a rival craft union, the Amalgamated Engineers Union (AEU), was successfully established in 1916 and proved more attractive to most of the skilled workers on the railways and mines. On the mines unionisation occurred at a slower place as organisation was frustrated by the uneven distribution of white miners who worked in more disparate groups and smaller numbers than found on the railway system. In 1918 a strike at Cam & Motor mine by white employees saw all strikers replaced by new workers. However this was followed by a successful strike of mine workers the following year and the establishment of the Rhodesia Mine and General Workers' Association (RMGWA). Other unions proliferated across the colony including a Postal Union, a Commercial Employees Association, and Craft Unions of Engineers, Boilermakers, Brickmakers and Wood Workers.[130]

This chapter explores the political and cultural identity of white workers at the height of this trade union strength and its rapid decline during the 1920s. This period has received the most sustained research into white labour and has generally focused upon questions of political economy, industrial action, trade union and parliamentary organisation and the ways in which white workers struggled to establish a privileged position, both in the labour market and within settler society more generally. Following Jon Lunn, this chapter seeks to move beyond this focus and interrogate the identity, culture and experiences of white workers.[131] White workers were a heterogeneous formation but nevertheless coagulated around particular imperial, national, ethnic, class and gendered identities. What is explored here is how this 'white worker' identity variously encompassed and sometimes excluded or gradated other identities. Lunn has fruitfully used the notion of the bailiwick - the area in which workers could assert their limited authority and independence within wider systems and boundaries - and argued this space should be understood as a fundamental area of expression for white worker

---

[129] Phimister, *Economic and Social*, p.189.
[130] Lee, *Politics and Pressure,* p.170. Gann and Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia,* p.61.
[131] Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* chapter three.

identity in which gendered and racial hierarchies were enforced.[132] Yet while Lunn is attentive to portraying a self-determined culture and highlighting divisions within white labour, a sense of how this identity changed over time is absent from his analysis; the dynamism of white labour identity is lost under a series of reified markers of culture. This chapter seeks to overcome this through outlining some central tenets of white workers' identity which were variously retained, transformed or discarded as the century progressed.

This chapter is largely based on European mining and railway trade union journals. On the railways a sense of community was fostered through union publications, particularly the RRWU's *Rhodesian Railway Review* which reported local union news, individuals and their successes, deaths, promotions, and encouraged letter writing, poetry submissions, as well as boasting an entire page each issue dedicated to jokes and personal anecdotes. It detailed news of football leagues, picnics, dinner dances and social functions organised by railway wives. For the most part, women were absent from the *Review*. Articles directed at women usually reaffirmed social norms, addressing cooking skills or giving domestic tips. Like the RRWU, the RMGWA produced a journal during the early nineteen-twenties, the *Rhodesian Trade Union Review*. This chapter also uses parliamentary debates and speeches by Rhodesia Labour Party (RLP) members which reveal attempts to articulate a coherent white worker identity. Clearly these views cannot be distilled into a homogenous 'white worker' experience. The fundamental abstractness of class means there is not a singular identifiable and static 'white labour identity' or experience.[133] Any attempt to recreate a singular representation of class is therefore replicating idealised projections rather than grasping the multifarious experiences of diverse social actors. Yet representations can give some insight into how white worker identity was articulated. Trade union journals are inevitably biased towards the voices of the trade union bureaucracy and RLP leadership. Nevertheless, letter pages allow insight into the viewpoints of unionised or lay members of the unions and common themes emerge. Notably, these sources reveal how respectability became a key component of the idealised white worker. The respectability of the white worker was made up of three major planks; a professed relative skill and education; self-sufficiency (which could include the provision for

---

[132] Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* p.85. The use of the bailiwick in this way was first used by Frank McKenna, *The Railway Workers, 1840-1970* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980).
[133] Peter Hitchcock, 'They Must Be Represented? Problems in Theories of Working-Class Representation', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 115, 1 (2000), pp.20-32.

dependants); and productivity in manual labour - the process of creating tangible things which was imagined as central to the production of civilisation. Yet many white workers failed to attain these signs of respectability. These trade union journals show how shame and pride were used to condition workers' behaviours, and, as expressed emotions, engendered individual and collective self-esteem.

In Barbara Rosenwein's seminal work she argued that emotional expression is conditioned and encouraged differently in particular social communities.[134] Emotions result from judgements made whether something will be pleasurable, painful, impact upon us negatively or positively, but are also the product of cultural practices, morals and language. Rosenwein argued that people live and lived in 'emotional communities': social communities (whether families, neighbourhoods, churches or trade unions) with their own 'systems of feeling' and rules for the expression of emotions.[135] She challenged the researcher to unearth

> what these communities (and the individuals within them) define
> and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations they
> make about others' emotions; the nature of the affective bonds
> between people that they recognise; and the modes of emotional
> expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore.[136]

For white workers pride and shame acted to police boundaries, link individuals to group identities and create loyalty. Pride in work, in white skin and in masculinity was contrasted with the shame of fecklessness and dependency - characteristics associated with women and Africans. For men, anger was also a legitimate expression of righteousness against employers or Africans who were deemed to be a threat to their position in the racial hierarchy. Upper class whites and Africans were cast as parasitical figures who drew upon the strength and productive capacity of the white worker. Gender was fundamental in conditioning the expression and experience of these emotions. Male dominated trade unions anointed white women as moral guardians and encouraged them to regulate workers' behaviours. This chapter attempts to unearth women's roles in creating railway communities as well as their expressed emotions of pride, loneliness and shame.

This chapter explores the fluctuations in attitudes towards African education which became more hostile as pressures on white workers deepened. It argues that attitudes to

---

[134] Barbara Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *The American Historical Review*, 107, 3 (2002), pp.821-845.
[135] Ibid., p.837.
[136] Ibid., p.842.

Coloured workers were dictated by a combination of racism and self-interest and that white workers' racial classification was not entirely secured as their ambiguous relationships with Coloured workers attests. The dominant rhetoric of white labour organisation during these years was wracked with complexity and contradiction. Yet at times white workers claimed to share racial, national and imperial identity with employers and the Rhodesian state; at others they professed a shared position of exploitation with African workers. They simultaneously railed against these social groups and defined themselves in opposition to them. Although these positions appear irreconcilable, this contradiction reflected white workers' position of exploitation within a racially stratified workforce. White worker radicalism was ultimately a rhetoric of antagonism, exploitation and financial evil which celebrated the agency of the working man and dependent woman in creation and production, but one which was mediated through white supremacy and Empire. This chapter extends Jonathan Hyslop's notion of 'white labourism' in order to explore these contradictions.

Political ideals: Socialism, Imperialism and Patriotism

In the colonies white workers often possessed an uneasy combination of socialist and white supremacist ideas. These ideas were not measured out in static and quantifiable parts; they interacted with each other in complex ways. White union politics throughout southern African history is largely characterised by its possession of contradictory ideological positions, aptly summed up by the 1922 South African Rand Strikers' slogan 'workers of the world unite for a white South Africa'.[137] As discussed in the introduction, Jonathan Hyslop has argued that white labourism lasted up until the First World War.[138] Yet, as Duncan Money has argued, the notion of white labourism can extend beyond the temporal parameters of Hyslop's study.[139] Certainly, white workers' identity in Southern Rhodesia existed largely in reference to Britain and Empire well beyond the First World War. White trade unions zealously proclaimed their loyalty and connection to Britain and her white colonies during the 1920s. The *Review* detailed and cheered on the progress of the British Labour Party, reprinted excerpts and cartoons from British, South African, Canadian, American, and Australian trade union journals and magazines, and published articles on radical movements such as the Chartists and the Minority Movement. The RMGWA's *Rhodesian Trade Union Review* paid

---

[137] For an overview of this phenomenon see Jeremy Krikler, *White Rising*.
[138] Jonathan Hyslop, 'White Labourism'.
[139] Duncan Money, 'The World of European Labour'.

particular attention to the large mining trade unions in the Union and printed numerous in depth analyses of the 1922 Rand Revolt. Moreover, familial and ancestral ties cemented connections to both the white South African and British working class.

The political ideologies of white trade unions were initially informed through the radical and racial ideas white workers had inherited from their experiences in Britain and South Africa. All of the men involved in the establishment of RRWU were British bar one South African, and all had been involved in the 1911 national railway strike in England before moving to Rhodesia.[140] The first attempt to form a union on the railways was led by Frank Nettleton in 1912 who had been General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway and Harbour Servants of South Africa. RRWU stalwart and later parliamentary representative of white workers, Jack Keller was born in London in 1885 and began work when he was nine years old. At fourteen he worked as a London Street Messenger and became a railwayman at nineteen. His regular editorials in the *Review* and parliamentary speeches reveal a man well versed in the language of class war with a penchant for hyperbole. Keller was a charismatic speaker and popular amongst railwaymen and was consistently re-elected as an MP by the Bulawayo railway constituency of Raylton from 1928 to 1958.[141] Likewise, the founder of RMGWA Herbert Walsh grew up in Bradford, was apprenticed at thirteen and was heavily influenced by William Morris's Socialist Society and the Socialist League. He moved to South Africa and established a boilermakers union in 1902 before moving onto Rhodesia in 1910.[142] Donald MacIntyre, former Glaswegian apprentice and member of the British Labour Party, became a leading member of the RLP.[143] The trade union and labour movement in Rhodesia was shaped by these men's experiences of struggle and political education in the metropole and other imperial locations. But the radicalism and racism of white workers was not simply a matter of transposing ideas from one context to another; they were rooted in capitalism and engendered through their experience of the racial monopoly of higher paid, skilled work. White workers' structural location within the settler colonial labour market meant they occupied an antagonistic position both in relation to capital and to cheap African labour. The idiosyncratic political ideologies discussed below were an expression of these social relationships.

---

[140] Lee, *Politics and Pressure,* p.172.
[141] '"Grand Old Man" of RRWU Passes On', *RRM*, October 1959, p.3.
[142] Lee, *Politics and Pressure,* p.170. Gann and Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia*, p.61.
[143] The best overview of MacIntyre is provided by Terence Ranger in *Bulawayo Burning: The Social History of a Southern African City, 1893-1960* (Oxford: James Currey, 2010).

White Socialism and Racialised Radicalism

Trade unions found parliamentary expression in the RLP. Based on its British counterpart and with a firm relationship to the RRWU trade union bureaucracy, the RLP enjoyed success as a party nationally and garnered support from lower class whites, particularly in Raylton, Salisbury South and Umtali South. In the 1920 elections there was no uniform labour party and labour candidates stood against one another in some seats. Nevertheless labour candidates received 18.6 percent of the total vote. The first attempt to establish a coordinated labour party in 1920 failed to last beyond 1921 as the party was ripped apart over personality disputes and skilled based sectionalism. Francis Hadfield, the first leader of the party, declared open support for the AEU which caused anger amongst members from the RRWU and RMGWA railway and mining unions and ultimately led to the party's decline. The following year under the direction of Jack Keller the RRWU re-established the RLP. The RRWU's influence in the RLP was undeniable; ten out of fifteen labour candidates contesting seats in the 1924 election were railwaymen or ex-railwaymen.[144] The RLP paid lip-service to an evolutionary path to socialism, but in essence was fundamentally a thoroughly populist party that focused on the racialised redistribution of wealth to poorer whites in the colony. Certainly, Jack Keller argued that the RLP would be more accurately named if it was the 'peoples' party'.[145] Ultimately, while the RLP may have spoken in the language of class warfare, they pushed for populist, rather than socialist policies.[146]

White workers' organisations generally preached the virtues of racially-exclusive socialism. They used a language which set themselves against 'the capitalists' and warmongering international financiers and spoke of solidarity, unity and class pride, drawing on familiar tropes and images from British trade union movements. The *Review* argued that

> the workers' organisations devote their time and money to the saving
> of widows and orphans, whilst the capitalists' organisations made
> them, as witness the world's war and Rand horrors.[147]

---

[144]Stanlake Samkange, *A History of the Rhodesia Labour Party, 1920-1948*, (unpublished thesis, Harvard, 1982), p.12.

[145] Ian Henderson, 'White Populism in Southern Rhodesia', *Society for Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14, 4 (1972), pp.397-399.

[146] Donal Lowry, 'The Impact of Anti-Communism on White Rhodesian Political Culture, 1920s-1980', *Cold War History* 7, 2 (2007), pp.170-1.

[147] J. W. Keller, 'Conciliation and Cajolery', *RRR*, August 1922, p.1.

Capitalists were identified as the source of poverty, inequality and warfare in opposition to the egalitarian principles at the heart of workers' unions that strove for universal prosperity and peace. Poverty was seen as a direct result of 'the present policy of the capitalists, particularly our own Railway Administration [which] means the impoverishing of all'. Illustrations in the *Review* explicitly identified company directors as responsible for the increased cost of living and the death of the community (Figure One).[148] Management and officials, particularly of the pre-war years, were portrayed as autocrats and 'sycophants'. One anecdote recalled a particularly over-zealous officer who mistook the General Manager for a lay worker and attempted to dismiss him simply for asking a question.[149] Antipathy towards management was boasted about in anecdotes which celebrated confrontation with officials. Stuart McNeillie, a prominent figure in the RRWU, recalled in an interview in 1972 that when the Railway administration tried to get workers to vote to join the Union of South Africa there had been some 'really rough, really rowdy meeting[s]' with employer organisations. He recalled meetings at the old Empire Theatre in Bulawayo 'where the employer representatives came on and made the great mistake of coming in with dinner suits on' and continued that 'tomatoes and things of that kind were thrown at these pompous looking gentlemen.'[150] Such skirmishes highlight the intensity of worker animosity while the union rhetoric framed management as pretentious and self-important and cheered the ordinariness and decency of the working man.

Consistently, a sense of separateness from the white Rhodesian elite was emphasised. White workers saw themselves as transcending hierarchies through detailing a racially segregated *social inclusivity*. In 1923 the *Review* printed its dream for Unity Hall, 'A Peep into the Future.'[151] That dream reflected how the RRWU aspired to create their own social clubs independent of those dominated by the elite from which they were excluded. Mrinalini Sinha's exploration of 'clubbability' in colonial India has shown how clubs acted as elite articulations of the legitimate boundaries of race 'whose function was to mediate and distribute elite power'.[152] In Southern Rhodesia the wealthy ruling class would frequent exclusive institutions such as the Salisbury Club and Bulawayo Club, where white skin alone did not ensure access but membership was

---

[148] J. W. Keller, 'Who Pays?' *RRR*, March 1923, p.19.
[149] *RRR*, December 1930, p.37.
[150] Interview conducted by Ranger in *Bulawayo Burning*, p.33.
[151] 'Unity Hall', *RRR*, November 1923, p.11.
[152] Mrinalini Sinha, 'Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India', *Journal of British Studies*, 40, 4 (2001), p.495.

dependent upon wealth, fame and power. At the Bulawayo Club women were strictly prohibited, granted entrance only on specific occasions on the condition they entered and left through a side entrance and kept to the first floor.[153] Unity Hall however depicts 'a place where [the worker] can enjoy himself socially…with his wife or friend', a club where 'wives, sisters and brothers can meet on the level of social equality'.[154] While imitating the typical gentleman's club, there is nonetheless evidence of cultivation of a more inclusive identity. Unity Hall focused upon a collective advancement and social mobility, wherein the entire white labouring class were welcome and deserving of entrance and membership. However, Africans would remain in their subservient position, with *Unity Hall* (Figure Two) showing an African waiting upon white clientele and joyfully serving drinks in this idealised future. If we accept Sinha's argument that the club represented the legitimate boundaries of racial identity, then Unity Hall shows an attempt to extend the respectability and superiority associated with the imperial club to the lower classes.

Creating clubs and social spaces was also about attaining respectability. Robert Ross has argued that respectability in the Cape was 'manifested most clearly in material things...it was the outward signs that truly mattered.'[155] This included cleanliness, clothing, housing, consumption patterns and education. In *Unity Hall* workers appear in well-turned out suits. The prominent place of newspapers and the books on the shelves points to a deliberate rejection of stereotypes of uneducated and uncouth workers. This would be a space in which white worker respectability could be projected; men reading books pointed to intelligence and hard work and fed into ideologies of aspiration and self-improvement of the trade union.[156] This was a pursuit and idealisation of an identity and culture which both imitated and subverted that of colonial elites. It remained within hegemonic ideals of racialised categorisation and white supremacy but nonetheless laid a claim to control over articulations of identity. The club was eventually built to the south of Bulawayo railway station in the mid-1920s and became a hub of railway social activity in the city. Railway wives went on to organise dinners, dances and competitions for women in the railway community at Unity Hall. For women, Unity Hall was a

---

[153] 'Bulawayo Club History', http://www.bulawayoclub.com/history.html, [accessed 3 January 2016]. Terence Ranger observed that in 2001 women were still barred from its members' bar. *Bulawayo Burning*, p.69.
[154] 'Unity Hall', *RRR*, November 1923, p.11.
[155] Robert Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.78.
[156] For the reading culture of the British working class see Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2001).

public arena in which the role of women as subordinate, supportive partners was reaffirmed.

Figure One: 'Who Pays', *RRR*, March 1923, p.19.
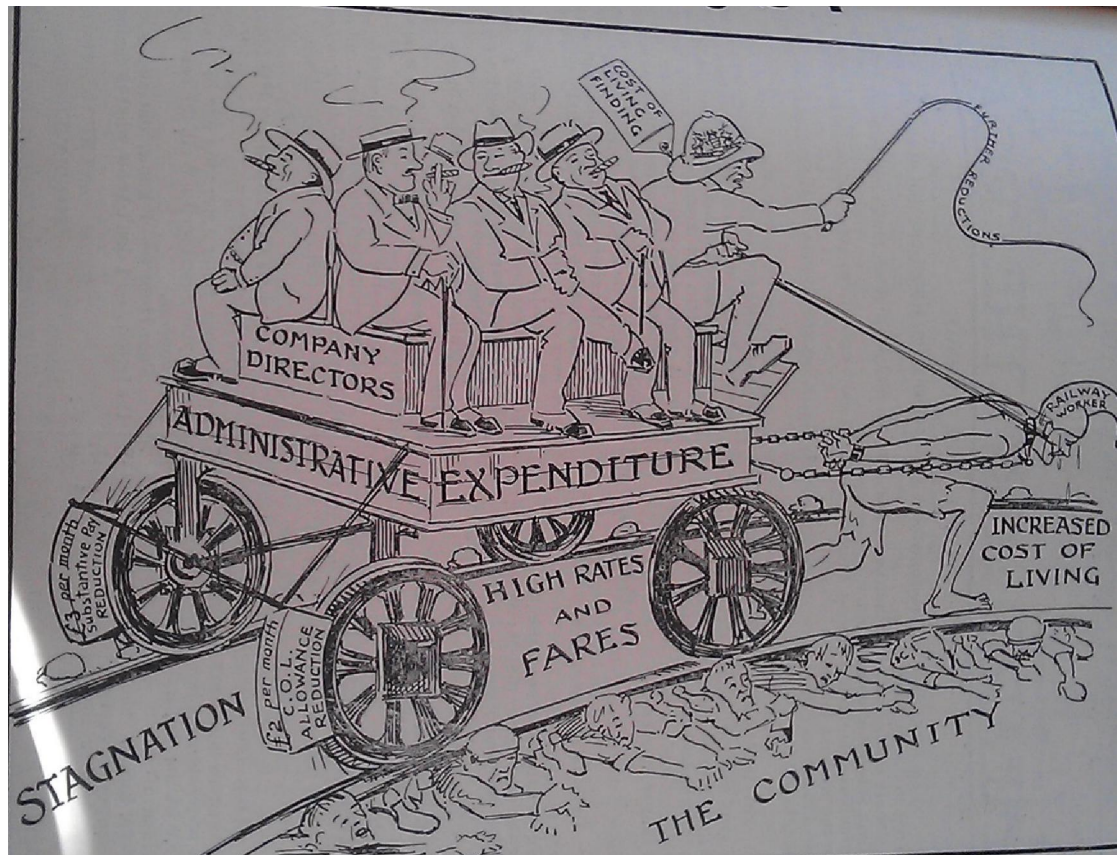
Figure Two: 'Unity Hall', *RRR*, **November 1923, p.11.**
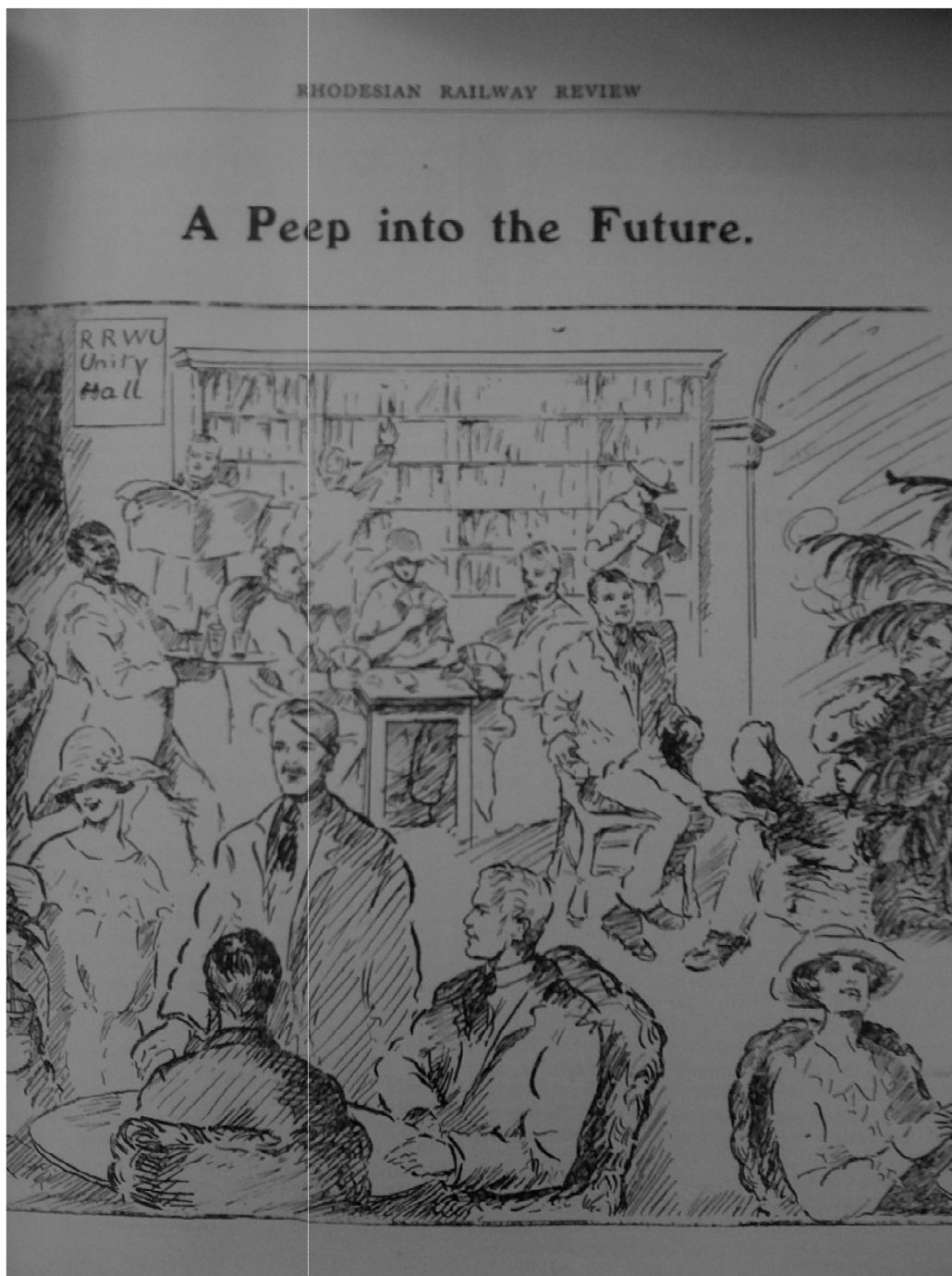
The language of socialism invited accusations of Bolshevism and revolutionary communism from employers, MPs and the press. The *Rhodesia Herald* decried the RMGWA leadership during the strike of 1919 as trying 'to establish a dictatorship, a sort of glorified Soviet, in Bulawayo',[157] and noted that 'every act of the Executive Council in Bulawayo savours of an autocracy worthy of the Bolsheviks.'[158] Jack Keller was nicknamed Lenin of Rhodesia by his detractors and the RMGWA and the RLP had

---

[157] 'Strike Tactics', *Rhodesia Herald*, 23 December 1919, p.13.
[158] 'Editorial', *Rhodesia Herald,* 30 December 1919, p.13.

to repeatedly state that they harboured neither Communist nor Bolshevist sympathies although this did little to curb accusations of radical dissent. The rank-and-file were often portrayed as being duped by radical leaders into action. The *Herald* wrote that the men at Wankie during the 1919 strike were cajoled into action and were actually very contented with their conditions and would return to work only if the Executive Committee of the Union would allow it.[159]

Nevertheless, to the extent that socialism was preached by these groups, it was strictly a 'socialism for whites' which pushed for racially exclusive welfare measures and did not seek to transform sexist inequalities. While the pages of the *Review* contained frequent denunciations of capitalism, unless there was a particular dispute raging between the union and the administration it seems that there was an effort to externalise and globalise the greedy capitalist elite. When £3 per month was taken from each employee in 1922, the weakened RRWU declared that 'it is not the fault of the General Manager that what [the workers] gained is gradually being taken away from them. It is the policy laid down by the world's capitalists'.[160] This characterisation of the ravenous capitalist boss as an abstract international figure allowed for the propagation of an anti-capitalist message which did not irreversibly compromise workers' claims to white national unity and did not expose the very real weaknesses and failures of RRWU in challenging its own administration. As demands for the £3 to be returned increased as the 1920s proceeded, the railway administration once again were portrayed as fat, cigar smoking capitalists, but the role of the General Manager in the exploitation of white workers was often downplayed.

Imperialism and Nationalism

White workers refracted elite settler culture and retained contradictory identities and beliefs. As Shula Marks has argued: 'workers had multifaceted identities. They could be, and frequently were, simultaneously workers *and* housewives, socialists *and* nationalists, white supremacists *and* internationalists.'[161] Overall the dominant internationalism celebrated by white workers was rooted in imperialism rather than international communism. The language used by white trade unions undoubtedly reflected a 'Britannic nationalism' in which settlers saw themselves as part of an

[159] 'The Strike Deadlock', *Rhodesia Herald*, 23 December 1919, p.5.
[160] J. W. Keller, 'Conciliation and Cajolery', *RRR*, August 1922, p.1.
[161] Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido, 'The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism', in *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (New York: Longman, 1987), pp. 25-6.

imperial vanguard; they were not merely British, they were partners in a global empire. Settler nationalism and imperial Britishness were mutually constitutive and British identity was depicted as being enhanced in the settler colonial context where it became more masculine, dynamic and potent.[162] Jon Lunn has pointed to railwaymen's idealisation of themselves as pioneers and builders of empire. The spread of the railways, tied up as it was with ideals of progress and civilisation, imperialism, and the fact that it was the workers themselves who built and operated the railways, allowed for railway workers to create 'a place for themselves in the pantheon of pioneerism.'[163] Certainly, at times the *Review* was fiercely patriotic and viciously denounced other imperial powers, encouraging workers to align with their own factories and industries rather than let other imperial powers attain dominance.[164] RRWU stressed their loyalty to nation and Empire, for example claiming that the strike action of 1919 was only taken due to 'the war being over and there being no danger of a Labour stoppage jeopardising the Empire'.[165] Yet, white workers did not simply parrot dominant understandings of imperial and racial ideologies; they attached their own understandings and fused ideologies of socialism, imperialism and white superiority to produce an idiosyncratic political discourse. The concept of 'civilisation' for example, was fundamental in colonial and imperial epistemologies, but to white Rhodesian labour, being 'civilised' was often equated with achieving socialist or populist reform.[166] Likewise, notions of what it meant to be British were strongly contested. Being subservient, apathetic and refusing to challenge the status quo was seen as inherently un-British. The *Review* decried that the spirit of the British youth was being systematically broken; that they had been taught

> not to be a man, but to be a rat...workers of the country, are any
> of these kiddies to be sacrificed on this social rack? Ask
> yourselves. It's up to you to see that this does not happen; then,
> and not til then, we will be able to give voice to what was
> instilled into us as children: *Britons never shall be slaves*.[167]

True Britishness would involve challenging the current system and standing up to victimisation. British ideals had been contaminated by apathy and repression, but being

---

[162] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge University Press, New York: 2009), p.167.
[163] Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* p.87.
[164] See for example Pro Patria, 'The Bundle of Sticks', *RRR*, January 1922, p.23.
[165] J. W. Keller, 'Profits, Parsimony and Patience', *RRR,* December 1925, p.18.
[166] P.J. Titus, 'The United Faggot: Some Thoughts and Conclusions as to the necessity of Craft Unionism Merging itself into INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM for the Safety and Well Being of Labour Generally', *RRR,* September 1921, pp.15-16.
[167] 'Editorial: Britons Free', *RRR,* December 1924, p.2.

British and upholding British ideas, the *Review* argued, meant ensuring job security and decent wages. However, patriotism was noted as sharply double edged:

> It is only a fool who is a patriot at all cost. A parrot cry, a la Rhodesia for the Rhodesians, hip hip etc. When the country is able to guarantee a decent living, and facilities for the upbringing of children to the workers, then it will be time enough to flagwag...A Britisher's patriotism should start when he sees those near and dear to him comfortable and not until then: that is patriotism.[168]

Here, workers' embrace of nationalism appears conditional upon socioeconomic security. During the First World War the RRWU executive attempted to prevent Jack Keller from being conscripted into the army which was seen as a direct attack on the union. In later years one trade unionist recalled the 'scare headlines' which accompanied this action 'in endeavouring to stop one man going to the slaughter poles of Flanders...Our real intent and motives would have been obscured, and victimisation of Jack lost sight of behind a forest of waving flags.'[169] Lewis Gann has argued that white labour was characterised by an 'anti-military spirit' during the First World War.[170] But this 'spirit' lasted beyond the War. Many white workers remained opposed to conscription measures and in 1926 the RLP and RRWU decried moves towards compulsory military training, describing the measures as an affront to British values. They asserted that British men would gladly volunteer and they did not require to be coerced into action. These measures were treated with suspicion from the ranks of labour and the *Review* predicted that it would be used to conscript union leaders or workers deemed troublesome by management.[171] A poem reprinted from the *Canadian Railway Employees Monthly* used the symbol of Henry Dubb – a well-known figure seen to represent the hard done by and exploited worker, bamboozled by employers, apathetic and hostile to socialism - to subvert ideals of patriotism; to attack the worker who put ideas of nation before loyalty to his class:

> I stick to my boss, sir, cause I do love him so.
> He may sweat me and beat me, but I do love him true,
> So here's to our emblem, the Red, White and Blue.[172]

This subversion of the dominant imperial narrative attacked the idea that workers should be entirely obedient to unscrupulous bosses in the name of national unity. The

[168] 'Gwelo Branch Notes', *RRR,* June 1926, p.29.
[169] J. H. Hall, 'Reminiscences of a Rhodesian Railwayman', *RRR*, September 1923, p.12.
[170] Lewis Gann, The Development of Southern Rhodesia's Military System, 1890- 1953, http://www.rhodesia.nl/gann1.htm. [accessed 19 August 2017]
[171] 'Editorial: Germany and Rhodesia', *RRR*, November 1926, pp.2-3.
[172] Bonar Thompson, 'Ballad of a Blockhead', *RRR*, March 1923*,* p.3. See also Ryan Walker, 'The Origin of Henry Dubb', *The Maoriland Worker*, 17 June 1914, p.5.

idea of national unity meant nothing when the government forcibly rallied against workers' interests. Nationalism was presented as conditional upon white workers' needs being met and the evening out of social differences between white Rhodesians.

Some trade unionists believed that an imperial identity could overcome ethnic and national divisions between white workers. John Stewart, an RLP Member of the Legislative Council and member of RRWU, who subsequently left both organisations in 1924 over the dominance of Bulawayo in RLP affairs and personal clashes with Keller and the RMGWA's Herbert Walsh, criticised the parochialism attached to perpetuating national myths and identity and instead preached pride in Empire. What was important was not nationalism, he argued, but loyalty to the British Empire writ large. Individual national background was irrelevant if the individual in question enhanced the British Empire, and Stewart argued that 'a good Dutch colonial is as essential to the progress of Empire as the best Scotsman who ever lived or will ever live.'[173] However, non-British whites were not easily slotted into this imperial white worker identity. As well as traditional xenophobia and language barriers creating hostility, the presence of European 'others' presented challenges to the formation of a homogenous settler culture. Rhodesian authorities created selective immigration policies, in a perceived need to maintain ethnic dominance and the desire to have the right type of white settler.[174] In many instances British men were afraid of undercutting by Italians and Greeks who were prepared to work for lower wages.[175] Divisions according to skill and craft were deepened by the allocation of roles according to ethnicity. Settler rhetoric emphasised loyalty to kith and kin and declarations of being 'more British than the British'. On the railways there existed a strained European cosmopolitanism. The RRWU itself crossed national boundaries, incorporated branches in Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa and had Greek, Italian and Afrikaner members. While arguing that 'in considering the workers' affairs the Union knows no nationality', low rates of Portuguese membership at Beira were attributed to the fundamental temperamental differences between 'men of British stock "and those of 'Latin races". The former are phlegmatic; the latter volatile and passionate.' This supposed Latin passion was seen as anathema to the rationality of trade unionism.[176]

---

[173]Mr Stewart, 'Correspondence, National Societies, Mr Stewart and the *Rhodesia Herald*'', *Rhodesia Herald*, 17 December 1920, p.17. 'Letter from J. Stewart', *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 December 1920, p.15.
[174] Alois S. Mlambo, 'Building a White Man's Country'. Kennedy, *Islands of White,* p.90.
[175] Ian Phimister, 'Miners in Historical Perspective', p.190; van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.24.
[176] 'Trade Unionism in Portuguese Territory', *RRR,* March 1932, p.42.

Although Afrikaners were an important part of the settler-colonial project in Rhodesia, in the first half of the twentieth century the 'race question' in southern Africa most readily referred to Afrikaner-British divisions and hostilities.[177] Prejudices were acutely felt at the turn of the century during the Anglo-Boer War and the vote for responsible government in 1922. Rhodesia had been governed by the BSAC since 1889, but settler demands for self-government increased during the 1910s. In the 1922 referendum settlers were given the choice between self-government and joining the Union to be ruled as part of South Africa. Settlers voted fifty-nine percent in favour of self-government which was granted in 1923, despite opposition from the Colonial Office, the BSAC, mining companies and the railway administration.[178] While artisans and mineworkers generally voted for responsible government, railway workers, although supportive, changed their allegiance at the last moment after a tour from pro-Union South African railway managers.[179] Many white workers in Rhodesia feared being subject to bilingualism, lower wages, longer hours and a curtailment of trade union rights.[180] The vote for self-government was also partly motivated by fears of poor white Afrikaners and what was described as their inferior language and culture. The *Review* avidly spoke out against the Union with South Africa, explicitly identifying the reasoning behind their aversion as the influx of Afrikaners into Rhodesia in which 'poor whites and criminals of all kinds will not be kept out'.[181] The RMGWA argued that unregulated immigration in the event of union would see Rhodesia overrun with 'the scum of the Free State and Johannesburg'.[182] Wages in Rhodesia were ten percent higher than those in the Union, and the violent response of the Smuts government to the 1922 Rand Revolt strike of white miners did little to endear workers in Southern Rhodesia to the Union of South Africa.[183] But the RRWU nevertheless attempted to persuade its Afrikaner members, who were assumed to have been loyal to South Africa, to vote for responsible government. They reminded their readership of the 1922 miners' rebellion and highlighted the role of General Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa, who they declared had 'shot down and hanged workers of all nationalities.'[184] Thus while warning of Afrikaner propensity towards poverty and criminality, the RRWU

---

[177] Donal Lowry, 'Rhodesia 1890-1980: 'The Lost Dominion'', p.124.
[178] See Marguerite Elaine Lee, 'The Origins of the Rhodesian Responsible Government Movement', *Rhodesian History*, 6 (1975), pp.33-52.
[179] Lee, *Politics and Pressure,* p. 224.
[180] J.W. Keller, 'Responsible Government or Union', RRR, May 1922, p.1-2. p.2 J.W. Keller, 'The Illusion in the South', *RRR*, April 1922, p.12.
[181] J. Stewart, "Stand-to", *RRR*, August 1922, pp.10-11.
[182] 'Artisan', 'After Dinner Talk', *Rhodesian Trade Union Review*, May 1922, p.15.
[183] Krikler, *White Rising*.
[184] 'A WARNING "die Afrikaner Stem', *RRR*, November 1922, p.2.

attempted to diffuse Afrikaner-British hostility by demonstrating the limits of Afrikaner nationalism in protecting Afrikaner workers from mining companies and the South African state.

Pleas were also made by RRWU to management to give preference to British applicants for railway employment over other nationalities. Salisbury branch asked why Italians were hired when British nationals were left searching for work.[185] Despite RRWU's popularity amongst the lower grades who were more likely to be Italian or Portuguese nationals, it cultivated a British, rather than an inclusive white Rhodesian identity able to incorporate the national and ethnic diversity of railway staff. Presumably aware of this diversity within the RRWU the *Review* regularly printed material that demonstrated friendship and shared goals between British and non-British whites, including detailing union officials attending Dutch Reformed Church events, or commenting upon the class of football 'our Portuguese friends' achieve in inter-branch railway leagues.[186] But these seem to have been largely tokenistic gestures. Vocal denunciations of the employment of non-British workers continued. Certainly, antipathy towards non-British whites existed throughout the period of settler rule. The white imperial identity white workers invested in remained fundamentally British.

Divisions

White labour was by no means a homogenous block. As well as divisions of ethnicity, nationality and gender, workers were fractured by grade, skill, occupation and the changing status attached to each job. Clerks, office workers, and professional groupings were unlikely to support or align themselves with lower status manual workers. The Rhodesia Teacher's Association vehemently denied that they had ever considered any affiliation to the Labour Party. They condemned the principles and actions of Labourism and argued that in many countries, particularly South Africa, the Labour Party had 'become drunk with the poisoned vodka of Bolshevism under the bloody banner on which letters of filth are written promises of lust and loot.'[187] In railway suburbs from the earliest years housing was segregated amongst different types of workers. One early resident of Raylton recalled that 'the first two or three avenues of houses were reserved for the railway doctors, engineers, accountants and clerical staff'

---

[185] 'Salisbury Branch Notes', *RRR,* April 1928, p.34.
[186] 'Branch Notes and News', *RRR*, August 1922, p.18.
[187] NAZ: SR PSA, *Journal of Rhodesian Services Records, Affiliated to Rhodesia Teachers' Association*, vol. 1, no. XI, September 1920, p.10.

while the engine drivers and firemen were housed beyond these streets.[188] While the RRWU refused to handle coal produced at Wankie during the 1919 strike, the RMGWA financially assisted RRWU during the 1920 railway strike, and the Posts and Telegraphs Union refused to deliver railway messages for the duration of the strike, such unity was limited and divisions between manual workers on the basis of skill expressed itself in the formation of rival industrial and craft based unions.[189] On the railways the larger union, RRWU, was dominated by lower semi- and unskilled grades such as pumpers, gangers and stewards, and avidly fought to capture skilled workers to its ranks from the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU), a branch of the South African union eager to spread their influence into Rhodesia.[190] The AEU's membership was based in the skilled grades on the railways and mines and was often used by management to curb the demands of and weaken the larger industrial unions.[191]

Divisions intensified as the state moved to weaken workers' organisation in the wake of their early successes. When the position of European trade unions was gradually weakened as white labour shortages ebbed as men returned from the First World War management turned to the offensive and sought to push back the gains white workers had won over the previous years. The Industrial Disputes Act of 1920 established principles of arbitration and encouraged industries to set up their own structures to deal with labour grievances. The railways administration sought to forestall widespread action by entrenching division and providing each grade and department its own court of arbitration.[192] Mine proprietors combined to create the Rhodesian Mine Owners Association in order to combat white demands. After a defeat the previous year, in 1921 at the Wankie Colliery, the daily paid men, most of whom were white, were notified that their contracts had been terminated and that they had lost all medical benefits. They were replaced with black workers while overall white wages incurred a heavy reduction.[193] In 1921 the RMGWA, with support of RRWU, recommended that its members refuse to work with any member of the AEU as the craft union was seen as a

---

[188] Mrs. Molly P. Taylor, 'Early Recollections of Raylton', in *Down Memory Lane with some Early Rhodesian Women* (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1979), p.277.
[189] Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* p.92.
[190] The Amalgamated Engineering Union was initially called the ASE, but I have used AEU in order to avoid confusion.
[191] See Phimister, *Economic and Social*, p.92-93. Lee, *Politics and Pressure,* p.178.
[192] Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* p.94.
[193] Ian Phimister, 'Coal, Crisis and Class Struggle: Wankie Colliery, 1918-22', *The Journal of African History*, 33, 1 (1992), pp.84-5.

particular threat to these trade unions.[194] The Rhodesian Mine Owners Association and the national newspaper the *Herald* backed the AEU in order to smash the RMGWA and a lockout was threatened if the latter went ahead with their plans.[195] In January 1922 mine owners announced plans for retrenchment and a further twelve percent reduction in shift rates which the RMGWA failed to prevent.[196] By 1923 RMGWA had dissolved. Attempts to re-form a mining union at Wankie connected with railway workers in 1929 saw management remove all privileges of European staff and warn that any colliery employee caught advocating unionisation would be considered an 'undesirable employee'.[197]

Fissures deepened as trade union strength was weakened. For Rhodesian rail workers the 1922 management offensive saw reductions in pay and in the cost of living allowance, an increase in working hours and the removal of the eight hour working day. This undoubted defeat was represented as evidence of railwaymen's obedience and rationality in accepting a share in the burden of hard economic times by the RRWU. Yet the union was entering its slow decline. From 1925 RRWU consistently asked management to restore the £3 taken from them in 1922. In 1927 the Russell Court of Enquiry dismissed the propositions of both the RRWU and the AEU craft union. In 1929, in a last ditch attempt, a three week strike took place across the railways but the Administration flatly refused the union's requests. Roy Welensky, who in later years would become the Prime Minister of the Federation, was punished for his prominent involvement in the strike by being relocated from Hwange to Broken Hill and reinstated at a lower grade.[198] RRWU argued that they were defeated because of the mass preparations the Government had made in advance as hundreds of members of the public were engaged on 'a miserable £1 per day', as strike breakers who were denounced as scabs.[199] The RRWU bemoaned the fact that the Minister of Defence had been able to convince the public into hostility against the strikers.[200] During the strike Foremen and apprentices carried on working, as well as 'the whole of the Headquarter

[194] 'Mr Herbert Walsh Again', *Rhodesia Herald*, 22 November 1920, p.13. Lee, *Politics and Pressure,* p.182.
[195] 'Editorial: The Acme of Folly', *Rhodesia Herald*, 25 February 1921, p.15. 'Work at a Standstill', *Rhodesia Herald*, 25 February 1921, p.15.
[196] Lee, *Politics and Pressure,* p.185.
[197] 'Wankie Colliery Notice to Employees', *RRR,* January 1929, p.
[198] Bill Schwarz, *White Man's World: Memories of Empire, Volume One* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.363.
[199] 'Editorial', *RRR,* March 1929, pp.8-16.
[200] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History*, p.190.

Offices and the District Offices'.[201] But the RRWU pointed to the AEU to remind its members that the AEU had betrayed them during the 1920 and 1929 strikes and had been a tool for division among railwaymen. RRWU castigated the AEU as 'useless, it is futile, it is inept...a mockery of trade unionism.'[202] As the 1920s progressed internal division within RRWU deepened under this pressure and threatened to break the union apart. Cost of living allowances were eroded by the end of the 1920s and further reductions were made in 1930 to sick pay.[203] Bulawayo Branch blamed the Executive Committee for failing to win back the full £3. One hundred and sixty-five members of Bulawayo Branch resigned in February 1929 as a result and six members were expelled from Bulawayo for factionalism. Although short-lived and lacking mass appeal, in September 1932 further challenges arose as E. J. Scherlich attempted to split the union by forming a new 'non-political' union, the Railway Employees Union of Rhodesia, which represented growing anger at Keller's involvement in politics. Factionalism and internal dissent during this period cost the RRWU over £5000. Clerks, engine drivers and firemen all attempted to create separate organisations.[204] Management had successfully exploited divisions within white labour, and further utilised black and white workers respectively to break strikes and redirect antagonism over pay and working conditions.

Pride, Shame, Respectability and Attempts to Regulate White Worker's Behaviours

Snobberies were most pronounced between blue and white collar workers, one letter to the *Review* complaining that sectionalism on the railways emanated from the fact that 'the clerical staff think they are far too respectable to join a trade union.'[205] The RRWU regularly castigated the higher paid grades for reaping the rewards of the trade unionists from the lower rungs of the system. Nevertheless, the standardising language of race and the redefinition of unskilled jobs as skilled by the lower grades acted to promote an idea of a united skilled white working class comprised predominantly of manual labourers. Lunn has described workers' sense of self-worth as higher than upper and middle-class observers might have believed. While a ganger was categorised as semi-

---

[201] NAZ: S480/1460, Strikes and Labour Disputes among Railway Employees, 1926-1929: Memorandum, 21st February 1929, p.1.
[202] 'Editorial', *RRR*, November 1930, p.7.
[203] 'The Medical Fund: Reduction of Sick Pay for Wages Employees', *RRR,* December 1930, p.11
[204] *RRWU Conference*, 1930, p.47. The revenue of RRWU fell from £6063 in 1928 to £1865 in 1929. *RRR*, August 1929, p.6. See also Samkange, *A History of the Rhodesia Labour Party,* pp.25-6.
[205] 'Penpusher', 'Correspondence: Salaried Association', *RRR,* December 1929, p.11.

skilled by management, Lunn has argued that 'in his own mind he was skilled.'[206] Workers' self-understandings relied heavily on their occupations, pride of work and physical as well as moral strength. This was contrasted with African manual labour which was seen as unskilled, repetitive work in which Africans took no care or pride. Pride in work also allowed differentiation from non-British whites. Daphne Anderson described how her father's ideals of pride in hard work allowed him to differentiate himself from local Afrikaners. Despite being an alcoholic and poorer than the local Afrikaners her father 'never joined in any of the local functions and considered himself superior to the homesteaders and farmers who lounged around the village dancehall.'[207] This fed into wider ways in which race was articulated through ideas of industriousness, discipline and slothfulness.[208] For many white workers Africans failed to grasp the concept of work and the 'dignity of labour'. Believing them to be naturally indolent, Africans had to be *forced* to work. It was noted that Africans' experiences of prison and forced labour systems had devalued the importance of labour and the honour in work in their minds.[209] This language of slavery was utilised to reject certain types of work, to uphold the colour bar and agitate around poor working conditions. The Rand Revolt was explained as 'the objection of *free* white men to being thrown out of work and reduced to destitution by the extension of the negro *slave* labour system into what had been their spheres of employment'.[210] White work was *free* labour. Despite the absence of systematic chattel slavery, there was a widely-held belief that Africans had to be coerced into work. This complex interplay between slave and free; black and white labour was, as David Roediger has argued with regards to the US, not a call to solidarity or acknowledgement of similarity. It was used to demarcate acceptable working conditions of white men; it was part of the process of defining what constituted the essence of the white worker.[211]

Within this adversarial culture which pitted bosses against workers, white workers against Africans - anger - when channelled through appropriate mediums such as the trade union, became a mark of righteousness and was tolerated and encouraged in various forms. This anger was seen as a natural reaction when the liberty or dignity of

[206] Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* p.83.
[207] Daphne Anderson, *The Toe-Rags,* p.27.
[208] Ian Phimister, 'African Worker Consciousness: Origins and Aspects to 1953', in *Studies in the History of African Mine Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe*, edited by Ian Phimister and Charles van Onselen (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1978), pp. 23-40.
[209] TUK, 'Native Education', *RRR,* January 1925, pp.16-18.
[210] My emphasis. 'The Story of a Crime', *RRR*, January 1925, p.19.
[211] See chapter four in David Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness.*

the white man was encroached upon. During strikes management expected strikers to engage in destruction of property, threats and intimidation, as well as physical violence upon areas of strategic importance, such as pumping stations and telegraph wires. Strike breakers were also targets of threats and physical violence.[212] The *Review* printed scathing letters from white workers in which rival unions, employers, non-British whites, Coloureds and Africans were attacked. Moreover, white workers exerted psychological and physical violence upon African workers, which on occasion resulted in the death of African workers, with little or no recourse for their actions.[213] The absence of punishment for white workers over this violence reveals its normalisation and toleration. Expressing anger was an important demonstration of principles and was characterised as a natural reaction to exploitation and to those who were disloyal to the trade union and industrial action. Empathy was also invoked to encourage a shared experience of struggle and hardship. Workers' organisations spoke of an unrelenting poverty which workers were forced to suffer. Housing conditions were described as 'comprised of ramshackle old wood and iron buildings, infested, in cases, with bats, rats and other vermin'.[214] 'Poverty' was acknowledged as a real material condition and threat to the white labourer, who asked 'why…is there such a thing as poverty, and why has the worker to fight perpetually for a bare subsistence?'[215] Letters proliferated in the pages of the *Review*, which complained of financial struggle to 'provide'; 'where is the money for boots, butcher, milk, vegetables, clothing?'[216] The *Review* described 'the ganger, the man who, in this country, is practically an outcast', socially and economically constricted, 'not permitted to leave their cottages without permission…for any purpose, social or otherwise', which was likened to a state of 'serfdom' and interference in the 'liberty of a white man'.[217]

For the Rhodesian white worker, manual work was not something to be ashamed of, or something that only non-whites did, but something in which to take pride, even if the middle-classes and white collar workers perceived such blue-collar work as defiling. The *Review* printed a poem entitled 'The Tally' by Richard Lord which declared:

> to wish is the play of an office boy:

---

[212] NAZ: S480/1460, Strikes and Labour Disputes among Railway Employees, 1926-1929: Memorandum, 21st February 1929, p.2.
[213] For particularly violent outbursts see Lunn, *Capital and Labour*, p.86; van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.83; p.143; Phimister 'White Miners'. For letters see below.
[214] J. W. Keller 'The Truth about the Rhodesia Railwaymen', *RRR*, November 1921, p. 2.
[215] ICONOCLAST, 'Correspondence', *RRR*, November 1921, p.37.
[216] BALDY BENT, 'Correspondence', *RRR*, March 1923, p.10.
[217] J. W. Keller 'The Truth about the Rhodesia Railwaymen', *RRR*, November 1921, pp.3-5.

To do is the job of a man.[218]

The settler trope of masculinity rooted in the physical mastery of nature and the heroism of the pioneer, itself a rural ideal, was reworked through an industrial, urban idiom. These self-understandings were central to how white workers upheld notions of white prestige. Pride in work and being a member of the union was seen as the epitome of masculinity. 'Nons' were ridiculed and castigated as lazy and effeminate workshy cowards. Those who failed to meet the standards expected by union officials were shamed as flaccid perversions of the white worker; inadequate effeminised imitations. Thus one article began with an assertion that

> If you haven't got manhood enough to be concerned with the
> comfort and welfare of your own family, then do not read this
> article. If you haven't got the backbone enough to be a free man in
> a free country, then stop reading right here, for this article is
> intended for the real he-men, who do not shiver in their boots when
> the Roadmaster passes; men who are men enough to fight their own
> fights; men who are not too cowardly to demand a wage sufficient
> to properly care for their families whether the railroad officials like
> it or not[219]

Manliness was claimed through union activity and taking a stand against management; union successes were explained through the actions of 'men - white men who were not prepared to knuckle down to it.'[220] Here, it was workers' qualities as specifically *white men* which had enabled them to rally against exploitation. Robert Morrell has argued that while multiple masculinities exist, a 'hegemonic masculinity' will dominate which seeks to suppress women as well as competing masculinities.[221] White workers both borrowed from dominant constructions of masculinity and challenged and reformulated their own sense of manliness through work. This labouring ideal was positioned as the authentic expression of maleness. One letter to the *Review* explained that intimidation and the blacklist had lowered attendance at branch meetings but went on to encourage men to overcome these fears, to 'brace up...make a firm stand and come out boldly as one solid body of workers...In conclusion brothers, "be white."'[222] 'Being white' was about the assertion of workers' rights. Likewise the story of the emergence of RRWU was explicitly framed in terms of an assertion of the rights of white men. The *Review* detailed how the organisation was created after several men had been stranded at

---

[218] Richard Lord, 'The Tally', *RRR*, August 1922, p.7.
[219] L. E. Keller, 'Solid Reasoning: Are you helping to Starve your own Family?', *RRR*, April 1928, pp.19-20.
[220] *RRR*, December 1930, p.37.
[221] Robert Morrell, 'Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 4 (1998), pp.607-8.
[222] Dum Spiro Spero, 'Correspondence', *RRR*, December 1922, p.10.

Wankie in 1917. It described how these stranded workers had demanded that the administration provide them with food, but that they were told that any expense they incurred would be taken out of their pay packets. The *Review* recalled that 'the men were in open rebellion…they marched to the house of the Magistrate and demanded food and refreshment under a Statute of the country which provides that a white individual without means of subsistence must be assisted from one police camp to another.'[223] Thus, the foundational story of RRWU revolved around a claim to the rights of white men.

These stories of successful strikes and their leaders were used in later editions of the *Review* to emphasise struggle and hardship and to emphasise the characteristics of strength and respectability which sought to bind railwaymen together. The man who thought that he was above joining the union was labelled 'a "Snob" with a capital S'. Railwaymen who refused to join the trade union 'should leave the common railway service and get a job in one of the Government offices at Salisbury.'[224] Such pen-pushers were not just seen as effeminate, they were labelled grandiose, self-aggrandising with an exaggerated sense of self-importance. They were noted as unfairly looking down upon the manual worker, ignorant to the supposed fact it was the latter who had built and served the country. While distancing themselves from Africans, this self-understanding simultaneously differentiated workers from the 'office boy', the weak and pathetic daydreamer, the antithesis to the manual labourer deemed to be the embodiment of masculinity and self-respect. Thus the dominant colonial image of feminised and infantilised African 'boys' which was used to legitimate segregation in the workplace was also projected onto middle class Europeans.[225]

Women, in their roles as '*Incorporated Wives*' on the railways, were encouraged to take pride in creating homes, producing children and investing in community activities, such as organising dances or craft competitions. One poem in the *Review,* written by a white woman, described the position of railway wives in the 1920s:

> We knew it when we married him
> Some twenty years ago -
> That he would be away a lot,
> In fact he told us so,

[223] *RRR*, December 1930, p.38.
[224] A Pioneer Member, 'Correspondence, 'The Non-Unionist'', *RRR,* December 1925, p.25.
[225] For discussion of the trope of African 'boys' in the colonial workplace see Lisa A. Lindsay, *Working with Gender: Wage Labour and Social Change in Southwestern Nigeria* (Portsmouth: NH: Heinemann, 2003), p.12.

But the real truth we didn't guess,
Not all...or even half -
…
They have no hours, these railroad men,
Their work is never done,
They just remember that its night
When everyone goes home.
We wives and mothers learn to smile,
The young as well as old -
And keep the meat from burning up,
The beans from getting cold.

We go to church and club, alone,
To pictures, lectures too,
We rear the children, cook the meals
And pay the bills when due.
The youngsters get the whooping cough,
And measles, mumps and grippe-
We carry on both day and night,
And don't give up the ship.[226]

Women could feel pride in the labour of the home and motherhood, by keeping a 'tight ship', in struggling through loneliness and in ingenuity in stretching wages to cover household costs. As well as overseeing domestic servants in the home, emotional labour was a central responsibility of women; manufacturing an air of contentment in order to reassure the working man. The process of investing status into these tasks of domesticity acted as a form of cognitive dissonance to suppress dissatisfaction. Here, women's feelings of distress were accepted as a part of their daily experience, yet it was the endurance of these feelings of isolation and the suppression of emotions which was valorised as a source of pride. The RRWU also encouraged women to use familial and gender ideologies to police male workers' behaviours. Women were encouraged to wield shame in order to discipline men into correct behaviours. They were directed to humiliate men who were unable to provide, who remained un-unionised or who did not pay union fees. In one piece a railwayman detailed how he resisted joining RRWU until his wife had shamed him into doing so: 'she reproached me for letting other men fight her battles and the children's. We were not quarrelsome about it, but she clinched the argument when she said, hotly, one night: "do you want me to think my husband a cad, Jim?"'[227] The RRWU also suggested women should manage their husbands' finances, making sure they did not spend too much on drink.[228] The role of the railwayman's wife,

---

[226] J.M. Scott, 'What Every Railroad Woman Knows', *RRR*, December 1928, p.64.
[227] 'Am I to Think you a Cad Jim?', *RRR*, December 1928, p.111.
[228] 'Branch Notes Salisbury: What the Women Can Do', *RRR*, August 1929, p.41.

according to the *Review*, was one of support, reproduction and regulation which enforced gendered norms.

Moreover as voters, as parts of working communities, as political actors and trade unionists in their own right, women were not entirely excluded from public life. As voters from 1919, women were recognised as an important part of the electorate by the RLP and specific appeals were tailored to white women during the referendum vote which focused on the point that they would lose the vote only recently gained (South Africa did not grant white women the vote until 1930). In 1923, while it was argued that women were 'as yet...unprepared to represent us in the Legislative Chamber' they were nevertheless 'powerful factor[s] in any organisation work'.[229] The RLP congress in 1928 cheered the presence of women which, it was argued, 'prove[d] that not only are women prepared to assume their political responsibilities, but that the men, who elected them, realise that without their cooperation no equitable law can be passed on matters pertaining to women and children.'[230] On a few occasions the RRWU extended invitations to women to attend meetings. In 1922 Lady Clerks and Typists were admitted as members of RRWU at half rates, but they still had no power to vote on union matters.[231] In 1921 forty-eight white women were employed by the railways, growing to a total of fifty-nine women in 1926 which represented four percent of the total 1337 railway staff. More broadly the number of women in stated occupations grew from 1949 in 1921 to 2359 in 1926, but as a percentage of the female population aged fifteen years and over, this actually represented very little change, decreasing from 20.6 to twenty percent.[232]

The experience of women in these early years also sheds light on the perceived desirability and status of particular men. In Rhodesia's early years women had increased opportunities to raise their social status through marriage due to stark gender imbalances. The number of European females per 1000 males steadily rose from 407 in 1907 to 989 in 1969. Except for a brief dip in the 1940s as men left for the Second World War, the ratio of women to men gradually increased.[233] Daphne Anderson's memoir reveals that despite her impoverished background, she and her sister 'ignored the invitations from the railway employees or the motor mechanics or those who did not

[229] A. B. Colling, 'The New Labour Party', *RRR*, February 1923, p.18.
[230] Helena Addis, 'Rhodesian Labour Party Congress', *RRR*, August 1928, p.15.
[231] 'Lancashire Lad', 'Globe and Phoenix, Branch Notes, *RRR*, September 1922, p. 19.
[232] Table Three, appendices, p.295.
[233] See also Kirkwood, 'Settler Wives', p.146.

possess a car'.[234] Likewise her father's opinion of her sister's boyfriends reflected his acknowledgement of his daughters' ability to socially surpass him through vying for the affection of wealthy males who may have been unable to find partners of similar social status. Anderson wrote that

> if any of the gallants wore scruffy clothes, had dirty fingernails or innocently admitted they were motor mechanics or railway workers, [my father] was openly rude to them.

Such prejudices extended to non-British Whites. While Anderson describes how she fell in love with a Portuguese man with whom she freely socialised, her sister, who wished to increase her own social standing, was intolerant of their relationship which she attempted to conceal from respectable types. Likewise Betty, Anderson's middle-class aunt, resented this inter-European interaction. She was 'horrified' that a British woman could marry 'a dirty Greek'.[235] While exemplifying a route through which women could transcend their own socioeconomic status, these statements simultaneously reveal a hierarchy of suitable potential suitors which demonstrates how white identity failed to erase prejudices and disdain for manual workers and non-British whites. Workers' self-identification as skilled and respectable citizens did little to alter external perceptions and classifications of their identity and status.

---

[234] Daphne Anderson, *The Toe-Rags,* p.278.
[235] Ibid., p. 241; p.264; p.217.

Figure Three: Women and Men Married at time of Census as a Percentage of the Male and Female Adult Population[236]
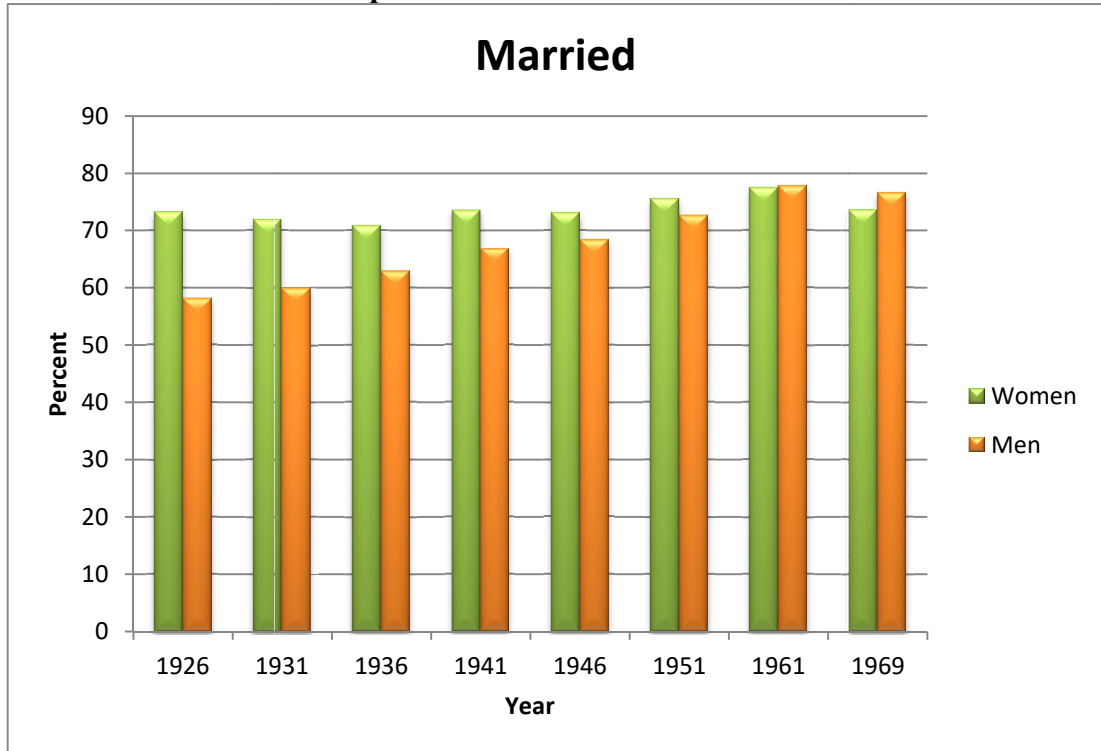
Married

Figure Four: Women and Men Never Married as a Percentage of Male and Female Adult Population

Never Married

---
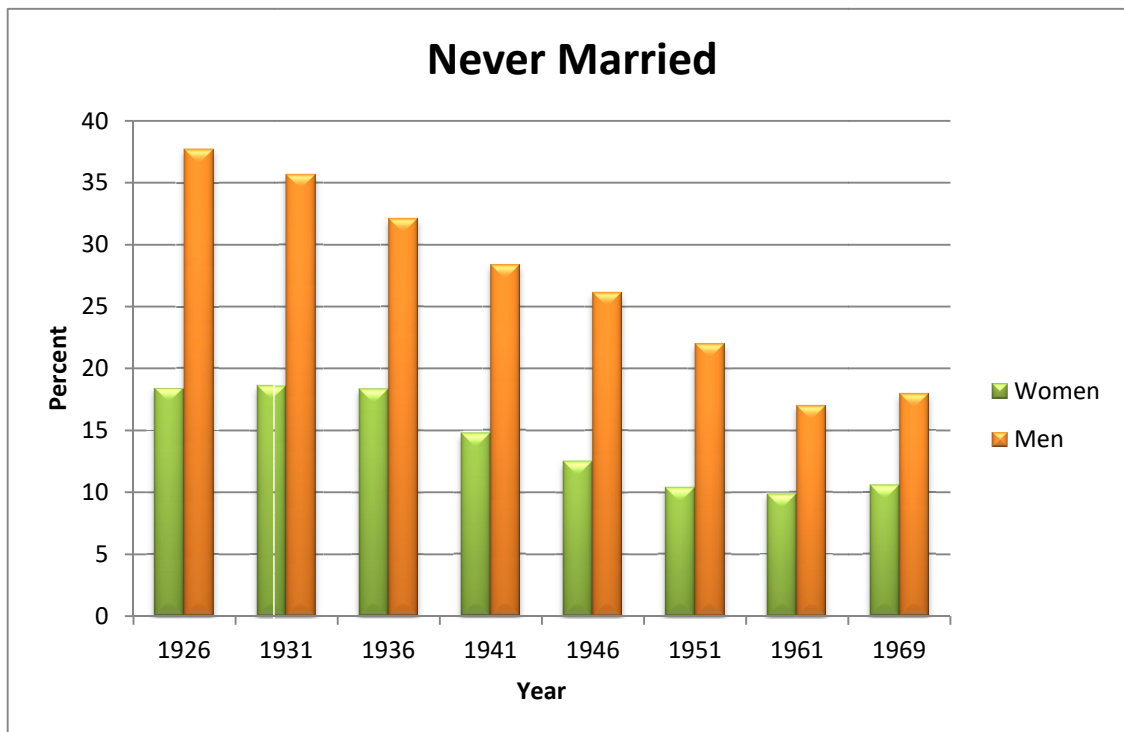
[236] This data was worked out by dividing the number of women over 21 who were never married/married, by the number of total women over 21 and multiplying by 100. Ibid for men. For this data 1961 and 1969 are worked out as men and women 20 and over, while 1926 - 1951 represents men and women 21 and over.

Transgressing Pride and Respectability

John Connell has asserted that railwaymen were 'the aristocrats of labour in Rhodesia in the 1920s. Their pay was low but their standing was high.'[237] But white workers never achieved the image of respectability, status and skill that they manufactured. In reality a substantial disjuncture existed between idealised representations of white workers and the daily experiences of a heterogeneous social group who failed to maintain 'white standards'. Lower class whites were not immune from their classifications by others and were well aware of how they were perceived in broader settler society. Notably, some of the fiercest articulations of shame can be found in the memoirs of white women. Shame was not merely mobilised to discipline behaviours; it was intensely felt by individuals. Daphne Anderson offers experiences of simultaneous ostracism and inclusion. Anderson describes that although she was always invited to community events that were supposed to foster an exclusive settler culture, she nevertheless felt out of place due to her economic circumstances. Anderson's shame of her own socioeconomic position inhibited her participation in community functions. She declared that 'the real reason I refused invitations was that I did not possess a bathing suit or the most elementary clothes for outings…[I] was determined not to make a fool of myself again.'[238] Yet in the eyes of the trade union bureaucracy it appeared that some were not ashamed enough of their circumstances. The desired respectable and masculine characteristics that labour organisations were attempting to project were not automatically possessed by all white workers. While there was often genuine support for industrial action, the activity of men within unions was regularly decried by its leaders as apathetic and lazy. Reports of low attendance at Branch meetings and castigations of those who would prefer to spend time in the Unity Club bar rather than fighting within their union were common.[239] The trade union was having difficulty reconciling an image of respectability, of industrious and educated workers central to performances of prestige, with the reality of life on the railways.[240] Anthony Croxton's description of the 'hard-drinking sessions' and 'wild parties' which followed inter-branch football matches flew in the face of the idealised white worker propagated by RRWU. Some of these soirees resulted in visits from the police who 'occasionally had to cool off hot heads in the 'calaboose' until their friends

---

[237] John Connell, 'Foreward: The Man and his Country', in *Welensky's 4000 Days: The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, by Sir Roy Welensky (London: Collins, 1964), p.14.
[238] Ibid., p.235.
[239] 'Bulawayo Branch Notes', *RRR*, June 1922, p.11; J. W. Keller, 'Conciliation and Cajolery', *RRR*, August 1922, pp.2-4.
[240] For anger at the 'obscene' defacement of notice boards by white workers see, 'Decency: A proper sense of proportion: A word of warning', *RRR*, May 1922, p.11.

had bailed them out next morning'.[241]Whereas the colonies had been envisioned as a site of racial renewal, prevailing ideas at the beginning of the twentieth century regarding social decline posited that dilapidated and polluted environments could engender undesirable behaviours.[242] Southern Africa was not the regenerative setting many had envisioned. For the lower classes who lived together in undesirable parts of town close to Coloured and Indian communities, the boundaries of interaction had to be more aggressively policed. The inability of white labourers to pursue bourgeois methods of differentiation and performances of prestige stirred fear amongst settlers. The *Review* argued that white labour was 'entitled' to a 'standard of respect', but that a cross section of workers from different social and industrial grades were endangering the reputation of the majority:

> The term "common railway man" hurts the feelings of the great
> majority of railway workers, who are as respectable and noble-
> minded as any class in the land. If those members of our craft,
> who act in such a manner as to lower the status of railway men,
> would pause and think of the intense injury they are inflicting on
> themselves and all other railway workers.[243]

The consequences of this inability to educate oneself and attain respectability were not confined to the individual violating expected standards of whiteness, but were recognised as endangering the white labouring class in its entirety. The *Review* warned of the dangerous cost of abandoning performances of prestige and means of differentiation, pointing to the Congo where 'the white worker is ousted!' Moreover, the blame lay with white workers themselves who had 'actively (and in some cases passively!) contributed to the forces which caused his "displacement".[244] Drunkenness, laziness and insubordination were pinpointed as the failings of European in the Congo which invited their replacement with less costly African workers. Equally disconcerting, whites had abandoned strict adherence to preventing Africans from completing skilled jobs and had trained many African labourers to complete tasks that white trade unionists argued should have remained in white hands.

The *Review* laid particular stress on education and sobriety in attempts to consolidate the projection of respectability and the protestant ethic of hard work central to the

[241] Anthony Croxton, *Railways of Zimbabwe: The Story of the Beira, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1982), p.140.
[242] Dorothy Porter, '"Enemies of the Race": Biologism, Environmentalism, and Public Health in Edwardian England', *Victorian Studies*, 34, 2 (1991), pp. 159-178.
[243] Givelo, 'Musings Without Method', *RRR*, April 1922, p.18.
[244] Abraham Lincoln, 'The Native Industrial Position and Problems in the Congo Belge', *RRR*, November 1922, p.9.

prestige of the manual labourer. As Robert Ross has argued 'the antithesis to respectability was drunkenness'.[245] Sobriety was essential to respectability; the *Rhodesian Trade Union Review* published pro-prohibition articles warning of the dangers of alcoholism and drunkenness.[246] Alcoholism demonstrated a lack of restraint and was increasingly associated with poor whites. White workers had to *actively* prove themselves as industrious and respectable to guard against incursion and undercutting. They must adhere to strict racialised behaviours in order to maintain their privileged place in the workplace which was neither automatic nor guaranteed. Thus white workers had to continually project and accentuate their own worth. Respectability was cultivated through 'education and yet more education!'[247] Yet it is clear the progress the union bureaucracy sought for was not being made. One letter to the *Review* condemned this failure of workers to self-educate, writing that railwaymen were asking for themselves to be replaced by 'new men' from outside the railways, and that it was 'high time that some Rhodesian railwaymen realised that they have responsible jobs which implies intelligent and industrious study.'[248] Such fears concerning the level of education of white workers demonstrates that workers were acutely aware that their higher wages was not ensured by skin colour alone, but from their monopoly of skill. It was noted that 'the white man has innate in him the capability of beating the black man at anything; but that innate faculty must be made available to the owner by training and education.'[249] Maintaining the colour bar, in part, relied upon reproducing skills and education in the white population whilst preventing Africans from acquiring the requisite skill and knowledge to adequately compete on the labour market. European domination rested, at least in part, in maintaining control over educational capital and cultural knowledge.[250]

Attitudes to African Education

The lower classes of Rhodesia, as in other settler contexts, have been noted as the most reactionary layer of society, living in constant fear of their replacement by Africans and demanding more rigid segregationist policies. From the first attempts to organise white trade unions in the colony the creation and maintenance of a strict colour bar had unified disparate sections of white labour. In 1913 United Building Trades Trade Union

---

[245] Ross, *Status and Respectability,* p.93.
[246] 'Prohibition and Labour', *Rhodesian Trade Union Review*, April 1922, p.3.
[247] Fred S. Fish, 'Wake Up!', *RRR*, June 1921, p.7.
[248] An Old Driver, 'STUDY AND LOCO. EXAMINATIONS', *RRR*, November 1923, p.25.
[249] Sui Juris, 'The Crisis', *RRR*, November 1922, p.11.
[250] Carol Summers, *From Civilization to Segregation: Social Ideals and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1934* (Athens: Ohio, Ohio University Press, 1994).

formed to oppose employment of non-whites. Successful strike action during the 1910s for higher pay was also accompanied by demands for African and Coloured men to be replaced by whites in the workshops.[251] As we have seen, white labour was defined through its opposition to black, unskilled coerced labour. Frantz and Rogers have argued that manual labourers harboured stronger conservative views due to their competition with Africans in the labour market in contrast with the relatively liberal groups in which they included architects, chemists, journalists, missionaries and teachers.[252] In the early 1920s debates surrounding African education reveal a backlash against upper-class characterisations of manual labourers as harbourers and advocates of the strictest segregation policies and instead highlight how white trade unions distinguished the labouring classes as staunch defenders of equality. The RLP, RMGWA and RRWU continually argued that the notion that white workers were behind the most vociferous racial intolerance was an erroneous and malevolent accusation made by the rich and powerful. Moreover, while we might be able to posit that settlers were informed by ideas of white supremacy and innate racial difference, these was neither uniformly understood nor synchronically performed. The visibility and intensity of arguments against African education varied according to the particular context white labour found itself in. When white labour was confident and assured, African education was conceptualised as a humane and realistic phenomenon which would uplift both white and black workers. When white workers felt uneasy about their monopoly over white jobs or the ability for white wages to ensure a 'white' standard of living, attitudes towards African education became increasingly hostile.

In 1923 John Stewart, RLP Member of Parliament for Salisbury Town, acknowledged that there was a 'commonly accepted belief...that the wage-earner lives in daily dread of the native being educated in the arts of industry to such an extent as to threaten the welfare of the white employee'. But Stewart refuted this interpretation and argued that Africans and the white working class shared a history of oppression. Ruling-class policy towards the African, according to Stewart,

> is exactly the policy which the aristocracy advocated should be
> followed in the case of the British wage-earner in the not too
> distant past...the wage-earner of Britain broke the bonds of

[251] Lee, *Politics and Pressure,* p.166; p.173.

[252] C. Frantz, and Cyril A. Rogers, *Racial Themes in Southern Rhodesia: The Attitudes and Behaviour of the White Population* (Port Washington; New York; London: Kennikat Press, 1973), p.124. Positioning racism as a problem of education often serves to obfuscate elite racisms and structural inequality. See Teun A. Van Dijk, *Elite Discourse and Racism* (London: SAGE, 1993).

> repression…We, who are descendants of those who broke the
> bonds, cannot in the name of justice support a policy towards the
> natives which when applied to us, or our forefathers, is
> considered unjust.

Furthermore, Stewart claimed he was not alone in his attitude, and said he had met numerous workers who supported the need for African education.[253] To take the view that Africans should be prevented from accessing education would encourage Labour 'to become the tyrants and oppressors', claimed another writer for the *Review*.[254] White labour organisations laid claim to respectability, tolerance, benevolence and understanding through recognition of a shared position with Africans under capitalist exploitation, while simultaneously laying considerable stress that immediate competition between black and white was unwarranted and unwanted. But a time would come when Africans' standard of living would have risen – and 'competition at that point will be on the class of work turned out, not on the cost of labour.'[255] However, that time would not be in the foreseeable future. Africans were seen as contented with receiving a low level of education and remaining 'the labourer to the white worker.'[256] Justifications of differential pay were based on the premise that Africans'

> wants are few and relatively easy to procure. He needs no house,
> little meat, and remains almost indifferent to the quality of his
> water supply. He is at home where white labourers would find it
> impossible to live.[257]

It was argued that Africans would eventually enter skilled positions and it was recognised that Africans' needs and wants would develop, but the role of white labour was to keep this development in check. Arguments for social segregation were still made with ferocity. As Stewart made clear he was 'not arguing for social equality of black and white'. That, he argued, would 'never come'. For Stewart, a social colour bar would need to be retained in order to prevent, what he called, the 'horrors of inter-marriage.'[258] Certainly, it was argued that African labour was used to depress white workers' wages and living conditions, as well as to break white labour organisations. One article claimed that the white man had uplifted the African population beyond measure. It was 'not the labourer who desires to keep the black boy back, but the

---

[253] J. Stewart, 'The Industrial Education of the Native: Does Labour Approve?', *RRR*, January 1923, pp.6-10.
[254] TUK, 'Native Education', *RRR,* January 1925, pp.16-18.
[255] J. Stewart, 'The Industrial Education of the Native: Does Labour Approve?', *RRR*, January 1923, pp.6-8.
[256] Artisan, 'After Dinner Talk', *Rhodesian Trade Union Review,* May 1922, p.14.
[257] W. Doull, 'Can we Make Northern Rhodesia White?', *RRR*, January 1922, p.9.
[258] J. Stewart, 'The Industrial Education of the Native', *RRR*, January 1922, p.8.

employers themselves' who wanted to exploit cheap labour and use Africans against white workers. Employers wanted to see the white labourer 'eat[ing] mealie poop and liv[ing] in a location' to increase their own profit margins.[259] White workers were angered about being undercut by cheap African labour; but importantly this anger expressed itself in disgust that they would be exploited on similar terms as Africans; to be forced to live like them and amongst them. In the period of trade union decline attacks upon white workers' newly-won gains were interpreted to be compromising lower class Europeans' ability to display 'white' characteristics. These attacks were responded to with pleas to not 'send us all back to the kraal.'[260] Resisting incursions of African labour into skilled positions and management's attempts to reduce wages, increase hours and relax job security, white workers visualised their struggle as a battle to retain 'white standards of living' for all Europeans in the colony. These attacks upon white workers were seen as compromising worker's capabilities to perform their racialised identities, their masculinity and idealised family lifestyles.

In the face of accusations of fierce racial hatred they presented themselves as defenders of all workers arguing that 'we are fighting as much for the rights of the Indian, the Coloured worker, and the native, as for ourselves.'[261] However, as white labour found itself increasingly threatened, such debates all but disappeared within the *Review*. In 1926 the *Review* declared that 'up to the present our experience leads us to the conclusion that the chief advantages gained by the native from his education are arrogance and impudence.'[262] The *Review* printed photographs of railways in chaos and claimed this was the fate that was to befall the Railway Administration if they allowed Africans to progress too quickly.[263] White trade unions still characterised themselves as advocates of African progress, protecting 'lesser races' from the evils of exploitation and capitalism, but the experiment of African education was increasingly seen as a failure and a damning indictment of the failure of trying to civilise Africans. What will be seen in later chapters is how the rhetoric used to justify the colour bar and opposition to African education was modified in response to shifts in the position of white labour within the wider political economy and the dominant political ideology.

---

[259] TUK, 'Perpetual Subjection', *RRR*, October 1925, pp.9-10.
[260] J. Stewart, 'The Industrial Education of the Native', *RRR*, March 1923, p.18.
[261] 'Editorial', *RRR,* July 1924, p.2.
[262] 'Editorial: Thin of the Wedge', *RRR,* November 1925, p.2.
[263] 'A Peep Into the Future: "Intelligent Natives" Engaged on "Easy" and "Irresponsible" Jobs', *RRR*, August 1927 p.17.

White workers were also perceived as the most likely to transgress the appropriate boundaries of contact. In defiance of stereotypes and assumptions that lower class whites were more likely to interact in inappropriate ways with non-Europeans, white workers were at pains to publicise their detachment and distance from Africans. Early experiences of gold miner H. J. Lucas show how emotional and psychological distance was maintained despite physical closeness to Africans:

> many smallworkers did not employ an assistant and in the remote parts might not see a white man for a month or more at a stretch…it was a lonely life for the white man. He could not sit and gossip with the Africans but often of an evening he would watch the boys laughing and gossiping around their fires and he wish he join in.[264]

Likewise the *Review* bemoaned the position of the ganger, 'practically an outcast, who knows no joy of human society.'[265] Croxton described the ganger's outposts in the 'heavy rain in the lonely forest, with lions, leopards, elephants and other wildlife as neighbours and only a momentary glimpse of the infrequent train [which] induced nerves and depression.'[266] The Africans who worked under the ganger are erased in this picture; flora and fauna appear as more appropriate companions. Loneliness and self-imposed ostracism seemed preferable to fraternisation that could endanger the respect white workers received from their 'boys', throwing the racialised performance of labour into disarray. Here, even the possibility of the most innocuous forms of interracial interaction was denied. Of course interracial interaction could never be innocuous within the settler colonial context.

The appropriate forms of interracial interaction had to be learnt. Those who appeared to be offering support for certain non-white organisations were publically castigated. In 1927 a European railwayman signed a petition in support of an Indian-led campaign to remove a European Market Master from his post after he had called Indians "Coolies". The *Review* joked that 'our comrade must have come off a long and tiresome shift and signed the petition without realising what he signed.'[267] Solidarity on such matters was unthinkable, and the European railwayman who crossed this line was publically ridiculed in the pages of the union journal for providing support. Not only did this platform serve a function of policing white workers' behaviour, it acted as a warning to

---

[264] H. J. Lucas, 'Early Days on a Small Working', *Rhodesiana*, 20 (1969), pp.14-15.
[265] Jack Keller, 'The Truth about the Rhodesian Railwayman', *RRR*, November 1921, pp.2-9.
[266] Croxton, *Railways of Zimbabwe: The Story of the Beira, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways*, p.107.
[267] 'Umtali Branch Notes', *RRR*, June 1927, p.36.

others: loyalty must only be given to other white workers. These organisations accused employers of creating racial hostility but also of transgressing important borders of contact. Stereotypes levelled at white workers were projected onto the upper classes and employers. It was *they* who engaged in inappropriate contact with non-whites and threatened to erode differences between the races. One mining employer in Gwanda was accused of encouraging white unemployment by employing Africans as secretaries, storemen and timekeepers:

> while a Cape boy holds the position as Compound Manager…what is your opinion of the Manager, who sits side by side with these natives in the same office, carrying out his duties?[268]

The manager was accused not only of undercutting white workers, but of actually choosing to be in close proximity to Africans. He had invited Africans into the white physical space of the office and compromised racial performances of work.

Coloureds and Racial Categorisation

Interactions with those who fell awkwardly outside of the 'native' and 'non-native' binary central to colonial classification were interacted with in more complex ways.[269] Contact with the Coloured population was regarded as an affliction to which the lower classes were particularly susceptible. Just after the First World War the Native Commissioner for Umtali noted that interracial sex was more likely to happen in mining centres.[270] For some white workers, increasing physical and psychological distance from the Coloured population was part and parcel of deflecting accusations that the Coloured population was primarily a result of lower class debauchery. Nevertheless individual encounters between white and Coloured workers were not policed in the same way as those between Africans and whites. Jack Allen, who had migrated as a miner from the Rand lived beside the Coloured township and fraternised with both African and Coloured trade unionists.[271] RLP MP Harry Davies argued that white trade unions were 'prepared to receive these people into their white civilisation.' The Coloured population, he argued, was an 'offshoot of a white civilisation', but simultaneously an 'evil' which had been 'caused by the white man'.[272] These tensions reflected prevalent racial ideologies. Coloureds were seen as combining both the natural virtues of

---

[268] 'How it is Done on the Mines: The Gwanda Evidence', *RRR*, May 1924, p.10.
[269] Christopher Lee, *Unreasonable Histories: Nativism, Multiracial Lives, and the Genealogical Imagination in British Africa* (Durham: N.C: Duke University Press, 2014).
[270] Ibid., p.37.
[271] Lowry, 'The Impact of Anti-Communism ', p.171.
[272] ''The Unemployment Problem', *RRR*, June 1934, pp.7-18.

Europeans as well as the immutable inferiority of Africans. For white workers Coloureds also provided an important social buffer between themselves and African workers. Emphasising a sense of European-Coloured solidarity could strengthen white workers' hands against African workers. Hugh Killeen, general secretary of RRWU repeatedly claimed that no 'ill-feeling' existed between Coloureds and white workers.[273] The slogan 'equal pay for equal work' was used by RRWU to evidence its paternalist and dignified approach to Coloured labour and the union attempted to partially incorporate Coloured staff into its organisation. Coloured staff made representations to the union executive and there is also evidence that Coloured workers joined whites in taking industrial action.[274]

Notably, by 1930 the proportion of Coloured employees unionised was much higher than the percentage of whites. When pushed to give an exact figure of Coloured membership, Keller admitted that it was 'difficult to say…It is not stated on the record whether a man is Coloured or not. It is difficult to draw the line; a person whom one might term Coloured would be very indignant if he were called a Coloured man.'[275] There was significant ambiguity and complexity in such racial classification. Individuals' understanding of their racial status may have contradicted outside categorisation. There were clearly men living as 'white' who were precariously close to being defined as a racial other and the RRWU appear to be reluctant to attempt to determine the racial origin of some of its members. This was not purely a physiognomic matter. The definition of 'native' as it appeared in the law, was sometimes seen purely as an issue of blood and heritage, as in the definition proffered in the Native Urban Locations Ordinance of 1906 and the Native Pass Ordinance of 1913, which required 'natives' to have both parents as Africans. But at times it was also defined through a combination of biological descent and lifestyle, such as was stated in the Land Apportionment Act of 1929 and local tax laws. Mixed race individuals who lived in the style of Africans and had African blood were classified as 'native'. Yet if the same individual lived in a 'European style' they could be classified as Coloured.[276] If lifestyle was regarded as a component in codifying race, both white and mixed race heritage employees on the railways could appeal to cultural and social markers to delineate who was considered white. For RRWU Executive Committee member le Roux, Coloureds

---

[273] Hugh Killeen, 'Our General Secretary's Organising Tour', *RRR*, September 1923, p.10.
[274] *RRWU Conference*, 1930, p.287.
[275] Ibid, p.288.
[276] Christopher Lee, '*Jus Soli* and *Jus Sanguinis* in the Colonies: The Interwar Politics of Race, Culture and Multiracial Status in British Africa', *Law and History Review,* 29, 2 (2011), p.513.

did not join the RRWU 'because they want to be trade unionists, it is because it brings them into the same class as us.' Le Roux admitted that he had been 'brought up amongst the Coloured man', but instead of this inviting increased familiarity he argued for increased distance and wariness. Nevertheless most delegates at the 1930 Biannual National Conference disagreed and argued that Coloureds made good trade unionists.[277] At the same conference a motion was submitted that stated RRWU would agitate for Coloured passengers to be able to purchase second class fares and it was agreed that by travelling with Africans in third class 'these Coloured people [were] suffering under an injustice.' The RRWU passed a motion to agitate for 'suitable accommodation' for Coloured railway employees on the trains, but only after it had received several amendments in order to prevent the motion advocating that Coloureds could share second class compartments with whites.[278]

Additionally, because a significant proportion of Coloureds had obtained voting rights, from RLP's point of view it made sense to attempt to court their support. However, by 1934 the RLP was furious with the Coloured population in Raylton, about 150 of whom qualified for the vote, as it came to light that most had used it to vote for the United Party. It was claimed that Coloureds understood neither political principles nor political parties. In the final results the vote difference between the RLP and the United Party was 0.12 percent.[279] The *Review* noted with alarm that non-Europeans could influence elections and warned that

> it means that a predominating European Labour electorate, while
> having to pay the piper, may have to dance to a tune called by
> others of an inferior culture and tradition. It is an obnoxious and
> intolerable position.[280]

Contradictory attitudes to Coloured labour abounded. On one the one hand it was recognised that their involvement in the union both strengthened white organisation and could be used as a barrier against African encroachment; but their social proximity remained a reminder of miscegenation and brought white workers' respectability and character into question. Perhaps those whose own racial classification was under greater scrutiny, such as le Roux who had lived among Coloureds, were more likely to stress

---

[277] *RRWU Conference*, 1930, p.288.
[278] Ibid. See also, Laura Bear, for discussion on how social distinctions materialised in the division of railway carriages in India, *Lines of the Nation*, p.51.
[279] Gloria C. Passmore, Margaret Mitchell, F. M. G. Willson, *Source Book of Parliamentary Elections and Referenda in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1962* (Salisbury: Department of Government, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1963).
[280] 'Raylton is Predominantly Labour!', *RRR,* December 1934, p.76.

the importance of social and physical barriers. Discussions over the proper conduct the union should take towards Coloured workers nevertheless revealed the arbitrary nature of the lines of racial demarcation; white racial identity was something which required constant marking out. Ultimately cooperation with the Coloured community would be on terms dictated by white labour; when it acted against white worker's interests, the latter were quick to remind them of their subordinate social status and supposed inferior culture and lineage.

Conclusion

In other studies little attention has been paid to how white worker identity changed over the colonial period. White worker culture and identity thus appears reified, albeit internally differentiated and there is no indication of how these identities were continually remade or were reflexive to other phenomenon. This chapter has complicated conceptualisations of the 'white worker' by being attentive to how changes in capitalism, labour strength and hegemonic ideologies impacted upon white workers and has set out the *production* of race as an ongoing and contested process. This chapter has explored the extent to which workers' identities variously cohered and fractured. Being white was defined as a set of characteristics rooted in working-class traditions and culture from Britain and South Africa; it was an attitude of defiance and bravery; it was the expression of solidarity and the fight for better working conditions. Intelligence, respectability, sobriety, and productiveness were regarded as both reflecting and constituting racial identity. Central to white labour notions of respectability was the idea that work made a man and a family. What is interesting here is the inability of white workers to possess these qualities. The image of respectability which was projected was far from the reality of white workers' experiences. The tensions between the idealised white worker and the experience of white railwaymen and miners disrupted self-imaginings of an inherently superior race. Pride in work sought to overcome this tension by making manual labour a worthy and essential component of white masculinity; shame acted as its counterpart to discipline white workers who had failed or who were deemed to be not trying hard enough. The RRWU also sought to use women to shame those who had fallen below expectations. Women and men experienced and expressed emotions of pride and shame in different ways; one could perhaps speak of two mutually reinforcing gendered emotional communities. Women were greatly outnumbered in these early years yet they were acknowledged as important elements of white worker communities; their presence marked stability and

progress and allowed male workers to position themselves as providers and defenders of those who physically reproduced the race. White women's participation in wage labour remained limited during these early years.

While there were divisions amongst white workers the language of race sought to blur disparate groups of workers into a united mass. It had limited success in this regard as the divisions between trade unions and failure to create a coherent white worker identity attests. White male worker identity was also constituted through reference to what it was not. The invoking of difference was central; no matter how low, poverty stricken or debased individual white workers became, an inferior existed. Africans and Coloureds thus played a constitutive role in white identity through the projection of undesirable traits and characteristics onto these racialised others. However, it was never completely clear cut where these racial boundaries lay. Attitudes to African education were not static and white workers were keen to deny their role in the restriction of education to Africans which sat uneasily with their radical proclamations. Opposition to African advancement was also set to intensify in the 1930s as the boundaries of white work were disrupted by the needs of capital; what little cohesion white worker identity held was about to be rocked by the onset of global economic depression.

Chapter Two: The Great Depression and the Reworking of White Worker Identity

Introduction

Economic crises destabilise established norms. They offer elites opportunities to pursue unpopular or unprecedented ideological agendas. Historians of southern Africa have been attentive to the ways in which periods of economic crisis enabled state authorities to assert political and economic control over Africans, to strengthen racial boundaries and to discipline and engineer settler communities.[281] Vivian Bickford Smith has detailed the ways in which Cape Town's depression of the 1880s saw increasing support for segregation as the white poor were seen to need to be 'saved' from the racialised and damaging 'residuum'. Similarly, Susan Parnell has shown how the 1930s depression led to slum clearances in Johannesburg and paved the way for residential segregation.[282] Bogumil Jewsiewicki's work has demonstrated that economic upheaval provided an opportunity to restructure the costly racialised workforce in Katanga as three-quarters of whites were laid off in the first few years of the 1930s and unemployed whites were repatriated to Europe.[283] By contrast, Neil Roos has explored how the South African state used work camps and unemployment programmes not only to uplift European populations out of poverty, but to control and discipline the settler community.[284]

Yet, while economic depression has often been recognised as pivotal in the turn towards calls for racial segregation in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, its contribution to the socialisation of white workers and the contestation over whiteness remains underexplored. This includes wider debates about the defining boundaries and the conceptualisation of white work itself, the place of the white worker in society, the causes of unemployment and the place of white women in formal employment. Moreover, research into economic depression and white poverty in the settler-colonial context has largely focused upon elite constructions of poor whiteism, the discursive

---

[281] Of course, such ambitions were not always realised in practice. In Northern Rhodesia the Colonial Administration's plans for African labour were hamstrung by poor financial resources and opposition from powerful mining interests. See Elena Berger, *Labour, Race and Colonial Rule: The Copperbelt from 1924 to Independence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp.19-41. See also Moses Ochono, *Colonial Meltdown, Northern Nigeria in the Great Depression* (Athens: Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009).
[282] Susan Parnell 'Slums, Segregation and Poor Whites in Johannesburg, 1920-1934', in *White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa, 1880-1940,* edited by Robert Morrell (Pretoria: UNISA, 1992), p.127. Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'South African Urban History, Racial Segregation and the Unique Case of Cape Town?', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 1 (1995), pp.63-78.
[283] Bogumil Jewsiewicki, 'The Great Depression and the Making of the Colonial Economic System in the Belgian Congo', *African Economic History*, 4 (1977), pp.153-176.
[284] Roos, 'Work Colonies'.

formations of popular eugenicist thought and the anxieties of the colonial state.[285] This Chapter contends that it is precisely the proximity of white workers to the spectre of poor whiteism and their structural location - simultaneously as exploited workers and as part of a racial elite - which gives the reactions of the RLP and RRWU to the depression and the machinations of the state and employers its intensity. While a considerable amount of literature exists on the poor white problem in South Africa, the *pied noirs* of Algeria and *degredados* of Portuguese Africa, much less exists on the southern Rhodesian context.[286] This is in part, as Giovanni Arrighi has argued, because white wage workers' 'settlement was a *consequence of*, and did not precede, capitalist development in the colony'.[287] While there is some important work on poor whiteism in Southern Rhodesia, the importance of white fears and experiences of poverty to the process of race-making remains underexplored.[288]

Under the conditions of the Great Depression, the central tenets of white worker identity outlined in Chapter One had to be reworked. The first half of this chapter probes why white labour organisations reacted to the depression in fatalistic hyperbole and apocalyptic prophesies of racial decline. It was argued by the RLP and RRWU that without adequate protection whites would sink into poverty, the boundaries fundamental to settler colonialism would evaporate and white civilisation itself would crumble.[289] Behind that lay a complex of ideas by which white workers articulated their group identity. This was no mere imitation or repetition of bourgeois alarmist discourse. In Southern Rhodesia white workers' self-understandings relied heavily on their occupations, pride in work and physical as well as moral strength. This was contrasted with African manual labouring which was seen as unskilled, repetitive work in which Africans took no care. As detailed in the previous chapter, white workers laid claim to a pioneering myth which placed themselves as the driving force behind conquest and colonisation: it was their labour which created and sustained empire. White hands built

---

[285] See for example, Saul Dubow, *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Grace Davie, *Poverty Knowledge in South Africa: A Social History of Human Science, 1855-2005* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Edward John Bottomly, 'Transnational Governmentality and the 'Poor White' in Early Twentieth Century South Africa', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 54 (2016), pp.76-86. Specifically for the role of poor whiteism in the genesis of the modern South African state and Apartheid see Dan O'Meara, *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
[286] Coates, *Convicts and Orphan;* Errante, 'White Skin, Many Masks'; Yedes, 'Pieds-Noirs Identity'.
[287] Giovanni Arrighi, 'The Political Economy of Rhodesia', p.338.
[288] Phillip Stigger, 'Minute Substance versus Substantial Fear: White Destitution and the Shaping of Policy in Rhodesia in the 1890s', in *White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa, 1880-1940,* edited by Robert Morrell (Pretoria: UNISA, 1992), pp.130-150.
[289] 'The Unemployment Problem: Full Reports of Labour Members Speeches', *RRR*, April 1934, p.10.

the railroads, extracted the mineral wealth and produced commodities in narratives which were notable for the conspicuous absence of African labour. The depression and resulting unemployment threatened to undo this identity. White labour was thrown into temporary disarray as it struggled to assert an image of respectability and to uphold its racial boundaries.

The second section addresses how white labour organisations responded to depression by reformulating the ways in which white labour identity was performed. It has often been stated, both by contemporary observers and historians alike that white workers across southern Africa refused to perform work they saw as racially degrading; work that was considered to be the sole preserve of Africans.[290] There has been a tendency to reify racialised occupational categories in an oversimplified dualism in which skilled work was labelled white, and unskilled work was African (sometimes with reference to a mixed-race or Asian intermediate strata).[291] These broad brush-strokes are useful generalisations in many respects, but they can also distort our understanding of how the racialised and gendered boundaries of work changed across the colonial period. Changes in the labour force reflected tensions between the changing needs of capitalist development and the struggles of gendered, racial, ethnic and national groups to monopolise, defend, or enter different employment spheres.[292]

The depression was regarded as threatening particular markers of difference which white workers relied on to perform their own racialised identities. The capitalist crisis forced the reworking of white worker identity and the boundaries of the types of work whites should perform, as well as the gendered bodies performing the work. Unskilled work became respectable and white women's participation in wage labour became increasingly tolerated by white male workers. The concept of 'white work' or a 'white standard of living' was never static, nor universally agreed upon. Within the European community notions of what were acceptable white forms of behaviour, income, lifestyles and occupations differed along class lines. This chapter seeks to complicate the idea of a static 'white worker identity' as well as unchanging categorisations of 'black' and 'white' work within settler states by pointing to the ways in which white

---

[290] Thus Stanlake Samkange asserts that 'Keller objected to Europeans performing any kind of manual labour'. *History of the Rhodesia Labour Party*, p.30. Carol Summers, 'Boys, Brats and Education: Reproducing White Maturity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1915-1935', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1, 1 (2011), pp.132-153.
[291] See Introduction for examples.
[292] For the process of restricting white workers employment in unskilled work in early twentieth-century South Africa see Robert Davies, 'Mining Capital, the State and Unskilled White Workers in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 3, 1 (1976), pp.41-69.

worker identity was constantly made and remade, responding to the dynamism of wider economic, political, cultural and social structural changes.

Assessment of the Problem

By the early 1930s the effects of the Great Depression had reverberated across the global economic system. In Southern Rhodesia mineral production slumped, maize and cattle farming were thrown into crisis, Rhodesia Railways saw its revenue halve and the country suffered a general fall in national income. Labour was put on the defensive as capital pushed for wage cuts and retrenchment in order to restore profitability. The settler administration effectively used the African population as a shock absorber to protect Europeans from economic strife. The Maize Control Act, Cattle Levy Act, Public Service Act, Industrial Conciliation Act and Land Apportionment Act, were passed by the mid-1930s to ensure that Europeans retained economic dominance as Africans suffered the worst effects of the Depression. Immigration regulations were tightened and workers from outside the colony were only allowed to enter on a temporary permit if there was an essential post which could not be filled by someone already inside the colony. If a Rhodesian became available the person hired could be deported.[293]

As in South Africa, but in contrast to the non-settler Belgian Congo, white workers were singled out in state measures to protect and uplift the European community and were sheltered through a series of measures to alleviate unemployment. In South Africa as many as one in twelve white male workers were employed in public or subsidised works programme by 1933.[294] In Southern Rhodesia a work camp was set up at Mtao Forest, about fifty miles east of Gwelo, in 1925 and in 1931 a second camp was established at Stapleford, twenty miles north of Umtali. Isolated from populous centres, these camps were hidden away in desolate outposts. Roadworks and afforestation programmes, as well as a Police Cadet Corps, were also initiated to absorb the unemployed.[295] The civil service tightened the qualifications required for typing and clerk posts for women as male employment was prioritised.[296] These protective

---

[293] See chapter four in Ian Phimister, *An Economic and Social History.*
[294] Nicoli Nattrass and Jeremy Seekings, *The Economy and Poverty in the Twentieth Century in South Africa* (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, 2010), p.8.
[295] Philip.Stigger, 'Minute Substance versus Substantial Fear: White Destitution and the Shaping of Policy in Rhodesia in the 1890's', in *White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa, 1880-1940,* edited by Robert Morrell (Pretoria: UNISA, 1992), p.137.
[296] Kufakurinani, *White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p.22; 43; 6. NAZ S932/12/1, W.D. Gale, Immigration Policy Memorandum, 1942-1950, quoted in Samora Jaruka, *White Civil Service*

measures culminated with the passing of the 1934 Industrial Conciliation Act which effectively formalised the colour bar and protected the white monopoly of skilled jobs. Yet, despite this state intervention, white unemployment rose. While the numbers of white registered unemployed in the early 1920s never reached 350 and the number of men employed on relief remained in double figures, by September 1931, Bulawayo district alone noted 417 unemployed men, and 600 dependents.[297] Decreasing traffic on the railways saw at least 1600 railwaymen retrenched from 1930 to 1932 as the white workforce on the railways was reduced by around twenty-five percent.[298] The *Review* estimated that up to 2000 European jobs across Rhodesia's industries had been lost over the same period.[299] A national investigation undertaken in 1933 identified a total of 826 unemployed men, representing about four percent of all adult men nationally, and an additional 1581 dependents.[300] It also identified 406 men employed on relief schemes and around 300 older men who survived on government rations, maintenance allowance, support of friends or family and old men's homes.[301] Government expenditure on relief work had dramatically expanded during the early 1920s. By 1934 a total of 412 men were engaged on relief work.[302] By 1936, male unemployment had decreased to 657, representing three percent of the adult male population over fifteen, most of whom were concentrated in mining, building and construction.[303]

Unemployment was conceptualised as a white, and specifically male, affliction. Hegemonic ideals about the role of men as breadwinners within the idealised nuclear family meant female unemployment was often dismissed as a trivial concern.[304] While white women were seen as dependents to be provided for, African men who resided in the towns were described as dangerous loafers. Assessments of unemployment,

in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1953 (unpublished BA honours dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2006), p.20.

[297] The average number of unemployed men from March to December 1922 was 281.8. From January to September 1923 this decreased to 268.1. *Southern Rhodesia Report upon the Census taken on 3rd May 1921*, p.17. In 1921 the census recorded 216 males and 9 females as unemployed. The 31st of October 1922 and 1923 showed 44 and 55 employed on relief works respectively. NAZ, S480/95 C.H. Berger's Records of Unemployment. 'Editorial', *RRR,* December 1931, p.15.

[298] Retrenchment on the railways was mostly targeted at African workers. The number of black workers fell from 18,492 in April 1930 to 7898 just three years later in June 1933. Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* p.125,

[299] *RRR,* December 1932, p.14.

[300] This figure has been reached through estimating the number of adult European males in 1933 at 21,000 by averaging the number of males over fifteen from the 1931 and 1936 censuses.

[301] G. E. Wells, *Report on Unemployment and the Relief of Destitution in Southern Rhodesia,* Salisbury, 1934, p.8.

[302] See Table Four and Five, appendices, p.296.

[303] These figures represent only those who stated they were out of work in a particular industry. It has ignored the statistics on the economically active and inactive as well as the elderly, the independently self-sufficient, and scholars etc. *Census of Population*, *1936*.

[304] Roos, 'Work Colonies'.

therefore, were generally restricted to white men. Wells' investigation cast unemployment as a deliberate choice on behalf of skilled men, signalled by their refusal to work for the low wages offered by employers during the depression. Unskilled men, on the other hand, were noted as 'the most difficult group of the unemployed' who suffered the most regardless of economic conditions as a result of African competition. Investigations into unemployment generally revealed that unskilled workers comprised a greater proportion of the unemployed than their skilled counterparts.[305]

While white workers had operated from a position of strength during the skilled white labour shortages of the First World War, by the 1920s white trade unions were decisively weakened as the post-war slump intensified and unemployment steadily rose.[306] The only two workers organisations to survive in any meaningful sense into the 1930s were the Rhodesian Railway Workers' Union (RRWU) and the Rhodesian Labour Party (RLP). By 1926, despite the influence of Keller, the RRWU rejected formal links to the RLP.[307] Nevertheless, the RLP won three seats in 1928, secured sixteen percent of the vote and five seats in 1933 and 26.32 percent and five seats in 1934.[308] Jack Keller remained an important figure within both organisations. The RRWU and RLP treated government statistics on unemployment with great suspicion and stated that the extent of the problem was continually underestimated. They argued that the numbers provided by unemployment registries could not be trusted as the individual pride of white workers prevented many from openly admitting that they were unemployed and seeking government help.[309] Men and women who sought government relief had to go through a rigorous application process which included providing statements to the unemployment officers and the Criminal Investigation Department followed by an interview, and the taking of fingerprints. In Britain fingerprinting had been used as a means of identifying criminals from 1900, but while fingerprinting welfare recipients had been entertained by the British Treasury in the 1910s in order to prevent fraud, it was never implemented as it was thought to provoke hostility and resentment from ordinary respectable citizens.[310] In Rhodesia, however, provoking lower class resentment was of lesser concern. Keller argued that this 'criminalisation' of the poor and the 'indignity' of the process of applying for relief was so demeaning that

---

[305] Wells, 1934, p.7.
[306] Phimister, *Economic and Social History,* p.93.
[307] Samkange, *A History of the Rhodesia Labour Party,* p.4; p.17.
[308] See *Source Book of Parliamentary Elections.*
[309] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1932, p.412.
[310] Edward Higgs, 'Fingerprints and Citizenship: the British State and the Identification of Pensioners in the Interwar Period', *History Workshop Journal*, 69, 1 (2010), pp.52-67.

many Europeans would rather starve than go through the process.[311] Again, shame was mobilised to defend whites who were slipping into poverty.

It is clear that the Government statistics did not reflect exactly the true extent of the unemployment problem. The figures provided by the Government Labour Bureau differed from those provided by the Unemployment Registry, and the Select Committee on Unemployment commissioned by the Government in 1932 admitted that its own appraisal of eight percent combined male and female unemployment was probably an underestimation of the problem.[312] However, while it is probable that some were ashamed of their unemployed status and therefore unlikely to register, the figures of twenty five percent unemployment in 1932 produced by the RLP's independent research alongside continual assertions of an unemployment crisis of epic proportions appear inflated.[313] The Southern Rhodesian government were equally fearful of the growth of a poor white class and it is unclear why they would deliberately underestimate the number of white unemployed by such a large margin. The Rhodesian figures are striking precisely due to their relative insignificance: by 1933 the number unemployed in the US had almost reached a quarter of the civilian labour force over fourteen years of age, while in the UK the average unemployment rate from 1931-1934 was around twenty percent.[314] Whites in Rhodesia were in a sheltered position compared with the effects of the depression on the working class internationally. Objectively, these figures should not have precipitated a crisis and yet the discourses surrounding unemployment and poor whiteism during these years were centred upon alarmist prophecies of racial decline. What was significant about the settler colonial context that precipitated such a panicked and fearful response to what were relatively quite low rates of unemployment?

Perceptions of White Poverty

Southern Rhodesian approaches to poverty and unemployment were largely influenced by the debates surrounding 'poor whiteism' in South Africa. Certainly, the phenomenon was conceptualised, both by Rhodesian officials and white trade unions, mostly as a

---

[311] 'Plight of the Workless', *RRR,* December 1931, p.19.
[312] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1932, p.1815.
[313] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1932, p.431.
[314] Universities National Bureau, 'The Measurement and Behaviour of Unemployment', *National Bureau of Economic Research*, 1957, http://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6871122.pdf, p.215.
James Denman and Paul McDonald, Labour Market Statistics Group, Central Statistical Office, *Unemployment Statistics from 1881 to the Present Day*, 1996, www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/lms/labour.../unemployment-since-1881.pdf, p.6.

South African, and specifically Afrikaner, issue.[315] Other non-British nationalities were likewise noted as harbouring predispositions to poor whiteism. This was not explained through the fact that many non-British whites were deliberately employed in the lesser skilled occupations in the colony and therefore commanded lower wages, but rather as something intrinsic to their ethnic and national character. The 1933 Immigration Bill had reference to particular undesirable ethnic groups; Levantines, Europeans from Eastern Europe, Europeans from South Eastern Europe, Low class Greeks, low class Italians, 'Jews of low type and mixed origin and other persons of mixed origin and continental birth'[316] In these typologies descriptions of 'low type' ethnicities overlay with a repetition of 'low class'. Low class inferred low racial status and the possession of one led to the development of the other. While anti-Afrikaner sentiment eased after the vote on Responsible Government it did not entirely dissipate. Several Afrikaners trying to enter Southern Rhodesia complained to Union authorities in the late 1920s claiming that they had been discriminated against at the border. In 1929 Hendrik David Verheen was told by an immigration official at Beit Bridge that he needed £80 to proceed across the border. Verheen had produced £80 but the Official responded by raising the required sum to £90. When Verheen said he could produce £90, the Official replied that 'it is useless as your government is only sending in the Dutch people to out-vote us...we do not want any Dutch families in Rhodesia.'[317] The Rhodesian Immigration authorities replied that it was not racial, but because they thought him and his family likely to become public charges, pointing out he was a farmer and bricklayer by trade.[318] Jan Rayvenstein, a Netherlands national who went under the name 'Jack Robinson' was deported in 1931 as an 'undesirable inhabitant' by Salisbury authorities who noted 'he had associate[d] continually with criminals, prostitutes and Coloured persons and was frequently under suspicion in connection with illicit gold dealing, the supply of liquor to natives and the commission of other crimes'.[319] That Jan Rayvenstein specifically chose the decidedly English sounding Jack Robinson as an alias not only suggests that he potentially used this name to evade detection or the possibility of being recognised as a former convict, but implies a will to be seen to assimilate, and to shed stereotypes

---

[315] Donal Lowry, 'Rhodesia 1890-1980: The "Lost Dominion"' in *Setters and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas,* edited by Robert Bickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[316] NASA: 117/74 Southern and Northern Rhodesia Immigration Law, Volume 2, 'Letter from Office of the Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, May 15th 1929, to The Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic affairs, Pretoria'.

[317] NASA: 117/74 Southern and Northern Rhodesia Immigration Law, Volume 2, 'Letter from Hendrik David Verheen'30th November 1929

[318] NASA: 117/74 Southern and Northern Rhodesia Immigration Law, Volume 2, 'Letter from Premier's Office, Southern Rhodesia', 20th March 1930.

[319] NASA: P.M. 93/64.

associated with Dutch origin. As unemployment became more of a concern those national or ethnic groups seen as more susceptible to the afflictions of poor whiteism were increasingly unwelcome in Rhodesia. The 1914 Immigrants Bill allowed for potential migrants to be refused entry to Southern Rhodesia on economic grounds, but this had primarily been directed at keeping unskilled whites out. Yet as the depression intensified, and the position of skilled whites across southern Africa became increasingly precarious, the clause was now being used against the migration of skilled employees and keeping out those who might take jobs that could be performed by whites already in the country. The closure of mines in Northern Rhodesia compounded fears of white unemployed artisans - better educated and experienced - being offered jobs, which, the RLP argued, should go to home-grown Southern Rhodesians. In 1930 a law was passed to restrict migration from Northern Rhodesia. One engineer wrote to Keller lamenting that he was about to be replaced by a man from Krugersdorp despite 'willing and able' men residing in Southern Rhodesia.[320] The RLP, far from championing the rights of an international white working class, were struggling to keep white workers from Northern Rhodesia and South Africa out.

Poor whiteism was fundamentally an ideological construction; a set of beliefs embedded in the association of poverty with miscegenation, racial decline and the inability of whites to live and rule in Africa.[321] The concept of poor whiteism only emerged in the 1890s despite a much longer history of European material impoverishment across Southern Africa. During the late nineteenth century the new liberalism and social imperialism of Britain influenced South African approaches to poverty; no longer conceptualised as the result of individual failings, poverty was refashioned as the consequence of social structures and environments. This coincided with the rise of racial taxonomies, the growth of the working class and increased social unrest in 1880s Britain, all of which shook ideas regarding the inevitable progress of civilisation. In popular eugenic discourses poor whiteism was a symptom of societal decline; it was proof that racial purity was susceptible to being infected by environmental factors.[322] Thus poor whiteism meant much more than material impoverishment. It signified a range of behavioural and racial defects. The Southern Rhodesian *Report on*

---

[320] Legislative Assembly Debates, 1933, p.336; p.347.
[321] Morrell, *White but Poor*.
[322] Saul Dubow, 'Race, Civilisation and Culture: the Elaboration of Segregationist Discourse in the Inter-War Years', in *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa,* edited by Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido (New York: Longman, 1987). Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*. George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (London: Dent, 1978).

Unemployment defined poor whites as 'men accustomed to and content with a very low standard of living', who lacked any sense of ambition or responsibility and preferred to live with continual assistance from the state. They continued that the poor white should be treated differently to the 'impoverished European' as it was 'by the standard of living, and the psychological traits, more than actual financial position, that the class is defined.'[323] This discussion centred upon notions of the undeserving and deserving poor distinguishing between those who were unemployed because they found themselves in unfortunate circumstances and those who found themselves in poverty due to their own fecklessness. As one MP of the ruling Rhodesia Party argued, poor whites and those engaged in relief work were in that position 'through their own carelessness.'[324]

The *Report on Unemployment* identified that around one-hundred of all registered unemployed in 1933 should be classified as 'poor whites'. Of the one-hundred identified as 'poor whites' seventy-nine were considered to be drunks and it was noted with fear that many of this number were registered voters.[325] There was particular concern over the evidence that some men had brought their wives and children to Nyson near the work camp at Mtao and had erected 'slums'. Many of these images rested on the trope of profligacy in the lower classes; that these people were poor and would reproduce undesirable behaviours in their children; their untrammelled sexuality and uninhibited self-control would be replicated within the large families that they could not afford to sustain.[326] Reproductive profligacy was thought to be an affliction pertaining both to poor whites and Africans.[327] The men at Mtao and Stapleford were specifically isolated to prevent a permanent 'poor white' settlement from developing.[328] In this regard, Southern Rhodesia was relatively successful. The figure of one-hundred poor whites pales into insignificance when compared with South Africa whose Carnegie Commission identified a total of 300,000 poor whites in 1930. Rhodesia's experience of poor whiteism was largely confined to the fear of a poor white class developing rather than its actual existence. Nevertheless, during the 1930s state authorities were becoming increasingly concerned that sections of the white poor, especially those in the relief camps, actually *enjoyed* doing unskilled work and living in degraded environments. The Commissioner of Labour, G. E. Wells, commented worryingly that those employed in

---

[323] Wells, 1934, pp.24-5.
[324] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1934, p.1831.
[325] Wells, 1934, p.26.
[326] Christopher Lee, *Unreasonable Histories*.
[327] Karen Jochelson, *The Colour of Disease: Syphilis and Racism in South Africa 1880-1950* (Oxford: Palgrave in Association with St Anthony's College, 2001), p.57.
[328] Wells, 1934, p.14.

relief camps 'had come to regard relief work as providing permanent employment of a character not uncongenial to them.' That twenty-five percent of the men at Mtao had resided there for somewhere between two and eight years and in some cases the men had turned down offers of employment outside the relief system was used as evidence that the conditions in the camps were not poor enough to encourage them to look for outside employment.[329]

The RLP and RRWU reflected popular eugenicist ideas and fears regarding the association of poverty with the erosion of racial boundaries. The *Review* noted with alarm how unemployment would lead Rhodesian whites to endure social debasement, writing that the unemployed men of South Africa 'must consort in slums with negroes and half castes to whose jeers and insolence he and his womenfolk especially are then subject'. This, they argued, led to white men selling liquor to Africans and white women forced into prostitution.[330] Selling liquor to Africans proved to be a quick source of income to a layer of poor whites in South Africa, many of whom were incarcerated or deported if caught. These categories existed in dialectical tension: poor whiteism was both a cause *and* a consequence of a range of transgressive behaviours and attitudes; criminality, alcoholism, miscegenation and familial breakdown were interrelated phenomena of moral decline.[331] The consumption of alcohol by lower class whites stirred British colonial anxieties; as Harald Fischer-Tine has shown in colonial India, the visibility of drunk whites was seen as endangering British identification as the ruling superior race.[332]

Daphne Anderson, a self-described 'poor white', gives some insight into these dynamics. She observed that during the 1930s the Southern Rhodesian state was particularly 'alarm[ed] at the number of white men who had joined the native loafers on street corners or who lay about on the grass of the municipal parks'.[333] Moreover, Anderson recalled how her own grandmother was sent back to England for crimes of alcoholism which damaged family honour and undermined white prestige. Her aunt had initiated

---

[329] Ibid., p.2.
[330] 'The Story of a Crime', *RRR,* January 1925, p.19. See also *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1932, p.421.
[331] Jonathan Hyslop, 'Undesirable Inhabitant of the Union … Supplying Liquor to Natives: D. F. Malan and the Deportation of South Africa's British and Irish Lumpen Proletarians 1924–1933', *Kronos*, 40 (2014), pp.178-197. Neil Roos, 'Alcohol Panic, Social Engineering, and Some Reflections on the Management of Whites in Early Apartheid Society, 1948-1960', *The Historical Journal*, 58, 4 (2015), pp.1167-1189.
[332] Harald Fischer-Tine, ''The Drinking Habits of Our Countrymen': European Alcohol Consumption and Colonial Power in British India', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40, 3 (2012), pp.383-408.
[333] Daphne Anderson, *The Toe-Rags*, p.205.

the deportation precisely because she 'was afraid for her reputation, knowing that her mother's drunken stories in the town had become well known.'[334] Britons who fell into irretrievable poverty could be repatriated to Britain as Distressed British Subjects.[335] Such shameful figures had to be concealed. The *Review* suggested that those who failed to live up to the 'ideals of the race' should be repatriated to 'stagnate' in Britain

> where their shame would not be exposed and they could die off and leave the fair fields and industries of South and Central Africa to the tender mercies of the half-baked and coddled "child races" of fanciful Colonial Office officials[336]

Deportation was preferable to the shame of unemployment; of failing to meet white standards of living; of poverty, all of which compromised the ability to maintain appropriate cultural and social distance from Africans. If whites could not maintain their racial superiority they should be sent 'home' to prevent such shame. When they returned to the home country they would "die off". These whites were not meant to survive it seemed, either in Africa or Europe.

Unemployment and poverty were seen as inhibiting white workers from commanding deference from Africans. Lawrence Vambe, a prominent African journalist, noted that the depression intensified the level of bile and hatred directed from white workers to Africans:

> Especially deep was their humiliation arising from the fact that they were seen doing pick-and-shovel tasks by the Africans, who walked or rode their bicycles past them. As it was, the Africans did not have to starve or go on the dole. If they lost their jobs, they simply returned to their villages, where they grew their own food. Probably for the first time, the European workers understood that black people had a freedom which they themselves did not possess. The indigenous people seemed unaffected by the white man's financial system that had gone so crazily wrong and brought poverty, insecurity and bitterness to men who had always behaved like demi-gods…Their bitterness showed itself openly in the streets and on outlying roads. Those of them who knew our language swore at innocent black passers-by, using the most obscene terms in Chisezuru.[337]

---

[334] Ibid., p.151.

[335] On repatriation see John Lonsdale, 'Kenya: Home County and African Frontier', in *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas,* edited by Robert Bickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.87 and Will Jackson, 'Poor Men and Loose Women: The Poor White Problem in Kenya Colony', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 14, 2 (2013).

[336] 'Editorial', *RRR,* June 1932, p.9.

[337] Lawrence Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe* (London: Heinemann, 1976), pp.58-9.

In this scene whites work on pick and shovel in scenes, using their hands in the mud and dirt, while Africans appear carefree, riding bicycles, the imagery of urban, recreational modern life. Whites had continually preached the virtues of European culture and systems of governance, but this system had created unemployment and threatened the ability of white workers to lay claim to their presumed racial superiority. Moreover Vambe hints at white workers' envy of African landholdings and their position of semi-proletarianisation. White wage labourers had no such security; there was no plot of land waiting for them; they had to find work, emigrate or accept state relief. This must have been particularly galling; whites whose self-identification as the productive driving force in the country, creating wealth and prosperity on what would otherwise be unprofitable, disused land, were now confronted with figures of Africans, whose links to rural villages were able to provide for them during the depression.[338] Africans seeing whites working menial jobs and living in relative poverty brought the assumption of white racial superiority crashing down. Liberal MP Jacob Smit outlined why whites walking the streets - their unemployed and destitute status laid bare for all to see - was a particular problem as 'it might have to some extent a very bad effect on the minds of the natives when they see these white people doing the work which in the past was only done by natives.'[339] The debased white gave the black man confidence. This confidence was despised and feared. The confidence to challenge white authority, to refuse to follow instructions or display submissive behaviours, was the same confidence that led to revolt and rebellion against white rule.[340] As white workers suffered and felt their racial prestige under attack, they turned increasingly to violent intimidation and hostility in order to reassert their presumed superiority. Letters to the *Review* proliferated, complaining of Africans laughing, talking, or walking in the street.[341] In part, the transgression lay in the incursion of African bodies into those urban and residential spaces imagined as white, but it was also the visible reminder of African contentment and individual agency. White workers desired Africans to perform their own humiliation; for them to accept that they were a lower race and to behave accordingly.

---

[338] Despite the dominance of migrant labour systems the number of Africans permanently settling in towns and mining centres was increasing. Nevertheless the image of an inherently rural African workforce remained potent. Not only did it fit into companies interests to continue paying single men's wages, it enabled the government to ignore African unemployment. For some responses of Africans to the economic crisis see Wolfgang Dopcke, 'Depression in Colonial Zimbabwe' in *The Economies of Africa and Asia in the Inter-war Depression,* edited by Ian Brown (London: Routledge, 1989).

[339] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1932, p.419.

[340] Brett Shadle, *The Souls of White Folk: White Settlers in Kenya, 1900s-1920s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

[341] 'A SUFFERER', 'Letters to the Editor: A Complaint Against the Native', *RRR,* July 1933, p.21.

When automatic deference was not forthcoming, frustration and bitterness resulted.[342] One letter from a white constituent to his RLP MP complained of 'insolence' from an African staff member as he 'asked the boy to open the gate, and the cheek I had from that little munt would make anyone's blood boil. After taking the law into my own hands I had to open the gate.'[343] Here anger was characterised as a natural reaction of white men to this transgression. African insolence damaged white prestige by defying whites' needs, not only to be served, but to be served with appropriate obeisance.[344] Poorer whites, unable to command deference from Africans, were seen as a threat to the racial order itself.

Contesting White Poverty

The reactions of the RLP and RRWU often appear inconsistent or contradictory. They claimed that poor whites would 'die off' but might simultaneously multiply at vicious speed; they recycled the idea that poverty resulted from individual failing, but also painted the poor and unemployed as innocent victims of an indifferent global system. These contradictions surfaced as elite discourses were refracted by lower class whites; images of indolence and decline came into conflict with workers' self-identification as the builders of Empire and bearers of civilisation. While accepting many dominant ideas about eugenics and poor whiteism in most cases the RLP and RRWU strove to mobilise sympathy for these figures of white wretchedness. The *Review* commented upon white children who walked around in the street bare-footed, completely unaware of the impropriety of their lacking aesthetic signifiers of class and race. Nakedness signified savagery in colonial discourses and to be barefooted was a sign of racial degeneracy.[345] RRWU described 'horrible dens…insanitary conditions, families of ten wandering about the sanitary buckets, picking up crusts on account of inability to get sufficient rations from the Department.' RLP MP Major Walker pressed this point arguing that there were

> families living in starvation. Government relief rations are not able
> to maintain these people. I can give an instance of a family of nine
> children and two parents receiving relief rations from the
> Government of a value of £1 a month. Is that sufficient to maintain
> life in any white or even black community? …When I went into
> some of these homes I was horrified; my heart bled.

---

[342] On prestige see Kennedy, *Islands of White*. Shadle, *Souls of White Folk*.
[343] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1933, p.873.
[344] See Allison K. Shutt, ''The Natives Are Getting Out of Hand': Legislating Manners, Insolence and Contemptuous Behaviour in Southern Rhodesia, c. 1910–1963', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33, 3 (2007), pp.653-672.
[345] Philippa Levine, 'States of Undress: Nakedness and the Colonial Imagination', *Victorian Studies*, 50, 2 (2008), pp.189-219.

This poverty and wretchedness did not necessarily refer to starvation or homelessness, but rather an inability to afford domestic staff, and the iniquity of consuming mealie meal; namely, the failure to adhere to 'white' standards of living.

Both the RLP and RRWU used white poverty to challenge the characterisation of white workers as lazy and insisted that those thrown into poverty were at the behest of unscrupulous bosses and international capitalism as well as 'do-gooder' missionaries intent on educating Africans which enabled them to compete more effectively on the labour market. They were also keen to highlight the apparent criminalisation of poverty as a stain on the Rhodesian Government.[346] RLP MP Jonathan Hunter Malcolm denounced Mtao and Stapleford as 'penal settlements' and pointed to the despicable conditions white men were forced to live in; some men in the camps were not provided beds or basic amenities.[347] These men, it was argued, had not lost consideration of white standards or white civilisation, but had been let down by a self-serving government and an exploitative global system. In 1934 a strike broke out at Stapleford over the conditions in the camp and the RLP called for the camps to be abolished. It was argued that the debased conditions meant that the men sent to the camps 'must inevitably become poor whites'. White men deserved proper work in the towns, not to be abandoned in outposts or to be made dependent on charity. Government measures had *created* poor whites. Poor whiteism was thus redefined as primarily a consequence of elite actions.[348]

The figure of the wretched white abandoned and betrayed by the settler state was used to reaffirm the necessity of keeping Africans out of skilled employment. The *Review* argued that allowing Africans to compete with whites for jobs threatened 'our dominance as a race, our prestige, our usefulness in the vaunted trusteeship of the children races.'[349] White worker representatives utilised the language of trusteeship, and prevailing rhetoric regarding the idea that Africans should be civilised and uplifted by colonial powers, in order to argue against African education and social mobility. White workers feared African progression recognising that, once they were replaced, Europeans would never regain particular categories of work.[350] Yet despite attempts to frustrate the growth of a skilled African workforce and an educated African middle

---

[346] 'The Unemployment Problem: Full Reports of Labour Members Speeches', *RRR*, April 1934, pp.9-16.
[347] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1934, p.1818.
[348] 'Men Without Hope', *RRR*, May 1932, p.7.
[349] 'Editorial', *RRR*, June 1932, p.9.
[350] Wells, 1934, p.1.

class, the number of Africans earning a living through independent trading and businesses rose from 864 in 1930 to 3545 in 1938, including in skilled and semi-skilled trades usually dominated by white wage earners such as building, plumbing and carpentry.[351] Mission schools had offered avenues for Africans to pursue education and gain skills.[352] Domboshawa, the first state school for Africans, had opened in 1921 in Mashonaland followed by Tjolotjo in Matabeleland. Despite relatively small numbers, this social group was seen as a particular threat to the racialised order. Further concern emanated from the perceived impertinence of Africans in organizing themselves into trade unions. Although African organisations were still in their infancy and relatively weak, the 1927 African mine strike at Shamva and efforts to extend the South African Industrial and Commercial Workers Union into Rhodesia in the same year had nonetheless unsettled white workers.[353]

Missionaries received particular contempt from white labour organisations as mission schools were noted as producing Africans with education and skill that threatened the white monopoly of higher paid positions. The *Review* were particularly critical of Frank Hadfield who they accused of indulging African laziness:

> Then up spake spurious Hadfield -
> (A missioner he be) -
> "I will protect the Native;
> The Native shall be free;
> His children shall not labour,
> nor his able bodied toil;
> this land is theirs, theirs only;
> Theirs shall remain the soil."[354]

Missionaries were accused of encouraging laziness amongst the African population and of attacking the very basis of sustained white rule. One picture printed in the *Review* depicted Africans hand in hand with a missionary as Members of Parliament; whites appear asking Africans for jobs, serving Africans in restaurants and chauffeuring them around town. The Africans were drawn wearing top hats and smoking cigars – the aesthetic markers of the aristocracy. The white aristocracy were likewise castigated as lazy by white labour; if allowed to ascend Africans would simply become another parasitic class. But the African, the image implied, lacked the gentlemanly character

---

[351] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History*, p.190.
[352] See Carol Summers, *From Civilisation to Segregation*.
[353] Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gutsheni, 'Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s-1930s', in *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Alois Mlambo (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009), p.71. 'Inyazura Branch Notes', *RRR*, March 1928, p.28.
[354] Van Short, 'A "Lay"ette for the Labour Triplets', *RRR*, December 1928, p.21.

despite his superficial appearance of civility. One figure forces a white woman to walk in the gutter and she appears helpless, her honour and physical safety compromised.[355] Africans, in other words, could never be *truly civilised.*

There was considerable contradiction within white labour's position. In one breath Africans were labelled as irredeemably uncompetitive in statements which proclaimed the natural and inherent higher productivity of white labour; at the same time employers and missionaries were repeatedly condemned in the strongest terms for enabling Africans to compete.[356] The causes of unemployment had historically been framed by white workers' organisations in terms of capitalist exploitation and international financial monopolies. These critiques remained but increasing anger was directed at the Government and its refusal to prevent Africans fulfilling skilled jobs. White labour felt increasingly threatened as the ranks of the white unemployed swelled. The resulting anger was directed at Africans, particularly those with education, money or skilled jobs. Africans seen to be performing 'white work' were routinely harassed. White workers also complained to management, attempted to shame those firms that hired African staff in skilled positions and threatened industrial action in a bid to maintain their racialised monopoly over certain jobs.[357]

---

[355] In Bulawayo a Vigilante's Association emerged in 1932 with stated aims to protect white women. Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, p.67.
[356] See *RRR*, March 1928, p.28; *RRR*, December 1928, p.21.
[357] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, p.165. See the autobiography of Clements Kadalie who describes the reactions of whites to his employment in a skilled clerical position *My Life and the ICU: The Autobiography of a Black Trade Unionist in South Africa*, (London: Cass, 1970).

Figure Five: A Noble Nightmare, *RRR*, December 1933, p. 47.
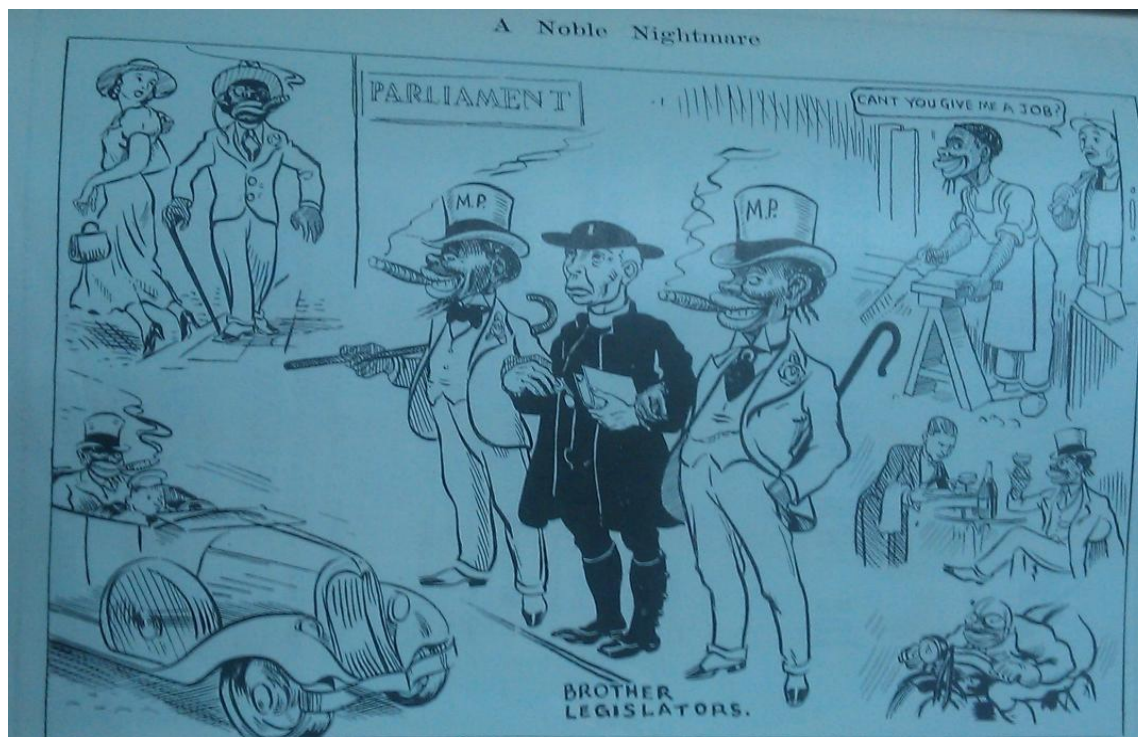
Shifting Boundaries of 'White Male Work'

Despite assertions of natural superiority the reality was that many whites in the colony had few skills and had received little or substandard education. Compulsory education for whites up to fifteen years old was only initiated in 1930 and many Europeans had only achieved a low level of basic schooling.[358] It was these whites who precipitated concerns over the future direction of the colony.[359] The inability of some whites to acquire skilled employment had to be dealt with by representatives of white labour who were keen to project an image of the respectable white wage earner. In particular the depression encouraged the RRWU and RLP to reassess the racialisation of particular occupations. White workers had relied on possession of skilled work, or redefining the work they performed as skilled, as a means of racial differentiation. But the depression prompted the RLP and RRWU to demand that whites in Southern Rhodesia fill all levels of work, including that nominally performed by Africans. Central to this was a debate concerning the definition of 'white work'. Representatives of white labour ardently argued that whites could, and indeed should, perform unskilled work. RRWU warned that it was precisely the attitude of whites in South Africa – that certain grades

---

[358] Bob Challiss, 'Education and Southern Rhodesia's Poor Whites, 1890-1930', in *White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa, 1880-1940,* edited by Robert Morrell (Pretoria: UNISA, 1992), pp.151-170.
[359] Carol Summers, *From Civilization to Segregation,* pp.178-180.

of work were beneath them – that had caused the poor white problem. In the early 1930s the RLP and RRWU placed demands on the railway administration and tried to push through legislation in parliament that advocated the employment of whites in unskilled positions, including the most menial tasks in the colony such as cleaning, domestic service and delivering letters. In part this argument reflected a turn towards more segregationist discourse and the 'two pyramid' policy of complete separation of the races in Southern Rhodesia, but this itself involved a re-imagining of the place of the white worker in African settler colonies.[360] The Civilised Labour Policy, enacted by Herzog's Pact government in South Africa during the 1920s, which saw state initiatives to hire unskilled whites at 'civilised' rates of pay, no doubt also influenced the demands of white workers across Southern Rhodesia.[361]

In the eyes of many white labourers, so-called demeaning work was better than the shame of unemployment.[362] Work was seen as something that made a man; manual labour engendered character and status while worklessness eroded the key bases from which lower class whites performed their racial identity. Thus, the respectability invested in skilled work was extended to unskilled categories of work. It was argued that reliance on Africans had made whites effete, soft and despotic.[363] White men, it was reasoned, should retain pride in all types of work; suffering in menial jobs on low pay was character building. White men performing these roles could be used to proclaim European self-sufficiency on one hand and to demonstrate the uselessness and superfluity of African labour on the other.

However, unskilled manual work was recognised as having a corrupting effect if undertaken over a long period of time. In 1933 the RRWU called upon the railways to ease the burden upon white families by replacing Africans with whites as engine cleaners, painters, office boys, call boys, learner cooks, pantry boys and bedding boys. However, this unskilled work was demanded for white youths rather than white men. Such menial work was a rite of passage for them; something to be fulfilled in youth before progressing to skilled occupations. Many older trade unionists were likely to have fulfilled low status jobs in the UK prior to migrating to Rhodesia, and some would have performed such jobs within the colony. Union officials variously professed that

---

[360] 'A Policy of Segregation', *RRR,* June 1934, p.27.
[361] See Jeremy Seekings, ''Not a Single White Person Should Be Allowed to go Under': Swartgevaar and South Africa's Welfare State, 1924-1929', *Journal of African History*, 48 (2007), pp.375-394.
[362] *Legislative Assembly Debates,* 1933, p.869.
[363] This point was made by educational legislators during the same period. See Summers, 'Boys, Brats'.

they had been cleaners at some point, while others admitted to scrubbing railway floors, and even working alongside Africans cleaning cutlery.[364] Yet while African 'boys' would be fulfilling these roles for the rest of their employment, reflective of dominant racial ideology which embedded Africans' perennial status as children, for white youths this was simply a transitory stage before they entered manly and respectable employment.

While these organisations argued that white youths should be engaged on unskilled labour, they still maintained that those employed must keep up white standards and be versed in the suitable white practices for working alongside African labourers. Keller argued, in response to offers of farm employment for young urban whites, that this would be inappropriate as they would ultimately become farm labourers and 'work side by side with the natives on the farms.'[365] If whites were to take on menial jobs, proper racial protocol must be upheld, and some RRWU officials admitted that not all white youths were properly instructed in the correct behaviours expected of European labour. There was particular alarm from RLP members over white boys selling newspapers on the streets of Bulawayo; white boys on street corners were highly visible and also isolated from other white workers.[366] The respectability of unskilled work was preached but the image of whites working alongside Africans or being seen performing menial tasks by Africans was simultaneously feared. RRWU were particularly concerned that some white youths had been duped by management into transgressing racialised labour protocols, and, that employers were refusing to hire those who displayed awareness or caution of established white labour practices in favour of more ignorant sections of the white population. In one account relayed at the 1933 RRWU annual conference, four 'young lads' passed tests to work alongside gangers on the railways and were told that they

> must do the same work as the natives do. Worryingly, three of the boys were perfectly willing. The fourth said 'I do not know I shall have to consult my father first!' Three were taken on and the other was left.[367]

White gangers usually had three or four Africans helping them, and while it was acceptable for white youths to work in menial jobs, it was argued that their

---

[364] *RRWU Conference*, 1930, pp.195-6.
[365] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1933, p.382. Summers notes that manual agricultural training for white youths was rejected by the settler population who demanded more academic schooling, but overlooks that while the RLP may have rejected agricultural manual labour, particular manual labour in the towns was regarded in a different light. Summers, 'Boys, Brats', pp.145-6.
[366] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1933, p.368.
[367] *RRWU Conference*, 1930, p.196.

impressionable minds should not be exposed to African labourers in such a manner. Doing the same work as Africans, it seemed, was only appropriate as long as sufficient distance was maintained between black and white. Despite arguing for reserving unskilled occupations for whites, fears persisted regarding what this might engender in the European mind, particularly the malleable mind of the Rhodesian youth who could be tricked into some sort of shared experience with African workers if he was not continually guided and guarded. This reflected dominant ideas that young whites were particularly susceptible to the moral inflictions of poor whiteism. In 1933 Wells suggested that the sixty youths aged twenty-one and under who were employed on relief schemes be dismissed as it was damaging 'from a psychological point of view'.[368] Close proximity to poor whites would encourage youths to imbibe the work shy character of their peers on the relief works just as proximity to Africans could lead to a blurring of racial identity.[369] It reflected a belief that white youths must be vigilantly guarded until they understood the proper way to interact with racial others.

Youth had evocative imaginary power in the machinations of politicians and empire builders. It is no wonder workers leapt onto this powerful symbol which could invoke allusions to racial improvement, eugenics, and the future of white civilisation.[370] As Ann Laura Stoler has argued 'adult perceptions about children capture the visionary quality of social engineering, where the conflict between prescription and practice was often played out.'[371] During the nineteenth century there was increased emphasis on childhood as formative stage of life; the experiences of childhood would determine the thoughts, feelings and behaviours of the adult self.[372] Concerns over the future of the future of the imperial and colonial race encouraged greater concern over child welfare.[373] In the metropole the British state and middle-class reformers intervened to remove children from their families resident in the slums of the expanding cities, some of whom were sent out to Canada, Australia and Southern Rhodesia, in the belief that, distanced from the moral and physical pollutants of the cities, they would grow into

---

[368] Wells, 1935, pp.10-11.
[369] Wells, 1934, p.12.
[370] See Fiona Paisley, 'Childhood and Race: Growing Up.in the Empire', in *Gender and Empire* edited by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.240-260; Ellen Boucher, *Empire's Children: Child Emigration, Welfare and the Decline of the British World, 1869-1967* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Shirleene Robinson and Simon Sleight (eds), *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World* (Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2015).
[371] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, p.137.
[372] Boucher, *Empire's Children,* p.6.
[373] Paisley, 'Childhood and Race: Growing Up.in the Empire', p.241.

ideal representatives of the imperial race.[374] In the setter context, similar fears abounded. It was accepted that children must be prepared and equipped to take on the burden of directing and controlling the indigenous population as adults if the future of white civilisation was to be protected.[375] The continuation of white supremacy relied upon reproducing gendered and racialised behaviours; the socialisation of children into white mores, white pastimes, white preferences, white mannerisms and of course, white employment. As Ellen Boucher has argued, 'at a time when ethnic affiliations remained contested or ambiguous, the act of setting explicit standards about how children should be raised – what values they should exhibit, what identities they should perform – provided a powerful means to demarcate the boundaries of the nation.'[376]

Children were central to the idea that empire could be regenerative for the British race, that whites could achieve social status and employment opportunities unavailable in the metropole. In Rhodesia, white workers pointed to the failure of this regenerative project by their claims that unemployment was worse in Rhodesia than in the UK. When Keller's suggestion for hiring white youths in Government posts was rejected he argued that this amounted to 'ousting white youth from the country.'[377] Keller invoked the figure of white homelessness and destitution, the death of white civilisation and spoke of betraying the white youth of the country, continuing, 'here [white youths] are standing helpless, one could almost say in the streets of our towns, and the Government will not help them.'[378] In the pages of the *Review* pictures of white children captioned 'White Hopes of Rhodesia' and in its political cartoons the RRWU was often represented by a small white boy. This focus on the youth also alluded to a sense of permanence; these were *Rhodesian born* youths the first generation of whites born on Rhodesian soil. Trade unions, in fighting for racist labour practices, used white children to self-identify as defenders of the vulnerable and innocent, but also of Rhodesia and Empire.

---

[374] Shurlee Swain and Margot Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race and Empire: Child Rescue Discourse, England, Canada and Australia, 1850-1915* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).
[375] Paisley, 'Childhood and Race: Growing Up.in the Empire', p.251.
[376] Boucher, *Empire's Children,,*p.13.
[377] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1933, p.367.
[378] Ibid., p.368.

Figure Six: 'Rhodesia's Santa Claus', *RRR*, January 1926, p. 13.
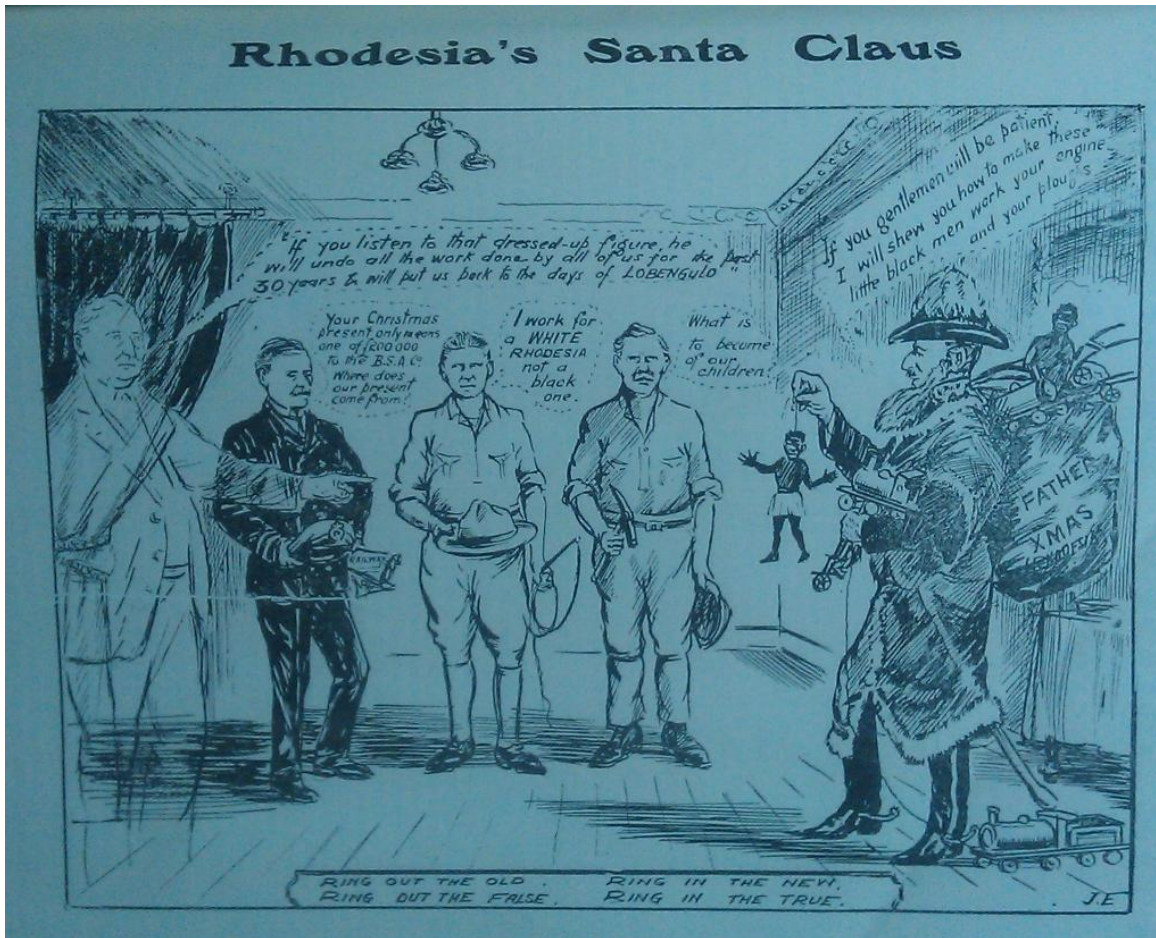
Youth also had instrumental value in agitation for improved conditions. Arguments for workers' compensation laws were often made through allusions to the breakdown of the family unit. Jonathan Hunter Malcolm of the RLP detailed how accidents and fatalities had seen women enter the labour market and children left at home unattended and unable to complete their education. Children were 'compelled to enter the labour market insufficiently equipped and probably on an unskilled basis, and the daughters may be compelled to marry into a lower social scale than they were accustomed to.'[379] One picture printed in the *Review* illustrated white workers concerns over African progression into 'white' jobs (Figure Four). One white worker laments 'what is to become of our children?' The African is presented as a gift, a child's toy: inanimate, innocuous and controllable. But the white workers see through Santa Claus's disingenuous offer for Africans 'to work your engines and your plough'. White workers were presented as being able to recognise that the seemingly harmless figure was in fact a dangerous threat to white civilisation. The spectre of Cecil Rhodes stands with the

---

[379] 'Workers and Compensation Laws; Labour Scores a Signal Success in Parliament', *RRR,* June 1929, p.17.

workers; a tacit assertion that white workers were the true inheritors of the pioneering spirit embodied in Rhodes.

Shifting Attitudes towards Women's Formal Employment

Fears of African progression into white jobs and of families falling into poverty also encouraged a temporary modification in attitudes towards white female participation in wage labour. Female employment was recognised as eroding patriarchal authority. The RRWU and RLP had consistently argued that women should stick to their 'natural roles' in the home as mothers and wives. White women in the workplace were an affront to masculinity. As one trade unionist put it, female wage labour endangered 'a most sacred law of nature that a father must provide food and all necessities of life for his family.' While single white women in wage labour proved less threatening, it was argued that married women should only take on formal employment in exceptional circumstances 'to keep the wolf "POVERTY" at a distance.'[380] Blame was usually directed at employers for the destruction of the family and of 'natural' roles, rather than the women workers themselves. Female employment was seen as just another way in which employers would attempt to undercut white male wages. Providing for dependents was figured as a privilege which reaffirmed the pride male labourers were expected to have in their work. As providers, men could see themselves as central to the settler process. But it is clear that achieving white standards of living was the paramount concern: female employment, despite the subversion of idealised gender roles it entailed, could be accepted if it prevented the greater sin of poverty. By 1930 the *Review* was including historical pieces on brave women workers and the oppressive conditions they toiled under in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe and argued that the settler government should be finding employment for women.[381] In the same year the RRWU issued a special invitation for women to join the union, although this appeal reinforced women's roles as aiding and supporting men. (Figure Seven).

---

[380] Hugh Killeen, 'Female Unemployment', *RRR,* November 1921, p.35.
[381] 'Women Workers of the Past', *RRR,* December 1930, p.55.

Figure Seven: 'The Branch Secretary', *RRR*, **December 1930, p.26.**
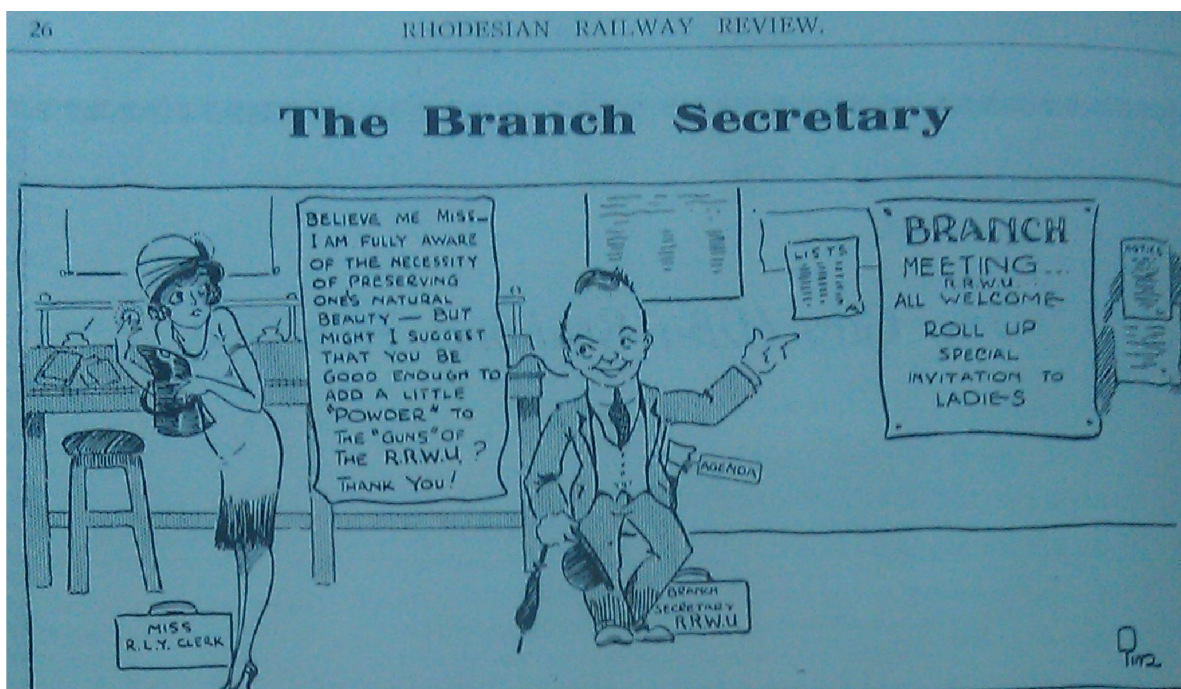
The RLP became more vocal in its support for women workers and criticised the low wages of women working in tea shops and restaurants.[382] Increasing fears of replacement by African workers saw the RRWU rally around the idea that white women should be used instead of Africans as drivers while the RLP argued for white 'girls' to replace Africans in service in white hostels.[383] These demands for women to be hired as drivers demonstrate the intensity of white male fears of being undercut or replaced by Africans: women were not only encouraged to take on clerical or various feminised occupations but work that was traditionally deemed as solely masculine. White female employment was the lesser evil. Not only were extra female wages becoming more necessary in certain households to keep poverty at bay, but white labour organisations recognised that it would be much easier to push women back into the home than it would be to push Africans back into unskilled positions.

Notably, the number of women who registered themselves as unemployed in 1936 was over eleven times more than the number that identified as such in 1921 when only nine women were identified. This is explicable in part by the increased female population in the colony which had risen by around seventy-five percent over the same period. But this insufficiently explains such a rise in statistics on female unemployment. Rather it

---

[382] 'Tackling Unemployment Problems', *RRR*, September 1933, p.11.
[383] *Legislative Assembly Debates,* 1933, pp.374-5.

demonstrates that more women were actively looking for employment and considering themselves as 'out of work' rather than solely as housewives and mothers. Certainly, despite the Depression the proportion of economically active women increased between 1926 and 1931. In 1926 twenty percent of women over fifteen were in economically active occupations. In 1931 this had risen to 24.8 percent which represented 17.6 percent of all economically active persons.[384] This suggests that women's roles had undergone some change in the colony and that the Depression had actually propelled more women into wage labour. Nonetheless, traditional notions of gender persisted and the impact of unemployment on women was largely framed in terms of the breakdown of established gendered norms.

Backlash

In 1933 Wells declared that the 'real remedy' to unemployment was the 'clear recognition of the fact that there is very little scope in Southern Rhodesia for the semi-skilled artisan, and still less for the unskilled man'. The solution would be one in which 'these classes...be reduced'; there was no place for unskilled white, so-called "unemployables", in Southern Rhodesia.[385] Stricter immigration policies and better education for the whites already in the colony were deemed central to forestalling white unemployment. Calls for unskilled work coupled with demands that whites be paid wages that enabled a 'white standard of living' were unsurprisingly dismissed by employers and the government. The colonial secretary argued that the type of jobs the RLP were agitating for white youths was 'blind alley employment', continuing that jobs such as domestic service seemed out of the question as white girls, let alone boys, were reluctant to lower themselves.[386] Government officials argued that when white men did these jobs they were by no means more efficient than Africans. In fact, because of white workers' prejudices, they failed to complete basic tasks. Harry Bertin, MP for Sailsbury South, recalled his visit to Umtali to attend a political meeting. When he arrived he expressed astonishment that nobody seemed to know that the meeting was taking place. It was explained to him that a white boy had been tasked with the job of publicising the event and that he had regarded it as 'beneath him. He said that it was a piccanin's job and not one that he ought to do.'[387] Such pronouncements flew in the face of white

---

[384] See Table Twelve, appendices, p.300 and Figure Fifteen, Chapter Three, p.141.
[385] Wells, 1934, pp.3-4.
[386] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1933, pp.865-868.
[387] Ibid., p.871.

workers' claims to an inherently higher productivity and efficiency over Africans and the idea that industry would collapse in Rhodesia without European labour.

In the view of many employers and politicians the white worker was the cause of his own predicament; he had been too forward, too proud, too antagonistic and had failed to recognise his natural role and status in society. It was white workers who had refused to work because they had overvalued their own wages, had expected to get paid because of their skin colour rather than their skill, and had viciously campaigned against the African worker, who, in the words of one Rhodesia Party MP, at least had the propriety to know his proper place and worth in society. White workers in Rhodesia were nothing more than a class of delusional arrivistes who had erroneously invested in fantasies of unlimited social status and economic success. While white, they were still fundamentally workers, and should learn their place. The unionism and radicalism during the early 1920s which sought to establish this elevated status of white workers was now being paid for in full. Certainly after the fall of white labour strength 'troublemakers' were targeted in retrenchment schemes and RRWU complained of the favouritism of railway management shown towards those Europeans who had worked during the railway 1929 strike.[388] Management utilised the retrenchment caused by the depression to discipline its workforce and remove undesirable elements. At Wankie Colliery the reasons given for individual retrenchment included being less 'useful' than other members of staff as well as marital condition; it was reasoned that married men with dependents had greater need for employment.[389]

Furthermore, white workers' erroneous classification of particular white jobs as 'skilled' increasingly came under fire.[390] Alexander Thomson, Rhodesia Party MP and mining employer, pointed out that a bricklayer was classed as such even if he had 'only built fowl houses in Vrededorp with clay bricks with dagga for mortar' just as those listed as blacksmiths may have only had experience as drill sharpeners or anchor smiths.[391] The reference to Vrededorp, one of the poorest *fietas* in Johannesburg, reinforced the association of poverty and a lack of education with Afrikaners.[392] But importantly it challenged the self-identified skill and racial purity of many white workers. Employers

---

[388] *RRWU Conference*, 1933, pp.6-7.
[389] NAZ: S480/1460 Copy of Letter to Mr Keller, 11th February 1929, p.1.
[390] See General F. D. Hammond, *Report on the Railway System of Southern Rhodesia, Under the "Railways Enquiry Act, 1924"*, Salisbury, 1925.
[391] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1933, p.353.
[392] Oluwadamilola Okunlola, 'Memories of Fietas from the Late 50s to the 70s', in *Oral History: Representing the Hidden, the Untold and the Veiled,* edited by Christina Landman (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2013), pp.65-83.

faced problems in hiring whites in lower grade jobs as they demanded pay equal to that received by fully trained miners despite their lower skill. If employers made the mistake of taking on such men Thomson warned of 'continual trouble in regard to pay', and continual attempts to unionise and hold employers to ransom. Employers, including himself he argued, 'would rather employ kaffirs on what may be considered white jobs, even if the latter were not very expert, rather than put up with the trouble to which they are exposed if they employ Europeans in any numbers.'[393]

White labour continually hit back at these denunciations. In a 1932 Select Committee on Unemployment, Keller once again recommended policies which would employ whites in road building, prohibit Africans from being employed as drivers on mechanically propelled transport and allocate all Government posts to Europeans (apart from 'completely unskilled labour'). He also called for a review of building works and subsidising employers to hire non-African labourers. These suggestions were rejected by Parliament: for being too expensive, for bringing whites into disrepute by performing menial tasks and ultimately for being unnecessarily extreme for the situation. Keller responded in his characteristically hyperbolic style, and declared that if government policy was not immediately altered 'the conspiracy of silence, the deliberate suppression of the facts, and the minimising of the most terrible problem we have facing us, will conceivably lead men to the threat of revolution.'[394] While Keller normally strove to cultivate an image of a respectable and reserved white workforce who shunned radical militant excesses and Bolshevism, when white workers faced 'the most terrible problem', namely, the twin prongs of African advancement and white unemployment, the representatives of white labour did not hesitate in drawing upon the language of violent upheaval and revolution. These actions were posed as necessary to save white civilisation itself.

Keller and the RLP continued to make impassioned speeches about the seriousness of white unemployment well into the late 1930s.[395] However, unemployment dwindled and was eventually offset by the wartime economy; by March 1940 there were only 450 persons on the register of the Employment Bureau, most between the ages of twenty-two and forty.[396] In the 1940s the anticipated post-war depression never came and the 1946 census identified only 568 Europeans 'out of work', representing less than one

[393] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1934, p.1825.
[394] 'Is Government Serious About Unemployment?', *RRR*, June 1932, pp.18-19.
[395] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1939, p.829.
[396] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1940, p.1958.

percent of the European population over fifteen years of age.[397] Widespread labour shortages and a *lack* of white manpower to fill occupational categories became the pressing issue for white labour in the Second World War and beyond into the Federation period.

The 1934 Industrial Conciliation Act: The Effortless Incorporation of White Workers?

These debates over unemployment brought class divisions in the colony into sharp focus. Agitation from the ranks of labour and the growing popularity of the RLP encouraged the Rhodesian state to intervene to smooth over the widening cracks within the settler society. While the 1920 Industrial Disputes Ordinance had set up the principle of arbitration within industry in response to the white radicalism of 1919 and 1920, the 1934 Industrial Conciliation Act (ICA) strengthened the principle of arbitration and limited the autonomy of white trade unions. It was passed in part as a response to a strike of European workers within the Building industry who felt threatened by being replaced by African workers.[398] The ICA served a double function of protecting white workers from competition from African workers by effectively erecting a colour bar but also as a means to curb trade union power.[399] The ICA stated that trade union officials who refused to pass over information regarding their internal affairs to the Minister of Labour faced a £500 fine and/or two years imprisonment. Furthermore, the Act effectively prohibited strike action throughout the colony.[400] Some trade unions such as the AEU proved supportive of the Act, but it was not universally well received.[401] While appreciative of the idea of the colour bar, the Act itself was regarded by the RRWU as a superfluous measure designed to restrict trade union power. It was also denounced as an inefficient response to prevent white unemployment.[402] The RRWU decried having to give their membership details over to the Registrar of the Act and opposed what they deemed to be unnecessary influence and meddling in their own private affairs.

---

[397] *Southern Rhodesia Report on the Census of Population held on 7th May 1946*, p.79.
[398] See Max Jerry Mutyavaviri, *Labour Legislation in Zimbabwe in Historical Perspective: A Historical Survey of the Development of Zimbabwe's Labour Legislation from 1891 to 1989 with Special Reference to Labour Relations* (Univeristy of Zimbabwe, unpublished thesis, 1989), p.190.
[399] See Phimister, 'White Miners.'
[400] 'The Conciliation Bill', *RRR,* March 1934, p.19.
[401] Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* p.102.
[402] 'Editorial', *RRR,* March 1934, p.6.

The principles of arbitration laid down in the Act referred to 'employees', thus omitting African workers from the Act's purview; 'employees' only referred to European workers. African workers remained under the jurisdiction of the draconian 1901 Masters and Servants Ordinance.[403] Harry Davies argued that it was a bill which administered the law 'upon differences of nationality or colour.' Thus the RLP accused the government of imposing a law based upon racial discrimination. If, Davies argued, Africans were to enter European industries, they must be 'paid a wage as a citizen to enable him to maintain life on a European basis.'[404] The RLP moved to amend the Bill so that it included Africans under the term 'employee' which was rejected. The motivations behind admitting Africans under the definition of 'employee' emanated from a fear of undercutting rather than a commitment to racial equality. Importantly, the ICA has been interpreted as the incorporation of white workers into the Rhodesian community. Yet, these assertions tend to smooth over how the nature of this alliance was internally contested. This incorporation was not made on the terms dictated by white labour and neither did it precipitate the erasure of class division and antagonism.[405] It also failed to prevent Africans from entering skilled work. What follows in the remaining chapters will demonstrate how this process of assimilation of white workers into the settler body politic remained incomplete.

Conclusion

The ways in which racial identity was performed was neither uniform across the settler community, nor static and unchanging across the colonial period; markers of difference shifted and racial identities were reconfigured in response to particular circumstances. Racial identity was made *through work.* During the Depression unemployment threatened to compromise the ways in which European workers performed their whiteness, through removing the ability to provide for dependents and undermining their self-identification as the productive force behind Empire. In response, in contrast to dominant interpretations of European attitudes to manual labour, white workers did not only fulfil certain menial manual jobs, but actively argued for them and attempted to invest this work with new meanings of pride and respectability.

The Great Depression did not unfold uniformly across colonial Africa. The experiences of European workers and the responses of various colonial states were diverse. In Kenya

---

[403] See Ian Phimister, *Economic and Social History*, Charles van Onselen, *Chibaro* for details.
[404] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1934, p.96.
[405] Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* p.10-11.

immigration restrictions largely prevented the emergence of a white social class dependent on wage labour, but the administration was still compelled to intervene and provide subsidies and loans to its white farmers, many of whom were forced to temporarily leave their farms.[406] Fewer than 300 farmers were forced to leave permanently, but 'undesirable' whites, such as criminals, alcoholics or the long-term unemployed could be repatriated as Distressed British Subjects.[407] While deportation proved to be a preferred method for the authorities in Kenya and, as previously detailed, in Katanga, Southern Rhodesia adopted a more mixed strategy; the presence of white bodies was fundamental to the desired character of its settler-colonial project and it followed a South African model in establishing work colonies and legislating greater protection for white workers. Yet unlike South Africa, Southern Rhodesia never had to contend with the poor white problem on a large scale and as an ideological project it never functioned with the same significance in nationalist projects and state building. Through its restrictive immigration policies, the absence of a large white rural population, and the ability to deport undesirables if necessary, Southern Rhodesian authorities were able to shape and discipline its white population with methods unfitted to the South African context. The country's particularism in this regard reflects its unique character of settler colonialism explored in the introduction.

In many ways, poor whiteism in Southern Rhodesia existed more as a moral panic, sharing many characteristics with the periodic Black Peril scares of southern Africa in the first half of the twentieth century. Just as the low rate of incidences and accusations of black men attacking or raping white women were disconnected from the high level of fear and press it generated, settler fears of poor whiteism were detached from the reality of white poverty in Southern Rhodesia. Such phenomena deserve attention precisely because of the disproportionate reactions they provoked.[408] As a transnational ideological construction, poor whiteism manifested itself differently not only across national contexts, but also across social groups. This episode demonstrates the varied responses of white social groups to the Depression, but also illustrates how discourses of poor whiteism and eugenics were not merely projected onto white workers and the

---

[406] David Anderson and David Throup, 'The Agrarian Economy of Central Province, Kenya, 1918-1939', in *The Economies of Africa and Asia in the Inter-war Depression,* edited by Ian Brown (London: Routledge, 1989), p.12.
[407] Lowry, 'Rhodesia 1890-1980', p.139.
[408] Jock McCulloch. *Black Peril, White Virtue: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935* (Indiana: Bloomington, 2000). John Pape, 'Black and White: The 'Perils of Sex' in Colonial Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16, 4 (1990), pp.699-720.

white poor but were internalised, reproduced and challenged by the objects of these ideological narratives.

Chapter Three: The Second World War and Challenges posed by Non-British Whites, White Women and Africans to the White British Male Worker

Introduction

It has been increasingly recognised that the Second World War was not simply a European conflict, but a global, and specifically imperial, struggle.[409] Over half a million African troops from various dependencies fought for Britain during the war.[410] Yet in Southern Rhodesia the notion of training Africans how to use guns unnerved settlers who held onto perennial fears of rebellion against white rule. The total number of African males on full-time service was 15,153; but only 1505 of them ever served outside Southern Rhodesia's borders. Nevertheless the war is usually noted as a watershed moment in the history of sub-Saharan Africa, a period of social, economic and political change which ushered in an era of mass nationalism and signalled moves towards the ending of European colonial empires across Africa. [411] With regards to Zimbabwean history, this period has generated a huge amount of research into the effects of the war on African workers, class formation, urbanisation, increased militancy and the emergence of African trade unions and rise of an African middle class. Literature on settlers meanwhile has tended to focus on the war effort and military experiences.[412] This chapter focuses upon the effects of wartime conditions for the white workers who remained in Rhodesia, the limitations of war nationalism for this layer of society, as well as the consequences of the wartime political economy for the white British male monopoly in areas of the labour market. The chapter also builds upon the wealth of African labour history of this period to probe white reactions to African class formation and its epiphenomena.

---

[409] See Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006).

[410] David Killingray, *Fighting for Britain: African Soldiers in the Second World War* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2010).

[411] A.S. Mlambo, 'From the Second World War to UDI, 1940-1965, in *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009).

[412] Kenneth P. Vickery, 'The Rhodesia Railway Strike of 1945, Part One: A Narrative Account', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 3 (1998), pp.545-560 ; 'The Rhodesia Railways African Strike of 1945, Part Two: Cause, Consequence, Significance', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25, 1 (1999), pp.49-71; Raftopoulos, 'Nationalism and Labour'; Michael O West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class*; Ian Phimister and Brian Raftopoulos, '''*Kana sora ratswa ngaritswe*'': African Nationalists and Black Workers — The 1948 General Strike in Colonial Zimbabwe', *Journal of Historical Sociology,* 13, 3 (2000), pp.289-324. David Johnson, *The Impact of the Second World War on Southern Rhodesia, with Special Reference to African Labour, 1939-1948* (unpublished thesis, School of African and Oriental Studies, 1989). J. F. MacDonald, *The War History of Southern Rhodesia, 1939-1945* (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1976).

Capitalism is a dynamic system. Class formations are continually reshaped by changes in capitalism as some industries decline in importance and newer ones take their place. This process brings new layers of workers into wage labour while discarding others.[413] This chapter is attentive to these changes and specifically concerns itself with how the Rhodesian workforce was restructured by new demands created by emerging industries and specifically how these changes disrupted the ways in which particular occupations were understood as racialised and gendered categories. The Second World War stimulated the expansion of secondary industries as the import of foreign goods was disrupted.[414] The growth of manufacturing industries which generally held a marked preference for stabilised African workforces further challenged the white monopoly of skilled jobs. Men and women of white British, white non-British, Coloured and African racial groups fought to variously challenge or uphold racialised and gendered patterns of recruitment, wages and working conditions. The ability of particular groups to challenge the status of particular occupations, skill grades and industries as white, black, male or female work relied on the interplay between colonial ideologies, the demands of Rhodesian industry and the struggles of particular social groups within these processes. This chapter is split into three parts which incorporate different perceived threats or disruptions to white worker status and privilege. It draws on a range of sources including RRWU material, government reports, legislative assembly debates and censuses. The South African Mine Workers Union decided to extend its membership to Southern and Northern Rhodesia in 1937 which led to the formation of the Associated Mine Workers of Rhodesia (AMWR).[415] AMWR's publication, the *Granite Review*, was published from 1940 and is also a key source throughout the chapter. The newspapers produced by various Rhodesian labour parties are also utilised here. The RLP's popularity peaked in 1939 as they gained 33.18 percent of total votes cast and seven out of a total of thirty seats. Yet in 1940 Harry Davies and Jack Keller, resigned from the RLP to form their own Labour Party as Davies' appointment in the Southern Rhodesian National Government Cabinet as Minister of Internal Affairs had been accepted in defiance of the RLP Congress which had voted against his inclusion. While this original split was ostensibly about personality disputes and attitudes to participation in the national war government, the central issue that kept the two wings of labour from reconciling was the attitude taken to African involvement in politics and trade

[413] Karl Marx, 'Wage Labour and Capital', (1847) 'https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/wage-labour/ch09.htm [accessed 15/01/2016]
[414] Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War*, p.231.
[415] Ian Phimister, 'White Miners', p.196. Also known as AMWU.

unionism.[416] The RRWU were split over whether to support the Keller/Davies (RLP) or the multiracial Lister/Maasdorp (SRLP) faction but the RRWU leadership eventually gave their support to Davies and Keller while the AMWR resolved to neither give nor receive assistance from the multiracial party. [417]

Southern Rhodesia proportionately volunteered more white men for the War than any other territory in the Empire including Britain. The total of European males on full-time service from 1939 to 1945 totalled 9187, 6520 of whom served outside of the colony.[418] It was a sacrifice that Rhodesians would draw upon in later years to emphasise the 'betrayal' of the British state.[419] The first section explores the limitations of this wartime nationalism. As men volunteered to fight abroad the corresponding loss of white manpower intensified skilled labour shortages. Those essential workers of British descent who stayed behind felt increasingly pressured. Their loyalty to Empire and the war effort was tested as working conditions deteriorated. Britishness still remained a central component of discriminatory hiring practices. Yet employers and white British male workers held conflicting ideas over the desirability of hiring particular racial others to ease skilled labour deficits. When British white men accepted they could not maintain their monopoly over certain occupational categories fierce debates erupted over the desirability of particular racialised groups. These debates reveal that there was considerable confusion over racial categorisation and its often arbitrary and imprecise character and destabilises the notion of race as a given or natural category. The debates also reveal how hierarchies of race and nation sometimes uneasily overlapped as trade unionists discussed if a non-white Coloured, who was a British subject, was more or less desirable than a white, but non-British, European.

The second section examines the entrance of white women into wage labour. In the US and the UK the Second World War has received considerable attention as a period of transformation for women as they entered the workforce in record numbers and in more diverse occupations than ever before.[420] Rhodesia provides an interesting point of comparison with these trends. While white women in Rhodesia did enter the workforce in greater numbers, there was not a notable shift towards women performing 'male work' and women remained in traditional 'feminine' occupations. Alongside interrogating how

---

[416] Samkange, *A History of the Rhodesia Labour Party,* pp.53-90.
[417] Ibid., p.69.
[418] J. F. MacDonald, appendix, p.i.
[419] See Ian Smith, *The Great Betrayal*.
[420] Penny Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War: Production and Patriarchy in Conflict* (London: Routledge, 1989), chapter seven.

the war impacted upon gendered patterns of employment, I have examined unequal treatment in the workplace, the resistance offered up by white women regarding their conditions of employment and the ways in which women were policed and encouraged to remain in the home. I have also explored how women's employment was instrumentalised by male dominated workers' organisations in agitation over minimum wage and working conditions which relied on conservative notions of masculinity and femininity.

The third section examines how strikes and trade union organisation impacted upon the relationship between white and black workers and how white workers responded to urbanisation and the growth of an African middle-class. The worsening of conditions during the war precipitated two major outbursts of African industrial action: the 1945 Railway strike and the 1948 general strike. White workers did not share an unambiguous response to these phenomena. Ideas about the rights of workers and trade unions and principled solidarity combined with racial supremacy. Taken off guard, white workers responses were confused and inconsistent. Alongside this burst of militancy, African urbanisation caused particular consternation about the presence of Africans in urban spaces which were imagined as exclusively white zones.[421] Arguments against urbanisation utilised ideas about African violence and disease but also reflected fears that whites' status and respectability could be compromised by close proximity to racialised others. The lower classes were all too aware that if Africans were to move in greater numbers into the city, they would be pushed into areas closer to lower class districts rather than upper and middle class white suburbs. The following argues that white workers saw the African middle class as a direct threat to their precarious status and the established racial order. Poor whiteism had been used by white workers during the Depression to agitate for colour bars and racialised welfare measures; during the 1940s the figure of the poor white was used by Africans who argued that these protective measures had in fact *created* poor whites. In response, violence and hostility were directed at these elite Africans.

Part One: Nation, Ethnicity and Immigration

White Workers' Nationalism

In the *Myth of the Blitz* Angus Calder argued that wartime propaganda popularised the idea that Britain was captured by a uniform national spirit and shared experience of war

---

[421] Barnes, *We Women*, pp.3-4.

which obscured the reality of widespread inequality and suffering across 1940s Britain.[422] Wartime propaganda in Southern Rhodesia likewise sought to present an image of nationalist fervour and a burden willingly and equally shared which obscured existing class prejudices. The war provided ample opportunity for settlers to proclaim their loyalty to Britain and Empire. By late 1942 fifty-two percent of the European male population between eighteen and forty were serving or had already done so.[423] Those left behind to work in Rhodesia's industries and services saw themselves as central to the war effort. Leading white trade unionists were keen to stress their loyalties and yet support for British wars, as seen in Chapter One, was not unconditionally given. During the Second World War the demands of white workers who remained in the country were not entirely tempered by a sense of duty to the war effort. Divisions between grades on the railways manifested themselves as the RRWU complained that while clerks enjoyed time-off, manual workers were 'likely to be kept "going to it" until the point of complete exhaustion is reached.'[424] The RRWU forced the administration into arbitration in 1942 and members felt as though the war was being used as an excuse by employers to refuse to meet their demands.[425] Both Northern and Southern Rhodesian governments had to intervene to prevent escalating action on behalf of RRWU when they reached an impasse with the railway administration and agreed to set up a body to look into railwaymen's demands.[426] Long hours remained a key point of contention. In May 1944 drivers, firemen and guards could work anywhere between 63 and 74.7 hours per week.[427] While in 1940 Davies and Keller warned against docility and an acceptance of current conditions, arguing that capitalistic greed would not bow its head, Keller's opening speech to the 1942 RRWU conference spoke of 'non-co-operators and conscientious objectors in our own ranks' who he accused of sabotaging the war effort.[428] Such men defied the proclamations of Keller and Davies that men would 'gladly' volunteer and submit themselves. When a small number of men refused to comply with manpower investigations Keller threatened that if there was 'a worker who thinks he should be privileged any more than the soldier fighting for him' he should re-evaluate his position 'before they all have cause for regrets.'[429]

[422] Angus Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London: Pimlico, 1992).
[423] Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War*, p.230.
[424] *RRR*, March 1940, p.8. B.N.99, 'An Unwise Policy', *RRR*, November 1940, p.14.
[425] 'Railway Dispute', *Granite Review*, September 1942, p.3.
[426] 'The Railway Dispute', *RRR*, November 1942, p.1.
[427] Vickery, 'Part One', p.547.
[428] Commune, 'Letter to Editor, Cost of War and Cost of Living', *RRR*, May 1940, p.25.
[429] 'Keller's Opening Address to Conference', *RRR*, August 1942, p.6.

On the mines wages generally kept up with the cost of living. However, mine workers were dismayed when Leslie Smith who had won a by-election in 1943 for the RLP was dismissed by Shabanie mine upon being elected to parliament. Uproar in the AMWR saw the *Granite Review* accuse mine management of being Nazis and warned that its Executive Council 'shall leave no stone unturned to have this matter settled, even by demanding the meeting of Parliament for a special session or by a strike in Rhodesia.'[430] Loyalty to the war did not preclude the threat of strike action. AMWR cheered successful trade union action in South Africa and hinted at the possibility of repeats in Southern Rhodesia.[431] RRWU expressed criticism of the arrest of Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Union General Secretary Frank Maybank, incarcerated for 'subversive activities' and leading a strike of white miners.[432] Moreover, support for the war itself was not always evident. The *Granite Review* repeatedly printed material from a female-only anti-war group. Perhaps such outright anti-war sentiment would have emasculated the union proper, who maintained a professed loyalty to the war cause and expressed the joy to be had in serving the Empire. Women however, could agitate on the basis of the death of children through bombing, and of husbands and sons in the fields. The article urged women not to 'wait for the men' to act, and asserted 'rather than let the children of a future generation face what this generation has faced, it would be better if no more children were ever born.'[433] Anti-war sentiment associated with women safeguarded against accusations of cowardice and effeminacy. Yet proclamations of loyalty to the war effort in the *Granite Review* sat uneasily beside the inclusion of antiwar material and the threat of strike action.

Furthermore, the war provoked wider concerns about the broader loyalties of white workers. Although the RRWU and AMWR liberally applied the word 'fascist' to anyone who disagreed with them, it was clear that they were having trouble within their own ranks with Nazi-sympathisers. Despite the *Review* regularly containing articles about the anti-working class and anti-trade union dimension of fascism, up until the outbreak of war they repeatedly printed pro-Nazi letters from their union members. Only in 1938 did the *Review* state it would not print pro-Nazi letters.[434] Yet considering the

---

[430] 'Dismissal of L.T. Smith M.P., Insiza', *Granite Review*, July 1943, p.1.
[431] 'Workers Great Victory in Sweet Strike', *Granite Review*, November 1942, p.9.
[432] 'Arrest of Frank Maybank', *RRR*, November 1942, p.11. See Duncan Money, 'The World of European Labour'.
[433] Ferrugina, 'For Women Only', *Granite Review*, September 1943, (repeated 1944), p.6.
[434] 'Editorial', *RRR*, April 1938, p.3. 'Letters', *RRR*, January 1934 were written by 'Swastika'. See also 'Letters', *RRR*, February 1934, p.18; March 1934, p.17; April 1934, p.17.

pervasiveness of racial ideologies and notions of inherent difference and superiority, it is not entirely surprising that ideologies of the *herrenvolk* appealed to a layer of white workers. Opposition to fascism seems to have come out of the recognition of the anti-working class and anti-democratic basis of fascism as well as nationalist feeling towards Britain, rather than outright hostility to the racial element of Nazism.

Figure Eight: Accommodation at RAF Hillside, Private collection

Figure Nine: Making Christmas Pudding, RAF Hillside, Private Collection

Figure Ten: RAF Men at Cecil Rhodes' Grave, Private Collection

Allies, Enemies, Refugees and the Presumed Loyalties of Racial Others

As the war progressed Britain demanded that Rhodesia aid the war effort and accept refugees, enemy internees and soldiers. As part of the Empire Air Training Scheme over 10,000 men were stationed in Southern Rhodesia. While most RAF recruits were British, they also consisted of Rhodesians, South Africans, Australians, Greeks, Yugoslavs and Frenchmen.[435] British newcomers were initially excitedly welcomed by more established settlers, but new arrivals quickly became a source of panic. In particular those of working class origin were singled out as failing to conform to Rhodesian standards of white behaviour. Hylda Richards remarked of the RAF men arriving that they failed to meet

> the obligations of the white man in a black country. They cat-called after our Rhodesian girls, and when repulsed, fraternised with Coloureds and natives. We old settlers had brought up our children to believe that England was a wonderful country, and the English a wonderful race…When our sons saw these under-privileged, under-nourished, under-educated lads with their bad teeth and bad manners, they were aghast and when they saw them with the Coloureds and the natives they were horrified.[436]

Richard's British values were those of an idealised middle-class rural England. Deprived and unrefined, working class men failed to conform to her fantasies of Britishness. In the *Herald*, concerned Rhodesian citizens complained about the visibility of drunken RAF recruits staggering in the streets of Salisbury. One interviewee recalled that her mother had repeated that the men from the RAF who settled in Rhodesia were commonly known as 'the riff raff'.[437] The men were noted as harbouring a much more relaxed attitude to African women and were regularly accused of engaging in interracial sex. Yet this should not signal an uncritical adoption of liberal racial attitudes by the RAF stationed in Southern Rhodesia; there were numerous reports of rape and sexual harassment of black women by British men.[438] Yet the RRWU defended the RAF men's drinking and excesses. Furthermore, they denounced Prime Minister Huggins' intervention and perceived meddling in the affairs of the RAF.[439] The RRWU remained noticeably silent however upon the British arrivals interactions with Africans. While middle-class Rhodesians such as Richards felt compelled to note their outrage it appears

---

[435] Johnson, *The Impact of the Second World War,* p.40.
[436] Hylda M. Richards, *Next Year will be Better and the Verse of T. Hylda Richards* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1952), p.200.
[437] Interview with Sharon Smith, Chris May, and Jackie Wright, white women aged 60- 90, Essex, November 2016.
[438] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, p.136.
[439] B.N.99, 'Here We Go Round', *RRR,* November 1940, p.5.

white labour generally turned a blind eye to the transgressions of their British counterparts.

Of greater concern to the RRWU was the growing presence of non-British whites. The war led white workers into complex, and often inconclusive, discussions regarding the desirability of particular non-British workers. Historians have largely explained white worker hostility towards foreign Europeans through economic competition and the fear of being undercut.[440] While this is an important factor, it only partially explains white worker antipathy towards non-British whites. Manual workers, already aware of their own low status and the stereotypes associated with them, did not want their respectability further compromised through having to defend themselves against association with the dominant derogatory stereotypes of national 'others'. The myth of British superiority was willingly accepted by many white workers who believed that their own work was of a superior quality to that performed by other nationalities and ethnicities. Xenophobia and nationalism combined with material concerns of undercutting on a racially stratified labour market.

Hostility towards non-British groups generally intensified during the war period. There was great suspicion of Afrikaners harbouring pro-German attitudes – despite the absence of overtly pro-Nazi Afrikaner groups such as the *Broederbond* or *Ossewabrandwag* which existed in South Africa. Some Afrikaners refused to fight for the Allied forces while others were prepared to defend Rhodesia, but proved unwilling to declare allegiance to the British Empire. As a result those who refused to submit to Rhodesian authorities were coerced into forced labour and had their rights severely restricted: they lost their voting rights, all opportunities of government employment and government financial assistance, and were sometimes forced to endure humiliating punishments.[441] While there are no statistics on the number of Afrikaners in Southern Rhodesia those identifying as members of the Dutch Reformed Church in the census gradually increased but were well below the numbers estimated by immigration officials. Afrikaners were believed to account for one third of the white population.[442] Beyond the war anti-Afrikaner sentiment did not entirely dissipate; an immigration report in 1949 was alarmed that Afrikaner immigration had 'increased unduly' and that some of this

---

[440] Ian Phimister, 'White Miners in Historical Perspective', p.190.
[441] Gustav Hendrich, 'Allegiance to the Crown: Afrikaner Loyalty, Conscientious Objection, and the Enkeldoorn Incident in Southern Rhodesia During the Second World War', *War & Society*, 31, 3 (2012), pp.227-243.
[442] NAZ: A3/14/1-6 Immigration Report of Afrikaner Immigration to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1949, p.3.

number may have been South African Nationalist Party sympathisers.[443] For white labour organisations, as a largely rural population, Afrikaners were not looked upon as a particular threat within the labour market. Yet, Afrikaners were seen as particularly uneducated and apathy to the RLP in at least one district was explained through noting the 'preponderant Afrikaner vote, a vote which is particularly difficult to educate.'[444] While the presence of those involved in the RAF training scheme was contested, the presence of refugees and enemy internees provoked more straightforward denunciations. During the war a total of over 12,000 German, Austrian and Italians were interned in Southern Rhodesia as well as 1624 Polish refugees who were put into camps across the colony at Gatooma, Fort Victoria, Salisbury, Tanganyika and Umvuma.[445] Italians were treated with considerable suspicion and were accused of harbouring pro-fascist sympathies while the Polish were associated with the equally undesirable Jewishness and communism. When communist party recruitment propaganda surfaced in the colony it was blamed upon the increasing presence of 'newcomers'. Most disturbingly this propaganda embodied 'the dangerous peculiarities of the communistic thinkers…they are firm believers in equality of race and colour.'[446] Non-British whites could be imagined both as racist fascists out to exterminate and enslave, and sexually promiscuous communists hell-bent on equality and pursuing multiple interracial sexual liaisons. Anxieties concerning the lax sexual morals of new arrivals were confirmed when Polish women living in Tanganyika refugee camp were found to be having sex with the African servants that had been provided for them. Lawrence Vambe went as far as to describe the female camp as 'an unofficial brothel'.[447] As detailed in Figure Thirteen, Polish women were the only national group with more women than men in the colony. This in itself may have caused concern over unattended women existing outside of male control. The women were relocated to a camp in Gatooma, their perceived indiscretions dealt with much more severely than those of the RAF men who went around openly with African women. This reflected the relative power of British RAF

---

[443] Ibid., p.1.

[444] 'The Eastern Districts Result', *RRR*, September 1938, p.11.

[445] See Baxter Tavuyanago, Tasara Muguti, James Hlongwana, 'Victims of the Rhodesian Immigration Policy: Polish Refugees from the Second World War', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 38, 4, (2012), pp.951-965. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War*, p.231. Martin R. Rupiah, 'The History of the Establishment of Internment Camps and Refugee Settlements in Southern Rhodesia, 1938-1952', *Zambezia,* 22 (1995), pp.137-152. See also Kent Fedorowich and Bob Moore (eds), *The British Empire and Italian Prisoners of War, 1940-1947* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

[446] 'Letters to Editor, 'Communists and the Natives: Party Not Wanted in Colony', *Rhodesia Herald*, 26 March 1948, p.11.

[447] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe,* p.138.

men in comparison to female Polish refugees, but also wider attitudes towards interracial sex: white men having sex with black women was regarded as a lesser sin than white women sleeping with African men. White women's relationships with black men and their presence in African locations was seen as having deleterious effects upon African minds with the potential to stir up a frenzy of Black Peril.[448] Debates over whether to let internees and refugees remain in the country as settlers after 1945 centred upon the feared inability of these nationalities to conform to the mores of Rhodesian society. The presence of these undesirable nationalities, it was predicted, would result in a huge Coloured population.[449] Despite pleas to stay from internees and refugees, they were returned to their respective nations shortly after the war ended (See Figure Twelve and Thirteen). The presence of these national groups heightened xenophobia and informed the debates surrounding the participation of non-British whites in the Rhodesian economy.

Figure Eleven: Persons Identifying as Members of the Dutch Reformed Church, 1911-1969

---
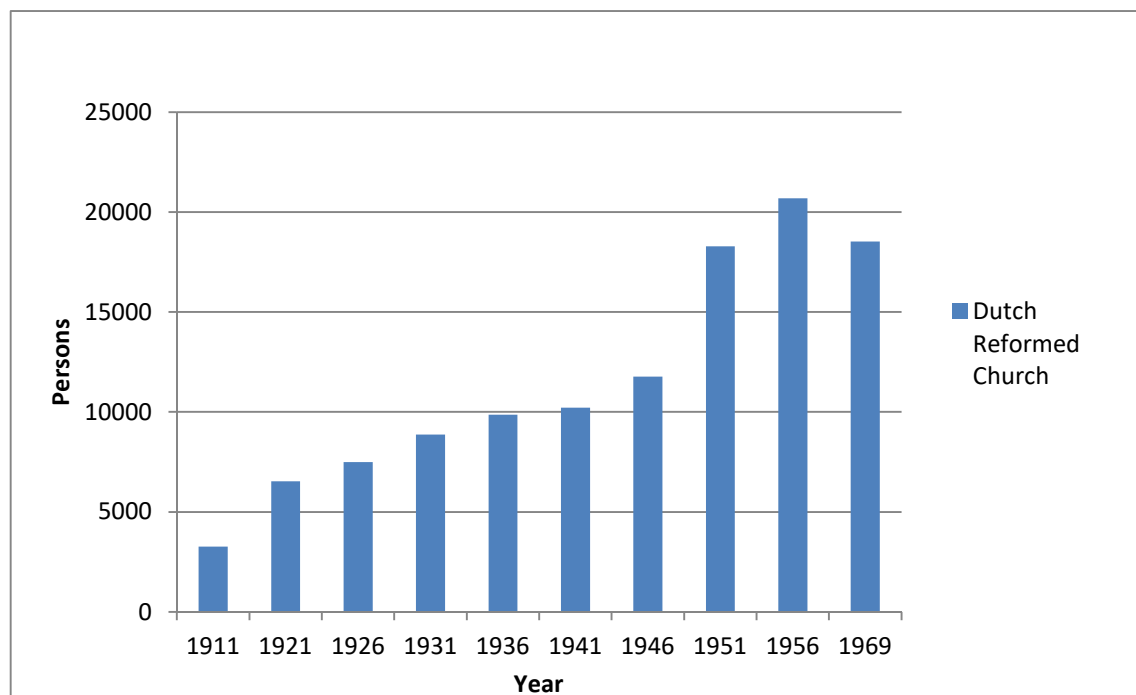
[448] Carina E. Ray, 'The White Wife Problem: Sex, Race and the Contested Politics of Repatriation to Interwar British West Africa', *Gender & History*, 21, 3 (2009), pp.628-646.
[449] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe,* p.159.

Figure Twelve: Numbers of Italian Men and Women in Rhodesia, 1926-1961

Numbers of Italian Men and Women
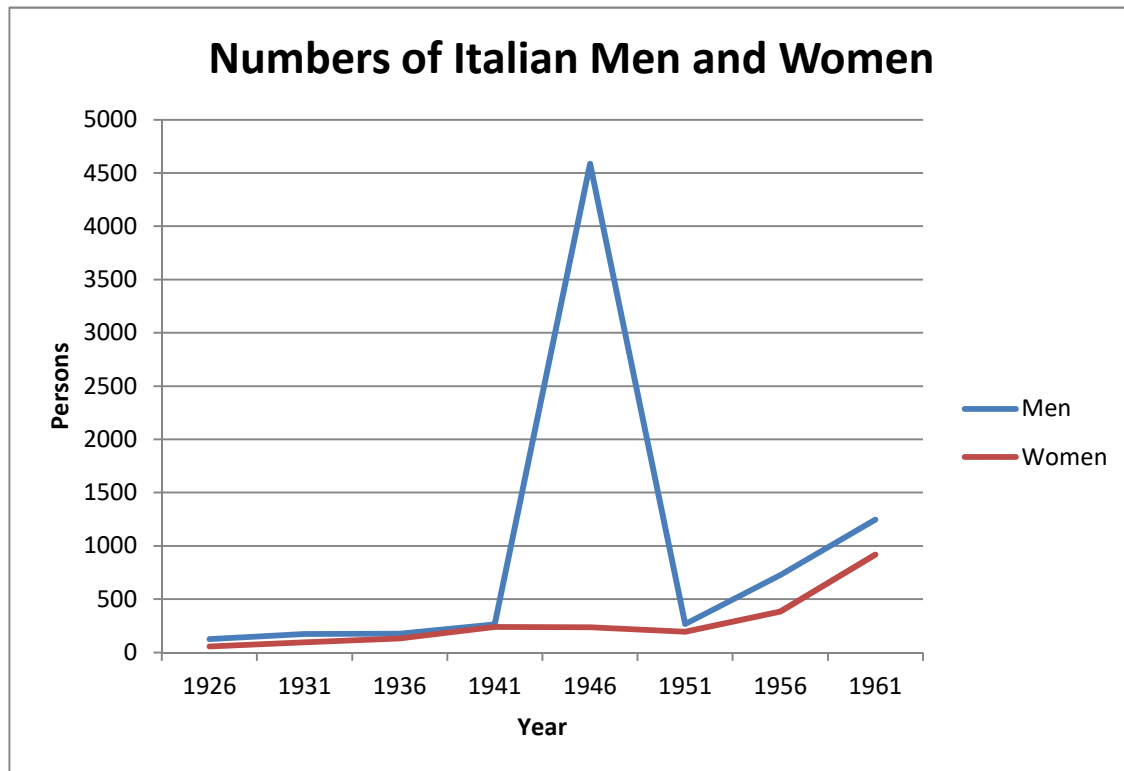
Figure Thirteen: Numbers of Polish Men and Women in Rhodesia, 1926-1961

Numbers of Polish Men and Women
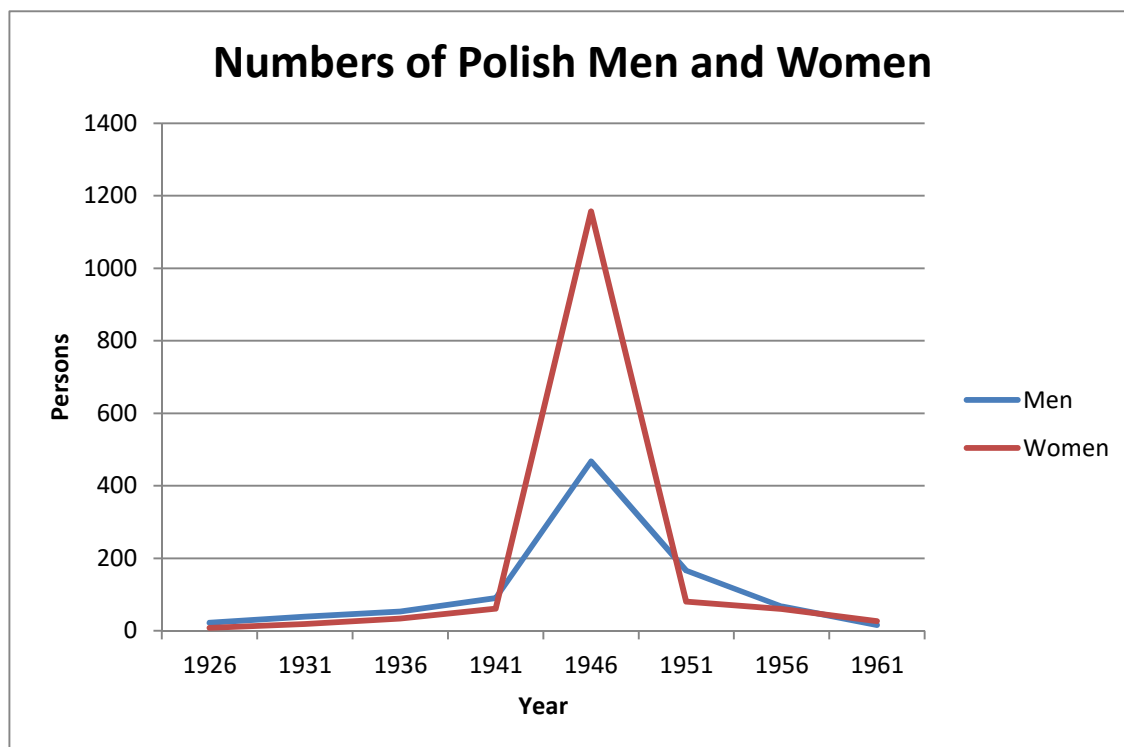
Figure Fourteen: Total Male and Female Minority European Populations in Rhodesia, 1921-1961
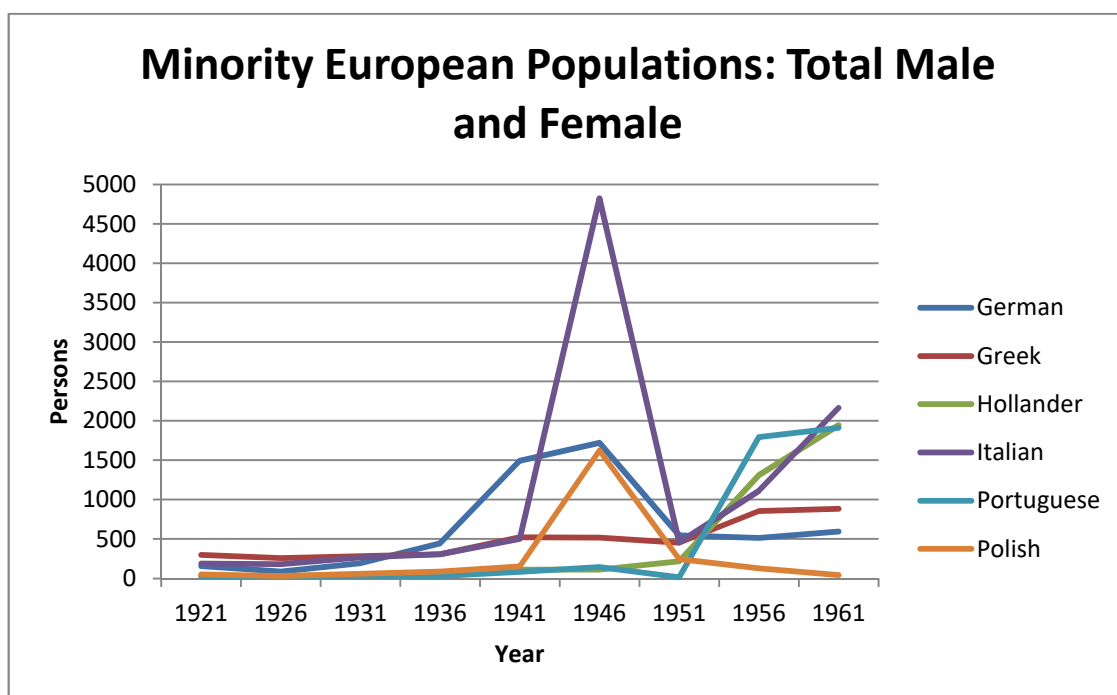
Prior to the war white trade unions repeatedly attempted to frustrate the potential of foreign Europeans working in the skilled trades.[450] Italians had been expelled from RRWU in July 1940 and the union officially protested against their employment. However, a considerable number of the Italians in the camps were skilled artisans some of whom possessed university degrees in engineering and the Government and private employers alike were keen to utilise their skills.[451] Italians were gradually employed outside the camps; the agricultural sector employed 297 Italians in 1943 which rose to 600 by 1944.[452] Notably, the agricultural sector was devoid of an organised white trade union to rally against their employment. Italians 'of good health and character' were also employed in the Rhodesia Air Training Group as to release airmen for service, although they would work under supervision and not on 'secret work' or final assembly.[453]

In 1943 and 1944 Railway administration had approached RRWU regarding re-hiring Italian ex-gangers who had been interned. The RRWU repeatedly decried the measure. Yet the railway management insisted that this was a last resort; they had consistently attempted to hire white youths within the colony to work as gangers on the railways, but

---

[450] See Phimister, 'White Miners', p.190.
[451] Johnson, *The Impact of the Second World War*, p.25.
[452] Ibid., p.27.
[453] NAZ: S801/2, Italian Labour Service (1944-1945), General Policy and Administration.

had failed to stir any interest. The RRWU lamented that the Rhodesian youth were spurning the role. Despite their attempts to characterise the ganger as a fulfilling, respectable career, RRWU had repeatedly failed to prevent its racialisation and gangers were increasingly seen as a position suitable only for non-British whites and Coloureds.[454] In 1945 the shortage had reached sixty-four out of a total of 242 ganger positions and in the same year at the RRWU Conference it was finally accepted that RRWU could not maintain its position on British preference. [455] The matter was put to the conference bluntly: 'which do we want: Coloured gangers or Italians?'[456] Jimmy Lister, prominent member of the RRWU and MP for the SRLP, pointed out that most Italians were members of the union prior to the war, and most had come out in the 1929 strike commenting that 'I am concerned with a man as a worker and not as a national...I would rather have a loyal foreigner than a Britisher who scabs in a strike.'[457] However, Roy Welensky argued that the shortage of Rhodesian and British recruits had been caused when the RRWU allowed Italians to fulfil the ganger role in the first place. No respectable Briton would want to take work that was associated with Italians, who had driven down the prestige of the ganger and accepted low wages. The problem resided with allowing non-British whites to take skilled and semi-skilled work. Once associated with undesirable white groups, particular jobs would become lost to respectable whites. Nevertheless the motion passed that Italians should be employed as gangers with the important caveat that if men returned from war and wanted a job Italians had to be replaced.[458] However, even as men returned from the war, the railways struggled to attract gangers and by 1946 wastage of this position had rose to an average of twenty-five per year.[459]

The conundrum over relaxing British preference for Coloureds or Italians did not recede and continued to divide opinion within the RRWU. The end of the war did not ease the aversion towards Italians. Nevertheless as pressures mounted further concessions were made in 1948 as the principle of hiring Polish and Italian artisans was accepted in order to deal with the increasing problem of the inadequate provision of houses for European staff and militate against what was perceived as management attempts to hire Africans

---

[454] 'Salisbury Branch Notes', *RRR*, October 1945, p.21.
[455] 'Shortage of Gangers on Railways', *Rhodesia Herald*, 2 November 1945, p.6.
[456] *RRWU Conference*, 1945, p.50.
[457] Ibid., p.51.
[458] Ibid., pp.50-52.
[459] *Report of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Social Welfare of the Coloured Community of Southern Rhodesia, 1946*, pp.69-70.

in this work.[460] Jimmy Lister had apparently changed his position and stated a marked preference for Coloureds to be employed rather than Italians 'as, after all, the former were British subjects.'[461] In some ways this was articulated as a matter of *loyalty*: who would support, or at least be unable to challenge, British white male interests. The exact position of particular groups within racial and national hierarchies was not always apparent. This presented a particular problem for white British workers attempting to enforce a strict racial division of labour. Particular confusion arose over how race should be structured into the workplace as it became increasingly evident that white skin was not necessarily preferable in every instance.

More generally the position taken towards Coloured workers was in a state of flux. The 1946 *Report into the Position of Coloureds* set out to identify skilled employment opportunities for the Coloured population. There were very few Coloured journeymen in skilled trades, apart from in clothing and furniture industries, in contrast with South Africa where it was more common for Coloureds to fulfil semi-skilled and skilled positions. The report identified two barriers to Coloured progression: the lower educational qualifications of Coloured youths that were insufficient to qualify for an apprenticeship and the reluctance of employers to take them on out of fear of trouble from white labour.[462] The first barrier lay in the racist provision of education in the country; the second, the commission concluded, derived from the fact that whites would resent working alongside Coloureds, both out of racial prejudice and fear of economic competition. The Commission lacked any real solution and concluded that until prejudice was eroded, or until a boom period arrived with plenty of work for all, little could be done; Coloureds would have to patiently wait.[463] The railways employed around sixty Coloureds as gangers, porters and cooks. Coloured progression had only occurred in the railways because of labour shortages and white recognition of the usefulness of Coloureds as a buffer between white and black. Only six Coloured persons were employed on the mines with membership of the Chamber of Mines, but others found some skilled work on small mines.[464] The building industry claimed it had no Coloured apprentices or journeymen. The 1941 census showed fourteen Coloured men working as bricklayers, although this was independently organised, and the commission questioned whether they could be regarded as skilled journeymen without

---

[460] *RRWU Conference*, 1948, p.77.
[461] Ibid., p.79.
[462] *Report of the Coloured Community*, p.21.
[463] Ibid., p.33.
[464] Ibid., pp.58-60.

holding the requisite professional qualifications.[465] Generally unorganised trades provided greater opportunities for Coloureds to progress into skilled positions.[466] The furniture industry employed twenty Coloured journeymen and forty-four apprentices. Coloured women were hired as upholsterers and machinists in the clothing industry. Employers in this industry stated a preference for Coloured labour and the report estimated this industry could provide work for fifty to sixty men and four-hundred to five-hundred women.[467]

White trade unionists' opposition to Coloureds taking on skilled jobs was articulated through assertions that Coloured labourers were not substantially different enough from Africans that they could maintain distance and command appropriate authority. Rhodesia Railways and the agricultural sector had the highest number of Coloured workers in supervisory positions over African labour, but neither proved entirely comfortable with the situation.[468] The Council of the Southern Rhodesia National Farmers' Union argued that the readiness with which Coloured labourers fraternised with Africans was cause for concern and prevented their promotion to higher positions. They argued that Coloured farm workers relapsed into inappropriate contact with Africans due to 'the absence of opportunity of social intercourse with their fellows [and] the absence of domestic comforts and standard of living and personal bearing which would make such conduct distasteful to them.'[469]

In 1947 a delegate to RRWU conference attempted to define which mixed-race persons were appropriate for skilled and supervisory work. As previously stated, the classification of mixed-race persons as 'native' or 'Coloured' in part relied upon the individuals' possession of 'white behaviours'.[470] Coloureds had to live in ways which were acceptable to white workers but some were accused of failing to meet the required standards. One RRWU member complained of a ganger who

> was either a Coloured or a Euro-African: these men were not the same as the Cape Coloured because they actually associated with the natives, and the gangers did not want to work with them because it lowered the status of gangers. And the natives themselves would not work under these gangers

The member stated that they did not have a problem with the administration hiring St-Helena or Coloureds, but strongly objected to 'half-castes'. Such differentiation relied

---

[465] Ibid., p.35.
[466] Ibid., p.34-5.
[467] Ibid., p.49.
[468] Table Seven, appendices, p.303.
[469] *Report of the Coloured Community*, p.62.
[470] Lee, *Unreasonable Histories*. See also, Laura Bear, *Lines of the Nation,* p.79.

upon subjective interpretation of behaviour rather than ancestral heritage.[471] The RRWU demanded that individuals were removed from the position of ganger if they were found to be 'living after the manner of an African'.[472] It was argued that Coloureds had a responsibility to maintain distance from their African workers if they wanted to retain semi-skilled and skilled positions. This self-identification as 'culturally European' was essential for Coloureds to be tolerated by white workers. White acceptance of Coloured promotion in part relied on an assumption that Coloureds would side with Europeans rather than the Africans they were meant to be supervising. Thus these racial definitions were informed by determining an individual's loyalty to the interests of white workers. During the 1945 railway strike of African workers, Coloureds had remained at work with the European staff.[473] Coloureds who abandoned 'white' behaviour, which included self-imposed ostracism from fellow African workers, or were prepared to support African industrial action, lost their usefulness as a socio-economic barrier between white and black.

The threat of undercutting and the pervasiveness of racial and national hierarchies, while important in explaining the chauvinism of RRWU, does not adequately address why particular ethnic or national groups were preferred in specific instances. As well as questions of loyalty, white prestige was at stake. Encouraging non-British whites with their lax sexual mores, dubious political affiliations (whether fascist or communist) and presumed lower standard of living, to take up permanent residence in the colony could compromise white superiority writ large. White trade unionists, as shown in Chapter One, struggled to reconcile the notion of respectability with the reality of white workers' experiences. The increased presence of these whites of 'lowly' racial status within the ranks of white labour threatened to tarnish this social group more broadly in Rhodesian society. Coloureds offered a safer option as their racial status was arguably more fluid; an individuals' status as Coloured was under constant negotiation depending upon their perceived attributes and racialised behaviours. While Coloureds could be redefined as 'natives' if they failed to behave in the 'correct ways' it would be harder to deny Italians their European ancestry. The presence of Italians, moreover, could create a larger and therefore stronger Coloured population.

This spoke to the relative elasticity of nationalist rhetoric and racial classification. The importance of loyalty to Britain and Empire proved conditional when used to curb the

---

[471] Ibid.
[472] *RRWU Conference*, 1947, p.118. See Table Seven, appendices, p.303.
[473] Vickery, 'Part One', p.553.

wages or working conditions of British whites; but was stressed as an insurmountable essence of the ideal worker in the face of competition from other non-British white workers. By the end of the 1940s RRWU had to concede that it had lost the position of ganger to non-British whites and Coloureds; the ganger had been racialised and, as a lonely and low paid job, was thoroughly inappropriate for socially aspirant white males. The infringement on what had previously been regarded as a white position was increasingly visible. Yet another group offered the opportunity to retain the association of some jobs with white respectability: white women.

Part Two: Women at Work

Despite pressures for women to remain in the home, white women took up paid employment throughout the period of minority rule. Recruitment patterns for white women changed over the century in response to competing pressures. Marriage restrictions, unequal wages and working conditions for men and women, as well as ideological stress upon the family and traditional gender roles, combined to create conditions in which women were encouraged to remain in the home upon marriage. The following explores broad historic patterns of female wage labour and the entrance of women into formal employment in greater numbers as a result of war shortages. In response to these changes white male workers used narratives which emphasised women's vulnerability in contrast to black men's violence and lust. By portraying women as helpless from the advances of African men and unscrupulous employers, trade unions dominated by white male workers laid claim to a virtuous masculinity.

Attempts to Keep Women in the Home

Rhodesian poet Cullen Gouldsbury pinpointed the idealised role of women and the fears of men who lost control over their presence in the home:

> yet, the sphere of women here
> Is hardly more than ornamental -
> to swish the skirt: to smile: to flirt,
> to captivate the detrimental! -
> To spend our cash, to cook our hash;
> To sew for us the sportive button,
> To reign within the house of tin,
> and coax our goat to taste like mutton.
> Yet still, we fear, the day draws near
> When women will no longer heed us,
> When beings in skirts will scorn our shirts,

And bid the heathen savage feed us[474]

Women in work were not fulfilling their domestic duties and were perceived as failing their husbands and children. A white woman in work meant her children were presumably being looked after by black staff. White reliance upon domestic staff was noted in *Labour Era* who described 'the utter dependence of the European on the African' and continued that

> we see the results of this evil of dependence all around us. We all know the woman who has given up the struggle and with the resigned attitude of 'leave it to the boy' has sunk herself and her family to a level far below that of any civilisation, to a level, in fact, dangerously near to that of the African she despises...we are retrogressing, our children are becoming dependents on the race they despise...as the culture of other white cultures are moving forward, we are moving backward.[475]

As argued in Chapter One, women were disciplined through shame. Mothers who were thought to be abandoning their natural roles as mothers were castigated as lazy. Such women were accused of bringing not only their families but the entire race into disrepute. In 1947 Southern Rhodesia's Department of Public Relations warned prospective settlers that while 'natives are very fond of children…the entire charge of children - and especially little girls - should never be left either to a native boy or native girl. No white girl should ever be left alone in the house without white supervision.'[476] Mothers were expected to police the boundaries between children and domestic staff. A failure to do so reflected upon the irresponsibility of the mother. As a result of her parents' poverty, Daphne Anderson's servant took what was deemed an inappropriate role in her upbringing: her relationship with her servant was so close Anderson's first language was not English, but Shona. As a child she was unaware of the perceived incongruous nature of this contact, but as she aged she increasingly recognised the impropriety of this relationship which incited shame and a fear that it could compromise her social standing. Imagining of a wealthy woman, Anderson wrote 'what would she say if I told her that I had been brought up by native servants and had been treated as one?'[477] Her grandparents were forced to intervene to separate Anderson and her sister from the servant, reintegrate them into white respectability, and instruct them in the appropriate relationships and performances regarding Africans. These relationships

---

[474] Cullen Gouldsbury, 'For Women Only. Land settlement in Rhodesia, Rider Haggard's Report condemned', *Rhodesian Rhymes* (Salisbury: Books of Rhodesia, 1969).

[475] 'Retrogressive Rhodesia', *Labour Front*, January 1946, p.26.

[476] Rhodes House Oxford: *Southern Rhodesia's Welcome to Women: Facts and Figures for the New Settler* (Salisbury: Department of Public Relations, 1947).

[477] Daphne Anderson, *The Toe-Rags,* p.197.

were not simply personal matters, but were informed and disciplined by official colonial practice and ideology. Overdependence upon African servants produced lazy whites who had no recognition of the moral value of work. White women who left their children in the care of the servants were castigated for failing their natural roles as mothers.[478]

The presence of Europeans was essential to the continued existence of the settler state. Alongside immigration, biological and social reproduction was necessary to ensure continued political control. Family life was seen as central to strengthening and developing the colony, and this had important consequences for how women's roles were envisioned. Moreover marriage and family life were thought to have a tempering effect on men's excesses; women were seen to engender stability and prevent the temptations of interracial sex. The nuclear family was the site of biological reproduction and of racial thinking. Yet the white family also reproduced the *skilled workforce.* Emphasis was laid on providing a good education to equip whites with requisite skills and encouraging strong family units to reproduce desirable behaviours and attitudes. White workers who wished to maintain the skilled monopoly on jobs thus had an interest in maintaining a high reproduction rate. The *Review* contended that low wages had prevented the ability of the white race to reproduce and expand:

> the number of children, with too few exceptions, is limited to one or two per family...all considerations of family are governed by financial expediency. If state assistance were granted and parents made allowances for over three children, then a nightmare of future financial worry would be removed, and there would be every chance of having healthy, instead of undernourished, children.[479]

Likewise the 1944 social Security report recognised the need for family allowances in order to protect and raise the birth rate; men and women were less likely to reproduce if they feared being able to support their children.[480] The marriage allowance, introduced in 1909, meant that white civil servants were entitled to a supplementary sum in line with their wages; the higher paid the civil servant, the more money he would receive as a marriage allowance. This incremental rate shows that the allowance was not about staving off poverty, but rather endeavoured to enable men of different classes to achieve

---

[478] Boucher, *Empire's Children.* p.145. For the contests, ambivalences and intimacies that domestic service involves see Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*; Victoria K. Haskins and Claire Lowrie (eds), *Colonization and Domestic Service: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015); Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900-1985* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).
[479] Assegai, 'Matters of Moment: Racial Suicide', *RRR*, May 1942, p.8.
[480] Report of the Social Security Officer, 1944,

particular idealisations of domesticity and familial life. Men under the age of twenty-six proved ineligible, perhaps reflecting the extended bachelorhood of many men in Southern Rhodesia as they competed for the attention of a limited number of white women. The allowance was finally abolished in the early 1950s and incorporated into a flat wage rate.[481] Significantly, extra wages paid to male employees centred upon concerns about the ability of white men to provide for their dependents. The existence of the marriage allowance itself signalled employer desire to stabilise white workers and was used to argue against women's entrance into the formal economy.

Employment opportunities for women were largely determined by marital status and women were usually expected to give up formal employment upon marriage. Employers were well aware of this and sought ways to keep labour turnover rates down. In 1909 a Public Service Board of Enquiry report suggested targeting ugly girls as they would be less likely to marry and would therefore stay in the service for longer. Restrictions on married women were repealed in 1931, but married women could not be employed on a permanent contract unless divorced or widowed.[482] Many married women earned less than their single counterparts, regardless of their experience or qualifications. For example in teaching married women could only earn temporary teacher rates and therefore a woman who had been earning between £380 and £570 per annum would be reduced to earning a maximum of £270 upon marriage.[483] Differential pay scales for men and women in the public service were justified through arguments that men had greater commitments than women who 'were young and most have their eyes on a marriage rather than on a career in the Public Service. The men, by very nature of cultural pattern, have their eye on a career and not necessarily on marriage.'[484] Despite continual labour shortages very little was done to improve working conditions to encourage women to enlist or remain in their chosen careers. The strength of the ideology of domesticity coupled with poor wages and working conditions meant many women actively chose not to enter the formal labour market.

Nursing suffered from perpetual shortages across the period of minority rule but this was intensified during the Second World War. By 1939 there was a shortage of thirty-

[481] Brenda Manjiche, *Implementation and Impact of the Marriage Allowance in Southern Rhodesia, 1914-1953* (UZ unpublished BA dissertation, 2012).

[482] Kufakurinani, *White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe,* pp.77-78; p.115.

[483] T.S. Chigwidden, Report on the Public Services of Southern Rhodesia, 1951-1952, quoted in Magaya Tinashe Aldrin, *A History of the Rhodesia Teachers Association* (unpublished BA honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2007), p.32.

[484] NAZ S2379/11/109, Dr Paterson, Report on Employment of Women in Southern Rhodesia, 1931-1945, quoted in Samora Jaruka, p.20.

five Registered Nurses in government hospitals which rose to seventy-six in 1943 to 1944 and to 121 by 1946. Short term measures, such as reducing the age requirement for training from 18 to 17.5 for the duration of the war and appeals from the Medical Director for married women to return on a part time basis, did little to ease the long-term crisis of recruitment and retention.[485] In line with the 1930 Civil Service Regulations, women gave up nursing upon marriage and could only be rehired on a temporary basis. In 1939 alone, two matrons, three Sisters and twenty-four staff nurses gave up their positions in order to become married. Internationally, wartime restrictions on the movement of nurses also limited the number of potential recruits, who had largely come from South Africa and Britain, especially during the early years of the colony's development. While restrictions were eased in the post-war period, poor retention of nursing staff continued to plague the medical profession. In 1948 out of sixty-two resignations, marriage was responsible for forty-five. In order to become a Registered Nurse, women had to be at least eighteen years old and training took four years to complete.[486] As most women were married by their early twenties, as detailed by Figure Seventeen and Eighteen, this produced a poor return on the investment in nurse training for the Rhodesian state. Recollections of a nurse who started work in Gatooma in 1930 reveal how medical authorities intervened in nurses' lives in attempts to prolong their careers as single women. She recalled that if nurses were making friends and enjoying their social lives they might be transferred to work under an 'unpopular matron'. Likewise, if a nurse had accepted a marriage proposal from a local man she could face being transferred to 'the other end of the country.'[487]

Women as Wage Labourers

Women were dissuaded from taking on jobs that were perceived as damaging white prestige, that compromised a woman's femininity, or that brought them into inappropriate contact with black men. Yet, in small numbers women took on jobs deemed only appropriate for Africans. Barmaids, although never totalling one-hundred, were consistently present in the economically active population, and those listed as domestic servants and maids double from 145 in 1926 to 310 in 1936, although by the 1960s this was below one-hundred. Very occasionally, one or two women appeared on

---

[485] Ivo Mhike, "A Case of Perennial Shortage": State Registered Nurse Training and Recruitment in Southern Rhodesia Government Hospitals, 1939-1963 (unpublished BA Honours Dissertation, Economic History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2007), p.39; 54.
[486] Ibid., p.12; p.23; pp.59-60.
[487] E.R. Cole, 'Gatooma Hospital', *Rhodesian Nurses Newsletter*, vol. 5, no. 2, June 1972, pp.1-2.

the census in unexpected categories - as industrial foremen, motor mechanics, vulcanisers, well sinkers, water drillers and painters and decorators. Female employment was generally undesirable, but in many cases it was deemed unacceptable. Jobs which involved duties that carried the potential to deepen interracial familiarity between white women and black men were widely condemned. The Church of England Synod, for example, argued that white women should not work in bars as barmaids, because women were required to drink with customers which increased risking exposing them to prostitution.[488]

While the number of women working on farms, including those owning, managing or assisting as wives or daughters, amounts to a small fraction of economically active women, the discussions around female agricultural labour nonetheless reveals the particular roles envisioned for both white men and women in the colony. At its height farming accounted for 11.7 percent of female activity in 1926, which steadily declined to around one percent by 1969, (See Table Eight and Figure Sixteen).[489] Deborah Kirkwood has shown that wives were likely to have been involved in some elements of farm operations, acting as medics for farm labourers, running farm shops and assisting with necessary administrative duties.[490] Women were discouraged from pursuing agricultural work, both as wage earners, and as independent land owners. Women were warned that they would not be able to handle the climatic conditions nor the loneliness characteristic of farming. But the primary concern of colonial authorities lay in the potential of lone white women overseeing African labour. This raised images of potential inappropriate contact with Africans, but also white women's frailty and vulnerability. In 1922 the *Report for Agricultural Openings for Women* issued by the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women warned that "the African" 'respects a man, whereas he does not respect a woman'. While some women may have had sufficient capital to set up a farm, it was regarded that they did not possess equivalent management skills or ability to control African labour as European men. The Society instead suggested poultry farming on the condition that

> they will have the protection of a married man and his
> family...the object of such an arrangement is that the native
> labourers may know that there is a white man other than an

---

[488] McCulloch, *Black Peril, White Virtue: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia,* p.95; 105.
[489] Appendices, p.298 and Chapter Three, p.141.
[490] Kirkwood, 'Settler Wives'.

ordinary European employee who may be called upon to take command of affairs if necessary.[491]

The 'ordinary European employee' was not regarded as possessing sufficient authority to control African workers, and these women were instructed to look for a 'married man'. Implicit here is the suggestion that those European men who were unable to find a wife were unlikely to be able to command authority. In controlling Africans they were as worthless as white women and children.

Over the period of minority rule women generally remained in traditional welfare and caring professions, administrative work and unpaid work which supported their husband's professions.[492] Clerical work was the largest single occupation for women in Rhodesia from 1926 until 1969. The number of women working in clerical positions doubled from 1946 to 1951 and almost trebled from 1951 to 1961. By 1969 19,764 women were employed on clerical work. This sector accounted for around a quarter of female employment during the 1930s, increased to 39.4 percent in 1946 and 59.3 percent by 1969. The feminisation of clerical work in the twentieth century was a general trend across western societies although this process occurred at a slightly slower pace in Rhodesia as indicated by Table Ten.[493] This can be explained in part by the ratio of women to men in the colony, but also reflected the relative strength of conservative gender ideologies.

---

[491] *Report for Agricultural Openings For Women* issued by the Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women, 1922, p.5.
[492] See *The Incorporated Wife*.
[493] Clerical work includes those described in the census as clerks, typists, stenographers, book-keepers, and in the 1969 census, computing machine operators. Table Ten, appendices, p.298.

Figure Fifteen: Economically Active Women as a Percentage of Adult Women and of Totally Economically Active Persons, 1926-1969

Women's Employment Trends, 1921 to 1969

Chart plotting Percent against Year (1921, 1926, 1931, 1936, 1941, 1946, 1951, 1956, 1961, 1969). Two series shown: "Women who are Economically Active as a Percentage of the Female Population 15 Years and Over" and "Women as Percentage of Total Economically Active Persons".

Figure Sixteen: Women's Occupations as a Percentage of Total Economically Active Women

Chart plotting Percent against Year (1926, 1936, 1941, 1946, 1951, 1956, 1961, 1969). Series: Clerical, Teachers, Nurses, Shop Assistants, Hairdressers and Beauty, Farmers.
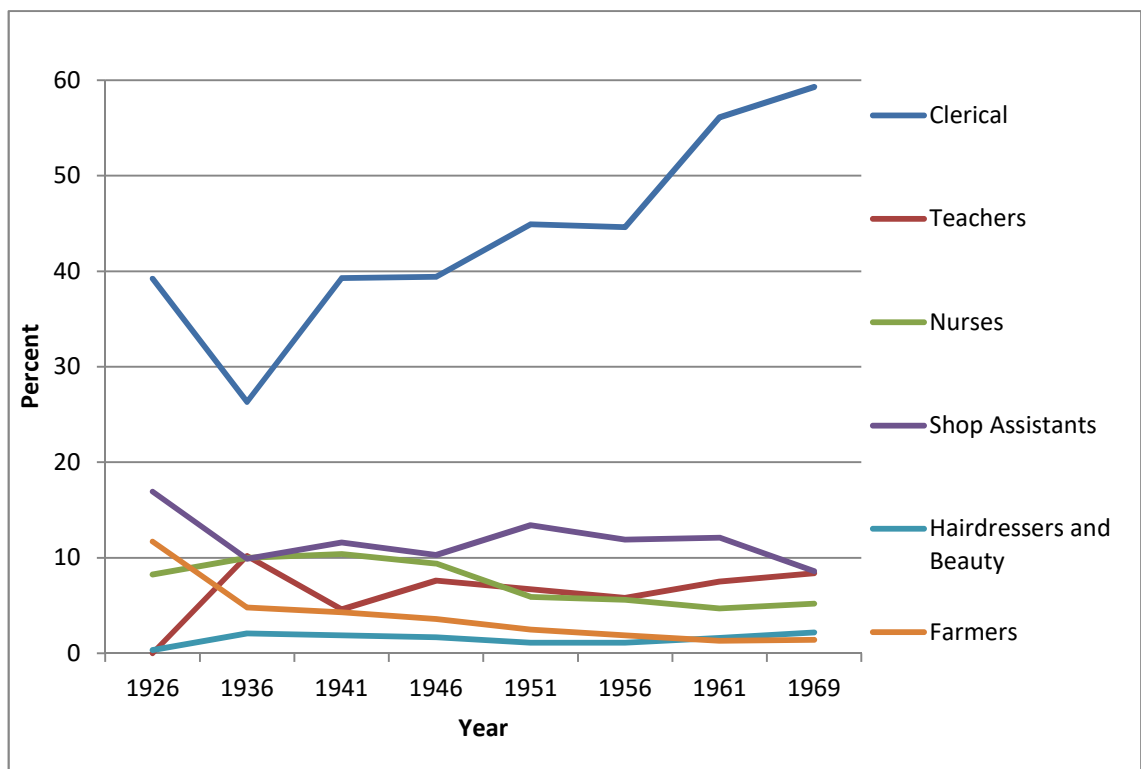
Figure Seventeen: Men and Women Married and Never Married per 1000 of the Male and Female Population by Age, 1936
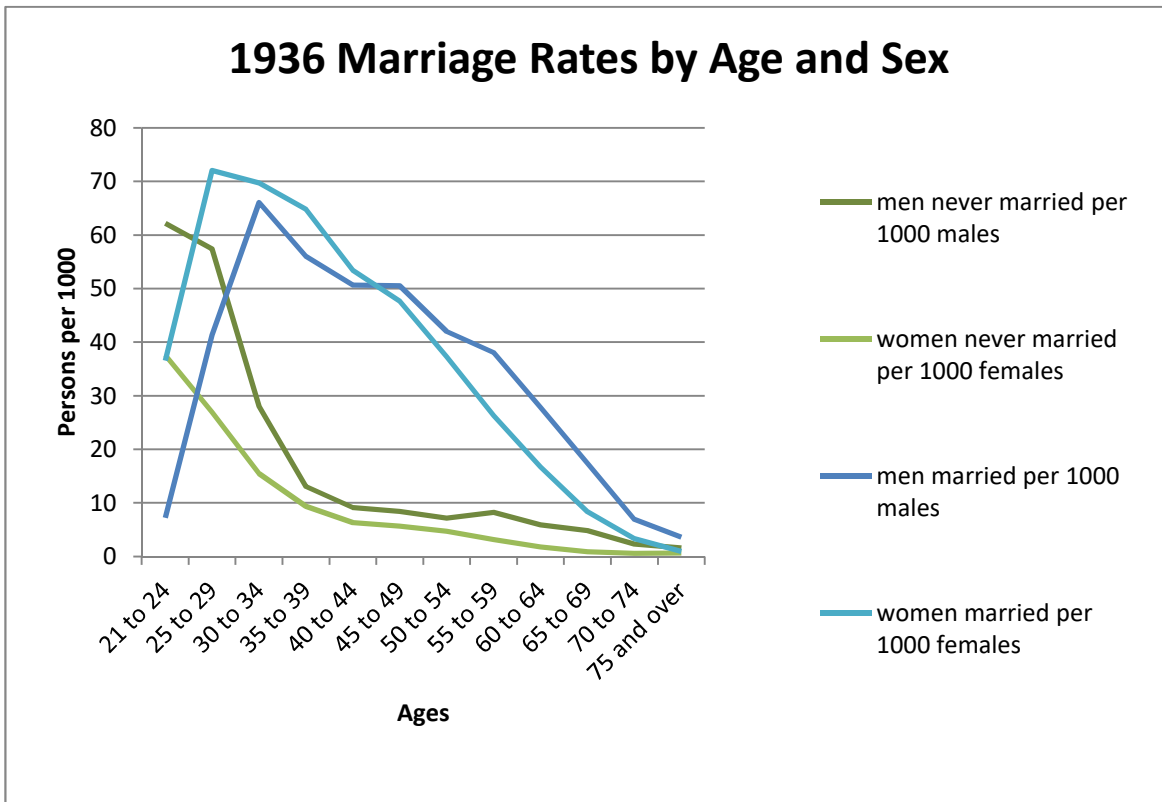
Figure Eighteen: Men and Women Married and Never Married per 1000 of the Male and Female Population by Age, 1941
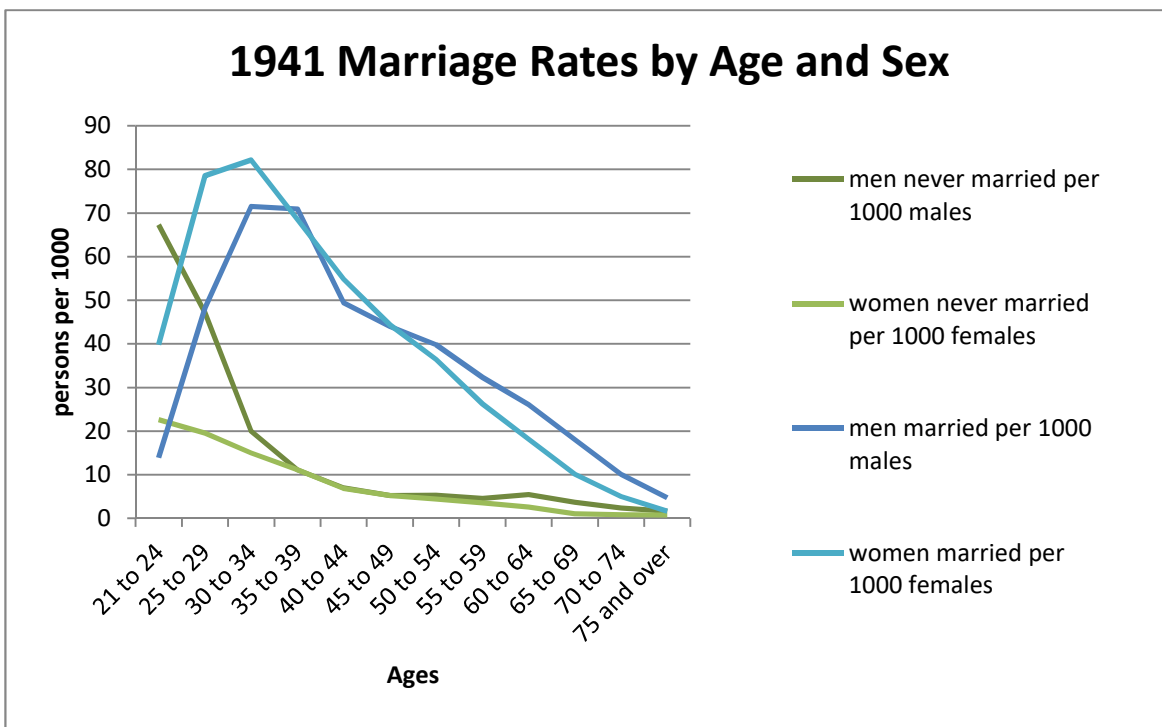
Effects of the War on Female Labour Patterns

As part of the civilian workforce during the War women comprised thirty-three per cent of total employed in the US and thirty-nine percent in the UK.[494] In Southern Rhodesia this figure was slightly lower at 27.9 percent but nevertheless more adult women were taking paid employment than ever before. As the Second World War continued the employment of young men was increasingly seen as a waste of training resources by the civil service as it was anticipated that they would soon be called up for military service and by 1940 recruitment had a female preference where possible as it was presumed that women would be available for a longer period of time.[495] Experienced female civil servants were forbidden to leave their posts if no other women could fill the vacancy.[496] At the outbreak of war investigations into harnessing women's labour towards war production were initiated. In 1939 the Rhodesian Parliament passed the National Registration Act which enabled the registration of all white women aged sixteen to fifty-five and employers were expected to give breakdowns of the number of women that they hired. Overseeing the process was the Women National Service League which was established in the same year.[497] The Women's Auxiliary Territorial Service was formed in June 1940 to ease labour shortages which were already apparent. The extensive scheme planned to look into making female labour available to wholly replace male labour and release men for the war effort. This included the recommendations that every position 'which can be held by a woman, and which has previously been held by a man of military age' was to be filled by a woman, and, that every new task which arose for the war effort be examined to determine whether or not it was suitable for women to perform. Childcare and nurseries to release women from domestic duties for employment alongside a widespread publicity campaign were also suggested, although neither materialised and women were never conscripted into service.[498] Women were employed as clerks, drivers, post women, mess assistants in training camps, and in manufacturing ammunition.[499] The majority were married women who had husbands in active service and although the women who volunteered received basic training

---

[494] Margaret Walsh, 'WomanPower: The Transformation of the Labour Force in the UK and the USA since 1945', *Recent Findings of Research in Economic & Social History*, 30 (2001), http://www.ehs.org.uk/dotAsset/4e68f7d2-4ddb-4d34-889d-30c831beb6b1.pdf [accessed 19 August 2017], p.1.

[495] Report of Public Service Board, 1941, p.1.

[496] Monica King, *Serving in Uniform: Women in Rhodesia Defence Forces and the Police, 1939-1980* (unpublished BA Honours Dissertation, Economic History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 2000), p.32.

[497] Kufakurinani, *White Women and Domesticity*, pp.110-111.

[498] NAZ S482 198/40 'Square Pegs in Round Holes', p.2.

[499] King, *Serving in Uniform*, p.17.

including firing a rifle and drill practice they only fulfilled non-combat duties.[500] By the end of the war a total of 1510 women would have served in full-time capacity, 137 of whom served abroad.[501] The Southern Rhodesia Women's Auxiliary Air Service mainly performed unskilled work such as parachute packing, but also engaged in skilled work such as testing and repairing flying equipment.[502] Despite wartime shortages a call for 706 women to join the Women's Auxiliary Service garnered only sixty-nine responses in Salisbury and sixty-eight in Bulawayo. Women declined variously quoting a shortage of petrol to drive to location, ill health, reluctance to perform drill and military training and childcare duties.[503]

Figure Nineteen: Women Marching at RAF Base at Hillside, Private Collection

White women worked in the new munitions factories, Rofac and Sofac, located in Bulawayo and Salisbury respectively. In both factories white women dominated the labour force, albeit under white artisan male supervision. Repetitive work was seen as a suitable avenue for white women as an interim wartime measure.[504] In commerce and industry positions for women were considered to be far more restricted as most positions were already filled by men who were ineligible for service either due to age, health or nationality. It was thought that women might be introduced into various manual trades including within the electrical industry as armature winders and in

---

[500] Ibid., p.20.
[501] J. F. MacDonald, *The War History of Southern Rhodesia, 1939-1945, vol.2* (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1976), Appendix, p.i.
[502] King, *Serving in Uniform*, p.27.
[503] Ibid., p.30.
[504] Johnson, *The Impact of the Second World War,* p.154.

various roles within the printing industry.[505] However, the replacement of men by women was slow and by no means enacted on a wide scale. The registration of available women only began in January 1942.[506] While the training of women to replace men in skilled clerical positions was seen as a desirable move that would not compromise women's femininity, those directing the training process held reservations about women with poor education from lower class backgrounds progressing through the programme. Rivell's Commercial Classes noted that ever growing numbers of young women with little to no training were being absorbed into commercial work, and would be 'kept on at a low standard of wages and...add to the government's 'difficulties' in the inevitable depression period which will follow the war'. Rather than advocate training for these inexperienced women, they suggested that 'beginners' should not be given chances to attend training events as 'schools would be inundated with all kinds of girls where general education is poor and who would only make indifferent workers at the end of their training'.[507] The type of work women would perform was shaped by class position. Doris Lessing's recalled social separation from her earliest years: at her school she was told not to socialise with the 'common girls' by the house mother as 'they were common...and when we were separated, sheep from goats, on leaving school, the common girls would be mere shop assistants and cinema attendants.'[508] Growing up during the War in Que Que, Val Sherwell recalled how her own mother refused to socialise with teachers, mechanics, shop-keepers or butchers who she saw as inferior and frowned upon Sherwell for making friends with 'railway people.'[509] Wartime nationalism did not overcome class prejudices. Something was lacking in lower class women's work ethic and ability but, moreover, women's supposed *indifference* to work relied upon stereotypes that women were naturally inclined to be more interested in homemaking and socialising, finding or doting upon husbands and raising children.

Women, Trade Unions and Struggles for Improved Conditions

Employing women had several benefits for employers. They were generally not unionised and could be hired at lower wages with less benefits than their male counterparts. Women generally had little chance for promotion, and suffered poor

---

[505] NAZ S482/198/40 Letter to Prime Minister from the Controller of Industrial Manpower, 9th March, 1942, Commenting upon suggestions made 23rd Feb letter from AA and QMG, p.1.
[506] King, *Serving in Uniform*, p.14.
[507] NAZ S482 198/40 Letter to Mr. Sutherns from Rivell's Commercial Classes
[508] Doris Lessing, *Under My Skin: Volume One of My Autobiography, to 1949* (London: Flamingo, 1995), p.148.
[509] Val Sherwell, *The Guinea Fowl Girl: A Colonial Childhood in Southern Rhodesia, 1939-1958* (Armidale: Fastnet Books, 2012), p.38.

conditions and working rights. While many women accepted their terms of employment some women offered limited resistance to their conditions. In the face of criticism that suggested their entrance into formal employment spelt the end of the family, white female workers argued conversely that their employment enabled them to provide a greater home life and opportunities for their children.[510] In some cases women were successfully incorporated into existing unions. However, in many cases women's pressure upon their trade union representatives failed to result in significant gains. Some resigned in protest at unfair conditions or attempted to gain employment in the commercial sector that boasted better conditions and wages. Ushehwedu Kufakurinani has argued that while there is no evidence to suggest that the women employed by the civil service took independent militant action against their unfair conditions of service, it is highly likely that women participated in the 1919 Civil Service strike.[511] Immediately before the outbreak of the Second World War, RRWU maintained its hostility towards the hiring of women. One letter blamed railwaymen and their wives for taking employment away from the white youth of the country, pointing out that many railwaymen took on second jobs while their wives worked.[512] Particular disdain was reserved for married women and in 1940 RRWU pressed for all married women to be fired and replaced with single women.[513] However, the RRWU relaxed its attitudes towards women workers during the war. While in 1926 the railways employed 1594 white men and fifty-nine white women by 1941 this had risen to 2414 white men and 206 white women. Over forty percent of male clerical staff were released for war duty and in 1943 just under fifteen percent of the total European railway staff were on active service which saw numbers of white women employed rise to 413.[514] Female clerks employed as a wartime measure on the railways began on a starting wage of £180 to £202 per annum. Women were also entitled to annual increments of £15 and by 1943 experienced clerks could receive up to £262.[515] Such incentives suggest employers were keen to retain their female staff. In 1945 RRWU accepted the principle that the union should fight for female clerks and male clerks to share the same grading, and therefore receive the same wages, but in 1947 female clerks were still earning over thirty percent

---

[510] Kufakurinani, *White Women and Domesticity,* p.103.
[511] Ibid., p.63; 86; 97.
[512] Fairplay Always, 'Letters: Live and Let Live', *RRR*, September 1939, p.26.
[513] *RRR*, February 1940, p.6.
[514] Annual Conference of 1943, General Manager's Address to Conference, pp.35.
[515] W. Skillicorn, 'Women Clerks Employed as a War Time Measure: Conditions of Employment', *RRR*, June 1944, p.5.

less than their male counterparts.[516] Wage disparities persisted even in overwhelmingly female occupations. In 1940, out of 500 teachers only 166 were men. In the same year, in the highest grade men earned £860 to £1100 per annum, while women earned £700 to £900.[517] The Rhodesia Teaching Association membership had grown from fifty-five in 1917 to five-hundred and seventy in the early 1950s. Unsurprisingly due to the gendered ratio of the profession and organisation, the RTA pushed for equal wages from the Second World War.[518]

There were also some attempts to unionise women in low paid factor work during the war. In 1939 over one hundred white women attempted to establish an organisation that placed wages 'on a civilised standard.' They asked for a minimum wage of ten pounds a month, but were summarily dismissed by the Chambers of Commerce who also rejected their attempt to form a union. The state was keen to prevent female unionisation and the establishment of a minimum wage. There was agitation over sixty-six white women employed on piece work at the United Cigarette Company who received seven pounds a month. While the Industrial Inspector was keen to stress the contentment of the women, the RLP pointed out that in the absence of a trade union women were less likely to speak out about their wages and conditions in fear of reprisals and victimisation. An attempt to unionise these low paid women by better paid women proved unsuccessful. While initial meetings attracted at least twenty-five women, management threatened to dismiss the women if they attempted to form a union.[519]

While white labour organisations had unsuccessfully argued for minimum wages to be officially instated across the colony for years, the entrance of white women into low paid work in larger numbers during the war equipped white labour organisations with compelling images of virtuous and vulnerable women at the mercy of greedy employers to add emotive appeals to their cause. Demands for the minimum wage stipulated that the lowest amount paid had to be the same for white and black workers so that no employer would employ the latter over the former. The RLP remained noticeably silent when one Rhodesia Party MP asked if the RLP were as keen to extend the minimum wage to domestic servants that they employed in their own homes.[520] While the RLP

---

[516] *RRWU Conference*, 1945, p.75. 'Salaried Staff Enquiry', *RRR*, January 1947, p.5. Figures worked out from female maximum of £347 4s per annum, and male maximum of £508 10s.
[517] Aldrin, *A History of the Rhodesia Teachers Association*, p.30.
[518] Ibid., p.38.
[519] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1938, p.1023.
[520] Ibid., p.1004.

demanded a minimum wage they maintained that any such stipulation would, of course, require different minimums for men and women.

Nevertheless, the RLP argued that women in factories and low paid work worked in deplorable conditions that amounted to 'sweated labour', and were forced to inhabit charitable subsidised hostels because they could not afford decent accommodation in which they slept on wire stretchers with no mattresses. Some of the women who worked in the factories had to supplement their wages by working in the bioscopes after their shifts had finished. This meant that women had to walk the streets alone at night and the RLP claimed that this had led to one or two women being attacked.[521] The RLP accused commercial houses of paying women between two and five pounds a month while knowing that a reputable lodging would demand at least six or seven pounds a month in rent. Jimmy Lister claimed that women were working in Umtali as shop assistants on two pounds a month. Without sufficient wages, it was feared that white women would lower themselves in order to generate extra income.[522] The RLP argued that this lack of money for women meant that 'sometimes immorality is the result.'[523] The absence of white men was presumed to leave women vulnerable and isolated. In 1947 the Department of Public Relations advised

> women new to the country must remember that there may be prying
> eyes. Make sure that your curtains are adequate and are drawn at
> night…precautions should be taken, especially when the women are
> on farms or are forced to live alone.

Farming districts were singled out as places where women would be at particular risk in the event of husbands and sons being engaged in military service abroad or as part of the war effort in the towns. As a protective measure these women 'very often [had] iron bars fixed across their bedroom windows and a loaded shotgun stood against the wall at the bedside.' Yet even in the towns white women were warned not to assume that their safety was assured, especially if they were 'sleeping alone'. The Department advised that bars should be fixed to downstairs bedroom windows in accommodation for single white women.[524]

While there were some changes in attitudes towards women in wage labour, progress remained limited. Women's work was consistently devalued. The *Herald* printed that

---

[521] Ibid., p.995.
[522] Ibid., p.1009.
[523] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1939-1940, p.831.
[524] Rhodes House Oxford: *Southern Rhodesia's Welcome to Women: Facts and Figures for the New Settler* (Salisbury: Department of Public Relations, 1947), p.34.

women who worked were causing hairdressers to have to work long hours as they could not get their hair cut during the day. Leading hairdressers had suggested that employers should give their female staff time off during the day in order to visit the hairdresser. If employers wanted their female 'employees to look nice they should fall in line with this suggestion'. Yet another hairdresser pointed out that 'some working girls were already given time off for shopping.'[525] More broadly the RLP remained very much male-dominated.[526] In 1939 the RLP promoted Mrs Gladys Maasdorp for election in Salisbury Central and Mrs O. Liebermann in Lomagundi, but this represented merely two out of twenty-six labour candidates.[527] The introduction of white women into employment roles previously limited to white men was welcomed partially because it was seen as a safeguarding measure until the war had ended and returned soldiers could ease the dearth of white male recruits. White women, it was thought, could be pushed back into the home much more easily than Africans could be pushed back into unskilled work. By couching recruitment in terms of a war effort, women could be reminded that this was a temporary patriotic measure, not a fundamental change in their natural roles in society. Hostilities towards female employment re-emerged when women failed to return to the home in the post-war period. Therefore while AMWR applauded women's effort and aptitude in 'performing functions which are not usually associated with their sex such as oxy-acetylene welding and soldering,' they also vehemently argued that women had become too bold and that they had to make the choice between chivalry and equality. If women wanted to be treated as equals on the labour market, then 'women who were competitors must be treated as men.'[528] Whereas rules about married women in work relaxed, prejudices persisted. The *Review* continued to carry articles and letters which denounced married women for taking work away from unemployed single women.[529]

The Rhodesian state was keen to stress the role of housewife and mother and retain discriminatory employment practices. In the 1950s the Chigwidden Report argued that there was no popular feeling from women to remove marriage restrictions. Women supposedly preferred the freedom and flexibility that came with part-time work which allowed them 'to take their holidays when their husbands are on leave, to transfer from

---

[525] 'Women's Hairdressers in Salisbury Often Work Ten Hour Day', *Rhodesia Herald,* 26 October 1945, p.3.
[526] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1939-1940, p.832.
[527] A.B. Colling, 'The New Labour Party', *RRR*, February 1923, p.18.
[528] 'Munitions Manufacture in Rhodesia (reprinted from Rhodesian Mines and Industries)', *Granite Review*, June 1942, p.5. 'The Idea of Chivalry', *Granite Review*, August 1946, p.1.
[529] See section on women in Chapter Four.

one centre to another with their husbands and to relinquish their employment at short time notice for domestic reasons'.[530] Maternity pay was discussed in the social security report of 1944, but it concluded that the 'peculiar conditions' of Rhodesia meant that 'the personal care and protection of mothers for their children [was] highly desirable'. Maternity pay would encourage women away from their important roles as mothers.[531] How far these government reports actually reflected women's desires is unclear. The boredom and loneliness of white women, whose racism prevented them from forming meaningful bonds with the people they had most contact with - their domestic servants - often meant that employment offered a life outside the confines of domesticity. Certainly, at its 1946 Annual Congress, the Federation of Women's Institutes in Southern Rhodesia called for an end to the marriage bar.[532]

There was a slight decrease in the percentage of adult women noted as economically active in 1946 as men returned from war. But female employment continued to grow and there was a growing tendency for women to stay in employment after marriage. Twenty-four percent of married women in 1951 were in employment and they accounted for forty-nine percent of all economically active women.[533] For employers, white women were attractive as they could be paid less than their male counterparts, and, importantly, their employment did not create the intensity of backlash from white male workers that hiring Africans would have done. White male workers saw the need to keep women in the home to protect their own self-image as providers but female employment had its advantages. It kept Africans, Coloureds and non-British white men from permanently usurping these roles and it increased white worker's family incomes. Nevertheless, the ideology that located women in the home was not dispelled and existed uneasily alongside increasing female employment.

Part Three: The Threats of African Presence and Agency

The Growth of the African Middle Class

White trade unions' attitudes towards hiring white women, Coloureds and non-British whites were ultimately dictated by pragmatism; all of these incursions could be tolerated if it meant that Africans could be kept out of skilled trades. However, this failed to prevent African progression into what were deemed historically white male

---

[530] Chigwidden Report, quoted in Aldrin, *A History of the Rhodesia Teachers Association,* p.85.
[531] Report of the Social Security Officer, 1944, p.40.
[532] Kufakurinani, *White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p.135.
[533] 1951 Census, p.18.

jobs. Men and women workers felt especially hostile to Africans who rose into skilled work. Clements Kadalie's autobiography gives some indication of the process. He noted that

> A European female typist...could not tolerate seeing me in the same office at my desk doing the same clerical work as herself...perhaps it was the first time this European women had met an African doing this type of skilled work. She definitely hated me.[534]

Having made some progress with regards to work conditions and employment prospects, white women were not prepared to see this being eroded by the entrance of Africans.

The response of this European female typist to an African performing skilled work tapped into wider fears of white workers towards the social class Kadalie represented. Despite repeated attempts by the state to align skin colour to the contours of class, from the earliest days of white occupation African class differentiation existed and was exacerbated by the uneven development of capitalism in the region. Although a relatively small group, elite Africans represented European fears of African advancement and Africans' attainment of skill and education was a constant source of unease to white workers. The growth of an African middle class was stunted by the Rhodesian state. Africans educated up to standard six or seven were generally regarded with high social status and up until 1945 only two Africans had received university education in Southern Rhodesia. Most had to go abroad to Europe or the famous University of Fort Hare in South Africa to receive higher education.[535] These lawyers, doctors, teachers and businessmen were by no means an insignificant part of Rhodesian society, and during early years of white rule looked to settlers for acceptance and equality and made evolutionary political demands rather than desiring the radical overthrow of Rhodesian society.[536] They used the language of 'civilisation' to fight for the political and economic rights they felt they were entitled to by proving they were above the 'average' African.[537]

While the African middle class during these earlier years clung onto the idea of racial partnership under the axiom of 'equal rights for all civilised men', this should not necessitate the assumption that African elites saw *all* whites as civilised. The white

---

[534] Quoted in Ian Phimister, 'An Emerging African Proletariat', p.61.
[535] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe,* p.165.
[536] West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class*, p.21.
[537] Ibid., p.23; p.109.

manual worker had little education compared with the western-educated African elite, perhaps with a law degree or engaged in the medical profession. Certainly, the low status of some settlers did not go unnoticed by the emerging African elite. Joshua Nkomo was one of the few highly educated Africans and would go on to found and lead the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and serve as vice President of Zimbabwe in the independent state. Before his entrance into nationalist politics he was employed on the Rhodesia Railways in the Department of African Affairs and was elected to lead the African trade union. He described how his superior, a welfare officer who had no training and only 'education up to school leaving level' was paid one-hundred pounds a month, while he himself was paid twelve pounds a month despite holding a university degree. Nkomo refused to attend the daily morning line ups in which African employees were searched by the compound police, who, Nkomo stated, 'decided I was some new sort of animal, and left me alone.' Generally he described those whites who worked directly with him as 'well meaning' but nevertheless admitted that his promotions, personal office and access to a telephone and typewriter, meant that he was often the recipient of anger and insults from white staff who complained about his presence and sought to exclude him. Nkomo observed that he was not invited to the white employees 'tea club' but maintained that these passive aggressive behaviours did not unsettle him.[538]

Many more educated Africans failed to secure suitable employment which matched the qualifications they held. T. S. Hlabangana wrote to the *Labour Front* to complain that Europeans were hired as teachers in African schools which restricted the already limited employment avenues for educated Africans. As well as warning of a 'fanatic nationalism' that would emerge as a result of closing off avenues of progression, Hlabangana questioned the ability of whites to fulfil all skilled positions. His evaluation of the 'level' of whites was damning; whites had allowed themselves to become unskilled, uneducated and complacent:

> the lack of balance in the economic structure of the country has lowered the general level of European skill. It is not very necessary for Rhodesian Europeans to acquire higher education since their skins give them sufficient physical and financial protection. This has given Europeans a false and certainly

[538] Joshua Nkomo, *The Story of my Life* (London: Methuen, 1984), pp.40-46. See also, Ezekiel Makunike, *I Wont Call You Sir: Black Journalist's Encounters in White-ruled Rhodesia* (Harare: SAPES, 1998).

temporary security and will ultimately lead to the emergence of a 'poor white' class.[539]

The figure of the poor white, often used by white labour in order to argue for greater protection, was now being used by Africans to indict the racialised economic structures of Rhodesian society and condemn white workers as lazy. In doing so they inverted racial stereotypes of slothfulness and productivity. Such assertions of humanity were feared and hated by the majority of white labour. It was not just that educated Africans posed a threat in taking jobs from Europeans; education appeared to imbue Africans with a propensity to challenge their position of inferiority. The Government warned new settlers against hiring the 'half-educated unreliable type' as domestic servants. Those with some education were 'impertinent and inclined to talk back'.[540] The *Review* noted that due to an educated African fighting a municipal court case in Bulawayo a precedent had been set for all Africans to use the pavement, and as a result the towns were 'infested with arrogant, impudent, and filthy products of the compound.'[541] The law had only been repealed in 1934 after Masotsha Ndlovu had arranged for Sithupha Tshuma to openly defy the law and fight the cause on appeal.[542] The scribe for RRWU's Umtali branch declared that he had witnessed three Africans 'with their typical insolence and disregard of women's feelings, swagger along the pavement…and deliberately, there abreast, force a white woman to step into the street and on to the pavement to avoid them.' He described his 'black rage' at this incident, and more so that he felt hopeless to stop what was going on

> I had to sit tight in my car without a murmur, for the simple reason
> that the law of this country has established the right of a filthy,
> cheeky and ignorant native to consider the pavements as much as
> his right as a dainty, clean and sensitive white girl would![543]

The response of visceral anger and violence was not uncommon. In 1949 the General Manager of Rhodesia Railways was forced to appeal to RRWU to instil discipline in white workers whose violent behaviour towards African staff meant the latter were becoming increasingly unruly. Europeans had taken 'discipline into their own hands and just hammer[ed] the African', which had resulted in a loss of 'confidence...in his European supervisors.' Educated Africans were specifically mentioned as being particularly liable to respond negatively to such violence. The General Manager had

[539] T.S. Hlabangana, 'The Colour Bar Again', *Labour Front,* July 1947, p.17.
[540] *Southern Rhodesia's Welcome to Women: Facts and Figures for the New Settler* (Salisbury: Department of Public Relations, 1947).
[541] BN.99, 'Here We Go Round', *RRR*, February 1940, p.11.
[542] Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, pp.81-2.
[543] 'Umtali Branch Notes', *RRR*, March 1940, p.41.

some sympathy for white workers in this regard and admitted he knew of 'the irritation [African labour] can cause', but ultimately demanded that Europeans kept their 'hands off the African'.[544] Lawrence Vambe observed that post-war British working-class immigrants gloated in their sudden elevated status and argued that they 'wanted to experience how it felt to have someone beneath them…[and]…the lower they came down the social scale, the coarser they proved to be.' Vambe singled out the white lift attendants in the skyscrapers across the city as being 'particularly abominable'.[545] For white workers, whose claims to superiority and respectability were by no means guaranteed, educated Africans appeared as a particular threat to their prestige and to their pretensions of superiority that were used to justify monopolising skilled jobs.

Apart from complaining about the visibility of Africans taking on skilled work, white workers variously denied that the work Africans performed was actually skilled, or denigrated that which was performed as producing inadequate sub-European standards of craftsmanship. Moreover, many white workers were at pains to emphasise that Africans could simply not be trusted. The supposed deviousness of educated Africans were fictionalised in the *Review*. In one tale, a headman's ten wives were arrested for stealing from a local white farmer. The headman offered his messenger some goats if he was able to fix the situation. The messenger visits the African clerk employed at the Native Administration office and the clerk agreed to deceive his employer into believing the African wives were innocent in return for a female goat. This African clerk looks down upon the uneducated African messenger, referring to him as 'scum', but knows he can deceive his trusting white employer who duly releases the women in spite of the testimony of the white farmer. *Panjandria* castigated educated Africans as well as the overly-familiar and naïve employer. The African clerk was portrayed as possessing an inflated sense of self-importance, but this narrative posits that this sense of superiority was mislaid.[546] These tales were used to illustrate Africans' inability to work in positions of responsibility. Educated Africans may declare that they are different from the average African but the *Review* emphasised that Africans could not escape their tribal loyalties and immorality. Moreover, despite the weight given to white testimony in Rhodesian society, it is the white who is unfairly disbelieved by the state here. Often felt to be squashed on both sides by white political elites and by Africans' economic

---

[544] *RRWU Conference*, 1949, p.99.
[545] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, p.159.
[546] 'Panjandria', *RRR*, December 1940, p.95.

competition, such narratives allowed white workers to position themselves as a persecuted minority.

African Urbanisation

The War period witnessed a belated recognition of colonial authorities that African workforces needed to be stabilised through 'modern' and 'civilised' methods of labour control.[547] Diversification of the economy away from agriculture and mining through the growth of secondary industries was generally seen as essential for Rhodesia's development. The majority of African men were employed in agriculture which rose from a total of 101,259 in 1941 to 141,822 in 1946. The number of Africans employed in Manufactures and Building rose from 26,575 in 1941 to 44,967 in 1945.[548] African labour was essential to Southern Rhodesia's wartime production. Under the Compulsory Native Labour Act, effective from 1942-1946, the Rhodesian state coerced Africans into providing labour on European farms and in extractive industries.[549] While agriculture and mining had benefitted from migrant labour systems, the expanding secondary industries in the cities demanded more stabilised workforces. Industrialisation and migrant labour were seen as incompatible; the permanent settlement of Africans in urban areas had to be not only tolerated but encouraged in order for secondary industries to develop.[550] Towns and cities offered avenues to escape conscription into compulsory labour and offered employment in domestic services, unskilled government work, secondary manufacturing industries, the Rhodesia Railways and retail.[551] Increasing numbers of black women worked as nannies in the 1940s and had been slowly replacing men in domestic service from the 1930s. Despite attempts to keep African women in the reserves, in some instances African women had made themselves permanent residents in urban areas before African men and had generated cash income through small scale informal economies, working as beer brewers, skokiaan queens and sex workers.[552] Increasing pressure upon rural land-holdings as a result of land apportionment had accelerated this process of urbanisation and across sub-Saharan Africa people were moving into cities in unprecedented numbers.

---

[547] Carolyn A. Brown, 'African Labour in the Making of World War II', in *Africa and World War II*, edited by Judith A. Byfield, Carolyn A. Brown, Timonthy Parsons and Ahmad Alawad Sikainga (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp.43-67. The drastic nature of these changes can sometimes be overstated. The limited extent of urbanisation and creation of a mass urban African working class with shared grievances in Southern Rhodesia can be found in Phimister '*Kana sora'*.
[548] Census, 1946, p.9.
[549] Johnson, *The Impact of the Second World War,* p.214.
[550] Phimister and Raftopoulos, p.295.
[551] Johnson, *The Impact of the Second World War,* p.335.
[552] Barnes, *We Women; van Onselen, Chibaro.*

The increased presence of Africans in urban spaces unsettled white workers. When primarily attached to rural areas Europeans were able to imagine Africans as incontrovertibly swaddled by tradition and custom, bound in primordial stasis.[553] Race and space were co-constructed; making settler colonial space relied not only on physically laying claim to territory but also involved re-imagining spaces as white.[554] Control over particular spaces required control over their representation. The representation of these spaces informed their inhabitants and users social identities. Vivian Bickford Smith has argued that in South African cities, national, ethnic, racial and class social identities were underpinned by a sense of belonging to particular urban districts. Urban territoriality reinforced the boundaries of identities.[555] Cities were cultivated as white spaces in which the demographic weakness of whites across the colony could be temporarily disavowed. In the settler imagination, the city was intrinsically European; it embodied commerce, capitalism, modernity and technology; everything the city represented was made to stand in stark contradistinction to the perceived backwardness of African peoples and cultures. It was here that Rhodesia could be imagined and visualised as a white man's country. The settler city was also represented primarily as a male domain.[556] Under the policy of segregation Africans were categorised as temporary lodgers in white cities to fulfil the most menial of tasks. It was believed that physical proximity meant more chance of social mixing, miscegenation and the spread of disease. The preoccupation with African health was felt particularly acutely amongst whites who had to labour beside them. The *Granite Review* printed the numbers of Africans with silicosis and infectious diseases on the mines while the Trades and Labour Council Annual conference in Bulawayo passed resolutions to press for compulsory medical examinations for all Africans seeking employment 'to minimise and eliminate venereal and other diseases.'[557] Africans were deemed unable to control their base erotic desires, afflicted by hypersexual disorders. While this sexual desire of Africans was controlled in the rural areas by traditional

---

[553] Bill Freund, *The African City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[554] Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds (eds), *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

[555] Vivian Bickford-Smith, *The Emergence of the South African Metropolis: Cities and Identities in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p.6.

[556] Until the 1990s the historiography reflected this racialised and gendered representation. See Teresa Barnes; Diana Jeater, 'No Place for a Woman'; Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, chapter one; Lynette Jackson, '"When in the White Man's Town": Zimbabwean Women Remember' in *Women in African Colonial Histories,* edited by Jean Allman, Susan Geiger and Nakanyike Musisi (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002) pp.191-217; Timothy Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe: Harare and Highfield, 1940-1964* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008).

[557] 'Need for Trade Union Unity and Planning', *Granite Review*, August 1942, pp.1-2.

customs, in the absence of these constraints, the sexual desires of urban Africans were unchecked.[558] Africans were seen to carry infectious diseases over to the white population and this provided a powerful justification and motivation for urban segregation.[559] The structural and political reasons for African's contracting disease, such as the dirty conditions, especially in urban areas or compounds, engendered by underfunding and poor resources, were not acknowledged.[560]

The racially exclusive Labour Party repeatedly denounced the urbanisation of Africans. Detached from their natural traditional homes Africans would develop an immoral character. The Party attributed great rises in crime in South Africa to the country's inability to prevent African urbanisation.[561] They couched their opposition to African urbanisation in terms of protecting African interests and claimed that by denying Africans work they were actually freeing them from being exploited by European bosses. European workers would gladly suffer in their stead. Exploitation of the African had one purpose: 'lowering the standards we have attained'.[562] The official government policy two-pyramid system of 'parallel development' which paid lip service to the idea that Europeans would develop in their own areas, in urban spaces and on the best arable land, while educated and skilled Africans could find avenues for employment within their own designated reserves, offered up new justifications for European workers to challenge African presence in particular occupations. Nevertheless, many European workers were outraged that skilled work was performed by Africans even within their allocated spheres of 'development'. The Bulawayo Branch of the RRWU successfully passed a motion to agitate for the replacement of African typists with Europeans in the Native Affairs Department, and in Salisbury and Gwelo European artisans had successfully fought for a monopoly over building accommodation in the African reserves.[563] While white unions pressed to extend their monopoly of skill into emerging industries, as Percy Ibbotson argued in his 1946 report on urbanisation, the growth of

---

[558] The association of Africa and Africans with STDs has proved particularly durable. In the 1980s and 1990s the AIDS virus was sometimes conceptualised by researchers as emanating from African's closer proximity to wild animals, their food habits, bizarre and exotic food habits, initiation ceremonies and sexual customs. Karen Jochelson, *The Colour of Disease: Syphilis and Racism in South Africa, 1880-1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p.1; p.166.

[559] Gwyn Prins, "But What Was the Disease? The Present State of Health and Healing in African Studies", *Past & Present*, 124 (1989), pp.159–179. Harriet Deacon, 'Racial Segregation and Medical Discourse in Nineteenth Century Cape Town', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22, 2 (1996), pp.287-308. Maynard Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', *The Journal of African History*, 18, 3 (1977), pp.387-410.

[560] Ibid., p.406.

[561] 'European or Native? At The Crossroads', *Labour Era,* April 1946, p.

[562] 'The Native Policy and the Parties', *Labour Era*, January 1946, p.7.

[563] *RRWU Conference*, 1946, p.158. Percy Ibbotson, *Report on a Survey of Urban African Conditions in Southern Rhodesia* (Bulawayo: Federation of Native Welfare Societies, 1943), p.18.

secondary industry could not 'be secured on an exclusive 'white labour' policy'. Inflated rates of European pay were not sustainable and many employers expressed their preference for introducing Africans into semi-skilled work. Ibbotson concluded that 'racial prejudice and discriminating legislation cannot battle successfully against economic facts.'[564]

White trade unions appealed to reserve jobs for whites and complained about Africans doing skilled work, but they also complained viciously about Africans *not doing work*. Increasing urbanisation had increased the visibility of so-called 'loafers'. It was argued that when Africans were given the choice to work, they would undoubtedly spurn work and turn to a life of crime. Jocelyn Alexander has argued that attitudes to vagrancy reflected desires to remove Africans from urban areas. The right to the city was underpinned by employment status. Unemployment was seen to create rootless individuals while work was seen as a corrective and preventative to nationalism, radicalism and discontent.[565] The *Review* printed complaints that police camps had been turned into breweries and drunken Africans wandered the streets at night without a policeman in sight.[566] In 1940 it printed a spate of reports of African attacks upon Europeans, most involving axes or "kaffir picks", and one case resulting in the murder of a railwayman's wife.[567] This murderous spree was explained in numerous ways. One letter sent into the *Review* by a 'Sentinel' criticised the journal's coverage, making the simple point that not all Africans were murderers and thieves but argued that those Africans who had resorted to crime had been taught to behave badly by Europeans. In particular, 'European indolence' had disastrous effects on African mentalities. 'Sentinel' recalled that when one railway painter was sent to paint a station the white painter stretched out the work by two extra weeks and that 'to my knowledge most of the work was done by his native assistants'. He had observed European workers

> walking to a job, their hands in their pockets and natives following carrying tools, timber, etc. I have seen railway natives putting concrete into position. I have also seen natives on engines breaking coal. Now if the white man wants to protect his trades, he must be prepared to treat them as jealous possessions, not push work off on to the native, and then whine about "undercutting" and "missionaries"…The truth of the whole

---

[564] Ibbotson, *Report on a Survey of Urban African Conditions,* p.82.
[565] Jocelyn Alexander, '"Hooligans, Spivs and Loafers"?: The Politics of Vagrancy in 1960s Southern Rhodesia', *The Journal of African History*, 53 (2012), p.347; p.354.
[566] BN.99, 'Murder Most Foul', *RRR*, March 1940, p.29.
[567] 'Umtali no.1 Branch Notes', *RRR*, March 1940, p.41.

matter is that we cannot do without natives, and for some
incomprehensible reason we hate them for it.[568]

The response was furious and asserted that the average African was a thief and a murderer.[569] But the common theme amongst the many letters that were sent to denounce 'Sentinel' and his apparent misunderstanding of Africans, was the contention that Africans' attitude towards women was proof of insidious murderous character. One response contended 'that the age-old custom of natives, in their natural environment, is a general tendency to make the women do all the work, even the tilling of the lands, whilst the male members of the tribe spend their time hunting and drinking beer.'[570] This all went back to central principles of labour: work made a man, and, according to white labour organisations, African men neither worked in their reserves, where they were emasculated through their reliance on female manual labour, nor in the towns, where they sat on street corners and spurned opportunities for work. However, the result of this worklessness in the city was violent crime, drunkenness and insubordination.

Yet despite such protests trying to stem the tide of African urbanisation, in the words of General Smuts, was like trying 'to sweep the ocean back with a broom'.[571] White workers could do little but complain and increase their harassment of Africans who they deemed to have crossed into 'white' areas. When four white artisans employed on the railways were forced to move from their homes in order for Africans to take up their cottages they smashed the sinks and cut the electricity and wiring as they left in protest.[572] Africans living in quarters that were deemed acceptable for whites represented an incursion into white spaces, a loss of white territory, and the implicit suggestion that what was acceptable for white workers was also appropriate for African artisans. This recourse to violence represented the frustration of the close association of these white artisans with their black counterparts, and the former's desperation to aggressively remind Africans that they were indeed different and subordinate.

Urban conditions for Africans were characterised by overcrowding, disease, malnutrition, and an acute poverty which was exacerbated by wartime inflation. A Report on Urban Conditions in 1945 noted that when taking into account wages and

---

[568] Sentinel, 'Letter to the Editor', *RRR*, April 1940, pp.25-26.
[569] G. H. Browne, 'Letter to the Editor', *RRR*, May 1940, p.26.
[570] Klipspringer, 'Letter to the Editor', *RRR*, May 1940, p.28. See also J. A. P. Evans, 'Letter to the Editor', *RRR*, May 1940, p.29.
[571] Ibbotson, *Report on a Survey of Urban African Conditions,* p.75.
[572] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe,* pp.159-160.

rations many Africans must had been approaching starvation point. [573] Various commissions argued that an increase in wages, proper accommodation, hostels for women, recreational facilities and other social welfare be instigated.[574] But successive warnings on the gravity of the situation went unheeded by authorities. The railways were particularly slow at building housing for African employees despite serious overcrowding. From 1936 to 1944 the number of African men, women and children in the Bulawayo Municipal Location had risen by Eighty-one percent.[575] The number of Africans living in the Bulawayo Railway compounds rose from 1469 men and 309 women in 1933, to 2436 men and 1147 women in 1945 an increase of sixty-six and 271 percent respectively.[576] Alongside management dragging its feet to meet new requirements, the shortage of skilled artisans and the intransigence of the RRWU who refused to allow Africans to complete skilled tasks in building work further slowed building progress.[577] Such obstructions did not occur when Europeans faced housing shortages. During the 1940s the RRWU reluctantly supported motions to employ African artisans to build houses for white railwaymen in Northern Rhodesia owing to a lack of European artisans and the necessity for quick erection of proper housing; African artisans were deemed temporarily acceptable to prevent white homelessness. However, the overcrowding in African areas was an insignificant concern to RRWU who refused to entertain even a temporary relaxation to the colour bar.

African Labour Militancy and Organisation

For the first three decades of the twentieth century no explicit African workers organisations with developed political ideology existed. Dance societies, mutual aid societies, burial societies, and religious groups, such as Watch Tower whose millenarian prophesising had an idiosyncratic proto-socialist bent, flourished. While the political articulacy of such groups can tend to be overstated, they nevertheless indicated African attempts to navigate capitalist exploitation and alienation.[578] Van Onselen's *Chibaro*, demonstrated how workers used various strategies to evade, challenge and subvert the

---

[573] 'Report on Urban Conditions in Southern Rhodesia', *African Studies*, 4, 1 (1945), p.10. For first-hand descriptions of the terrible conditions Africans were forced to live in see Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, pp.149-150.
[574] Ibbotson, *Report on a Survey of Urban African Conditions,* p.80. 'Report on Urban Conditions in Southern Rhodesia', *African Studies*, 4, 1 (1945), p.12.
[575] Calculated from statistics given in Ibbotson report as number of total Africans increases from 6,077 in 1936 to 11,006 in 1944.
[576] Vickery, 'Part Two', p.54.
[577] Johnson. *The Impact of the Second World War*, pp.342-5.
[578] Phimister, 'An Emerging African Proletariat: The Shamva Mine Strike of 1927', in *Studies in the History of African Mine Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe*, p.69.

work demanded of them. Acts of defiance included loafing, sabotage of work processes, intentional slowness, doing as little work as possible, attacking and damaging mine property, as well as the property of managers and white miners.[579] Although there had been sporadic instances of collective action in these early years, under conditions of harassment, surveillance and repression, the growth of political organisations was stifled, and there was no systematic attempt to organise workers until 1927 when the Southern Rhodesian branch of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa (ICU) was founded. The ICU spread relatively fast by 1932 claiming some 5000 members, and although an industrial trade union, represented broad class interests, including the petty bourgeoisie and rural poor.[580]

By the 1940s independent unions were forming across the country such as the newly established African Motor Drivers' Union and the Native Waiters' Association. The partially successful 1945 African railways strike had provided space for the ICU, which had floundered in the late 1930s, to reconstitute itself as the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (RICU) in 1946. Other cross-class coalitions emerged, such as the Bulawayo African Workers Trade Union (known as the Federation) in late 1945 led by Jasper Savanhu. The Federation was soon denounced by a rival group, the African Workers' Voice Association (established in 1947 by Benjamin Burombo, himself a member of the emergent African petty bourgeoisie), as a front for rich Africans. The basis for a cross-class alliance during the period was predicated upon the shared experience of colonisation for the black population. In particular, during this period the 1946 Urban Areas Act had severely limited the mobility of the black bourgeoisie, prohibiting them from trading in white areas, and forcing them to live with poorer black workers.[581]

The Rhodesian Railways African Employees' Association (RRAEA) was formed in March 1944 in Bulawayo following a strike two years previously over mealie-meal rations and its membership quickly grew to two-hundred African workers.[582] It aimed to improve the conditions of all African employees and stressed moral, mental and physical improvement of its members. They also sought affiliation to the RRWU which

---

[579] Van Onselen, *Chibaro*.
[580] Phimister, *Economic and Social History*, p.264.
[581] Phimister, *Economic and Social History*, p.266. For an analysis of the class tensions within these trade unions see West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class,* p.23; p.109; p.136.
[582] Vickery, 'Part One', p.550.

the latter obstinately refused.[583] After its inception, the RRAEA had written to the General Manager about a range of issues, including union recognition, all of which were flatly ignored. On the 27th September 1945 the administration informed the African workers of a new flat rate of three pence per hour, which would indicate a reduction in wages for some staff.[584] Just under a month later around eighty percent of the 10,000 strong African workforce took part in the strike.[585]

Strikes offer insight into the relationships between African and white workers, employers and the state. Notably, the reaction of the railway administration pointed to pervasive fears of industrial activity flaring up in European quarters. Management feared not only European action influencing Africans, but Africans galvanising Europeans into action. The General Manager, Mr. Skillicorn, declined to meet with the strikers, reasoning that 'if the natives were allowed to do this there would be no reason why the Europeans should not do so too'.[586] In the past public opinion had been mobilised against white industrial action through allusions to African rebellion. Employers, the government and the press variously argued that white workers were being irresponsible by threatening white unity and giving Africans ideas about rebelling against their bosses.[587] However, Europeans were unlikely to offer meaningful support to African grievances and Africans and Europeans readily scabbed on each other. In an attempt to differentiate their struggles from those of Europeans, some Africans denied the similarity in methods used in industrial action. Africans in the 1927 strike at Shamva mine ruled out the contention that the previous strikes of 1913, 1919 and 1921 by European workers had influenced the African decision to take action although black workers were well aware of the wage disparity despite overlaps in tasks performed.[588] On multiple occasions it is clear that the strikes and demands of black workers were clearly influenced by white action and trade union organisation.[589]

During the 1919 miners' strike between 300 and 400 white men were on strike covering the Rezende, Falcon, Shamva and Gaika mines.[590] Mr Southwell, the manager at

[583] David Johnson, 'Urban Labour, World War II, and the Revolt of the Working People in Colonial Zimbabwe', *South Asia Bulletin: Comparative Studies, Africa and Middle Class*, 15, 2 (1995), p.75.
[584] Vickery, 'Part One', p.550; p.548.
[585] Ibid., p.553; p.557.
[586] 'Mr Skillicorn gives Evidence on The African Workers' Strike', *Rhodesia Herald*, 9 Nov 1945, p.12
[587] Kennedy, *Islands of White,* p.139.
[588] Phimister, 'An Emerging African Proletariat', p.61.
[589] See Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* p.130. On 1929 strike see Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, pp.51-2. Dacil Jeuf and Ewout Frankema, 'From Coercion to Compensation: Institutional Responses to Labour Scarcity in the Central African Copperbelt', African Economic History Working Paper Series, no.24 (2016), p.32.
[590] 'Correspondence', *Rhodesia Herald,* 23 December 1919, p.20.

Rezende, argued that they could keep the mine running at full capacity with only twelve white men and 'a considerable number of highly intelligent natives'. This was an affront to white declarations that only they had the requisite skill to perform such labour. The threat was explicitly laid down by management writing in the *Rhodesia Herald* that 'the board have for long realised that too many white men have been employed' and that they would continue to use African labour 'until such a time as they can obtain a supply of non-union men.'[591] Herbert Walsh, the president of the miners' union, denied the possibility that Rezende mine could function without its fifty European miners. That twelve Europeans could uphold production was denounced as 'so palpable an inaccuracy as to require no contradiction whatever.'[592] There was particular concern from management and the government that Africans should be kept busy, not only to minimise the loss to productivity but because 'trouble' would undoubtedly arise from one thousand Africans being left idle.[593] Work had the effect of disciplining Africans.

Generally there seems to have been some confusion over the attitude RRWU members should have towards the 1945 African railway strike. Roy Welensky, at the time leader of the northern section of the RRWU, argued that white men should not take on black jobs as 'it's not our job to break another union'. Many railwaymen were unhappy about taking on black roles in the production process and there was evidence that whites restricted their work to the transport of essentials during the strike.[594] Whites did fulfil some roles that Africans usually performed. The *Herald* noted that engine-drivers and stokers had to load coal into the tender themselves.[595] It was reported in the *Labour Front* that one union branch was on the verge of coming out on strike alongside the African workers.[596] The RRWU Executive directed the branches 'not to damage the cause of the African in his desire to improve his conditions' but maintained essential services must be continued.[597] The Branch Notes in the immediate aftermath of the strike reveal divergent opinions over the use of white labour to break the African strike. This may have been out of a sense of solidarity or the taboo of being a 'scab', or simply confusion over the novelty of the situation. It may have also emanated from the desire to cover white weakness: what the African strike demonstrated above all was white

---

[591] 'Mine Workers Strike', *Rhodesia Herald*, 16 December 1919, p.5.
[592] Herbert Walsh, 'Letter', *Rhodesia Herald,* 23 December 1919, p.7.
[593] 'Mine Workers Strike', *Rhodesia Herald*, 16 December 1919, p.5.
[594] Kenneth P. Vickery, 'The Rhodesia Railway Strike of 1945, Part One: A Narrative Account', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 3 (1998), pp.559-60.
[595] 'Government Intervenes in the Native Strike on the Railways', *Rhodesia Herald*, 26 October 1945, p.1.
[596] 'Thinking Aloud', *Labour Front,* November 1945, p.14.
[597] 'Broken Hill Branch Notes', *RRR*, December 1945, p.91.

dependency. It revealed the productivity of African labour that white workers were so eager to dismiss and proved the latter could not run the railways independently. But it also revealed the dependency of settler society writ large on African labour. Generally the response of white labour was one of tempered praise. The multiracial Labour Party gave approval to the railway strikers, arguing that it was conducted in an 'admirable' manner, with strong organisation and discipline. They remarked impressively that strikers in Salisbury had destroyed beer stocks to prevent drunkenness on the picket.[598] The *Granite Review* also noted these characteristics and praised the strikers' unanimity and refusal to back down from principles which was something to be desired within the ranks of white labour.[599] However, the RRWU were keen to argue that the cause of the strike resulted from the insistence of the government and missionaries to provide African education. It was pointed out that the railways were almost 'crippled' by the African strike. They argued that by putting the railways in the hands of cheap African labour, Africans could hold the administration to ransom.[600]

The fear of independent African organisation was rife. Word of the strike had spread and immediately after there were instances of strike action in the Umtali area, of brickworkers in Bulawayo and sanitation workers in Salisbury.[601] With one humiliating defeat and signs of spreading unrest, authorities were quick to act when any other signs of organisation surfaced and harsh punishment was meted out. In November, several Africans employed in building industry were reported in the *Rhodesia Herald* as being charged under Masters and Servants Act for refusing to work. The African employees claimed they had not refused work, but had merely complained about their sleeping quarters and asked what their master was going to do about it. The magistrate fined each African 10s and fourteen days of hard labour, which could be suspended on the condition that they immediately returned to work. The magistrate had informed the defence that the Africans 'had gone the wrong way to better their conditions'. They could and should rely on their master and the Native Commissioner in the future.[602] Likewise mine management at Rezende blamed the railway strike for encouraging dissatisfaction in the ranks of their African labour explaining that 'as the Railway boys had got more they wanted more.' Demands of a £15 rise were quickly squashed. The

[598] 'Thinking Aloud', *Labour Front,* November 1945, p.14.
[599] 'Broken Record', *Granite Review*, November 1945, p.2.
[600] 'Broken Hill Branch Notes', *RRR*, December 1945, p.91.
[601] Vickery, 'Part Two', p.67.
[602] '34 Natives Who Refused to Work', *Rhodesia Herald*, 30 November 1945, p.3.

AMWR cheered management actions as a necessary show of strength and declared that all African demands should be crushed with similar fervour.[603]

Repression and surveillance did not quash African militancy for long. In January of 1948 the report of the National Native Labour Board recommended some increases in wages and improvements in conditions of service. The President of the Salisbury Chamber of Commerce stressed the need to improve wages to stabilise secondary industries reasoning that 'we must get more work out of the native.'[604] This did little to satisfy growing anger, and on the 14th April the strike action began with over 100,000 Africans taking part. Lasting over a two week period, by the end of April employers organisations had agreed to a basic wage of 30s a month in urban areas, and 25s in the rural areas; that extra rations should be given to men with wives, and that all Africans should be entitled to 10 days leave a year with full pay and overtime pay - although these were suggestions and not binding on employers.[605] During the strike Vambe described fear and panic engulfing white Salisbury as

> for the first time since the 1896 Rebellion, white people were
> compelled to swallow their pride and wash their own dishes, cook
> for themselves, empty their own dustbins, do their own shopping
> and collect their own letters. Meanwhile their black employees
> paced up and down the streets and loudly jeered at them.[606]

For years white labour had noted with fear the wide-scale industrial activity both to the south and north of the colony, notably the Copperbelt disturbances of 1935 and 1940 in Northern Rhodesia and the 1946 strike of African mine workers on the Rand, but white trade unions repeatedly postponed taking a definitive stance on African trade unions in their own territory – living in the hope that Africans would remain submissive and accept the dehumanising living conditions forced upon them. The AMWR had been asked in 1942 by African workers to form an African Worker's Union, but took no immediate action, recommending discussion of the matter in branches.[607] RRWU recognised a pressing need to control the emergence of African unions but it was only after the 1945 strike that they gave full consideration to the issue at conference.[608] The strike itself, Roy Welensky admitted, had changed his views on African trade unionism:

---

[603] 'Native Strike', *Granite Review*, December 1945, p.8.

[604] 'Commerce and Industry Admit Natives' Right to Higher Wages', *Rhodesia Herald*, 9 January 1948, p.9.

[605] 'Suggestion to Improve Native Labour Conditions', *Rhodesia Herald*, 9 April 1948, p.11.

[606] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe,* p.245.

[607] *Granite Review*, December 1942, p.12.

[608] *RRWU Conference*, 1946, p.149.

> Nine months ago I would not hear of an African trade union, because a trade union must come from the men themselves...and I did not think the Africans were capable of it.[609]

At the 1946 RRWU conference most speakers agreed that the African was a 'fellow worker' and Jimmy Lister argued that

> No-one could now say that African workers were something quite apart from European workers...it would ill become a European trade unionist to deny to others what he demanded himself…they hated the natives because they feared him, and they feared him because they knew in their own minds that their standard of intelligence was not much above that of the native.

If, Lister continued, statistics were correct, 300,000 Africans in employment would soon become 400,000 in the next few years, and holding back African advancement in such numbers would prove futile. Rather than make an enemy of Africans, they should be incorporated into existing trade union structures.[610] The issue, Lister argued, was that increasingly less skill was needed to fulfil tasks on the railways but 'this bought the European worker closer to the native than most would admit.'[611] The skill gap between black and white, despite white trade unions' best efforts, appeared to be closing. Yet white trade unions would not accept this, preferring to deny any hint of similarity in the skill or work performed. Jimmy Lister's views were not universal. He was castigated by the RLP for 'denigrating [his] own country'. Speaking on India at a public meeting in Umtali he was accused of saying that 'Imperialist Governments in administering the colonies more than anything else represented the financial interests. They are concerned with the profits to be made'. Lister questioned the ideological basis of Empire which, he argued, had not uplifted but destroyed civilisations; in particular he asserted that while India had been civilised, the presence of Britain had in fact made India uncivilised. The *Granite Review* denounced Lister's apostasy to the imperial mission and argued that India was characterised by internal strife and famine before British rule.[612] Support for African trade unions was far from unanimous; some trade unionists pointed out that independent African unions would be too radical for public opinion while others argued that it marked the beginning of the end for white domination of artisan trades. One RRWU Executive Committee member posited that their white daughters 'would be unable to obtain employment because the native would not wish to be served in shops

---

[609] Vickery, 'Part Two', p.69. Welensky supported the principle of African trade unionism but rejected that they should be members of RRWU. See 'RRWU's Greatest Victory', *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 23 February 1946, p.25.

[610] *RRWU Conference*, 1946, pp.150-151.

[611] Ibid., p.152.

[612] 'Britain, India and Mr. Lister', *Granite Review*, February 1944, p.7.

by Europeans. He would wish to be served by his own people.'[613] As white male unemployment was becoming less convincing as an argument to prevent Africans from taking jobs in conditions of white labour shortages, white female unemployment was instrumentalised to undermine African progression.

The question of African organisation had also surfaced in the ranks of the RLP. In 1938 Colonel Walker, an MP for the RLP, had been approached by a small number of Africans who stated that 'the Labour Party was the party of the workers and therefore the proper party for them to join.'[614] With no racial prohibitions in the constitution, they were accepted. After the split in 1940 the Davies and Keller faction altered their constitution so it stipulated that 'no member of the aboriginal tribes or races of Africa, nor any person having the blood of any of the aboriginal tribes or races of Africa, and living among and after the manner thereof shall be admitted to membership.'[615] The absence of such a clause before this point was probably not out of any sense of multiracialism, but because it was inconceivable that it would be required. Trade unions rallied around the racially exclusive branch of labour and the AMWR openly accused the multiracial Labour Party of accepting Africans purely out of financial expediency and low membership. In accepting African members the multiracial RLP had brought 'Trade Union members to the level of the African.'[616] Over the course of the early 1940s several attempts were made to reunite the two labour parties, but the issue of African inclusion remained contentious. Keller disparagingly commented upon the presence of Africans at SRLP's 1942 conference, pointing out the hypocrisy of certain members of the SRLP and the irreconcilability of the African's nature with genuine political unity and solidarity. The African delegates were merely loafers in comrades clothing:

> I can visualise those five native gentlemen being distinguished
> by the kindly reference to them as comrades, but when they go
> outside and walk on the pavements they become loafers...how
> can you call them loafers in one direction and comrade in
> another.[617]

The progress of the 1945 conference which was initiated to reconcile the two labour parties was severely hampered, according to the *Labour Front* by 'a political blunder of the first magnitude on the part of the SRLP' who had dared to sit their African members next to white women. They argued that African advancement should take place, but white labour was the proper guardian of African interests. They certainly did not want

---

[613] Ibid.
[614] ICOMM: pp.zw.srlp.1, Memo Re Split SRLP from RLP, p.1.
[615] ICOMM: pp.zw.rlp.RLP.1938, Constitution, p.2.
[616] 'We Have Been Sold', *Granite Review,* October 1941, p.6.
[617] Hopeful, 'Correspondence: New Labour Party's Formation', *Granite Review,* April 1942, p.9.

Africans speaking or fighting for themselves. Instead, they argued, an all-white committee of men (and explicitly no women), should be appointed to deal with all matters concerning Africans.[618] The SRLP were portrayed as capitalists and enemies of the Empire and therefore, enemies of the white race itself. One letter from 'Old Trade Unionist', applauded the labour split, glad to be rid of the SRLP, whose party line he said was dictated by the Soviet Union, and whose members had brought about 'a strange state of affairs [in] that white men in this country should associate politically with the native in preference to cooperation with people of their own colour.'[619]

While the split in labour was sustained over the question of African involvement, the SRLP's multiracialism only extended so far. The *Labour Front,* newspaper of the multiracial SRLP, printed commentary from leading African trade unionists, including RICU leader Charles Mzingeli, and also contained excerpts from John Strachey's *Why You Should Be A Socialist*, and not infrequently references to Marx, Engels and Lenin. *Labour Front* acknowledged that European standards were only achieved through the exploitation and oppression of Africans.[620] The multiracial SRLP attempted to defend its position through pointing out that the franchise had been open to Africans since 1922, and denounced Keller and Davies noting that 'racial discrimination was responsible for Hitler and if Rhodesia adopts an anti-native, anti-Jew, anti-foreigner complex it will eventually lead her into terrible trouble.'[621] Yet, despite its multiracial membership the SRLP was still essentially a paternalist organisation with populist policies. Any radicalism was hamstrung by the belief that they could get the majority of white workers to align themselves with African political organisation. One SRLP member strenuously denied that the party had agitated for African enfranchisement and argued that 'the only natives who belong to the SRLP are those who have qualified for and obtained the vote. They did this themselves without the assistance from the SRLP.'[622] Thus the SRLP differentiated between 'civilised' Africans and the uneducated mass. The SRLP could not escape the logic of race and African membership was justified through appealing to a set of mythic liberal 'traditions of our [white British] race'.[623] The SRLP failed to achieve ideological uniformity or consensus on African advancement

---

[618] 'Resolutions on Labour Unity: New Appeal to Parties', *Rhodesia Herald,* 21 December 1945, p.1.
[619] 'Letters to the Editor: Old Trade Unionist's views on the Labour Split', *Rhodesia Herald*, 21 December 1945, p2.
[620] P.M. Loveridge, 'Readers Forum', *Labour Front*, July 1944.
[621] 'Labour Discord Not Due to Personalities', *Rhodesia Herald*, 4 October 1945, p.6.
[622] G.H. Walker, 'Letters to Editor: SR Labour Party and Native Policy: Liberal Statement Denied', *Rhodesia Herald*, 26 October 1945, p.2.
[623] ICOMM: pp.zw Memo re: Split SRLP from RLP.1946

among its members. Some members of the SRLP were more committed to African equality than others. The party had been infiltrated by the communist sympathising Left Club which included Doris Lessing among its members but whose ideas had little sway with the wider party.[624] There was a division between left-wing socialist elements based in Salisbury, and those such as Donald MacIntyre, who loathed the African branch and did all he could to ensure another did not spring up in Bulawayo.[625] MacIntyre had been elected as a Labour member for central Bulawayo in 1933, and afterwards served as the Mayor for Bulawayo, becoming the chairman of the finance committee during the 1940s which made him responsible for the African Location.[626] When accused of inviting Africans to rule, MacIntyre had to confirm that 'there was no intention on the part of the Executive to organise the native within the political structure of the colony.'[627] He refused to spend money on improving the Bulawayo Location or build more houses despite worsening conditions and actively obstructed repeated attempts to improve conditions.[628] Moreover, the AMWR labelled MacIntyre as a bourgeois enemy of white workers. They listed his businesses and positions, arguing that alongside his ownership of a bakery in Bulawayo, he was 'the Chairman of the Rhodesian Investment and Trust Co., Vice-Chairman of the People's Mutual Building Society, Director of the Iron and Steel Works, Bulawayo, Director of Carlton Hotels Ltd. And probably a few more? Are these large companies and financial groups or not?'[629] Keller likewise denounced MacIntyre in parliament and argued his loyalties lay with his own businesses rather than white workers.[630]

Within its own structures the RRWU passed a motion to 'guide and assist' African trade unions although the *Review* indicated some rank and file dissatisfaction with the decision and had to persuade its members that recognition were the best form of control. Without organisation, Africans would rely on strikes whereas limited co-option by white trade unions could mediate and temper African demands. RRWU argued that recognising African trade unions did not mean accepting Africans as equals, or ousting whites from skilled positions, but rather was the only solution in preventing 'the capitalists' from using African labour against white workers.[631] Generally white trade

---

[624] Lowry, 'Anti-Communism', p.172.
[625] Ranger, Bulawayo Burning, p.120.
[626] Ibid., p.119.
[627] 'Unsatisfying', *Granite Review*, November 1941, p.1.
[628] See *Bulawayo Burning* chapter three.
[629] 'The Labour Party versus the Rhodesian Labour Party', *Granite Review*, December 1941, p.6.
[630] Ranger, Bulawayo Burning, p.120.
[631] 'African Trade Unions', *RRR*, November 1946, p.3.

unions realised it was necessary to accept the existence of African trade unions, but this was not a step towards equality in representation, but a means of safeguarding white labour's interests.[632] In several instances Africans had asked existing white trade unions for assistance, inclusion or recognition. Yet this was repeatedly refused. African organisation was still weak and despite two massive strikes, African organisation was hamstrung by inter-organisational rivalry and poor levels of union membership.[633] Initial reactions to the 1945 strike and debates over African trade unionism demonstrate a level of confusion from white workers. Nevertheless white labour was gradually to be forced to reckon with African organisation, industrial action and the rise of the African middle class. White workers could not keep a stranglehold on semi-skilled and skilled work as secondary industries expanded during the 1940s. As African workers moved into 'white' spheres of employment, and 'white' towns and cities, the simultaneous growth of elite Africans unsettled white workers and challenged their pretensions to status and superiority. These fears expressed themselves through narratives of untamed African lust and brutality and these imagined innate characteristics were regarded to be intensified by the urban setting. In many instances white workers responded to these phenomena with anger and violence. This reflected frustration over their inability to control the labour process, the racialisation of work and the physical and social mobility of Africans more generally. Yet admonishments of white worker violence from employers demonstrated that white workers could not simply take recourse to violent oppression in every instance. Despite the protestations of white workers African labour was essential to the Rhodesian economy and therefore balances had to be struck.

Post-War Trends

After the experience of the 1930s, economic depression after the Second World War was seen as inevitable. Yet the anticipated unemployment crisis never appeared although shortages remained in nursing and teaching professions. With regards to the postal and telecommunications services the PostMaster General anticipated 'revolutionary changes in staff recruitment' in order to fill the deficit.[634] In 1948 the number of notified vacancies reached 836 and the *Herald* noted that building artisans were in great demand. Rhodesia Railways had one-hundred-and-eleven noted vacancies while the mines had twenty-one vacancies. In the same year it was noted that the

---

[632] 'This Sort of System', *Granite Review*, July 1942, p.2.
[633] Phimister and Raftopoulos, 'The 1948 General Strike', pp.289-324. West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class,* p.167.
[634] Report of the Post Master General 1946, p.1.

number of unemployed was kept well below four-hundred persons.[635] Despite high levels of employment, fears of degeneration persisted. Concern remained regarding the sub-white living standards to be found in the cities. Pressure mounted in parliament to commence with slum clearances. Mr Lister and Colonel Walker visited a 'slum' in Salisbury South and described

> what at one time had been a large house but which was now divided
> into ten separate rooms and in these ten rooms there were about 40
> people living in a disgraceful state of overcrowding. In one room
> there was a man, his wife, and six children. I ask him how he
> managed to put up the children and he said that the room was
> occupied by his wife and himself and the six children slept on the
> verandah.[636]

Overcrowding and disease were seen as phenomenon that had to be restricted to African areas in order to achieve differentiation. Labour representatives used growing economic prosperity to argue for social welfare programmes similar to those being implemented in post-war Britain. The Social Security Plan advocated by the RLP included a medical service, old age pensions, widow and orphans allowance, disability allowance and unemployment benefits.[637] Unemployment benefit was only to be made available for Europeans, Coloureds and Asiatics.[638] White poverty was still commented upon with zealous fervour; but RRWU emerged from the war stronger than it had been in the 1930s. White railway workers won pay rises in 1946 and 1947 and white miners revitalised their trade union organisation.[639] However, the fact that the predicted depression never materialised also meant that many women remained in formal employment after the Second World War had ended.

Moreover, both the RLP and SRLP were about to enter terminal decline. Bitter divisions had plagued the Rhodesian parliamentary labour's existence. As Stanlake Samkange has argued, the RLP often intensified the divisions within the labour movement rather than overcoming them.[640] In the 1939 election the RLP were gaining a respectable 33.18 percent of the total vote. In 1946 this had fallen to 16.69 percent for the RLP and just 5.61 percent for the SRLP, winning three and two seats respectively. Keller was returned to parliament in the 1954 general election by the railway enclave Raylton who

---

[635] 'Fewer Unemployed in Colony', *Rhodesia Herald*, 7 May 1948, p.12.
[636] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1939-1940, p.1972.
[637] 'Social Security Plan of Labour Party', *Granite Review,* March 1944, p.9.
[638] Report of the Social Security Officer, 1944, p.84.
[639] Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* p.105.
[640] Samkange, *A History of the Rhodesia Labour Party,* p.4.

remained loyal until his death in 1959.[641] The last ditch attempt by Colonel Walker to initiate a third 'United' Labour party in 1945 failed as the question of the colour bar could not be overcome.[642] The SRLP increasingly rejected control by the trade union bureaucracy, recognising their fundamentally reactionary interests. By 1945, the RLP claimed a racially exclusive membership of just over five-hundred.[643] In the same year the President of the SRLP declared 'in a country where there are roughly twenty Africans for every European, a white labour party, or even one which is mainly concerned with white interests, is an anachronism.'[644] The following year Bulawayo South gave the multiracial SRLP just 5.92 percent of the vote. In 1948 the SRLP conducted discussions regarding the future of their party. Under conditions of falling popularity, funds, and activity, the SRLP was resigned to admit that no progressive party could produce effective change 'under the aegis of Labour because it was associated with trade union reaction.'[645] Despite the members voting to carry on under the SRLP, the days of the party were numbered. Certainly, the period had incontrovertibly damaged both wings of labour and political representation of labour failed to recover. Centre-right parties were willing to concede to white workers' demands in return for their loyalty in the suppression of the African majority; a white labour party proved superfluous and a thriving post war economy finally destroyed Rhodesia's labour parties.[646]

Conclusion

The war precipitated several dislocating phenomena for white workers which brought particular anxieties to the fore. White workers were acutely aware of employer's moves towards hiring Africans on semi-skilled work and stabilising the African workforce and resented that the war was being used to push through changes in employment patterns. The ability to control African labour was a recurring theme in the discussions over the suitability of particular social groups for certain types of employment; women, non-British whites, Coloureds and low class whites were all seen as unable to command sufficient authority or deal with African staff in an adequate manner. Yet white women

---

[641] *Source Book of Parliamentary Elections*, p.156.
[642] Cave, 'Letters to the Editor, '"Disquieting Features in Move for Labour Unity', *Rhodesia Herald*, 7 September 1945, p.2.
[643] *Labour Era,* 1 December 1945, p.5.
[644] 'Presidential Address of SRLP A. A. Draper at 1945 Congress', *Labour Front,* p.1.
[645] ICOMM: pp.zw.srlp.5 Minutes of Informal Congress of SRLP.1948, p.4.
[646] Samkange, *A History of the Rhodesia Labour Party,* pp.104-5.

in general were preferred to the non-British white men, Coloureds and Africans who, it was deemed, would be more cumbersome to push back into pre-war patterns of work.

Generally women's experience of work was conditioned by the ideological importance of the white family and the reproduction of the white race which located women in the home. Marriage restrictions and poor conditions of service were justified through drawing upon hegemonic idealisations of white women as wives and mothers. While the image of white women performing unseemly low paid work was used by male-dominated white trade unions in emotive appeals for the minimum wage and improved working conditions, women were not passive subjects and fought for increased pay and improved conditions. The number of white men leaving Rhodesia to fight abroad stirred fears of lone white women unable to protect themselves. Anxieties were only intensified by the increasing numbers of Africans in urban spaces and skilled work; the growth of the African middle class; outbursts of African industrial militancy and trade union organisation; the increased entrance of women into the labour market; and the growing presence of 'undesirable' white ethnic groups. The rhetoric of black criminality and loafing acted to articulate anxieties concerning a number of interrelated phenomena that contributed to a sense of emasculation for white men. White women could emasculate white men by becoming a source of income, or they could put themselves in danger by taking on unsuitable jobs; yet black men in employment could impoverish the daughters of white trade unionists by obstructing them from pursuing respectable careers. These represented different sources of pressure upon white male monopoly. White British men attempted to re-establish their position by arguing against the autonomy or progression or physical mobility of particular social groups deemed to be a threat. They sought to control white women; to reposition them as weak and frail at a time when their increased autonomy outside of the home threatened the gendered division of labour and some of the ways in which white workers' masculinity was performed.[647] They demonised Africans as they encroached on spaces, jobs or behaviours and attributes that had been imagined as white. They accused non-British whites of damaging white prestige and adding to the Coloured population. Yet they failed to maintain the white British male monopoly. The pressures which caused this dislocation were only set to intensify over the coming decades.

---

[647] See Hyslop, 'White Working Class Women' for South African parallels.

Chapter Four: 'Multiracialism', Mobility and Borders under the Federation, 1953-1963

Introduction

Studies of white trade unions in Rhodesia have tended to focus on the early twentieth century. The following chapters are original in their focus on white workers beyond the Second World War.[648] Discussions of a white labouring class in the period beyond the 1950s have generally been limited to fleeting references to their support for the Rhodesian Front and other right-wing groups.[649] Waning interest in white workers has reflected radical historians' understandable preoccupation with nationalist movements and African trade unions in the period from the early 1950s but has also been influenced by the tendency of some radical historiography to fixate upon the ebb and flow of struggles at the point of production at the expense of struggles fought out at the cultural level in people's daily lives and experiences. Thus as white industrial action declined from the 1920s historians correspondingly paid less attention to white workers. This shift could also be partly explained through trends popular since the 1970s in which class is conceptualised as a set of particular shibboleths, traditions and aesthetics attributed to coherent class identities. Thus as particular signifiers of class have changed or disappeared across the twentieth century many historians and cultural theorists have clamoured to announce the end of the working class *tout court,* rather than being attentive to the specific ways in which class formations reconfigured.[650] Alongside white workers' dampened radicalism and lack of industrial action in comparison with other industrialised nations the RLP largely dissolved as the century progressed. White workers increasingly failed to possess particular signifiers associated with traditional working class identities. Yet white workers continued to occupy a distinct class structural position (explored in the Introduction) which offers unique perspectives from which to interrogate broader colonial processes.

This chapter covers the period in which Southern and Northern Rhodesia joined with Nyasaland in the Central African Federation from 1953 to 1963. The Federation's main architects, Godfrey Huggins and Roy Welensky, were keen to stress the Federal

---

[648] Phimister, Brand and Lunn have primarily focused on the period before Federation in their research into white workers.

[649] Raftopoulos, *Becoming Zimbabwe.*

[650] See Eric Hobsbawm, 'The Forward March of Labour Halted', *Marxism Today* (1978), pp.279-286. Andre Gorz, *Farewell to the Working Class*: *An Essay on Post–Industrial Socialism* (London: Pluto, 1982). And for criticism Willie Thompson, *Postmodernism and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Bryan Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990).

government as a barrier against majority rule and as a route to independence and dominion status. Garfield Todd served as Prime Minister from 1953 to 1958 as part of the United Federal Party and initiated a series of modest reforms in Southern Rhodesia under the new mantra of 'multiracialism'. For white workers in Southern Rhodesia, Federation and its rhetoric of multiracialism provoked concern over the dilution of the colour bar. The "black North", with a much smaller class of white labourers, had historically seen greater progression of Africans into semi-skilled and skilled trades. Welensky attempted to mobilise white workers' support for the Federation by pointing out that white artisans on the Copperbelt were the best paid manual workers in all of Africa despite all of the 'Colonial Office interference'.[651] But even with these assurances pressures for African advancement intensified during the Federation period and threatened to erode the edges of the colour bar and white worker's monopoly of skilled employment. Labour shortages and the threat of African advancement sparked renewed interest in ideas of a white labour policy, the removal of Africans from the ranks of labour and reinvigorated efforts towards producing a tiered educational system which would ensure every settler could achieve a white standard of living. The process of imagining a completely white labour force also required that the figure of the poor white be invested with new meaning. 'Undesirable' work and wages had to be reconceptualised as expressions of the pioneer spirit and respectability. Despite the broader context of decolonisation these debates demonstrate settlers' optimism over the future of Southern Rhodesia and the tenability of a continued European presence and power. As Julia Tischler has demonstrated, these hopes were epitomised by the high modernist project of Kariba Dam. Built between 1955 and 1959 on the borders of Southern and Northern Rhodesia, its construction was tied to Federal nation building and reflected a confidence in continued settler and imperial presence.[652]

While it has been taken as axiomatic that white workers rallied to defend their own privilege, much less attention has been paid to the strategies, tactics and language employed by white workers in doing this. In this chapter I explore the ways in which white workers responded to growing pressures to allow jobs that historically had been performed by whites to be released to African workers. I argue that white workers continued to justify racist wage structures and their monopoly of skilled jobs in the face of growing domestic and international opposition and that this was done through

---

[651] Roy Welensky, 'Federation and Railwaymen', *RRR*, April 1953, p.5.
[652] Julia Tischler, *Light and Power for a Multiracial Nation: The Kariba Dam Scheme in the Central African Federation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

appealing to ideas that particular gendered and racialised bodies had definite limits of productivity. White worker identity was in part informed through maintaining a monopoly over the most senior grades and skilled positions in the colony. African advancement and African industrial organisation and upheaval threatened these dynamics. How white workers reacted to these phenomena offer insights into how white workers saw themselves; as skilled, as educated, as creators and producers, as bearers of modernity. Africans were imagined through an inverted mirror image of these traits against which white labour could contrast itself; white labour identity, as well as being informed by the structural position of white workers within the capitalist settler colonial state, was also an evolving relational social category shaped by its positionality to classed, racialised and gendered others. When Africans challenged their own positions within the settler hierarchy through their demands for entry into skilled jobs and equal wages they threatened not only to proletarianise sections of this contradictory class and dismantle its privileges within the labour market, but to remove the ways in which white labour imagined itself as a distinct layer of Rhodesian society. If white labourers performed and articulated their racial identity through work, African progression into jobs that had historically been fulfilled by whites jeopardised the ways in which white workers' conceived themselves as racially superior. This was not simply an attack on pay and living conditions; it denied white workers a crucial means of racial differentiation.

In previous chapters I have explored the heterogeneity of the white workforce through exploring how gender and ethnicity fractured any sense of a coherent white worker identity. Here, more attention is given to other ways in which the white workforce was internally fragmented between established settlers and newcomers and between the trade union bureaucracy and the rank-and-file membership and it is argued that this mobility of white settlers disrupted established borders. Alison Shutt and Tony King have argued that the transient nature of the settler population meant that re-education was a constant task. Cecil Rhodes, early frontier myths, hostility to apartheid and promotion of the multiracial franchise as a central part of settler identity became important in the socialisation of new immigrants under Federation. Yet Shutt and King have overstated the success of this settler socialisation.[653] Alois Mlambo has noted that post-war immigration of middle-class professionals created differences between 'Old Rhodesians' and new arrivals with the latter holding relatively liberal racial ideas,

---

[653] Shutt and King, 'Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition'.

preferring paternalist multiracialism than outright segregation and opposition to majority rule. White liberals mingled with elite blacks at garden parties and political meetings held by societies such as the Capricorn Africa Society and the Inter-Racial Association of Southern Rhodesia, who invested in a vision of progressive franchise.[654] Moreover, Donal Lowry has acknowledged migrants with a more conservative outlook who desired to escape the British post-war Attlee Labour government as well as the 'Bengal Chancers' and 'Poonafontein Rifles' who arrived in Rhodesia from newly independent India.[655] Nevertheless a blindspot remains on the fractures and divisions created by the arrival of lower class immigrants. These divisions highlight the internal contestation over the politics and identity of white labour and the difficulties in attempting to articulate a coherent uncomplicated white worker identity more generally. The expansion of secondary industries, labour shortages and high labour turnover rates destabilised established labour organisations. Through an analysis of the records of the under-examined Fireman's strike of 1954 on the Rhodesia Railways, attention is paid to how white trade union bureaucrats cooperated with the state to remove undesirable elements from their ranks. Certainly, trade union leaders often struggled to control their members' behaviours. White trade union complaints over the incongruent attitudes of newcomers and the behaviour of unruly Rhodesian-born youths expressed wider concerns over the failure of racialised socialisation and integration into the wider settler ideals.[656] This failure to inculcate both new immigrants and young people entering the workplace for the first time with proper white behaviours was pointed to as a main cause of upheaval. Moreover, sections of white settlers had failed to achieve the elevated social status they expected through their racial identification. Records from the Railway Administration that white workers were approaching the railways for financial assistance highlight the subjective notion of poverty; workers saw themselves as unable to live a 'white lifestyle' on the wages they received. The reaction to white workers' protests against African advancement and the heavy-handed reaction to the Fireman's strike is used to emphasise the conditionality of white workers' privileges within the settler colonial context.

---

[654] A.S. Mlambo, 'From the Second World War to UDI, 1940-1965', in *Becoming Zimbabwe*, p.77.
[655] Lowry, 'Anti-Communism', p.172-3.
[656] Such concerns about unruly youths were prevalent across Africa at this time. See Andrew Ivaska, 'Of Students, "Nizers', and a Struggle over Youth: Tanzania's 1966 National Service Crisis', *Africa Today*, 51, 3 (2005), pp.83-107. Andrew Ivaska, *Cultured States: Youth, Gender and Modern Style in 1960s Dar es Salaam* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011). Hansen, pp.262-3.

These upheavals created by European immigration often expressed themselves through competing definitions of Britishness. The Federation period was marked by growing conflict between Britain and the settler government as the issue of majority rule loomed. Bill Schwarz has argued that during this conflict, the perception that two types of Briton existed deepened. The first were the colonial settlers who saw themselves as combining a hardy realism with an *a posteriori* knowledge of African affairs. The second type of Briton laid claim to metropolitan and urbane sophistry.[657] However, this tends to overlook that within Rhodesia established settlers and newcomers also offered competing definitions of who was, and who was not, *authentically* British. These contests over British identity demonstrate competing claims to a superior character, politics and way of life. Accusing others of not being British was a way of positioning ones' views and beliefs as a legitimate expression of 'Britishness' while marking others out as fraudulent or degenerate.

In many ways the events discussed in this chapter are about the creation, modification and dissolution of several different types of borders - whether territorial, psychological, ideological, social or organisational. In recent years scholars have been increasingly attentive to the permeability of seemingly rigid borders. In particular, Andrew MacDonald's work has evidenced the failure of exclusionary immigration controls and in particular how human agency disrupts and evades regimes of repressive registration. In a similar vein Ann Laura Stoler has argued that the boundaries of settler populations 'marked by whom those in power considered legitimate progeny and whom they did not – were never clear.'[658] All of this points to weakness and blurriness of colonial boundaries, despite their often Manichean, all-encompassing appearances.[659] The mobility of persons, goods and ideas acted to destabilise seemingly rigid borders. In this chapter several different types of borders intersect and reinforce one another; thus when one border dissolves, another is forced to reassert itself, modify or cease to exist. The most obvious creation and dissolution of borders here is those of the Federation itself. The chapter ends with the breakdown of this supra-national territory with the independence of Zambia and Malawi after only ten years. The reaction of the settler

---

[657] Schwarz, *White Man's World,* p. 347.
[658] Stoler, 'Rethinking', p.137.
[659] Andrew MacDonald, 'The Identity Thieves of the Indian Ocean: Forgery, Fraud and the Origins of South African Immigration Control, 1890s-1920s', in *Recognition and Registration: Documenting the Person in World History,* edited by Keith Breckenridge and Simon Szreter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.253-276. See also Achille Mbembe, 'At the Edge of the World: Boundaries, Territoriality, and Sovereignty in Africa', *Public Culture*, 12, 1 (2000), pp.259-284. Paul Nugent, *Smugglers, Secessionists and Loyal Citizens of the Ghana-Togo Frontier: The Lie of the Borderlands Since 1914* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003).

minority was to strengthen internal borders of race as large proportions of the white electorate turned to the Rhodesian Front.

Part One: Labour Shortages and Threats to White Male Monopoly

From the 1930s settler governments had pushed for closer union between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but successive British governments had frustrated its implementation on the grounds that it was detrimental to African interests. Partly in response to the election of the National Party and establishment of apartheid in South Africa in 1948, British attitudes relaxed and in October 1953 the Central African Federation unified the three territories.[660] Sixty three percent of the Southern Rhodesian electorate voted in favour of Federation in the face of huge opposition from the largely disenfranchised African population who saw settler motivations to defend racist power structures concealed behind the rhetoric of a multiracial federal future. The Federation witnessed a period of unprecedented growth. The European population had more than doubled from 1946-1956 from 82,386 to 177,124.[661] The number of manufacturing establishments had risen from 435 in 1946 to 724 in 1952 and by the following year the manufacturing sector employed over 70,000 persons. Alongside this growth African urbanisation continued to expand. In 1951 the Native Land Husbandry Act intensified previous discriminatory land policies and aimed to prevent movement between rural and urban areas. Despite this, African urbanisation in fact increased.[662] This movement was coupled with greater African participation in wage labour. In 1946 Africans in the formal wage economy totalled 376,868; a decade later this had risen to 609,953.[663] Over the same period the number of African and Coloured staff employed by Rhodesia Railways increased by seventy-seven percent from 13,113 to 23,210 while the number of Europeans had increased by 110 percent to 9,903.[664] The railways were also becoming proportionately whiter; in 1939 there were 330 Africans employed per 100 Europeans, but by 1958 this had decreased to 212 Africans employed per 100 Europeans.[665] The Copperbelt experienced a similar shift as the number of white miners increased both in relative and absolute terms, accounting for 11.3 percent of the total

---

[660] Schwarz, *White Man's World,* p.343.
[661] Census 1946 and 1956.
[662] Brian Raftopoulos, 'Nationalism and Labour', pp.81-85.
[663] C. M. Brand, 'Politics and African Trade Unionism in Rhodesia Since Federation', *Rhodesian History*, 2 (1971), p.89.
[664] Rhodesia Railways Report of the General Manger, for the Year Ended 31st March 1956, p.6. (This includes those employed on the Southern Section operated by South African Railways).
[665] 'African Advancement in Industry', *RRR*, November/December 1959, p.5. See Table Thirteen, appendices, p.301.

workforce in 1947 which grew to 18.4 percent in 1961.[666] In 1954 in Wankie, however, the type of mining meant that one white miner would oversee one-hundred black miners.[667] This in part demonstrates the heterogeneity in the dynamics of labour within particular occupations - not all white workers were inevitably working with a gang of African labourers beneath them. Although a racialised hierarchy would have undoubtedly existed, different sectors and occupations experienced different racialised working practices. Moreover, this meant that whites who envisioned themselves purely as overseers of African labour were sorely disappointed. Lunn has argued that 'there are strong indications that the racial demarcation line after 1947 increasingly became one of supervision as much as skill', yet this data reveals countervailing tendencies in the racialised organisation of labour.[668]

Despite the growth in the settler population and increasing numbers of Africans entering wage labour Southern Rhodesia faced continued labour deficits throughout the Federation period. The public service continued to look to Britain to ease its labour crisis, which included skilled artisans, civil servants, teachers and nurses. The Railways had suffered labour shortage from 1945 and the Administration complained of a shortage of Enginemen, Guards and Shunters 'despite intensive recruiting campaigns.'[669] In 1956, while 2370 European staff were hired there was a wastage of 1753. By 1957-8 wastage remained high at 1584 and 1697 respectively.[670] More generally across the colony it was suggested that over 3000 European builders were estimated to have been forced to leave Southern Rhodesia as a result of being overworked due to shortages.[671]

Solutions to the Shortage

Despite shortages the Department of Labour professed it struggled to place unskilled whites and in particular unskilled women were noted as exceptionally difficult to place.[672] While Britain's post war labour shortage meant numbers of British skilled recruits failed to meet Rhodesian demands, existing prejudices surrounding non-British Europeans and white women frustrated attempts to ease labour shortages. Employers

---

[666] Ian Phimister, 'Workers in Wonderland? White Miners and the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, 1946-1962', *South African Historical Journal*, 63, 2 (2011), p.215.
[667] Phimister, 'Lashers and Leviathan', p.172.
[668] Lunn, *Capital and Labour,* p.142.
[669] Rhodesia Railways Report of the General Manger, for the Year Ended 31st March 1956, p.11; Bulawayo Railway Museum Archives: SD16: Strike, Firemen. 1954. Rhodesia Railways Letters, Press Cuttings, Etc. REPORT, p.2.
[670] Rhodesia Railways Report of the General Manger, for the Year Ended 31st March 1956, p.11.
[671] 'Bulawayo no.1 Branch Notes', *RRR*, July 1954.
[672] NAZ: Department of Labour Reports for 1959 and 1960.

were reluctant to hire unskilled whites when they could hire cheaper African labour, while white women's 'natural' place in the home meant their quest for employment was often devalued as a trivial concern. There were some avenues for permanent unskilled positions for women, such as the 130 women employed by Woolworths store in Salisbury, and temporary work was often found for women in retail over the busier Christmas period.[673] But it was argued that female registrants on the unemployment registers were most likely 'pin money queens' and therefore not 'genuine unemployed'.[674] Nevertheless, women continued to enter the labour force in ever greater numbers and married women were increasingly likely to remain in employment. The 1956 census pointed out that the proportion of economically active European women was 'amongst the highest in the world.' It recorded that 25.2 percent of European women in the Federation were economically active compared with figures of 27.6 percent in England and Wales in1951; 21.7 percent in the US in 1950, 19 percent in Australia in 1954, and 16.3 percent in South Africa in 1951. In Southern Rhodesia 58.3 percent of economically active women were married while 28.2 percent of the total married European women were in employment.[675]

Additional female income became increasingly important in sustaining conspicuous consumption of luxury goods. The *Review* argued that wives of railwaymen were working in ever increasing numbers because of the increasing cost of living and 'improving standards'.[676] Although more women appear to have been recruited by RRWU including one woman on the branch committee in Salisbury, married women found little protection from the union.[677] In 1954 a motion for female clerks to be paid the same rates as males was adopted unanimously. But, rather than a desire for equity in the workplace, the motion came from a desire to prevent undercutting as management would hire men rather than women if they were paid the same wages. Therefore married women could survive in the home without having to go into work. In fact the motion suggested that hiring women should be made as expensive as possible to encourage their return to the home.[678] When the Railway Administration began to replace married women with single women in 1957 the RRWU failed to protect its married female

---

[673] NAZ S2239: Southern Rhodesia Department of Labour, Report for the Month of June, 1958, p.3.
[674] NAZ S2239: Southern Rhodesia Department of Labour, Report for the Month of October, 1958, p.1.
[675] Census, 1956, p.9.
[676] 'More Married Women Are Now Working', *RRR*, July 1956, p.6.
[677] 'Salisbury Branch Notes', *RRR*, June 1950, p.27.
[678] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p.154.

members.[679] Some union members argued that women should not be kept in the home, reasoning that women worked for reasons beyond money to spend upon frivolous items and had 'the interest of the railway at heart.'[680] It was pointed out that many married women had a lot of skill and dedication to the job that younger women did not possess.[681] Yet married women's unemployment was less unseemly than their single counterparts':

> should [the young] be forced to "walk the streets" seeking employment because of the presence of an artificial "no vacancy" barrier which at this stage in our development can only be justified for sentimental reasons.[682]

It was agreed that while the wives of lower grade men should be able to enter wage labour, the wives of station masters, grade clerks or senior grade clerks were frivolously taking up employment. Letters from railwaymen suggested that married women should be employed on a monthly basis and got rid of immediately if any single man applied.[683]

Plans to bring out railwaymen from Italy were likewise decried by white unions and were eventually abandoned despite ongoing chronic shortages. This was further frustrated by restrictive immigration policies which stipulated that the number of 'foreign' Europeans allowed to enter the colony was limited to eight percent of total white immigration.[684] There was particular consternation over the fact that during the first six months of 1950 immigration from the Union vastly outnumbered that from Britain. While twenty-two percent of arrivals came from Britain sixty-nine percent of immigrants were from the Union of South Africa.[685] Nevertheless, despite obvious desire on behalf of some women and non-British Europeans to enter the workforce in greater numbers, employers and white trade unions preferred to follow restrictive recruitment patterns in the face of continuing labour shortages and turnovers. It was believed that many men had no intention of remaining in their stated employment after being brought into the colony. In 1951 immigration policies were updated to prevent new immigrants from changing their stated occupations or industries without approval from the Immigration Selection Board or until they had acquired domicile. Although it

---

[679] 'Replacement of Married Women Employees,' *RRR*, December 1957, p.1
[680] 'Married Woman', Lusaka, Letters to Editor, *RRR*, April 1955, p.11.
[681] 'Broken Hill no.2 Branch Notes', *RRR*, February 1959, p.17.
[682] 'Bulawayo Salaried Supervisors Branch Notes', *RRR*, February 1959, pp.15-16.
[683] Francois, 'Pin Money Queens', *RRR*, May 1955, p.11.
[684] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 15 February 1951, p.
[685] LAB 13/204 Memorandum: Immigration, 8th September 1950

was noted as a 'regrettable interference with the economic freedom of the subject' it was deemed necessary by Rhodesian authorities as recruits were leaving in order to find employment in 'more attractive' industries 'almost immediately' upon arrival.[686] By 1954 the Railways were owed £17,280 in expenses by 213 recruits who had resigned or absconded. Reports from railway recruiting officers in Britain indicated that they had been "fleeced" by some of the applicants, who after receiving the expenses at the interview did nothing further to come to Rhodesia.[687] Further to this, a 'post-war restlessness' was thought to be affecting the men which meant they did not want to stay in a particular country or profession and employers had observed a "wandering" tendency of white labourers. Wankie Colliery and Shabanie Mine were failing to attract local recruits and complained of a large turnover of European daily-paid men. Miners and artisans stayed in employment for a few weeks before moving on. In most cases they moved to the Copperbelt, although mine owners explained this movement through the 'natural "roaming" tendency on the part of the worker who knows there is a job "over the hill"' rather than the higher wages offered in Northern Rhodesia.[688] Miners on the Copperbelt during the 1950s could command anything from £1000 to £3000 p.a. - a third higher than comparable wages on the Witwatersrand or elsewhere in the Federation.[689] Those brought out from Britain to work in the outposts of the Railway system often quickly left to take up employment in Salisbury and Bulawayo as these positions proved lonely and lacked the community and facilities of the larger centres. Manufacturing offered work in towns with more attractive hours. Other recruits were noted as simply failing to accustom themselves to Rhodesian life and leaving the colony.[690] Attracting immigrants was one thing, making them stay put or act in ways which seamlessly slotted them into the settler community was quite another.

A White Labour Scheme

While white labour was deemed to be suffering from 'restlessness' African's affliction was diagnosed as inadequacy and indolence. Perceived problems of African labour were summed up by the pronouncement of one Liberal MP that 'they are inefficient. They are

---

[686] 'A Revision of Policy', *Rhodesia Herald*, 5 April 1951, p.5.
[687] Bulawayo Railway Museum Archives: SD16: Strike, Firemen. 1954. Rhodesia Railways Letters, Press Cuttings, Etc. REPORT, p.4.
[688] NAZ S2239: Southern Rhodesia Department of Labour, Report for the Month of July, 1960, p.1.
[689] Ian Phimister, 'Workers in Wonderland?', p.197.
[690] Bulawayo Railway Museum Archives: SD16: Strike, Firemen. 1954. Rhodesia Railways Letters, Press Cuttings, Etc. REPORT, p.3.

deteriorating. There are not enough'.[691]African farm labour was believed to be particularly disloyal and incompetent, although low wages and poor conditions were never used to explain this malaise. As labour shortages showed no sign of abating arguments that only a white labouring class was capable of meeting the needs of an expanding industrial Rhodesia appeared with renewed vigour. The same Liberal MP posited that while Africans may have some use as domestic servants or farm hands, new industries required *white* workforces, that 'when we talk about these large schemes - Kariba Gorge, Sabi Valley, oil from coal, secondary industries - I cannot see our doing anything very much on indigenous labour.'[692] Restrictive immigration policies had historically sought to control the number of white workers in the colony, but labour shortages reinvigorated the question over the future character of Southern Rhodesia. The *Review,* perturbed about African incursion into semi-skilled jobs, particularly the increasing visibility of African bus drivers and conductors on public transport, demanded immigration of whites who would fall into 'lower income groups'.[693] Lower class whites who would be contented with lower paid jobs were seen as vital to upholding the colour bar and keeping particular semi-skilled jobs white.

The United Party were the most vocal in their support for a white labour policy in which Europeans were to be brought into the colony on fixed contracts in unskilled and semi-skilled employment. In the words of one United Party MP, in the absence of a white working class 'from which to draw physical energy…the European races in this Colony will degenerate.'[694] The growth of an established white working class and peasantry was perceived as engendering permanence and stability; whites would not have to fear being numerically overwhelmed by Africans while a larger white population would improve settlers' chances of claiming dominion status.[695] Uneducated, unskilled whites were not necessarily feared as poor whites. Rather it was thought they might find a future in Rhodesia as part of a European peasant class. It was argued that the Union of South Africa had been built up by a 'poor white' peasantry, who were very different from the scourge of poor whites of the 'mentally or physically defective' type. Southern Rhodesia could benefit from encouraging the growth of a poor white peasantry, who themselves

---

[691] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1951, p.3576.
[692] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1951, p.3576. See also Julia Tischler, *Light and Power for a Multiracial Nation.*
[693] 'Editorial', *RRR*, April 1951, p.1.
[694] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1951, p.3584.
[695] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1950, p.2815; p.2828.

would give birth to the next generation of miners and railway workers.[696] The specific demands for a 'white peasantry' at first seem out of place; this social class no longer existed in Britain, nor indeed most of the industrialised west. This image which harked back to a pre-industrial class who were envisioned as working the land and reproducing the settler population, in some respects mirrored aspects of African rural social reproduction and urban migrant labour. In the context of high labour turnovers and 'wandering' white labourers, this appeal to a stabilised white peasantry was not simply an appeal to an anachronistic idealised rural pioneer; it represented a longing for ties to the land that invoked a sense of permanence. It was a desire to make urban whites rooted to the land through familial ties. But in order to bring out unskilled whites, the discourses surrounding poor whiteism had to be restructured. Poor whiteism had to be extricated from discourses of degeneracy and invested with new meanings. The *good* poor white had to be popularised as enhancing settler rule; as an essential buttress of white domination.

These new white workers would be prohibited from having African domestic staff as those pressing for the scheme did 'not want every immigrant who comes in here to have a native to polish his shoes. He had to do some work himself.'[697] African labour was envisioned as being entirely replaced by Europeans.[698] The tobacco industry initiated a pilot scheme in 1949 using half a dozen farms to evaluate the potential of using white manual labour on a large scale. While the pilot scheme was hailed as a success, moves towards engaging white labour on a widespread scale did not progress. Antipathy towards poor whites remained and the scheme was rejected in the Legislative Assembly by twelve to eight votes and was criticised for trying to implement a policy of indentured labour for Europeans. Moreover, it was thought that the scheme would encourage the settlement of 'a second class European population.'[699] Such a population would require huge subsidies from the government in order to educate its children and to attain a respectable white standard of living. Opposition to white labour policies primarily came from a desire to utilise cheaper African labour. Whatever a lower class white could be paid, employers were well aware Africans could always be paid less. Despite increasing interest in white labour policies, the economic importance of African labour to Rhodesian industry, agriculture and domestic service could not be denied.

---

[696] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1951, p.2880.
[697] Ibid., p.3610.
[698] Ibid., p.3608.
[699] Ibid., pp.3588-3610.

Rhodesia was already struggling to accommodate its unskilled and uneducated white population and if employers refused to employ whites in place of Africans, Rhodesia would be left with an insurmountable unemployment problem.

Many of the unskilled whites resident in the colony were seen as being a product of inadequate educational provision. Rhodesian authorities were particularly concerned that the Rhodesian youth were failing to meet required standards to ensure their entry into higher paid positions in the colony. Whites were emerging from primary education who were only suited for manual, repetitive work. While these whites could perform 'a number of mechanical jobs' it was admitted they could not compete for these jobs with Africans. The Education Department was implored 'to pay particular attention to these children *to enable them to take their place in the white community of Southern Rhodesia.'*[700] A place in the white community was not conditional on white skin. Integration and assimilation required acquiring an appropriate level of education, displaying the ability to command a distinguishing income, and therefore to live a white lifestyle. In 1951 it was estimated that twenty-five percent of sixteen year olds would fail to pass standard seven examinations at the end of their secondary education.[701] Education had an important role in character building and inculcating racial doctrines but also set out to prepare white children for attaining 'white' skilled jobs. Members of the Legislative Assembly suggested that employers should give afternoons off to employees who were undertaking technical education.[702] If Africans must advance, then Europeans must advance ahead of them; the lowest strata of Europeans could not be allowed to be overtaken by the most advanced Africans.[703] Plans were drawn up to make sure that poor white boys were saved the indignity of unsuitable work or unemployment. It was suggested that children aged fourteen to fifteen who showed little academic aptitude should be streamed into an education with a 'vocational bias' in specialist technical high schools.[704] Here it was hoped that low achievers could still be uplifted and prepared for a life in a respectable trade. Although poor educational performance for white girls was less of a concern, they should also be enrolled at Queen Elizabeth and Eveline schools in vocational courses which included 'commerce, shorthand and typing, book-keeping and commercial geography, domestic science and

---

[700] My emphasis. Ibid., p.2861.
[701] Ibid., p.2936.
[702] Ibid., p.2867.
[703] Ibid., p.2857-8.
[704] Ibid., p.2862.

nursing and, in due course, dress-making, millinery, catering, hair-dressing, commercial art and even armature winding.'[705]

Labour shortages did not lead to an easing of restrictive gendered or British-preference employment practices, but led to renewed discussions over education and the place of unskilled whites in the colony. But the white poor remained contested figures; what for some signalled a hardy authenticity to others held untold damage to white prestige, overreliance upon the state and the entrenchment of uneconomic labour practices. The fears of degeneration and miscegenation bound up with poor whitesim persisted and ultimately won out.[706] While Rhodesian born youths had to be uplifted there was less support for bringing in unskilled whites into the colony. These shortages however, continued to create unstable conditions for white labour and weakened their ability to reject proposals for African advancement and progression into white jobs.

Part Two: African Advancement

Pressures for African advancement accelerated as changes in the colony's labour requirements were coupled with a growth of African labour dissatisfaction, trade union organisation and nationalism. Moreover, there was growing international pressure for decolonisation and for Southern Rhodesia to relax its racial laws. Anxious not to become an international pariah, African advancement was seen as a means to protect against international criticism, to dampen nationalist fervour and militate against violent overthrow from below. Much of the pressure for African progression into semi-skilled and skilled jobs came from employers suffering labour shortages keen to exploit cheaper black labour.

White Rhodesian trade unions were also facing growing hostility internationally. At the International Labour Organisation (ILO) conference in 1959 Pat Lennon, the delegate elected by the all-white Federal TUC and described by the liberal publication, *Central African Examiner,* as a 'white supremacist', reported that he faced hostility from African members of the ILO, particularly Ghanaian and Guinean delegates who 'promised liberation and extermination'. Yet Lennon seemed relatively unfazed by this as he received the support of other white commonwealth trade unionists. In defence of Rhodesian trade unionism, a Canadian delegate pointed out his own trade union did not

---

[705] Ibid., p.2867.
[706] Timothy Parsons, *The Second British Empire: In the Crucible of the Twentieth Century* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), p.154.

accept black members. While the British delegates seemed concerned with the treatment of Africans in the Federation, Lennon was assured that this was simply an issue of misinformation.[707] However the relationship with British trade unions was tense. The RRWU painted British trade unions as sanctimonious; they themselves were unwilling to work with undesirable Europeans, but 'if you come from Africa and have a black skin you are automatically right, but...if your skin is white you are some kind of pariah.'[708] In Britain, the Labour Party's pronouncement in 1956 that they would demand a multiracial franchise in the Federation when they came to power further damaged the tense relationship between white labour in metropole and colony.

Progress for African workers was painfully slow. On the railways in 1956 African staff had won the right to be paid in cash rather than in rations and a new African Senior Staff grade was introduced to, in management's words, create 'a responsible middle class group in the African community.' Only 185 Africans were affected by the new grade representing a meagre 0.8 percent of all Africans employed by the railways.[709] In 1957 Robert Kawanga became the first African to hold the position of Assistant Stationmaster on the Railways at Luchenza in Nyasaland. The *Federal Newsletter* hailed the move as the 'first African in the Federation to hold such an important post'.[710] It is not coincidental that this limited African progression first took place where settlers were demographically weakest.

White union support for African advancement was generally limited to support for demands for gradual pay increases: a well-paid African workforce was less of a threat to white workers nervous of replacement and undercutting. The exclusively white Federal Trades Union Congress (FTUC) rejected African advancement citing unrest among African workers, the 'annihilation of the European' and the greater exploitation of all workers.[711] Erosion of the protections afforded to white workers was also cited as removing the safeguards against poor whiteism.[712] More generally African advancement was depicted as an attack on white living standards. White trade unions generally attempted to bury their heads in the sand in the early years of Federation and most refused to commit to any definite plan of action beyond asserting the need to maintain the 'rate for the job'. Inequalities in pay and work conditions had been justified by white

---

[707] 'ILO Conference and Meeting with British TUC', *RRR*, August 1959, pp.10-11.
[708] 'Whither Trade Unionism?', *RRR*, August 1957, p.6.
[709] Rhodesia Railways Report of the General Manger, for the Year Ended 31st March 1956, p.16.
[710] *Federal Newsletter*, 30 November 1957.
[711] *Federal Newsletter*, 2 October 1959.
[712] 'Fear that Railway Plan Will Make Poor Whites', *Rhodesia Herald*, 31 July 1959.

trade unions through the seemingly liberal mantra of 'equal pay for equal work'. Yet this demand concealed a reactionary core. 'Equal pay for equal work' gave a veneer of impartiality to the differential values attached to particular types of work and the values assigned to the racialised and gendered bodies performing the work. Therefore, while the RRWU acknowledged that Coloureds carried out the same work as Europeans, differential pay was justified through the important caveat that 'their *potential* value is not as great as that of the Europeans.'[713] In 1959 Coloureds could expect to receive approximately ninety percent of European pay for performing exactly the same job.[714] The potential value of African labour was pegged at an even lower rate. The FTUC claimed that Africans could only produce a fifth of a European's output in the same time period and therefore should be paid a fifth of the European's wage.[715] Distinct racialised groups of workers were seen as having definite limits of what they could conceivably produce: each race commanded its own internal logic of productivity just as every race was separated by a static hierarchy of 'living standards'. White workers used this language in order to lay claim to equality and liberalism while supporting and demanding racist structural inequalities in the labour market. Opposition to African advancement was couched in terms of fragmentation of skill and an attack on wages and was often coupled with claims that white labour supported African advancement in principle although this never materialised into practical support. Thus RRWU's General Secretary argued that denying employment to anyone based upon colour was 'fundamentally wrong', accused management of exploiting African workers and portrayed RRWU as the champion of all workers of all races.[716] Europeans arguing for the rate for the job knew that employers, if they had to pay Africans and Europeans the same wage, would always hire the latter over the former.

Yet white labour's demands for the rate for the job invited a backlash against white workers who were castigated as greedy, overpaid and underworked. While high rates of pay were initially justified to attract skilled European labour times had changed and now

> a vast amount of money will be frittered away paying Africans far
> more than is justified either by their standard of living or by the
> intrinsic value of the more advanced jobs they will get…So the

---

[713] My emphasis. 'The Unions Case Summed Up', *RRR*, November 1954, p.7.
[714] December 1959, *RRM*, p.50.
[715] 'Trade Unionists Throughout the Federation Meet in Bulawayo', Conference Opened by Mr TC Rutherford President of South African Trade Union Council, *RRR*, July 1955, p.5.
[716] 'African Advancement in Industry', *RRR*, November/December 1959, p.4.

>lower grade of European was and is overpaid. Now the African is to be overpaid too![717]

The *Central African Examiner* likewise argued that white workers' demands for the rate for the job would ruin the Rhodesian economy and stated that European pay rates were unreasonable.[718] Even the RRWU admitted at its 1959 conference that the 'rate for the job' was a farce intended only to keep the African out of European jobs and that 'sooner or later someone would call their bluff, because it was not a realistic policy to adopt.'[719]

Alongside demands for greater progression for African workers were moves towards official African trade union recognition. Despite the existence of African trade unions since the 1920s not one was recognised by official conciliation machinery. The Industrial Conciliation Acts of 1934, 1937 and 1945 excluded Africans from the definition of 'employee'. This exclusion was in part justified through the rhetoric of responsibilities and rights and contrasting the permanence of white employees with the supposed transitory and seasonal nature of African labour. In the Legislative Assembly it was argued that because Europeans had a long tradition of organised labour, whites had a natural understanding of the principles of bargaining. Trade unionism was pitched as something 'traditional' to white workers, a product of industry and modernity, infused with notions of respectability and responsibility and, importantly, something which Africans neither required nor were ready for.[720] Nevertheless, the fact that Africans were independently organising themselves into trade unions could not be denied and in 1947 the Native Labour Boards Act had set up two regional boards for arbitration matters. The first provision for registration of an African trade union did not take place until the Rhodesia Railways Act of 1949. Wishing African trade unionism away and enacting repressive measures to squash industrial organisation had failed; incorporation and facilitation was the new agenda under Federation. The 1954 Native Industrial Workers' Union Bill finally made collective bargaining machinery available to Africans. Between December 1954 and March 1955 there were twenty-five African industrial unions registered although the *Review* evaluated them as 'badly organised and inefficiently run'.[721] The leadership of RAWU were accused of having 'no idea of moral obligation [or] responsibilities and appear to have no control over their members.'[722]

---

[717] *The Northern News*, 17 December 1959
[718] *The Central African Examiner*, 19 December 1959, p.6.
[719] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p.276.
[720] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1956, p.2585.
[721] 'Future of Trade Unions and Industrial Conciliation Machinery', *RRR*, June 1956, p.10.
[722] 'African Advancement', *RRR*, March 1959, p.1.

African trade unions were weak during the Federation period, wracked by internal factionalism, personality disputes and harbouring a complicated and often tense relationship to the growing nationalist organisations.[723] But their existence presented a threat which was not underestimated by the Rhodesian state. The Minister of Native Affairs in 1952 admitted that moves towards facilitating African organisation must be limited as the 'premature organisation of unskilled primitive labour is fraught with grave dangers to the worker himself.'[724] The question of African unionisation for the Government, employers and white workers alike was first and foremost one of control. The AMWR and the AEU agreed to incorporate African branches in 1954. The AMWR General Secretary had explained the benefits of incorporating an African branch as a 'sub-section' of the European union; all African grievances would be taken to the white leadership and

> the European union would then be in a position to know the aims of the African workers. Then, if the African claims were just, the European would be the first to recognise them and put them forward.[725]

Multiracial unionism offered a strategy to strangle radical African trade unionism as African demands could be mediated through the conservatism of skilled white members. Some white workers also saw incorporation as a means to prevent Africans being used to break European strikes. There was concern that if European workers did not take control of African unions, the latter would either become tools of management or of communists to break white workers and the colour bar. In 1959 the ICA allowed Africans to join trade unions but unskilled union members had less voting power which effectively devalued African votes within multiracial unions. The Act encouraged industry based unions, rather than cross-industrial occupational based unions and unions were prohibited from making political alliances in a bid to prevent trade unions allying with nationalist groups. Agricultural and Domestic workers remained under the Masters and Servants Act.[726]

There was a failure to reach consensus over almost every aspect of African advancement. While the European trade union bureaucracy proved to be in favour of multiracial unions, the rank-and-file were less enthusiastic. Division further emanated

---

[723] See Raftopoulos, 'Nationalism'.
[724] *The African in Southern Rhodesia Industry* (Bulawayo: Rhodesian Institute of African Affairs), pp.22-23.
[725] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p.264.
[726] Brand, 'Federation', p.90. Alois Mlambo, 'From the Second World War to UDI, 1940-1965', in *Becoming Zimbabwe*, p.103.

over the extent to which some jobs should be given over to African workers. Some unskilled jobs were regarded as inappropriate for whites to continue to perform. One member of the RRWU union executive argued that the position of steward on the trains was inappropriate for whites as the pay was low and could not sustain a white family. The white stewards, he argued, were causing their children shame as a result of failing to afford blazers or shoes and 'he or she goes to school feeling shabby and ill at ease. This could be the start of an inferiority complex - a bad thing for a European in Africa.' Whites had to *feel* and project their superiority. Although previously a steward himself, it was a job he believed whites should release to black workers.[727] These suggestions were met with incredulous hostility. While it was agreed that the position of steward was undesirable, the rank and file appeared to defend the job as one performed by 'fully trained' men who were 'justly proud of the position they hold in spite of its attendant discomforts'. White men could take pride in this work. Moreover, the image of Africans providing corridor service on night trains provided further justification for stewarding to remain white.[728] Demands for low-skilled and undesirable jobs to be staffed by Europeans may have had better support from the more uneducated and unskilled sections of the white workforce, but also reflected a resolve not to compromise over any aspect of African progression.

African advancement was also treated with suspicion by white women who desired to keep their positions. White women had much less protection and often occupied the semi-skilled jobs which would be the first to be offered to African men.[729] Some professions fulfilled by white women were arguably more protected from African competition than others. Nursing and teaching were careers where white women's replacement by African workers was considered much more taboo than Africans replacing engineers or other manual labourers. Despite shortages, the four year training courses for Africans to become Registered Nurses to work in African hospitals only commenced in September 1958.[730] The fears surrounding Africans working in hospitals which contributed to this delay are summarised in a letter sent to an RLP MP in 1933 which heavily implied Africans working in European hospitals defiled unwitting patients. The writer expressed 'shock' at witnessing 'the natives bring my wife from the operating theatre and lift her into bed...It is a well-known fact that natives carry all kinds

---

[727] 'Mr Matthews says Goodbye as an Executive Member', *RRR*, 1955 January, p.16.
[728] W. A. Chapman, 'Letters to Editor', *RRR*, February 1955, p.12.
[729] Kufakurinani, *White Women and Domesticity*. Ushehwedu Kufakurinani, 'Negotiating Respectability: White Women in the Public Service of Southern Rhodesia', *Online Journal of Social Sciences Research*, 1, 4 (2012), pp.115-124.
[730] 'Miss O. R. Norton's Farewell', *Rhodesian Nurses Newsletter,* Vol. 8, no 2, June 1975, p.17.

of diseases and yet our doctors allow these natives to handle our wives when they are in a state of unconsciousness.'[731] Africans who worked in hospitals had the chance to observe whites at their most fragile, their most vulnerable. White workers utilised allusions to medical and scientific 'knowledge' to argue for job protection and all-white workforces; unsanitary Africans must be kept separate from hospitalised whites.[732]

The Federal government was the biggest employer of white women and was acutely aware that many jobs were being fulfilled by white men and women 'which could be done adequately by people with lower academic qualifications and lower living standards at a lower salary.'[733] In 1961 the Government agreed to parity of pay between men and women in the public service on the condition that typing grades were kept separate and no married woman would be allowed to have a permanent contract.[734] The Chairman of the Interim Federal Public Service Commission noted that while all posts in the service were open to all regardless of gender there were many posts in which men and women performed the same jobs but did not receive equal wages. Thus women teachers received five sixths of the salary of their male counterparts, but the Chairman claimed that this was justified as the extra one-sixth was essential in enabling men to provide for wives and children.[735] But this presented a peculiar problem. White women realised that equity between African and white wages for male employees would result in white women being paid less than African men. The women's Branch of the Administrative and Clerical Association of the Southern Rhodesia Civil Service made representations to the government in 1961 regarding African advancement proposals. They argued that there was little incentive for qualified women to work in clerical and administrative posts and that there were a limited number of women who were interested in clerical work as a career as a result of unfair employment practices. They maintained that if women were not granted equal pay with men it would adversely affect the entry and retention of women into the service 'in view of the government's recent intention to attract Africans into the service.'[736] No white woman would lower

---

[731] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1933, p.873.

[732] See chapter two Lynette Jackson, *Surfacing Up: Psychiatry and Social Order in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1908-1968* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).

[733] NAZ S3279 Ref 11/109, Report to the Prime Minister 13 Feb 1964, Employment of Women in the Southern Rhodesia Public Service.

[734] NAZ S3279, Cabinet Memorandum 1961. Parity for Men and Women in the Southern Rhodesia Government Service.

[735] NAZ S3279 11/109 Press Statement 553/58/CB by Mr J.B. Ross, 1958, Chairman of the Interim Federal Public Service Commission to the Business and Professional Women's Club at the New Rhodesians Club, Salisbury, 1958.

[736] NAZ S3279, Women's Branch of Administrative and Clerical Association of the Southern Rhodesia Civil Service, 1961. See also, Kufakurinani, *White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p.132.

herself by working for a wage lower than African men. Parity between men and women was accepted in principle in 1957 by the Public Service Board but was never put into practice.[737]

From 1955 pressure intensified for white unions and the workers they represented to come to an agreement. The Northern Rhodesian miners' union followed suit and voted in favour of allowing twenty-four European jobs to become Africanised in 1955.[738] In 1959 Africans were finally allowed into the Southern Rhodesian civil service and in 1960 RRWU agreed to open up the union to all non-Europeans employed in grades covered by the National Industrial Council (NIC) for the Railway Industry.[739] Despite predictions that forty percent of RRWU membership would immediately leave if their union was allowed to become 'an almost black one' by August 1961 there were 176 Africans in NIC grades, the majority of whom became members of RRWU.[740] After repeatedly lamenting poor attendance at branch meetings, Umtali admitted that it was 'nice to have twenty-two new members whatever their colour.'[741]

In 1959 the Federal Government further drew up proposals for the railways which broke down jobs such as ticket issuers, lorry drivers, dining car stewards, into three or four pay grades which both Africans and Europeans would progress through.[742] The AEU and RRWU decried the scheme as backdoor fragmentation and deskilling. RAWU were also suspicious of the scheme which was seen to offer little real advancement to African employees. Over two-hundred RRWU members from Gwelo, Salisbury and Umtali met and passed a vote of no confidence in their president. The AEU protested by calling a 24 hour strike on the 21st January. These actions and their limited effects revealed the inability of white labour to maintain its strict monopoly. European unions protested that Africans would work for less than rate for the job for a proposed four year 'testing period' during which Africans would be placed on a basic wage £10 below the minimum European rate for the job.[743] Others were more adamant that not even at double rate for the job' would they allow Africans to impinge on European work.[744] The Railway Administration assured workers that no one currently working on the railways

---

[737] Kufakurinani, *White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe,* pp.132-135.
[738] Phimister, 'Workers in Wonderland', p.221.
[739] Fortnightly Summary, 9th April 1959.
[740] 'Que Que Branch Notes', *RRR*, July 1956, p.25. 'Constitutional Proposals', *RRR*, August 1961, p.4.
[741] 'Umtali, No. 5 Branch Notes', *RRR*, October 1960, p.20.
[742] TNA: DO 35/7460: African Advancement on Rhodesia Railways (Note for the Secretary of State for the Colonies), p.1.
[743] TNA: DO 35/7460: Federal Newsletter, 29th January, 1960, p.8.
[744] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p.276.

would face a pay cut. The testing period, they argued, was purely a safeguard to ensure European standards were being maintained and the AEU and RRWU saw it as the thin edge of the wedge of undercutting and replacement.

The white union's bluff was finally called as the railways offered every job on the rate for the job. RRWU and AEU were able to reduce the proposed four year training period to one year. This was accompanied by an assurance that Africans could be removed from their posts if they failed to produce 'European standards' of work. Plans for progression were met with accusations of exploitation and oppression from white workers, but they were eventually forced to release certain jobs to African workers. Multiracial unionism offered opportunities for protection and control to white workers in the face of the limited gains Africans had won over the Federation period. White male unions were forced to change their internal boundaries in response to the challenges from racialised and gendered others. Both white women and white men responded to proposals for African advancement with outrage; but they were fundamentally too weak and the needs and desires for cheaper labour too great to completely prevent such changes.

Part Three: Mobility, Borders, the Unsettling of White Worker Identity and Organisations

The 1954 Firemen's Strike

Struggles over African progression were reflected within industrial action taken by both African and white workers over the period.[745] The 1950s saw an unprecedented number of wildcat strikes of European workers across Northern and Southern Rhodesia. European railway workers had not taken strike action since 1929 and the last significant European strike had taken place in 1932 in the building trade. Significantly, both of these occurred prior to the introduction of arbitration machinery under the 1934 ICA which, alongside formalising the European monopoly of skilled jobs, had effectively prohibited strikes in the colony. The short-lived strike of Rhodesia Railway's Firemen in 1954 is an under examined flashpoint in white trade union history which offers insight into the general problems of labour retention that characterise the Federation period and the failure to rapidly inculcate newer

---

[745] Money, 'The World of European Labour'; Ian Phimister, 'Lashers and Leviathan: The 1954 Coalminers' Strike in Colonial Zimbabwe', *International Review of Social History*, 39 (1994), pp.165-196.

immigrants with appropriate settler mentalities. It also offers a new context to show how mobility disrupts established borders. Railways have played a central role in forging new kinds of mobility and in articulating colonial identities. They increased the mobility of persons, goods and ideas which enabled empire and simultaneously disrupted the borders and the production of difference central to the imperial project. For white railway workers, the railways represented more than the mobility of goods and persons, but held the promise of upward social mobility in the settler community. However, many of the immigrants who moved from the UK failed to transcend the borders of class and status they were trying to escape. The RRWU expected white male workers to act in ways which supported internal boundaries of difference; but these behaviours did not occur automatically. While the strike ostensibly emanated over pay and conditions, it was also fuelled by an assertion of certain rights and privileges which framed white workers' identity including the right to organise. It brought the uneasy relationship of white workers to the Rhodesian State and the fractures within white labour itself into sharp focus. In particular it shone light upon the growing hostility between the conservative trade union bureaucracy and the rank and file of the RRWU which represented around three quarters of all European staff on the railways at the time of the strike. Moreover the strike and subsequent fallout demonstrated the extent to which the elite feared that white labour had a latent radicalism which could be stirred into frenzied industrial action and that they could join with African labour or simply give African labour 'ideas'. The Rhodesian government was prepared to use considerable force in disciplining white labour if it overstepped established boundaries.

Tensions had been building amongst low paid workers for a considerable period. The RRWU had entered arbitration in February 1953 and while a basic pay increase was won for all grades the arbitration received a mixed response from RRWU members. In particular married men claimed they were unable to support their families on basic rates of pay.[746] Lower skilled and lower paid positions were often understood to be appropriate only for younger, single men from which they would gradually progress after gaining relevant experience. However, staff shortages had forced the Administration to hire older experienced men in shunting grade which was considered a 'learner' grade. As a result the firemen's wage of £39 per month did not match what many older Europeans expected as a basic rate.[747] Moreover, the high number of

---

[746] 'Arbitration Award', *RRR*, April 1954, p.1.
[747] TNA: DO 35/4831 Deportation of Charles Taylor: SECRET: Inward Telegram from High Commissioner of Federation to Commonwealth Relations Office.

resignations on the railways fuelled the belief that the Administration were bringing out experienced workers with families from the UK under false pretences. For white railwaymen, an appropriate wage was determined just as much by age and marital status as it was race and gender. RRWU argued that men with years of experience and skill were being hired in low skilled work.[748] It was unsightly for older white men with dependents to be employed on such low wages. The existence of this layer of whites failing to attain white standards of living within the railway community threatened to bring down the prestige of railway workers more generally. White workers were keen to present an image of social mobility and respectability which demanded ensuring every white employed by the railways was able to project an air of prosperity and achievement.

The Railway Administration and RRWU had to repeatedly state that the firemen could not take action outside of the arbitration machinery and threatened that any man taking illegal strike action would be prosecuted.[749] Nevertheless firemen continued to call for strike action and there were calls from some quarters to form a new independent railway union.[750] As agitation over pay from the Fireman's section increased, Charles Taylor, a British trade unionist and Fireman who had been resident in the colony for thirteen months, was singled out as a ringleader of the continuing dissent and was expelled from the union on the 31st May. Particularly unnerving to the Administration and the government was the aptitude Taylor had shown in organising and rallying the men. On the first day of the planned strike the CID searched Taylor's house and found what they claimed to be a 'draft manifesto of standard communist type' which provided grounds for his arrest on the 4th of June. On hearing this news, firemen voted to carry on with the strike at midday on the same day and Taylor was deported to the UK. The rapidity with which Taylor was deported without trial emanated from deep-seated fears of the administration and government that white workers could hold the country hostage through paralysing the railways. The government belatedly justified the deportation on the basis that Taylor had lied to enter the colony; Taylor's wife had confirmed he had been a member of the British Communist Party from 1943 to 1953 and a propaganda

---

[748] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p.25.
[749] 'Firemen Told: Illegal to Strike at this Stage', *Rhodesia Herald*, 21 May 1954, p.13.
[750]'Railwaymen Give Notice to Union, Que Que', *Rhodesia Herald*, 4 June 1954, p.1. 'Mr Went's Resignation Demanded', *Rhodesia Herald*, 3 June 1954, p.1.

secretary for a local branch in Derbyshire, all of which was used to discredit Taylor and the Firemen's demands.[751]

The strike went ahead in spite of interventions by the railway Administration, the RRWU's executive and the government. While initially consisting solely of firemen, the strike gradually extended to include some sympathetic engine drivers and shunters who were angered by the heavy handed response.[752] Drivers refused to work with strike breakers who had volunteered to take on the firemen's duties.[753] The firemen refused to negotiate with the President of the RRWU when he met with them to convince them to return to work and demanded separate representation as they distrusted the leadership who had seemingly aided the state to deport Taylor.[754] Garfield Todd, on the other hand, refused to negotiate with the strikers and would only deal with official RRWU representatives. The strikers eventually agreed to return to work on conditions of no victimisation, a fair trial for Taylor and a special commission into their claims. While strikers at Salisbury eventually agreed to end the strike on the 7th, men at Bulawayo refused to trust reports of men returning to work from the RRWU leadership and management, and as a result did not return to work until the 10th, only after Salisbury strikers had been flown out to Bulawayo to confirm the reports.

The Administration, RRWU executive and the rank and file provided competing explanations as to the strike's causes. Management maintained that the ringleaders of the strike had no concerns over Firemen's pay.[755] They were accused of taking advantage of ill feeling in order to have a holiday, and it was noted that it was not entirely 'irrelevant that [the] strike came day or two after payment of wages for May and coincided largely with Whitsun holidays.'[756] The RRWU Executive Committee asserted that the initial 1953 arbitration had been generally successful. The men, it was argued, had no real grievance but had been riled up by Taylor and his communist propaganda. Taylor was portrayed as a demagogue who did not care about the Firemen's concerns but who was obsessed with striking and had deviously tricked the men into his own agenda which

---

[751] TNA: DO 35/4831 Deportation of Charles Taylor: Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office: From UK High Commissioner in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

[752] 'Salisbury Engine Drivers Out', *Rhodesia Herald*, 7 June 1954, p.1.

[753] 'State of Emergency Declared in S. Rhodesia', *Rhodesia Herald*, 5 June 1954, p.1.

[754] Bulawayo Railway Museum Archives: SD16: Strike, Firemen. 1954. Rhodesia Railways Letters, Press Cuttings, Etc. Letter to Chief Mechanical Engineer, 16th June 1954, no.368/33, p.2.

[755] Bulawayo Railway Museum Archives: SD16: Strike, Firemen. 1954. Rhodesia Railways Letters, Press Cuttings, Etc. REPORT, p.2.

[756] TNA: DO 35/4831 Deportation of Charles Taylor: SECRET: Inward Telegram from High Commissioner of Federation to Commonwealth Relations Office.

included ousting the General Secretary and appointing himself as leader.[757] One delegate at the 1954 RRWU Annual Conference recalled that he had met Taylor in the Zawi mess room where Taylor was talking about the recent strike of Africans at Wankie and had denounced the Government's actions to break the strike. Taylor had continued to defend the rights of Africans to strike and even declared that "my views about the African are these. When my daughter grows up, if the African is fit to have my daughter, he can have my daughter."[758] The Executive Committee used anecdotes of Taylor's communism and liberal racial attitudes to justify their actions towards the strikers and attempt to erode the fireman's loyalty to him. Taylor's guilt was reaffirmed through these tales of his inability to meet the characteristics and behaviours expected of white workers. Protecting white women was an axiomatic element of white masculinity within Rhodesia. By symbolically offering up his own daughter to an African man, Taylor had transgressed a constitutive element of white masculinity.

However the publicity that Taylor had garnered in his defence was seen as having the potential to jeopardise essential recruitment of skilled workers from the UK. Taylor had received support from the British National Union of Mineworkers and other trade unionists and declared in the British press that he would not let the matter lie. Moreover, Taylor had returned to Britain and openly challenged the myth of social mobility in Rhodesia. He publicised that men were in debt, new arrivals were disgruntled at their low pay and often 'did not know where their next meal would come from'. Taylor further described his own experiences in damning terms: 'one day I did the unmentionable thing in Rhodesia: I borrowed money from my "houseboy" to buy milk for the kiddies.' Taylor understood that he was contravening white standards of behaviour. He offered a view of reliance and dependence upon African domestic staff; an image Rhodesian white labour had put considerable effort into emphatically denying. He hit back at the RRWU leadership as 'smug and lazy', accusing them of ignoring the rank and file and effectively acting as part of management rather than as the representatives of labour. According to Taylor, part of the reason why Firemen took action was due to the Administration's offer for improved conditions being restricted to the 'UK men', while Afrikaans speaking men who made up half of the frontplate staff were offered no improvements. Taylor described the offer as a 'disgraceful' suggestion which 'would have worsened racial feeling and destroyed all hopes of unity for a generation' and he cheered that when the strike eventually came UK and Afrikaans men

---

[757] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p.224.
[758] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p.222.

walked out together.[759] Taylor also vocally criticised the conditions of Coloured prisoners in the Cape where he was stationed before deportation to Britain.

But how did the Firemen allow themselves to be led by a man who was considered to be such a deviant by Rhodesian authorities? The RRWU leadership argued that new arrivals had not fully adjusted to the Rhodesian trade union modus operandi or settler culture more generally and were much more willing to revert to strike action.[760] Management likewise reasoned that the cause of the strike was down to mass recruitment of new European staff. In 1954 of the 8000 Europeans employed by the railways 5,200 had less than eight years of service. Although recruits were screened management admitted that with their huge recruitment drive, it was inevitable 'that some of the less desirable found their way into the country'. They further noted that

> it was apparent for some time that many overseas recruits were
> fairly strongly influenced by socialist ideas and felt that labour
> should negotiate on more militant lines. This feeling among certain
> grades of recruits goes back some years.[761]

Sam Wright was employed by the Railways from 1950 to 1976 and recalled that employees recruited from Britain were 'the most vociferous, in Union matters...it was a constant ding-dong between them and management' and dismissed some of their demands and rationale as 'completely absurd'.[762] To militate against continuing dissent, as well as initiating more stringent screening processes, it was suggested that railwaymen be forbidden from marrying until they had reached a certain wage, something which was already in place for army personnel, policemen and bank employees.[763] This, it was thought, would prevent the growth of impoverished families and dissatisfaction from married employees. The Department of Labour likewise expressed a preference for men to come out individually and establish themselves before bringing out their families as the infrastructure could not bear added population.[764] Without the requisite housing and services, white recruits were living in conditions below what they had anticipated and as a result were seen as being more susceptible to communist influences and involvement in industrial action. The settler state, railway administration and RRWU itself desired the settlement of white families;

---

[759] Charles Taylor, 'Why I was Deported from Rhodesia', *Daily Worker*, 6th July 1954.
[760] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p.210.
[761] Bulawayo Railway Museum Archives: SD16: Strike, Firemen. 1954. Rhodesia Railways Letters, Press Cuttings, Etc. REPORT, p.1.
[762] Sam Wright, *Tracks across the Veldt: Memoirs of a Rhodesia Railwayman, 1950-1976* (Bognor Regis: Woodfield Publishing, 2005), p.47.
[763] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p.25.
[764] TNA: LAB 13/204 1820 Memorial Settlers Association, Requisitions: Southern Rhodesia.

families were seen to engender stability and permanence. Yet economic conditions meant the immigration of families had a potentially radicalising effect. Discontent surfaced as expectations of upward social mobility failed to materialise.

European immigration was intended to maintain racialised employment practices and ease skilled labour deficits, but this was conditional on new arrivals being socially mobile and on being able to perform a particular imagined white identity. The social mobility that Rhodesia promised its white workers was embodied in figures such as Roy Welensky who had risen from a position as a railwayman to the premiership. But this social mobility was neither universal nor automatic. In the year of the strike the Women's Guild had dispensed Government rations of 1s 6d per person to sixteen European families and twenty-nine Coloured families every month for the preceding year. A further ninety-six European families and seventy-four Coloured families were given second hand clothes and shoes by the Guild.[765] In a bid to prevent radicalisation the railway Administration set up a Welfare fund for its European staff in 1956 whose purpose was 'to give assistance for the relief of distress amongst railway employees by means of loans or grants in cash or kind,' and in its first year dealt with 1532 cases of white distress.[766] By 1957 twenty-eight percent of all European employees were approaching the Administration for financial assistance.[767] From these statistics it is unclear what qualified as 'distress' for European workers: whether this was an inability to provide for dependents, to pay African domestic staff, or to attain a social standing befitting of white skin. What is clear however is that many white workers felt themselves to be in a position of distress and invested in the idea that they impecuniously existed at the edges of white propriety.

The RRWU Executive's assertions of confidence and moves towards providing financial assistance to Europeans at the bottom of the wage scale failed to quell dissent. The close relationship between employer and trade union bureaucracy fostered by the ICA was coming under greater scrutiny from rank and file members. There were reports of raucous meetings full of insults and jeering towards officials and the *Review* was forced to repeatedly extol the virtues of the current leadership and list their accomplishments in fighting for improved conditions.[768] Branch scribes continued to submit notes which

---

[765] 'Work of Guild of Loyal Women for Salisbury's Needy Families', *Rhodesia Herald*, 1 May 1954, p.3.
[766] Rhodesia Railways Report of the General Manger, for the Year Ended 31st March 1957, p.11-12.
[767] Ibid. 2781 employees had approached the railways in 1957.
[768] 'Salisbury no.1 Branch Notes', *RRR*, June 1954, p.6. 'The Union's Case Summed up', *RRR*, September 1954, p.12.

defended Taylor and denounced the leadership. The strike, in their opinion, was not a result of Taylor's interference but of 'bureaucratic administration...allied with clueless but abundant supervision on the part of many junior officials.'[769] Despite the RRWU's Annual Conference passing several motions of confidence in the union leadership, branch scribes complained that delegates had voted against the prevalent feelings of their branch members. Branches also accused the incumbent leadership of causing a wave of resignations from the union.[770] The union bureaucracy in turn accused the Branch scribes of disruption and of 'flouting of authority', but the dissatisfaction failed to subside.[771] A year on, Que Que Branch continued to call for a special conference and a motion of no confidence in the Executive Committee.[772]

During the 1954 Conference there were several failed attempts to remove this conservative layer from the union leadership. Lower grades in the union were keen to prohibit Railway Officials - including Inspectors and Instructors - from serving on the Executive Committee, under the contention that these higher grades were effectively working as part of management. The motion was lost by nine to fourteen.[773] A motion to reduce the number of years a man had to be part of the union to be elected to the NIC from five to three years was likewise summarily rejected by the conference.[774] In this way, the union sought to control the potentially radical elements of its membership. They recognised that this meant that many delegates to the NIC were disliked and not the first choice of its members but the RRWU leadership saw this as a necessary measure to prevent newcomers with dangerous ideas from holding positions of power in the union. In particular, it sought to control communist infiltration. At the same time, while white labour's structural position engendered animosity towards black workers and inhibited the likelihood of solidarity, such racial attitudes could not be taken for granted. The newcomer who had not yet been adequately drilled in the racial protocols expected of Rhodesian labour had to be prevented from diluting the union's attitude to African workers. This in part reflected dominant ideas that established settlers had intricate ways of knowing the African population unobtainable to the newly arrived settler. This was reiterated by many new arrivals. As white railway worker Sam Wright

---

[769] 'Bulawayo no.1 Branch Notes', *RRR*, September 1954, p.15. For more criticisms of leadership and support of firemen's strike see, 'Choma Branch Notes', *RRR*, October 1954, p.20; 'Salisbury Branch Notes', *RRR*, June 1954, p.23. 'Bulawayo no. 4 Branch Notes', *RRR*, June 1954, p.24.

[770] 'Que Que Branch Notes', *RRR*, October 1954, p.22.

[771] 'The Unions Case Summed Up', *RRR*, October 1954, p.7.

[772] 'Que Que Branch Notes', *RRR*, July 1955, p.22.

[773] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, pp.251-255.

[774] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p.244.

acknowledged, while recent settlers could achieve amicable relations with Africans they 'never quite had the same association as those African born' who possessed an 'insight into the ways and nature of the Africans'. Wright commented that the more recent immigrants displayed an 'unfortunate variety of attitudes' with complete disregard for the 'boundaries of personal contact that was acceptable.' Unlike the established settler, newcomers did not understand the full implications and 'dangers of too much familiarity which was not to the comfort of either party.'[775]

These fears of liberal racial attitudes seeping into the union from the rank and file were misplaced. When an Executive Committee directive ordered that white drivers should work with unqualified Firemen to break the strike it was vociferously condemned as an attack on the colour bar. Initial reports sent between railway management suggest that railway authorities were keen not to use Africans to perform work usually done by Europeans as they feared it would strengthen the strikers' resolve and garner support for their action from other sections of the European workforce. However, rank and file members accused the Executive Committee of giving 'the right to the Administration to place any human being of any colour on an engine and call him a fireman.' One delegate argued in defence of the union that their role was to break up illegal strikes:

> it even warranted the use of European convicts on the footplate.
> Everybody would have been done out of a job. There was also
> the example to the African. They were putting it in their heads
> how to get rid of all Europeans in the country; if the illegal strike
> had been successful they would have "had it".[776]

The trade union bureaucracy who dominated the conference generally agreed that strikes were not considered a useful tool any longer due to their potential influence upon African workers.[777] They accepted principles of arbitration and came down heavily on any action outside of its direct control. Yet what this episode demonstrates is precisely a lack of control over white labour on the railways.

Both the Rhodesian youth and newly arrived settlers were treated with a growing sense of suspicion. Young apprentices were singled out as being particularly unruly and insubordinate by the Railway Administration. As well as receiving a substandard education, the absence of fathers during the Second World War was blamed for creating a disjuncture in the white nuclear family which had resulted in widespread recalcitrance

---

[775] Sam Wright, *Tracks across the Veldt,* pp.45-6.
[776] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p. 230.
[777] *RRWU Conference*, 1954, p.211.

amongst young recruits.[778] The family was envisioned as an important unit for the socialisation of children in imparting particular racial and gendered behaviours; in its absence or aberration, perceived dysfunctional traits could take root. More generally the *Review* condemned railway employees' behaviour in the canteens noting that 'the managers and European staffs of some canteens have been insulted; African servants have been assaulted; furniture and equipment have been broken, and utensils have disappeared at an appalling rate.'[779] Letters to the *Herald* bemoaned the high expectations of new arrivals and pointed to the fact the Firemen's wage reflected its low skill. While these newcomers would have had a lowly status in Britain 'governed simply by the type of trade in which they were employed, not by the colour of their skin. After a spell in the colony it beats into their brains that they are Europeans and must therefore enjoy this so-called European standard of life.'[780] Dissatisfaction was seen as a consequence of new arrivals unrealistic expectations. Another letter expressed shock at the behaviour of new immigrants and asked 'if they are not satisfied then why do they stay, and upset others?'[781] The accused 'lawlessness and irresponsibility' of Taylor, argued one letter, amounted to 'the negation of those qualities which we term British.'[782] Established settlers used particular ideals of 'Britishness' against new British arrivals to present themselves as the true inheritors of this national identity. These Rhodesian claims to uphold and embody authentic British ideals and characteristics would only be made with increasing frequency and fervour into the 1960s and 1970s.[783]

Some strikers admitted that their primary concerns were not about pay. At Dett, railwaymen listed demands about street lighting, water shortages, shortages of electrical appliances and home conditions. They specifically complained about their Nursing Sister, who had caused a 'certain amount of friction' due to the fact she was 'of a type above the average driver, fireman and guard and does not socially mix too well.'[784] In a similar vein, Sam Wright, while usually at pains to emphasise uniformity amongst Europeans on the railways 'in skills [and] social sophistication' was forced to admit that 'dotted in this rather homogenous crowd, were a few exceptions who stood out a bit like sore thumbs'. Those he noted as standing out were not the poor, but those from the

---

[778] *RRR*, October 1951, p.3.
[779] 'Editorial: Our Canteens', *RRR*, March 1952, p.2.
[780] TOOTHPICK, 'Payment on Results', *Rhodesia Herald*, 7 June 1954, p.5.
[781] CONTENTED CITIZEN, 'Wages on the Railways', *Rhodesia Herald*, 2 June 1954, p.7.
[782] 'Mr Todd's Warning on Communism and Federation', *Rhodesia Herald*, 7 June 1954, p.1.
[783] Bill Schwarz, *White Man's World,* p.398.
[784] Bulawayo Railway Museum Archives: SD16: Strike, Firemen. 1954. Rhodesia Railways Letters, Press Cuttings, Etc. Letter to Chief Mechanical Engineer, 16th June 1954, no.368/33, p.3.

'higher class of society', one a 'pompous' superintendent and another a doctor, scarred from 'duelling' who walked around 'with such an air of conceit and self-importance as to become a figure of ridicule and mockery.'[785] Railway workers attempted to influence railway spaces by controlling the movement and presence of particular racial and classed groups. Numerous complaints over an unwanted African presence littered the *Review* and the management-funded *Rhodesia Railway Magazine* which described 'hordes of Africans, their beds, furniture and possessions that are daily to be found scattered all over the station' and 'the hordes of "loafers" who sprawl all over the station premises at all hours of the day and night.'[786] Demands for separate African and white railway stations abounded. Coloured identity was also in part mediated through demands to be separated from the African areas. A Coloured platelayer's wife described her anger at being forced to travel in fourth class with African travellers as she and her husband were used to travelling with Europeans in second class.[787] Physical distance and separation reinforced claims to particular racial identities. But this animosity extended to upper class whites. Railwaymen attempted to cultivate the railways as a white space; but it was also fundamentally a classed space. The white families of the Dett railway community were angered by a middle and upper-class incursion into their delineated communities. The presence of such figures was a reminder of their social inferiority and the class divisions many were trying to transcend, but also pointed to the limitations of white social integration and an inclusive Rhodesian identity. Workers at Dett attempted to utilise the strike action to set forward their own demands regarding the white railway community and who was and was not a part of it.

As well as demanding particular rates of pay according to marital status and experience, the strike itself was a reaction to the treatment of Taylor; this was an assertion of the right to organise and a flagrant challenge to the RRWU leadership. There was particular anger over the perceived heavy handedness of the state in squashing the strike. The government argued that they could not let a European strike continue especially as they had acted with brutal force against recent African strikers at Wankie.[788] Within hours of

---

[785] Sam Wright, *Tracks across the Veldt,* p.34; p.87.
[786] Mrs E. M. Black, Bulawayo, 'Over to You', *RRM*, March 1954, p.40. See 'Over to You', February 1954, p.38; March 1955; October 1955, p. 48, for more examples of complaining of African presence at railway stations. Or from December 1955, p.62, demands from 'Bulawayo' for apartheid to be implemented across all stations. Rhodesia Railways Magazine was launched by the Administration in 1952 and replaced the Railways Bulletin which had been in press since 1921 to challenge the monopoly of the *Review.*
[787] 'Over to You', *RRM*. February 1954, p.50.
[788] TNA: DO 35/4831 Deportation of Charles Taylor: SECRET: Inward Telegram from High Commissioner of Federation to Commonwealth Relations Office.

the Firemen announcing their strike a state of emergency was declared across the colony. The CID searched the homes of strike leaders and several were arrested, dismissed from the railways or subsequently demoted. Keller, who had retired from the railways and become a full-time MP, openly criticised the RRWU leadership and complained of 'gangster' tactics claiming that Garfield Todd and Roy Welensky had descended on his home to interrogate him and his links to the strikers.[789] More broadly, in the Legislative Assembly Keller used the strike to curb state powers against white workers. Specifically he moved a motion to repeal section 8 of the Peace Preservation Act which allowed the Governor to make regulations in the event of strikes. The Act allowed the Government to pass laws without parliament; to use forced labour, to hold people without trial, and to arrest without warrant 'anyone whom they suspect...merely suspect - of having said or done something which might in their opinion adversely affect the efficiency of an essential industry'.[790] Keller denounced the Act as a fascist decree and claimed Rhodesia was a police state, reminding the Assembly that he had been assured that under no circumstances would the Act be used against white workers.[791] Presumably he believed such measures were necessary to deal with industrial action involving African workers, but impinged on the civil liberties of Europeans. The Legislative Assembly upheld that the Act should be used against both black and white workers in the interests of 'freedom'. Europeans could not be seen to openly flouting the law and punishment had to be meted out.[792] All union power had to be curbed and wildcat strikes in particular could not be tolerated. Europeans had a price to pay for their privileged position in the labour market. One MP reminded white labourers that

> The European artisan is not only in a specially favoured position
> under the law but he also in consequence has special duties to the
> community in which he lives...in the presence of an almost
> overwhelming mass of uncivilised and unskilled labour [his duty] is
> to act moderately and temperately in industrial disputes.[793]

The Firemen's short lived strike failed to unsettle established union structures despite widespread anguish within the rank and file. The state had reacted brusquely to the

[789] TNA: DO 35/4831 Deportation of Charles Taylor: Letter from Keller and Stoney, p.1. Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly Debates, 1954, pp.968-972.
[790] Ibid., p.919.
[791] Ibid., p.940.
[792] Ibid., p.956.
[793] Ibid, pp.942-946.

actions of the Firemen and reminded white workers that their privileged place within the settler community was conditional.

African Industrial Action

Instances of African industrial action were met with much harsher brutality and repression and offered white labour opportunities to unite in opposition to black workers. The 1954 strike of African miners at the Wankie Colliery saw the state deploy considerable military force to police 16,000 strikers. White miners, railwaymen and even clerks from across Southern Rhodesia went down into the pits to keep production going and plans were drawn up to bring in white miners from the Copperbelt.[794] Despite division between occupations, blue collar and white collar workers, skilled and unskilled trades, white workers could unite out of racialised solidarity when challenged by African workers. After an inadequate basic wage increase in 1956 the Railway African Workers Union (RAWU), which had amalgamated the separate Northern and Southern Rhodesian African unions in 1955, called a strike which saw 7,500 Africans lay down tools for three days.[795] Police were armed with truncheons and used tear gas on striking Africans who had gathered in Bulawayo.[796] Unlike in 1945 where RRWU had acted with confusion and indecision over the 'correct' attitude towards African industrial action, in 1956 Bulawayo Branch admitted candidly that 'it has been our duty to do everything in our power to keep the job going which is nothing less than breaking the strike' and accused RAWU of putting its members at risk.[797] The strike was used by the RRWU to demonstrate the irresponsibility of Africans, their immorality and unfitness for advancement and unionisation.[798] Keen to stress their acceptance of the principle of the right to strike, the RRWU maintained they were adhering to trade union principles by denouncing the 'illegality' of the action. As well as strike-breaking, white employees sometimes rallied themselves into unofficial patrols. On hearing rumours of strike action in 1961 a volunteer police force of railway employees gathered to guard the workshops.[799]

Management were keen to publicise the loyalty of their European staff; it not only created a sense of camaraderie between white employees and management, but acted to

---

[794] Phimister, 'Lashers and Leviathan', pp.189-191.
[795] Rhodesia Railways Report of the General Manger, for the Year Ended 31st March 1957, p.14.
[796] Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, p.202.
[797] 'Bulawayo no.1 Branch Notes', *RRR*, October 1956, p.13.
[798] 'Illegal and Morally Wrong', *RRR*, October 1956, p.1.
[799] 'Strike Scare', *RRM*, September 1961, p.5.

discipline and dishearten African strikers. Many white workers boasted of their ability to break African strikes and used these instances of African absence to add weight to their claim that higher white wages were justified because white workers had a naturally higher rate of productivity. During a strike of African workers in 1952 the *RRM* claimed that a small number of Europeans actually outperformed the usual African workforce. Again in 1961 it was claimed that full production was maintained in the mechanical shops despite 1000 Africans leaving the shop floor. In order to keep the railways running, Europeans had to take on jobs which they usually deemed as beneath them. During the 1952 strike it was noted that Europeans had eagerly fulfilled 'any odd job that was required of them'.[800] Across the white railway communities men and women rallied to support strike breakers. Wives and daughters of railwaymen provided encouragement and support, but also took on cleaning roles, acted as messengers and served tea to the remaining workers.[801] Gendered and racialised hierarchies of appropriate types of work translated into the types of jobs people took on in strike breaking. Those likely to take on the most menial of tasks and therefore the jobs most associated with Africans were women and non-British whites. The *RRM* specifically mentioned the Greek and Italian employees fulfilling roles of cleaning and handling coal.[802] Nevertheless, the image of Europeans performing menial 'African jobs' was used to emphasise the autonomy and self-reliance of white workers. The ability of whites to fulfil these tasks were celebrated as

> "Palefaced" tea and "wash-up" boys, office cleaners, messengers,
> appeared miraculously from nowhere to aid the hardy labourers
> and to disprove the frequent observation that Rhodesians would
> be "lost" without the Africans to wait on them.[803]

Denying the centrality of African labour was at the core of how white workers envisioned themselves as the motor force behind Rhodesian industry and progress; African strike action allowed white workers to profess their loyalty to the wider settler project, prove their claims of innate white productivity and refute allegations of overdependence on African labour.

---

[800] 'African Strike', *RRM*, July 1952, p.28.
[801] *RRM*, November 1961, p.7.
[802] 'Railways Maintained Full Service During Recent Strike of Africans', *RRM*, November 1956, p.23; 52.
[803] 'Broken Hill: African Workers Strike', *RRM*, July 1952, p.26.

Part Four: The End of Federation

The Federation enabled settlers to promote their own viability as rulers and their own vision for Africa. But despite some limited reforms, progress for Africans was fundamentally lacking. The wages and conditions of African workers in Northern Rhodesia far outstripped Southern Rhodesia.[804] A typical white railwayman's house appeared grand in comparison to the housing provided by the railways for its African employees. But this inequality was relatively less pronounced on the railways as it was in other industries. The inequality between African and European wages was smallest within road and rail transportation. This in part reflects the longer history of organisation and African workers' struggle within this industry. Printing manufacturing, which offered some limited progression for African workers, also had generally higher African wages as a percentage of European wages. Mining continued to offer some of the highest wages to white employees in the colony but had the worst inequality between white and black wages outside of Agriculture and forestry.[805]

The problem of labour shortages refused to abate. A 1965 Government report on the future labour needs of the Rhodesias anticipated huge shortages of skilled and professional workers. The stock of High Level Manpower in 1961 was estimated at 125,000, but if wastage trends prevailed it was estimated that industries would suffer a deficit of between twenty-three and thirty-five thousand, or thirteen to eighteen percent by 1970.[806] Some employers moved towards providing lower level literacy and lower standard education to their employees, but this was generally limited to larger employers. Five of the mines had night schools and three had a total of thirty-one employees on correspondence courses for GCE A Level courses. But this move towards providing higher end education, even though such figures are undoubtedly small, represents the desire of mine management to raise the productivity of African workers and move them into more skilled positions. More advanced assembly and manufacturing had a generally better educated African workforce with forty-four percent having reached standard six or above.[807] But as Table Fourteen demonstrates, even in new industries progression for Africans into skilled positions was limited.[808]

---

[804] See Table Fifteen, appendices, p.301.
[805] See Table Sixteen, appendices, p.302.
[806] *The Requirements and Supplies of High Level Manpower in Southern Rhodesia, 1961-1970* (Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1964), p.1.
[807] H. W. Roberts, *Education and Training in Rhodesia* (Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1965), p.8.
[808] Appendices, p.301.

Figure Twenty: African Railway Housing[809]

Figure Twenty-One: European Railway Housing[810]

The growing nationalist organisations were keen to highlight these types of inequalities. The National Democratic Party denounced the Federation as 'a Federation of inequalities' and paid particular attention to discriminatory practices within the civil

---

[809] *Rhodesia Railways Annual Report of the General Manager*, 1956, p.15. Considering the source of this picture, we can safely assume this represents some of the better housing provided to African staff.
[810] Ibid., p.17.

service in which 'people of the same qualifications receive different salaries because of their skin colour.'[811] Nationalists denounced the British Government for believing the Federation was in the economic interests of all its inhabitants and questioned why 'those whose annual income is £16 per annum should shout sky-high in praise of Federation and its economic advantages together with those with white skins whose semi-skilled white workers receive an average of £1134 an annum.'[812] Africans also struggled for basic human dignity. One white nurse recalled a successful strike of African student nurses in 1962 who demanded to be called by their names, rather than by number. Yet she recalled that this simple demand was denied by the matron, which inevitably prolonged the strike.[813]

Towards the end of Federation, the brutality of the Rhodesian state intensified in response to these challenges posed to settler power.[814] Jocelyn Alexander described these last years of Federation as 'the worst political violence since conquest.'[815] As the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress gained supporters a state of emergency sought to cut the head off of nationalist organisation. The National Democratic Party replaced the banned ANC in 1960 and in the same year African discontent erupted in Zhii riots spread throughout urban areas.[816] The government used public order acts to restrict trade union activity and intimidate leaders. Over thirty high ranking African trade unionists were held in prison including leading figures of the African Trades Union Congress, the African Congress of Unions; the General Secretaries of Cold Storage Workers Union, the Paint Manufacturing Workers Union and the Paper Manufacturing Workers Union. The Labour Department defended sending police members to trade union meetings.[817] In 1958 a coup against Garfield Todd, the liberal leader of the United Federal Party, signalled the beginning of a rightward shift in Rhodesian politics.[818] The corresponding rise of the RF was a direct response to growing pressures on Southern Rhodesia to introduce majority rule. The UFP, the RF's main opponents, had declared an intention to repeal the Land Apportionment Acts and

---

[811] *RADAR*, vol. 9, 24 December 1960, p.2.
[812] *RADAR* vol. 10, 14 January 1961, p.2.
[813] Interview with Shirley Webb, retired nurse, aged 70s, Harare, May 2015.
[814] See the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act and Emergency Powers Act, both enacted to strengthen the coercive functions of the state.
[815] Alexander, 'Hooligans', p.349.
[816] For analysis see Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning,* chapter seven.
[817] TNA: LAB 13/1533 Committee on Freedom of Association: Case no. 251 Complaint Presented by the World Federation of Trade Unions against the Government of the United Kingdom in Respect of Southern Rhodesia, p.38. LAB 13/1533 Department of Labour 1962.
[818] Brian Raftopoulos, 'Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 1 (1995), p.90.

introduce more liberal reforms. In response the RF promised to uphold voting qualifications which ensured settlers' dominance and maintain unequal land patterns. White workers had lost their own party in the RLP which had largely disappeared from Rhodesia by the early Federation period. Its demands for a racialised welfare state, the provision of free education, nationalisation of electricity and the railways and pension provisions had been mostly implemented by successive governments keen to temper potentially explosive divisions within the settler community.[819]

In the run up to the 1962 election the RF targeted white workers. Its publicised principles included a defence of the racialised welfare state and a promise to 'protect the standards of skilled workers against the exploitation of cheap labour.'[820] The principles included the introduction of an Unemployed Assistance Benefit Scheme and an assurance the RF would support the "rate for the job", prevent fragmentation of labour and ensure 'that the skilled worker is protected from discriminatory wage practices and from unfair competition arising from a lowering of standards and the exploitation of cheap labour.'[821] Moreover, the extension of apartheid principles offered the poorest members of the settler community a viable means of differentiation. There might have been some Africans who were more educated, wealthier or more successful than the poorest settlers, but the latter could retain a sense of self-importance simply by sitting on a white bench or using a white entrance to a building. The separation of public amenities instated the ability to perform difference in every day acts available to all Europeans no matter their socioeconomic background.

Ian Smith was set to rise to the premiership in 1964. A farmer and former Allied fighter pilot in World War Two, Smith became the face of white settler minority government.[822] Yet he was by no means a natural ally of white labour. In the 1950s Smith was critical of trade union power and the demands of white workers. He warned against the powers of trade unions 'especially when these powers were in the hands of people who are socialistically inclined.'[823] Yet in 1962 the RF were swept to victory on the back of votes of rural areas and lower class whites. They received on average fifty-five percent of the vote in each district and received the highest support in farming

---

[819] Ian Henderson, p.398.
[820] ICOMM: Rhodesian Front Principles, 1962, p.2.
[821] Ibid., pp.11-12.
[822] Ian Smith, *The Great Betrayal*; *Bitter Harvest: Zimbabwe and the Aftermath of its Independence: The Memoirs of Africa's Most Controversial Leader* (London: John Blake, 2008).
[823] 'Industrial Conciliation in the Melting Pot, *RRR*, 'July 1951, p.6. For RRWU hostility to Smith also see 'Editorial', *RRR,* 'July 1951, p.1.

districts of Gwelo Rural and Rusape, while seventeen out of nineteen rural constituencies voted in RF candidates.[824] But the RF also relied on support in older districts populated by lower class whites including Waterfalls, Queen's Park and Hatfield and the mining centres Shabani and Gatooma. Although the RF generally polled well across the country, they received less support in the more middle-class urban districts including Borrowdale, Greenwood and Arundel.[825] White workers became an important ally to the RF as the settler community rallied around the banner of white supremacy to forestall majority rule.

Conclusion

Nicolas De Genova has recently argued that 'borders are not inert, fixed or coherent "things"' but are best understood as socio-political relations. That borders seem fixed and durable with thing-like qualities is a facade which relies on an active process of bordering. The objectification and fetishisation of borders is best understood when it is acknowledged that "bordering is indeed a verb, and signals a process of border-making."[826] White workers were involved in the process of bordering in specific ways. They were keen to preserve their own position within the settler colonial labour market, their status and opportunities for advancement. However, they failed to reify fundamentally unstable boundaries and were forced to react to wider processes of mobility and bordering which operated largely outside of their control. Bordering, therefore, must be conceived of as a dynamic process, but one that is fundamentally *reactive*. Borders necessarily involve the production of difference, but mobility is an anathema to the fixity that bordering attempts to preserve.

The mobility afforded to particular Europeans to traverse imperial locations destabilised established colonial practices and frustrated labour organisations attempts to cultivate a coherent white worker identity. White labour upheavals revealed the general weakness of a divided labour movement, but also the struggles to determine the boundaries of a white standard of living. It is clear that despite the existence of the colour bar and a series of racialised welfare measures, not to mention the huge wage disparities between African and European workers, substantial numbers of white workers continued to see

---

[824] Anthony Lemon, 'Machinery and Voting Patterns in Rhodesia, 1962-1977', *African Affairs*, 77, 309 (1978), p.520.
[825] See Table Twenty-One appendices, p.304.
826 Nicholas De Genova, 'The "Crisis" of the European Border Regime: Towards a Marxist Theory of Borders', *International Socialism*, 150 (2016) http://isj.org.uk/the-crisis-of-the-european-border-regime-towards-a-marxist-theory-of-borders [accessed 15th January 2017].

themselves as hard done by and living either in or on the edge of poverty. Strike action demonstrates that not all white workers were successfully co-opted by the settler state. While European workers had a privileged position in the labour market this was in exchange for a regulated apathy and hamstrung trade union power. For employers and state authorities the use of repressive force was not out of the question; policing settler boundaries was a constant process.

Under the limited 'multiracialism' of the Federation European trade unions were forced to remove their racial exclusivity in order to curb African social mobility. The racialised borders of the union shifted in order to stabilise wider racial boundaries. Likewise, at the breakdown of Federation the RRWU pressed for a scheme which re-allocated Europeans working on the Northern Rhodesian and Nyasaland lines to Southern Rhodesia. The Railway Administration assured its white employees that none would lose their jobs through displacement in the drive to Africanise skilled positions in newly independent states. In 1965 there were still over 1600 'non-Zambian' railway employees in Zambia.[827] Yet by the February 1968 all RRWU branches in Zambia had closed and the total membership of RRWU had decreased by 700 to 5790. By June 30th 1968, 1006 railwaymen had been repatriated to Southern Rhodesia.[828] On the 1st July 1967 the unitary railway system which crossed international borders ceased to exist. In Zambia RRWU members feared their racial boundaries, which were in part articulated and delineated through the monopoly of higher paid skilled positions, would be eroded. Relocating to Southern Rhodesia in the event of the territorial breakdown allowed for these workers to maintain internal borders which enforced racial inequality just as decolonisation threatened to remove them.

The Federation also witnessed a shift from white workers' demands for a colour bar which excluded Africans from particular roles to discriminatory pay on the basis of engrained inefficiency. Rate for the job allowed European workers to utilise the dominant rhetoric of multiracialism to perversely prevent any meaningful steps towards racial equality. What is noticeable in these debates and the question of a white labour policy within government is the focus on the settlement in the future of the colony. Bill Schwarz has argued that the history of the Federation is a history of the struggle over the future of racial whiteness.[829] Despite the wider context of decolonisation across the

---

[827] 'Editorial', *RRR*, September 1965, p.1.
[828] 'Zambia as We See It', *RRR*, March 1968, p.9; p.17.
[829] *Source Book of Parliamentary Elections,* p.170.

British Empire, and in particular in the neighbouring British African colonies, white workers focus on the future points to an unbridled optimism for sustained white rule. Rhodesians saw themselves as different, unique and able to ride the tide of independence sweeping the continent.

Despite some limited reforms, progress for Africans was fundamentally lacking. High labour turnovers and widespread shortages accentuated white labour's transient and fluid character which complicated efforts at a united resistance to African advancement. Widespread labour shortages reinvigorated debates over potential alternatives to African progression, but economic necessity won out over white supremacist idealism. Fantasies of eliminating Africans from the labour process altogether remained pipe dreams as long as white reliance upon African labour remained.[830] Despite the obvious desire on behalf of some women and non-British Europeans to enter the workforce in greater numbers, employers and white labourers preferred to follow discriminatory recruitment patterns in the face of continuing labour shortages and turnovers. Nevertheless, Southern Rhodesia had a not insignificant proportion of married women in wage labour despite poor conditions and low pay. From 1946 to 1956 economically active adult women as a percentage of all economically active European persons rose from 23.1 to twenty-eight percent.[831]

Labour shortages continued as the pay and conditions failed to attract and retain white workers and African workers were denied access to more skilled positions on the insistence of RRWU that the vacancies be filled by whites. Moves towards multiracialism under Federation had placed considerable pressure upon white workers in their desire to uphold racialised labour practices. Fearful of being replaced and undercut by African workers, white workers played a key role in the conservative reactionary backlash to Federation policies. As Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia moved towards independence and majority rule, the RF's populism offered a means for white workers to protect their status and privilege. White worker's representatives sustained condemnations of capitalism, while avidly rejecting communism and the influence of the USSR. They championed British Labour's welfare state and the historical memory of British working class struggles retained a central importance in the

---

[830] Also see the debates in South Africa between Apartheid purists and realists, centring on the question of the removal of black labour from the white economy. Deborah Posel, 'The Apartheid Project, 1948-1970', *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Vol II,* edited by Carolyn Hamilton, Bernard K. Mbenga and Robert Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.319-368.
[831] Table Twelve, appendices, p.300.

framing of Rhodesian workers' identity. But it was increasingly evident that white workers were gradually shedding more liberal rhetoric in favour of outright assertions of racial superiority. The breakdown of Federation saw the turn to more segregationist and racist practice. White workers were eager to uphold the colour bar and stifle African progression and were willingly incorporated under the RF's banner of white supremacy.

Chapter Five: The Rhodesian Front Years and the Demise of the White Worker, 1962-1980

It has long been apparent that those who hold our destinies in their hands do not regard the white manual worker as important. This attitude is not confined to our own industry. It is to be seen in the building trade, in the mines and in various industrial plants. You, who wield a shovel, you, who fashion wood, you, who lay bricks - your daily bread is assured for a little longer, but such modes of occupation are being made untenable for your sons. **'Livingstone No. 1 Branch Notes',** *RRR***, October 1964, p. 12.**

Introduction

Britain's colonial possessions had become increasingly less desirable in the aftermath of the Second World War.[832] In 1947 Indian independence signalled the beginning of the disintegration of the British Empire and by the early 1960s Britain had lost formal control over most of its African possessions. Yet as Britain retreated settler commitment to white supremacist rule strengthened across southern Africa. The RF swept to power in 1962 on the back of promises to uphold segregation, land apportionment, the colour bar and ultimately to protect the white settler state. Britain refused to grant Rhodesia independence until it guaranteed constitutional changes which would allow for majority rule. Rhodesia obstinately refused and in the face of international pressure and nationalist agitation illegally declared its own independence in 1965. International sanctions took effect from 1966 which entrenched Rhodesian illusions of a besieged righteous minority standing against a morally corrupt world. As the RF refused to compromise and turned to increasingly repressive measures to hold onto its power, nationalist organisations ZANU and ZAPU formed armed wings and the first period of insurgency based upon tactics of guerrilla vanguardism and waged from the rural areas in the north of the country took hold from 1966. White men were conscripted into fighting against the guerrillas who were denounced by the RF as puppets of communist Russia and China and accused of having no widespread popular support from Africans within Rhodesia. In this new political atmosphere the Federation's language of partnership was jettisoned. Yet the RF did not return to an emphasis on race despite its obvious centrality to the settler state; UDI and minority rule was instead couched in language of maintaining 'standards' and anti-communism. These platitudes were

---

[832] For the causes of decolonisation see John Darwin, *Britain and Decolonisation: The Retreat from Empire in the Post War World* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).

repeated and internalised; they variously motivated and justified many men to take up arms in defence of white rule and for many more to withstand the uncertainty and remain in the country. Rhodesians believed themselves to be defending the last remaining bastion of Christian civilisation and the cradle of Empire.[833]

This chapter revolves around the embittered resolve of the white minority to fend off the tide of decolonisation which was slowly engulfing the last remaining settler states. Luise White has noted that the history of these years has often been compressed into one of racist intransigence and nationalist triumph. She has argued that white rule was not maintained solely through military suppression, but a 'hodgepodge of institutions, laws and practices'.[834] Recent literature on the UDI period has moved away from the liberation struggle to examine other ways white rule was upheld.[835] This chapter compliments this shift by arguing that white workers saw themselves as essential components in the fight against African nationalists, but that this was articulated in numerous ways other than military action and taking up arms. Certainly, notably absent from this chapter is an extended analysis of military activity. This is largely a reflection of the trade union journals which provide the backbone of this chapter. The *Review* barely mentioned military matters unless it was to complain about the effect of conscription upon working hours and productivity for the workers who remained. Censorship alone does not adequately explain this omission. The absence may be a reflection of the antipathy towards conscription itself or an unwillingness of white men to talk about their experiences as they attempted to fit back into civilian life. What is clear, however, is that white workers saw the armed conflict and the struggle to 'maintain standards' through upholding racist labour practices as two sides of the same coin. They positioned themselves as part of the struggle for standards and conflated their own fate with the idea of 'white civilisation'. Letters sent to the *Review* and the *Herald* reveal that many explained Rhodesia's survival through the presence of white workers and their traits of hard work, pride and durability. What may be surprising was the willingness of white trade unions to use language of class upheaval, and even at times, socialism. It was, of course, still a racially exclusive ideology which chimed more with settler populism than radical socialism, and was a dampened version of its

---

[833] For the political ideologies and counter-insurgency strategies of the RF see Michael Evans, 'The Wretched of the Empire: Politics, Ideology and Counterinsurgency in Rhodesia, 1965-80', *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 18, 2 (2007), pp.175-195. Luise White, *Unpopular Sovereignty*, p.34. Donal Lowry has argued that the RF's anti-communism was not calculatedly employed but formed a real political alignments and fears.
[834] Luise White, *Unpopular Sovereignty*, p.4.
[835] Nyamunda, ''More a Cause than a Country'.

early twentieth century expression, but the language of class was never entirely eradicated. Reference to class and status remained important facets of white worker identity which was increasingly articulated in reference to a double edged notion of poverty; that there was both something transformative and crippling in manual labour and financial struggle. White poverty was reprehensible and rejected but it was nevertheless simultaneously valorised. Moreover, Rhodesia's racial and national identity could never rely on white skin to overcome latent ethnic and social divisions. These were further complicated by divisions between older inhabitants and newer immigrants, rural-urban fissures, socioeconomic status, occupation, gender, and political allegiance. It was precisely the ambiguity of Rhodesian identity which allowed different social groups to remake it in their own image.[836] Such cracks could only ever be temporarily plastered over by proselytising about an amorphous civilisation which sought to bind a heterogeneous white population against an equally nebulous backward and barbaric other.[837] But African nationalists and trade unionists were increasingly challenging white workers' pretensions to superiority, modernity and productivity. African trade unionists highlighted the uneconomical protectionist demands made by white trade unionists and argued that white trade unions were a barrier to progress, new technologies and production methods.

While there is an emerging literature of white workers during the shift to majority rule in the South African and Zambian contexts, white workers in Southern Rhodesia have yet to receive thorough attention beyond the Second World War.[838] The limited literature which exists on this area in the Zimbabwean context has tended to overstate harmonious relations between the RF and white workers and has been dominated by a narrative of white embourgeoisification. Otherwise it has mentioned trade union support for the ultra-right-wing Republican Alliance.[839] As majority rule approached in both South Africa and Rhodesia, white workers and trade unions were aware that their protected positions in the labour market were under threat. In South Africa a series of

[836] Luise White, *Unpopular Sovereignty*, p.29.

[837] Godwin and Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die,* pp.3-8; Joseph Mtisi, Munyaradzi Nyakudya and Teresa Barnes, 'Social and Economic Developments During the UDI Period', in *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008,* edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Alois Mlambo (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009), pp.115-140.

[838] Danelle van Zyl Hermann, 'White Workers in the Late Apartheid Period: A Report on the Wiehahn Commission and Mineworkers' Union Archival Collections', *History in Africa*, 43 (2016), pp.229-258. Duncan Money, "There Are Worse Places than Dalmuir!' Glaswegian Riveters on the Clyde and the Copperbelt', *Labour History Review*, 80, 3 (2015), pp.273-292.

[839] Teresa Barnes, Nyakudya Munyaradzi and Joseph Mtisi, 'Social and Economic Developments during the UDI Period', in *Becoming Zimbabwe,* edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Alois S. Mlambo (Johannesburg, Jacana Media, 2009), p.137.

reforms in the 1970s eroded the privileges of white workers' socioeconomic position and saw a decline by ten percent in income in real terms from 1975 to 1979. Johann van Rooyen argued that this led this section of white society to be more likely to support right wing groups, who they believed would restore white privileges and the corresponding economic benefits.[840] Support for the right-wing extremist group the AWB came from less-educated, poorer sections of white South Africa.[841] In Rhodesia, as majority rule approached, a layer of lower class whites knew all too well that without protection from colour bars and industrial agreements their standard of living would deteriorate in the postcolonial state, while many more feared outright replacement in indigenisation policies and a rapid descent into poverty. In the absence of a discriminatory education system engineered to produce white skilled workers and African labourers, many more Europeans would fail to secure 'respectable' employment. Many semi and unskilled workers included women and the elderly who were hired in 'protected employment' roles in the civil and public service.[842] White workers feared being put on an equal footing with Africans because they were all too aware of their own deficiencies. While the interests of white workers were for a time secured within the cross class alliance under the RF, as independence approached in the late 1970s they increasingly felt that it was their privileges that would be used as bargaining chips to protect elite white interests, especially the protection of white agricultural land which formed the backbone of financial support for the RF.

The war impacted upon men and women in different ways.[843] A number of scholars have explored African women's experiences of the liberation struggle. Norma Kriger, criticising Terence Ranger's narrative of unifying peasant nationalism, has argued that African women continued to be subordinated to men and that gender struggles were waged 'within the struggle'.[844] Tanya Lyons' work has attempted to move beyond images of glorified guerrilla girls or silences on women's participation through unearthing the voices of African woman ex-combatants. She demonstrates that both African and white women were prevented from fighting on the frontlines, idealised as mothers and instrumentalised as innocent victims of the conflict. While African women

---

[840] Johann van Rooyen, *Hard Right: The New White Power in South Africa* (London: I.B. Taurus, 1994), p.34.
[841] David Welsh, 'Right-Wing Terrorism in South Africa', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 7, 1 (1995), p.251.
[842] See Duncan Clarke, *Distribution of Income and Wealth.*
[843] Mike Kesby, 'Arenas for Control, Terrains of Gender Contestation: Guerrilla Struggle and Counter-Insurgency Warfare in Zimbabwe 1972–1980', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22, 4 (1996), pp.561-584.
[844] Lyons, *Guns and Guerrilla Girls*; Kriger, 'Struggles'.

had a much greater involvement in the military aspect of war, the RF insisted white women's most important work was providing emotional labour to white men returning from the frontline.[845] This chapter attempts to grasp the extent to which white women embraced or struggled against conservative gender roles and evaluate how skill deficits and military conscription affected the conditions and types of work that white women would perform. In 1969 34,206 European women were economically active; 33,333 of these listed occupations in either full or part time work. This represented forty-two percent of woman over fifteen years old. In comparison, in the UK in 1971 about fifty-five percent of women of working age (above sixteen) were in employment.[846] While a lack of data for the 1970s makes it harder to make detailed analysis of this period with regards to women's wage employment, the evidence provided by oral testimonies, the *Rhodesia Nurses Newsletter* and the prominence of women in the *Review* and *RRM* in their capacity as workers rather than as the wives of railwaymen suggest women's roles did undergo change. At the very least, the conscription of white men disturbed relationships between men and women and put significant strain upon family units.

The RF era can broadly be split into two periods. The first is marked by economic buoyancy, increased white immigration and a guerrilla insurgency which failed to fundamentally impede the day-to-day functioning of white society. Certainly, while farmers and those settlers in isolated outposts became prime targets for guerrilla attacks, it was only in the later years that the guerrilla war and sanctions had meaningful affects upon Rhodesian life in urban locations, particularly from 1972 as nationalist groups adopted new military strategies and turned to widespread recruitment.[847] This second period of RF rule saw economic downturn, intensification of the war, military conscription, mass emigration and growing pessimism regarding the future of white rule. For the most part this chapter focuses on the period in the 1970s when optimism gave way to fear and uncertainty. Simmering under confident assertions of white power and the inevitable ascendency of western civilisation, a growing doubt took hold regarding the ability of whites to 'stick it out'. Alongside the war, white workers faced an intensification of pressures which had existed before: African advancement, skilled labour shortages and the changing roles for white women. White male workers went to

---

[845] Lyons, *Guns and Guerrilla Girls,* pp.128-136.

[846] Economically active figure includes unemployed, part time workers, and unpaid family workers. Housewives were considered economically inactive. For UK data see Craig Lindsay and Paul Doyle, 'Experimental Consistent Time Series of Historical Labour Force Survey Data', *Labour Market Trends* (2003), pp.467-475.

[847] Michael Evans, 'The Wretched of the Empire', p.176.

war in order to protect their racial and sex privileges, but their absence from industry while they fought in the bush further destabilised established labour practices and eroded the very colour bar they were attempting to uphold. The white nuclear family, held up as a barometer of progress, civilisation and stability by settler colonial nationalists, was also disintegrating under the pressures of war. White men and women struggled and ultimately failed to control the organisation of labour and the types of work in which they were involved.

Class and Status in the RF Period

The image of a classless society in which every European lounged beside swimming pools waited upon by servants was manufactured to attract whites to the colony and engender a sense of solidarity amongst them. Yet, even the most ardent defenders of a myth of white homogeneity and socioeconomic equality occasionally slipped into descriptions of the 'undesirable' and less desirable white areas, the respectable clubs and bars and their less salubrious counterparts; the railway enclaves and mining communities. In Salisbury, while middle class professionals would live in northern suburbs such as Borrowdale and Mount Pleasant with swimming pools and country clubs, the suburbs south of the railway line housed lower skilled and manual working Europeans. Whites in Cranborne, Hillside and Braeside lived in noticeably smaller houses in close proximity to the Coloured area, Arcadia. Just west of Arcadia along the railway line lay Harare, the African township, followed by the city's major industrial sites, Workington and Southerton, and Lochinvar, a suburb for white railway employees. (See Figure Twenty-Two.)[848] These divisions manifested across Rhodesia. The railway suburb of Raylton in Bulawayo was described by Ranger as 'a town within a town', with its own social functions, sports groups, and shops exclusively for railway workers.[849] Far from being erased under the RF, these divisions deepened in the last years of minority rule. From the 1960s the Rhodesian state, in fear of being demographically overwhelmed by the African majority, endeavoured to stabilise its power base by encouraging white immigration in what Josiah Brownell has termed a 'war of numbers'.[850] The RF loosened stringent immigration controls and previously 'undesirable' inhabitants entered in larger numbers. The increased presence of poorer

---

[848] P.A. Hardwick, 'Journey-to-Work Patterns in Salisbury, Rhodesia: The Contrast between Africans and Europeans', *Journal of Transport Economics and Policy*, 8, 2 (1974), pp.180-191. Figure Twenty Two has been constructed from synthesising Hardwick's map on p.181 with a street map of Greater Salisbury.
[849] Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, p.24.
[850] Josiah Brownell.

and non-British whites destabilised the already shaky pretences to cultural uniformity. [851] Snobberies were certainly not erased under a sense of inclusive 'Rhodesianness'. Maureen Moss, a woman who lived in Mabelreign described how

> We all thought the railway...if you worked on the railway. Ach no.
> They were low class. And especially if you lived "that side" of
> town. They called it the wrong side of the railway track.'

Whereas Borrowdale, Highlands and Rhodesville were noted as respectable, Waterfalls, Cranborne and Hatfield were described as being populated by 'the dregs of society' as well as poor whites who worked on the railways, swept streets or collected rubbish. This particular respondent remarked that many of these types were new immigrants and 'all they could get were those lowly jobs. And they all ended up on the other side of the railway line.'[852]

Hierarchies of status were complex. While second generation Rhodesians of British stock may have looked unfavourably upon Greeks or Portuguese settlers, affluent British arrivals were keen to stress their difference from self-proclaimed 'Rhodies'. Amanda Parkyn, a British immigrant who arrived in 1959 made friends in her new home with recent immigrants from Britain who were well educated and had professional careers in line with her own background. When her brother, Simon, came to visit he 'distinguished between our friends and people he called 'Rhodesian', people with the strong accent very like South African, with its echoes of Afrikaans'. Additionally Parkyn highlighted that this dislike emanated from a perception that they were 'less well educated.' Parkyn's brother described a rugby match between the British Lions and the Rhodesians, 'a very rough lot', who caused six injuries to Lions players. Parkyn's brother was disgusted when one Lion rugby player had his leg broken and

> the coarse Rhodesians who had gathered in numbers to see the
> game gave an unpleasant display of their rough character, by
> shouting "take him off", "leave him to the vultures"…I'm afraid I
> don't like these Rhodesians; they have horrible short hair cuts and
> are very hearty and simple. They all look exactly the same and can
> be recognised a mile off.[853]

Lower class Rhodesian whites were associated with a particular brutishness and crassness by a layer of British arrivals.

---

[851] Karin Alexander, 'An Analysis of Elements of White Identity and Ideology Construction in Zimbabwe', in *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation,* edited by Brian Raftopoulos and T. Savage (Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004), pp.193-212.

[852] Interview with Maureen Moss, retired white woman, Harare, June 2015; also see Godwin and Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die,* pp.29-30.

[853] Amanda Parkyn, *Roses Under the Miombo Trees: An English Girl in Rhodesia* (Beauchamp: Matador, 2012), p.69.

Moreover status and rank continued to undermine any white class identity and increasing pressures upon white workers did not forge unity. As well as the continued presence of the craft union AEU which attempted to represent all skilled workers, inside the RRWU sectional interests could not be contained. In 1971 a rival organisation of engine drivers, the Railway Association of Locomotive Employees (RALE), emerged, boasting that no fewer than six-hundred men had broken away from RRWU to join their ranks.[854] By August 1972 RALE claimed it had come to represent ninety percent of senior enginemen. The exchanges between RRWU and RALE were particularly bitter with the latter accusing the former of being dominated by clerical grades who only fought for improvements in their own quarters and as a result had better pay and conditions. *The Locomotive Express*, a small typed newsletter with hand-drawn logos and pictures, sought to uplift the status of enginemen as a central part of the railway workforce and represented a desire to be separated from the 'lower' white grades on the railways, particularly the less skilled clerical grades represented by RRWU. They claimed moral superiority and trumpeted their possession of skilled qualifications over other sections of the railway workforce. Thus when other sections of the railway staff were taking industrial action and militant activity RALE claimed that '"working to rule" like strikes, [was] a system of blackmail resorted to when negotiators representing the employees fail[ed] to make out a case to prove the worth of their demands.'[855] Once RALE achieved official recognition in 1973 under the ICA, RRWU became increasingly critical of the enginemen, accusing them of being 'well off' and grossly exaggerating their perceived hardships.[856] On the railways at least, increasing pressures appeared to intensify rather than ameliorate existing fissures.

---

[854] 'Plan New Approach: Recognition Sought', *The Locomotive Express*, 1, June 1972.
[855] *The Locomotive Express,* October 1972, p.2.
[856] G. M. de Salis. 'Reply to RALE', *RRR*, July 1974, p.10.

Figure Twenty-Two: Salisbury Street Map showing the Proximity of Lower Class European Residential Areas South of the Railway Line to Industrial Areas and Coloured and African Residential Areas, 1974

BORROWDALE BROOK

GLEN LORNE

MARLBOROUGH

BORROWDALE

MOUNT PLEASANT

BORROWDALE PARK

University of Rhodesia

MABELREIGH

AVONDALE

HIGHLANDS

GREENDALE

EASTLEA NORTH

EASTLEA SOUTH

SALISBURY

Raylton Athletic Club

BRAESIDE

WILMINGTON PARK

ARCADIA

HILLSIDE

KAMBUZUMA

WORKINGTON

CRANBORNE PARK

QUEENSDALE

LOCHINAR

SOUTHERTON

HARARE

MUFAKOSE

HATFIELD

HIGHFIELD

PARKTOWN

MIDLANDS

WATERFALL

KEY

— Road

— Railway Line

█ European Residential Area

█ African Residential Area

█ Other Residential Area

█ Industrial Area

Africanisation, Job Fragmentation and White Backlash

The biggest pressure upon white workers came from Africanisation of white jobs. As previous chapters have highlighted, Africans had always performed skilled work - whether they were recognised for it or not - and the numbers of skilled Africans gradually grew across the century. Despite this increase in 1969 whites made up eighty percent of skilled manpower.[857] The following year there were an estimated 25,000 skilled black workers employed comprised of 14,000 teachers, 10,000 skilled and semi-skilled industrial workers and a few thousand in healthcare and the public service.[858] Progression into 'white' work was frustrated by a number of barriers. As Table Eighteen shows, the number of Africans with the requisite education to enter skilled trades increased.[859] Yet, the intake of Africans into skilled trades remained uneven. The Apprenticeship Training and Skilled Manpower Development Act of 1968 stipulated that only those who had completed an apprenticeship or equivalent trade test could be employed in skilled occupations. As apprenticeships were mainly given to whites this prevented widespread African progression into skilled trades. Likewise engineers and technicians were defined as those who qualified for the membership of the Rhodesian Institution of Engineers by possessing the relevant qualifications. These criteria controlled who could perform certain types of work.[860]

Like the progression of Coloureds into skilled work explored in Chapter Three, the numbers of Africans in particular trades relied in part on white trade union weakness. In 1965, whereas mining had seventy-six European apprentices and zero Africans, manufacturing industries had one-hundred-and-twenty European apprentices and six African apprentices.[861] Employers encouraged the use of African builders and flouted labour laws which stipulated that only qualified journeymen could be hired to complete skilled work.[862] As demonstrated by Table Seventeen, the percentage of apprenticeships being completed by Africans rose dramatically from 1962 to 1975 by 2.3 to 18.1 percent and by 1972 the Engineering Industry and the Motor Industry had reached agreements which allowed parts of the jobs to be performed by less skilled persons, thus

---

[857] Colin Stoneman, *Skilled Labour and Future Needs* (Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1978), p.20.
[858] Ibid., p.11.
[859] Appendices, p.303.
[860] *Survey of Engineering Manpower*, p.16; pp.24-6.
[861] Roberts, p.19.
[862862] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 18th September 1968, pp.1295-6; p.1320; p.1368.

breaking the monopoly of white journeymen.[863] In 1975 the number of black apprentices in building and mechanical engineering outnumbered Europeans.[864] African women faced greater barriers to formal employment. One 1976 investigation into the potential of utilising African women's labour on a wider scale found that when employers were challenged for not hiring African women in secretarial and clerical work, they variously responded that African women were incompetent, uneducated and lacked initiative. However, many employers maintained that even if educated African women existed they would not "fit in" with European female staff. Other firms claimed they would not hire African women as they could not provide the correct toilet facilities.[865]

While it is widely appreciated that whites in postcolonial states across Africa have articulated any erosion of privilege as 'reverse racism', much less attention has been paid to how this rhetoric functioned within the settler colonial state. By the 1970s RRWU were using the language of 'reverse racism' to reposition themselves as victims. Job fragmentation was the medium of this 'discriminatory' agenda in which employers attempted to ease shortages by dividing up one skilled job into several semi-skilled parts which would allow them to hire Africans on lower wages. The *Granite Review* spoke of the unfair 'job reservation in reverse'.[866] The emotive appeal was deepened through reminders that 'our men' were fighting to uphold standards in Rhodesia, and they were doing this in order to secure employment for themselves and their children. In empty pretensions to multiracialism they admitted that while Rhodesia had had to import skills in the past, economic necessity dictated this could not be continued and that the indigenous population had to be educated to fill labour deficits. Yet the RRWU argued that they had been unfairly targeted by industrial leaders, and while they had secured rate for the job

> Job fragmentation is the evil advocated in Rhodesia today…the
> manner in which fragmentation is advocated…is racial
> discrimination in reverse...It causes a further division between
> Black and White in that to make it work, the upper grades must be
> redesignated into supervisory roles, but with greatly reduced

---

[863] W. F. Duncan, 'Labour Problems in Rhodesia: A Trade Union Viewpoint', *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 6, 4 (1972), p.16. Appendices, p.303.
[864] Stoneman, *Skilled Labour and Future Needs,* p.14.
[865] Joan May, *African Women in Urban Employment: Factors influencing their Employment in Zimbabwe* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1979), p.66.
[866] 'Fragmentation of the Skilled Trades and its Application and Problems in Rhodesian Industries', *Granite Review*, October 1971, p.12.

complements, thereby denying promotion and promised advancement, but with greater hate motive.[867]

Job fragmentation was redefined as being *responsible* for racial tensions. The AMWR, in an attempt to position itself as non-racial argued that job fragmentation was a threat to white and black artisans alike.[868] A prominent leader of AMWR criticised the African Trades Union Congress of Southern Rhodesia as an 'organisation which encourages the separation of the races in the affairs of trade unions' while claiming that his union was 'second to none in this part of the world for looking after mineworkers of all races.'[869] In response to such claims Phineas Sithole, General Secretary of The United Textile Workers Union and President of the African Trades Union Congress, argued that European artisans, their trade unions, and the Government policies which appeased them, in resisting what was 'emotionally called "job fragmentation"', had prevented the development of adequate training programmes. Sithole gave an assurance that Africans were not challenging Europeans' place in industry; they would not be replaced by Africans, 'but rather…should find their place in the re-defined technical hierarchy of modern industry'.[870] Considering the oppressive conditions faced by African workers in Rhodesia, such arguments appear remarkably moderate. However, African trade unionists were challenging white workers' self-identification as bearers of modernity. This appeal to modernisation inverted dominant tropes of backward, primordial Africans existing as an inflected mirror image of advanced, technical Europeans. The European worker had now become a barrier to development and relied on emotional appeals rather than economic fact. Sithole pressed for 'modern productive methods' including local training and the division of jobs into semi-skilled components. Craft unionism was an anachronism; the importation of skills may have been suited to the early twentieth century, but now retarded development.[871] This was particularly true of European engine drivers on the railways in their resistance to dieselisation. Despite efforts to modernise the railway system RALE argued that dieselisation was not about productivity but was merely a prelude to undercutting and retrenchment.[872]

Those Europeans who clung onto their limited authority over Africans at work were the most likely to oppose this progression. Those whose sense of superiority was derived

---

[867] 'Presidential Address to 1976 Convention', *RRR*, October 1976, pp.1-4.
[868] 'Fragmentation...', *Granite Review*, October 1971, p.12.
[869] Ibid., pp.4-5.
[870] Phineas Sithole, 'Labour Problems in Rhodesia: A Trade Union Viewpoint', *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 6, 4 (1972), pp.11-12.
[871] Ibid., p.13.
[872] See *Locomotive Express*.

from work through a defined occupational and grade hierarchy, who relied on this relative authority, found solace in the knowledge that no matter how far down the socioeconomic ladder they were they would always be above Africans. The *Report of the Commission into Racial Discrimination* noted that Europeans across the public service but 'particularly in the lower income groups' were 'reluctant to accept the African either as a colleague on an equal footing or, even more so, as his superior.' In one instance, a European had resigned 'rather than be forced to take orders from a senior African official.'[873] In 1959 eight European bank workers had quit when an African was hired on the counter although the *Granite Review*, anxious to refute accusations of racism, claimed that this was because the African was being paid £18 per month rather than the standard £36 per month.[874] Likewise, one nurse recalled that in 1977 a white nurse and an African nurse competed for the position of Sister in Charge at Dangamvura Polyclinic. The African nurse, Sister Chizarura, was more qualified than her white competitor, Sister Geddes. Yet Geddes, upon hearing of Chizarura's appointment in the role, immediately resigned as 'she was not prepared to work under an African.'[875] The Public Service Report further noted that Europeans would resent interacting with Africans if they were allowed to work in Government offices. It was considered that allowing Africans to have access to information on 'personal matters' such as income, tax, customs and immigration, would prove insufferable. Notably, all of these categories allowed Africans greater insight into the social status of white individuals. These positions in the civil service would enable Africans to *know* Europeans; specifically, where individual Europeans stood in the wider social system. These files held financial and social shame. Individual prestige would be subject to scrutiny through access to bureaucratic files, and Africans would be granted the power to process a European's claim.[876]

White trade unionists hit back at accusations of obstinacy and backwardness. They argued that the problem of shortages was not about Europeans' high expectations, or even the experience of war and instability; it was low wages and poor conditions imposed by unscrupulous employers.[877] W. F. Duncan, President of the Amalgamated Engineering Union complained that artisans could make more money as salesmen

---

[873] *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Racial Discrimination*, p.44.
[874] 'European Replaced by African in Salisbury Bank: Eight Staff Quit!', Granite Review, October 1959, p.10.
[875] An interview taken from Matthew Mataruka, *History of Mutare African Municipal Workers 1945-1994* (University of Zimbabwe, unpublished BA Hons dissertation, 1995), p.23.
[876] *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Racial Discrimination*, pp.35-39.
[877] Duncan, p.16.

than in skilled trades. For RALE, acute shortages were 'deliberately created' by employers. RALE publicised that South African national Sakie Du Beer was refused employment as a fireman on Rhodesia Railways despite having eight years' experience on South African Railways, having passed his drivers exam and being married to a 'Rhodesian girl'. RALE scoffed at the Salisbury recruiting office who had turned down his application because "he was too tall". Instead, RALE reasoned, the Administration appeared to prefer hiring Africans as stokers and, after a short period, would promote them to Enginemen.[878]

Sakie Du Beer was defended as a white man against African incursion. His wife's nationality gave his claim further legitimacy; she was not described as Afrikaner or British, but as a 'Rhodesian'. Luise White has argued that in the late 1960s, 'the workings around Rhodesian citizenship seemed to have become flexible, if not hollow.' By 1967 new immigrants could become Rhodesian citizens within two years.[879] In 1969 the census categories changed and no longer required participants' 'nationality' but their 'citizenship' status. For historians, this creates problems in evaluating long term demographic changes amongst the white population, but reflects the RF's desire to turn 'migrants' into 'settlers' as becoming a legitimate Rhodesian citizen became an easier process.[880] This shift in the way the state was attempting to define its population points towards efforts to engineer a more amorphous white Rhodesian identity that could absorb other non-British nationalities with greater ease. Yet this did not erase these inter-European prejudices. Some interviewees explicitly identified 'the poor' as Afrikaners as 'they weren't educated and they were really just railway workers or shopkeepers.'[881] In railway communities ethnic enclaves were encouraged through sectional housing patterns which placed different grades and job categories into separate railway housing. Thus men brought out from Greece or Italy to be shunters would be housed together. As one ex-railwayman explained,

> I think because not all of them used to speak that good English they could all hang out together. And eventually the Greek, Portuguese community grew here because they brought their wives and children.[882]

[878] *The Locomotive Express,* August 1972, pp.6-8.
[879] Luise White, *Unpopular Sovereignty,* p.118.
[880] See Constantine, 'Migrants'.
[881] Interview with Maureen Moss, retired white woman, Harare, June 2015.
[882] Interview with Barry Bright, white ex-railwayman, Bulawayo, June 2015.

Rhodesian and British Railway workers were keen to disassociate themselves from these elements. RRWU argued that 'the "non-comprehendo" type...is a hazard in many ways - lowering of job standards, safety factors ignored or oblivious to.'[883] The Portuguese were identified as more likely to take 'lowly jobs', but many struggled to articulate what it was precisely which made these men different from those of British or Rhodesian stock:

> they were definitely not like us. They were white, but I dunno. They were a different culture. They were definitely not like us.[884]

Nevertheless, non-British whites were always preferred to Africans. Individual Africans who the RRWU thought were undeserving of their positions were named within the *Review* and were used as examples of 'discrimination' against the white worker. One Mr. Bulle was singled out as he had been hired as a job analysis technician on a contract basis. When the RRWU enquired into why he was given the job they claimed they were told by the Administration that he was hired 'because he was an African', rather than his possession of any suitable qualification. While claiming that 'this in itself is contrary to this organisation's policy, which is non-racial', such actions amounted to harassment of African workers, some of whom were RRWU members.[885] Kafue Branch tried to pass a motion removing Africans from the fireman grade due to 'incompatibility'.[886] Even in the face of huge pressure as shortages on the railways increased, white workers repeatedly complained that Africans were performing 'white' work.[887]

This encroachment was intolerable. Every white assertion of innate capabilities, African ineptitude and the need for European supervision, could be challenged as Africans could prove themselves equally able and productive in the absence of whites. Yet white workers were finding it increasingly difficult to deny the role of Africans in industry. An investigation in 1975 revealed that many white mechanics recognised that without their assistants they would not be able to complete their workloads. One white foreman admitted that electricians got their 'untrained' African assistants to fulfil all of their duties while they were on military leave. Yet the mechanics and foremen interviewed in 1975 told the investigation that under no circumstances would they accept Africans as apprentices. Management likewise were keen to categorise these assistants as semi-

---

[883] 'Foreign Labour', *RRR*, October 1975, p.12.
[884] Interview with Maureen Moss, retired white woman, Harare, June 2015.
[885] 'Rate for the Job', *RRR*, July 1965, p.1.
[886] 'Editorial', *RRR*, May 1962, p.1.
[887] 'Umtali no. 4 Branch Notes', *RRR*, January 1971, p.16.

skilled despite the content of their jobs in order to keep costs low.[888] White trade union justifications continued to refer to 'natural' aptitude for work amongst Europeans. One account explained industrial prowess in genetic terms: European youths had 'generations of industrial heritage', unlike the African youth and thus the claim was made that the latter suffered from an 'absence of an appreciation of craft and mechanical skills.'[889] Familiar tropes of imminent disaster, collisions and destruction appeared in arguments against job fragmentation and African advancement. Reg Penrose, general secretary of RALE, reminded his readers that "there was at least one accident a day" in Zambia following Africanisation.[890] Nevertheless the overall trends signalled a considerable shift in racialised employment practices despite RF promises to uphold the colour bar.

Challenges to Male Monopoly

The colour bar was threatened by the intensifying shortage of skilled white workers. The RF initially looked to white immigration to fill the deficit, but economic expansion in Europe and Rhodesia's status as a pariah state with an ongoing civil war severely impacted upon attempts to attract recruits with requisite skill.[891] In a drive to attract skilled immigrants, taxes on incomes over £2000 were reduced in the 1969 budget.[892] The maximum rate of tax was lowered to forty percent for single persons at R24,000 and married persons R28,000 to be in effect from the 1970 tax year.[893] Nevertheless shortages persisted. Moreover, while such measures may have been appealing to white men, such tax thresholds on family incomes dissuaded women from taking formal employment. Thus, the RF's commitment to upholding the colour bar was tempered by its conservative gender policies that sought to fix women in the home. Despite assurances from the Minister of Finance that the 1969 tax reforms meant that women should be able to remain in employment after marriage without being penalised through

[888] M.W. Murphee (ed), *Education, Race and Employment in Rhodesia, Association of Round Tables in Central Africa and the Centre for Inter-racial Studies* (Salisbury: University of Rhodesia, 1975), quoted in Stoneman, *Skilled Labour and Future Needs*, p.12.

[889] 'Minister Answers Points Raised on Selected Committee On Apprenticeship and Technical Education Report', *RRR*, March 1965, p.4.

[890] 'Attack on Rail Talks', *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 6 November 1972. See also Laura Bear, *Lines of the Nation,* p.64.

[891] *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Racial Discrimination* (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1974), p.66.

[892] Alec Schattil, 'The Report of the Franzen Commission and the Rhodesian Budget', *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 3, 4 (1969), pp.8-14.

[893] W. F. Duncan, 'Labour Problems in Rhodesia: A Trade Union Viewpoint', *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 6, 4 (1972), p.15.

tax rules, women continued to suffer.[894] The Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1976 saw practically no improvement on previous abortion laws and women's primary role was reaffirmed as one of bearing and raising children.[895] This was despite warnings in 1969 that some essential services, particularly nursing and teaching, could face a total breakdown if women were continually discouraged from staying in employment upon marriage.[896]

The Rhodesia Nurses Association (RNA) argued that the tax law was 'one of the greatest deterrents to nurses considering returning to work'.[897] Many nurses failed to enter formal employment after qualifying, representing a loss on the cost of their training.[898] Many others left upon marriage. One white nurse interviewed in 2015 recalled that while she did not give up nursing upon marriage, she later left because of the poor conditions of work:

> There was a lot of grumbling then at the 12 hour shift. Especially at night duty... It seemed to go on and on....[matron said] ...If you don't like it leave. So I left.

This nurse worked in an African hospital and also described having to 'stand in for the doctors' and fulfil tasks which would not have fallen under the remit of nurses' duties in England.[899] In 1970 questionnaires were distributed to nurses with SRN qualifications or equivalent in order to establish the causes of low retention rates across the profession. Most respondents quoted long hours and poor pay and conditions as fundamental problems with staff retention. Thirty-four percent of returned questionnaires were completed by women who had left nursing to take up work in clerical posts, shops, nursery schools and crèches.[900] Seventy-four percent of respondents expressed that, despite rises in wages, nursing pay did not compare favourably with other types of employment but ninety-four percent would consider returning to nursing in a hospital on a forty hour, five day week. There was also a significant desire to see married nurses acquire the same rights as their single counterparts. Married women were branded as part time and felt as though they were forced to accept 'second class status in respect of leave and promotion conditions.' The RNA argued that women should be treated

---

[894] 'Letter from Mr. Wrathall', *Rhodesian Nurses Newsletter,* vol. 4, no. 2, June 1971, p.6.

[895] Law, *Gendering the Settler,* p.108.

[896] Schattil, 'The Report of the Franzen Commission and the Rhodesian Budget', p.12.

[897] 'Nursing Staff Shortage Questionnaire', *Rhodesian Nurses Newsletter,* Vol. 4 no. 1, July 1971, pp.13-14. Law, *Gendering the Settler State*, p.105.

[898] 'Editorial', *Rhodesian Nurses Newsletter,* Vol. 4, no. 1, July 1971, p.1.

[899] Interview with Shirley Webb, retired nurse, aged 70s, Harare, May 2015.

[900] 'Nursing post' included work in doctors and dentists surgeries, private nursing and as health visitors.

according to their skill and length of service and not by their marital status and demanded parity of conditions between single and married staff. The RNA pointed to further ways in which the nursing shortage could be overcome: overtime pay, extra allowances for night duty, weekends and public holidays and more pay for more qualified staff as well as crèche centres for night staff with children.[901] However, these failed to materialise.

For the most part, skills shortages in the 1960s did not dramatically change women's role in the economy. Conservative gender ideologies were internalised and reproduced by many women. The idealised affluent housewife, overseeing labour in the home while attending sundowners and social functions, proved more appealing than any potential status conferred by employment. Moreover, professions that demanded training such as teaching and nursing struggled to project the air of middle-class respectability that many white women aspired to. The RNA regularly complained that nursing had garnered a poor reputation and was seen as a route for uneducated women.[902] In certain sectors the number of women employed actually decreased. From 1961 to 1969 the number of women employed as shop assistants and in sales decreased from 3735 to 2854. As shown in Table Nine, the proportion of women to men employed in clerical work was also reduced. Whereas women accounted for 66.9 percent of clerical work in 1961, this dropped to 57.4 percent in 1969.[903] The percentage of women over fifteen who were economically active rose by two percent in eight years. This represents a slowing down of the entrance of women into formal employment. It certainly does not suggest a remarkable change from previous employment patterns.[904] As shown by Table Eleven, while the number of women employed in the mining, quarrying, manufacturing, electricity and water supply sectors gradually rose from 1964-1970, the percentage of women as part of the workforce only very slightly increased. Thus these sectors experienced no dramatic change in gendered work patterns during these years.[905] Conservative stereotypes regarding the appropriate roles for white women persisted. In interviews, whereas women quoted nursing, teaching, retail, hairdressing and clerical work as acceptable jobs for white women, waitressing, bar work, hotel work and

---

[901] 'Comments and Suggestions', *Rhodesian Nurses Newsletter,* vol. 4, no. 1, July 1971, p.17.
[902] Ibid., p.20.
[903] Appendices, p.298.
[904] See Table Twelve, appendices, p.300.
[905] There is no census data after 1969 during the Rhodesian period. It would be interesting to see if women's participation in the economy did undergo significant changes in the 1970s as the pressures of the Bush War increased.

manual labour were regarded as unthinkable.[906] However the transience of the white population unsettled established gender norms. Newcomers, or those who had spent a longer period of time abroad, were much less likely to hold prejudices against particular types of 'low' work. As one Rhodesian-born woman recalled:

> There were quite a few [white women] in the nightclubs and the bars...but I think people looked down on them. Like they were lowlifes. But there were a few. My cousin was a barmaid, which took us all by surprise…but because she had been to England for a few years, and that's what she had been doing over there...she came back and just marched into a bar...they always expected us to get, not necessarily a degree, to get something when we left school, whether it was secretarial, nursing. They didn't want you to go and work in a bar![907]

Other women arriving from Britain worked briefly as nannies or housekeepers for relatives without the attendant shame.[908] While established Rhodesian women were more cautious about the types of work appropriate for white women, some newer arrivals disparagingly noted the laziness of white women fostered by Rhodesian society. They commented upon an over-reliance on servants and a general unwillingness to work.[909] Younger women could also be seen to transgress the norms laid out by older generations. Val Sherwall recalled working in an OK Bazaar as a retail assistant during her summer holidays as a young student, until her mother found out, 'horrified' that her daughter would be 'seen working in a place like the OK Bazaars' and summarily forbade further employment.[910] Some women entered formal employment not purely out of a desire to increase individual or family incomes, but because they were attracted to the independence offered by work outside the home. Amanda Parkyn explained her desire to work came not only from the need to improve the household budget but to stave off loneliness and isolation. Her days were long and dull and generally focused upon waiting for her husband to come home in the evenings. She saw her clerical job in Bulawayo at £50 per month as more of a welcome distraction than an economic necessity.[911]

Employers alleged a lack of commitment and work ethic amongst their white female staff. An investigation during 1972-3 found that European women in Posts and

---

[906] Interview with Sharon Smith, Chris May, and Jackie Wright, white women aged 60- 90, Essex, November 2016
[907] Interview with Maureen Moss, retired white woman, Harare, June 2015.
[908] Parkyn, *Roses Under the Miombo Trees,* p.4.
[909] Ibid., p.21.
[910] Val Sherwell, *The Guinea Fowl Girl,* p.113.
[911] Parkyn, *Roses Under the Miombo Trees,* p.21.

Telecommunications had twice as many sick days as European men, and almost ten times as many as African men. This further challenged European trade union assertions that white males were inherently more productive than Africans who were repeatedly castigated as loafers. Sick leave amongst white women was common and the *Herald* reported that Dr Castle, whom it was keen to stress was both a wife and mother, had suggested that African telephone operators should be employed as they had lower rates of sickness and absence from work.[912] Jeanne Shoesmith, committee member of the International Council of Women, wrote to the *Herald* pleading for an end to discrimination against married women in employment, but nevertheless asserted that some women work 'simply to keep themselves and their families in luxury'. It was only those who needed the work to supplement 'meagre' family incomes who were truly victims.[913]

In opposition to ideas that women should stay in the home and make way for more productive African men, or that only those who really needed to work should be employed, a layer of women were taking different attitudes to female employment. In reply to Shoesmith's letter, one woman argued that women who worked did so because they were single, or their husbands had died. Most of them were unskilled and had little to no qualifications which, she argued, enabled employers to 'take advantage of while claim[ing] all women work for "pin money"'. She demanded courses aimed at women which would enable them to compete on the labour market. It was essential that women acquire qualifications to 'maintain their present lowly status' against the 'claims of male employees' that gender discrimination in wages and conditions were essential as they had large families to provide for.[914] Women also wrote to the *Herald* to stress that it was no longer the case that women could expect to rely on a husband.[915] Conscription had interrupted interpersonal relationships and put increasing strains on the white nuclear family unit. As the 1970s progressed one out of every four marriages would dissolve and Rhodesia attained one of the highest divorce rates in the world.[916] One consultant psychiatrist argued that women were often pressured into 'premature sexual relationship[s]' as a result of conscription.[917] Yet despite changing relationships between men and women, the persistent skills deficit and commitment to white

---

[912] 'PTC Women Workers' Sickness Problem', *Rhodesia Herald*, 8 August 1974, p.7.
[913] 'Women must not Suffer Job Discrimination', *Rhodesia Herald*, 23 May 1978, p.6.
[914] M. Barker, 'Start Lecture Courses for Women', *Rhodesia Herald*, 30 May 1978, p.8.
[915] 'Reaping Rewards of the Emancipation Struggle', *Rhodesia Herald*, 22 October 1975, p.5.
[916] Godwin and Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die.* p.41.
[917] No Other Life: A Tribute to the Women of Rhodesia,
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yACnZz6vtk8 [accessed 28 August 2017]

monopoly, both employers and the state pursued policies which dissuaded white women from entering work and fulfilling labour deficits. Racial policies were modified by an elitist, gendered conservatism, which was shaped by the idealisation of middle class lifestyle and values. As discussed below, the question of how women's economic role should change during the war was the subject of sustained debate.

Intensification

Skilled labour deficits constituted one of the greatest problems for Rhodesia's industries during the 1960s and 1970s and threatened to overhaul the entire racialised occupational structure. Economic sanctions being placed on Rhodesia in retaliation for UDI fostered the expansion of import replacement secondary industry, which experienced a growth rate of 212 percent from 1966 to 1974 and required ever growing numbers of semi-skilled and skilled staff.[918] Yet, finding eligible whites for the positions proved difficult.[919] By 1974 the *Survey of Engineering Manpower* estimated that the total demand for engineers and technicians had reached 2706 and that Rhodesia had no more than a quarter of the total technicians it needed. Engineers had been fulfilling technicians' duties to keep production moving.[920] Mining companies in Wankie complained that shortages meant essential maintenance work was not being completed.[921] In the same year at a general meeting of the Chamber of Mines the president, Mr Cowan, estimated that by 1978 Rhodesia would face a shortfall of 8500 skilled artisans.[922] The Building Industry was singled out as being particularly difficult, as K.B. Crookes, former Vice president of the Confederation of Rhodesian Employers, explained, 'English [is] scarcely spoken on a building site [thus] European apprentices are not attracted to the industry.'[923] Moreover Crookes noted a 'small but disconcerting commentary' regarding the average age of journeymen; in 1972 almost twenty-two percent of artisans were aged fifty years old or above.[924] By 1974 the median age of engineers was 47.5. Older artisans were not being replaced by younger whites and it

---

[918] Barnes, Munyaradzi and Mtisi, *Becoming Zimbabwe*, p.132.
[919] However, as Peter Harris argued at the time, the survey implicitly equated vacancies with a shortage of manpower, despite being distinct categories. Peter Harris, 'Manpower Requirements and Existing Vacancies – A Note on the Central Statistical Office Survey', *The Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 6, 2 (1972), pp.55-60.
[920] *Survey of Engineering Manpower*, p.16; pp.24-6.
[921] 'Colliery Gets its Artisans', *Rhodesia Herald*, 20 June 1975, p.15.
[922] B. Frewin, President of the Confederation of Rhodesian Employers, 'Employers Back Principle of Rate for the Job' *Rhodesia Herald*, 15 May 1974, p.10.
[923] K. B. Crookes, 'Labour Problems in Rhodesia: An Employer's Viewpoint', *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 6, 4 (1972), p.4.
[924] Crookes, 'Labour Problems in Rhodesia', pp.1-8.

was feared that many emigrants were the young who would never return to the country after finishing school or university.[925] While white skin could be a source of pride in Rhodesia it also engendered shame amongst those who had failed to secure elevated status. The RRWU lamented that a layer of railwaymen

> are ashamed of their condition as a worker. They all dream of a
> status in which they would not be called a worker or an employee,
> but something else. They abhor this status.[926]

Many white workers did not want to accept their social status and sought to ascend into the ranks of the middle class, which after all, was promised by the popularised image of a classless Rhodesia. The European youth were noted as disinterested in manual labour, even skilled artisan work, and preferred advanced technical work rather than completing a long apprenticeship. This attitude was widespread; in 1974 a commission into technical education admitted that 'the image of the artisan [needed] to be enhanced in some fashion'.[927] The skilled monopoly which white workers had fought so hard to protect was slipping out from underneath them. While white trade unionists posed this as the result of the actions of double-crossing governments, unscrupulous employers and African deception, the reality was that they had failed to create a popular representation of the working white which could attract the requisite number of white men to fulfil these occupations.

By the mid-1970s, as the initial benefits of import substitution waned due to a racially-limited market, the Rhodesian economy had entered a crisis of overproduction/accumulation and from 1975 to 1978 Rhodesia experienced an average decline in GDP of 2.3 percent.[928] South Africa's policy of detente with independent African states and the loss of Mozambique as an ally in 1975 compounded Rhodesia's isolation and reduced the country's ability to evade international sanctions. From 1974 to 1978 manufacturing production fell by twenty-seven percent and 50,000 urban private sector jobs were lost. [929] In 1975 as economic conditions worsened the percentage of black apprentices dramatically fell to 14.8 percent from the 18.1 percent of the previous year. The Minister for Labour warned of imminent job losses in

---

[925] *Survey of Engineering Manpower*, p.26. See Table Twenty, appendices p.304.
[926] *RRR*, December 1978, p.14.
[927] *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Further Education in the Technical and Commercial Fields* (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1974), pp.6-7.
[928] Alois Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.160.
[929] Patrick Bond, 'The Rise and Fall of the Rhodesian Economy, 1965-1979: A Marxist Account of Space, Time and the Capital Accumulation Process', African Studies Seminar Paper given at the University of Witwatersrand African Studies Institute (1993). The reasons behind economic decline are contested.

unskilled and some semi-skilled trades, but shortages persisted in skilled employment and the apprentice intake rose by twenty-eight percent from 1974 to 1975.[930] As in previous economic crises, retrenchment affected Africans most severely. On the railways deficits grew while traffic decreased further with the closure of the Rhodesian/Mozambique border in 1976. Staff decreased from 21,248 to 20,708 in 1975-6, and would fall by a further 104 by 1977.[931] As early as 1975 the Railways Annual Report expressed considerable concern over low morale, high turnover and the effect of military commitments upon staff shortages. White workers refused to allow Africans to perform skilled work but also refused to perform increased workloads themselves. The *Chronicle* reported that European workers at the Rhodesian Alloys firm in Gwelo rejected an offer for a shorter working week because reduced hours were offered with the caveat that Africans could be employed as artisans. This was denied by the management who argued that harmonious relationships existed between skilled staff. However they admitted that Europeans without artisan status had been particularly riled by the move.[932] The mining union AMWR likewise struggled over job demarcation and they attempted to prevent moves in which a skilled fitter would be made to perform another artisan's work, such as welding.[933]

The war entered a new phase in 1972 as nationalist groups adopted new tactics. Skilled shortages were compounded by military call ups which gradually intensified over the 1970s for white males.[934] In 1978 men under thirty-eight could be called for a maximum of 190 days a year while those aged thirty-eight to forty-nine had a maximum service of ten weeks although, as Luise White has shown, many never reported for duty and successfully dodged the draft.[935] Some used their position in industry as part of the struggle against nationalist groups. At Victoria Falls an engine driver had been arrested on the accusation of tampering with locomotives on the Zambian side. He was imprisoned for eight days but the European railway men at Wankie protested by refusing to handle traffic to or from Zambia until he was released.[936] White women were never conscripted but from 1975 the army began to advertise for women to take up

[930] 'Minister Tells Rhodesia to 'Face the Fact of Job Losses'', *Rhodesia Herald*, 19 June 1975, p.7.
[931] *Rhodesia Railways Report of the General Manager, 1974-79* (Harare: NRZ, 1979), p.1.
[932] 'Moves to Make More Jobs 'Resisted'', *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 10th December 1975. 'Report of Statements 'Incorrect'', *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 12th December 1975
[933] 'Mineworkers Claim Denied by Employers', *Rhodesia Herald*, 15 October 1975, p.3.
[934] *Rhodesia Railways Report of the General Manager,* 1975, p.6. 'Railways had Deficit of $36m', *Rhodesia Herald*, 7 January 1978, p.3.
[935] Luise White, 'Other People's Sons: Conscription, Citizenship and Families, 1970-1980', p.5.
[936] Chris Mears, *Goodbye Rhodesia* (Eastborne: Antony Rowe Publishing Services, 2005), p.135.

supportive roles in the military services.[937] Some women complained that their efforts were not taken seriously enough and warned that 'enforced inactivity' would erode the morale of women in the towns. They argued that they should be put to work towards the war effort as it was 'psychologically disastrous for women not to be involved actively' and claimed that women could benefit the war effort as they were of hardy 'pioneer stock'.[938] The Rhodesian Women's Service was initiated so that women could take over from men stationed at bases to release them into the field.[939] Most women who took up military positions were limited to administrative posts. In the police force women took up a range of duties including manning radios, running armouries, issuing weapons, bomb squad, routine station duties, helping with road blocks and stop and search, as well as organising food and supplies for men on patrol in far out areas.[940] Many who put themselves forward were wives from farmer's districts. Most of the seventy women who went on the first Police reservists two day training camp for women were over thirty and married.[941] In the relative safety of the towns, it seems fewer women felt the need to volunteer. Moreover, this did not see any major shift in women's formal participation in the war and by 1977 there were only forty-two white women police officers.[942] Yet pressures upon women mounted. There is no census data after 1969 during the period of minority rule, but it would be interesting to see if women's participation in the economy did undergo significant changes in the 1970s as the pressures of the Bush War increased. White Women interviewed between 2015 and 2017 generally agreed that women's roles underwent some change. One interviewee recalled

> When we had the Bush War the women in town worked. Because the men had gone and joined the army...It saw the growth of where they were going and the jobs they got. Even though men weren't gone forever and ever, there were still lots of jobs that women could get that men used to do...That's when women really worked.[943]

Increasingly panicked by Africanisation and the intermittent absence of white men some trade unions displayed greater support for white women. By 1974 calls for equal pay between men and women garnered more support within RRWU as fears of undercutting increased with the growing number of women employed on the railways. The RRWU

---

[937] Godwin and Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die,* p.135.
[938] 'Women - Rhodesia's Unsung Heroines', *Rhodesia Herald*, 13 January 1978, p.8.
[939] 'Women to Serve in Army and Air Force', *Rhodesia Herald*, 28 June 1975, p.1.
[940] No Other Life: A Tribute to the Women of Rhodesia, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yACnZz6vtk8 [accessed 28 August 2017]
[941] 'New Beat for Women Reservists', *Rhodesia Herald*, 28 March 1978, p.7.
[942] Tanya Lyons, *Guns and Guerrilla Girls: Women in the Zimbabwean National Liberation Struggle* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2004), p.132.
[943] Interview with Maureen Moss, retired white woman, Harare, June 2015.

argued that the position of women on the railways 'sounds like a story of exploitation of cheap labour' and asked 'would any of the officers in our Administration allow this to happen to any of their wives?' Support for equal pay was articulated as a component part of 'gentlemanly' behaviour. The men of the Administration were accused of brutishness through allowing women to work in such degraded conditions. This agitation relied on constructing women workers as possessions of working men. The *Review* reminded its members of its motto 'united we stand', with the addition that '*They belong to us* and they are entitled to our support.'[944]

In 1973 a Committee of Lady Members was formed to deal specifically with the issues faced by women on the railways.[945] Women within RRWU argued that as they had been 'expected to do the same work as a man' they must be paid the same wage. They added that they had often trained male recruits and corrected the work completed by their male superiors.[946] In 1975 women were offered the opportunity to be made permanent as long as they were below sixty years old in a bid to stabilise the railway staff. A married woman, it was noted, 'should no longer be looked upon as occupying a chair awaiting single employees becoming available.' In industry and commerce women were already treated as permanent staff and the railways belatedly acknowledged that they were behind the times by continuing to treat women as transient and part time additions. Yet most semi-skilled and skilled women preferred to work in commerce and industry which offered higher wages than those on the railways.[947] Nevertheless, this change in employment practices was reflected in the *Review*, as more and more space was devoted to the newer women's section of the journal, despite the focus remaining on beauty and home-keeping.

Male trade union support for women was ultimately mediated through conservative gender ideologies and the RRWU reminded their members that they were 'not advocating for the women's lib.'[948] Perhaps as a consequence of the belated support to women on the railways and the often temporary nature of their employment, women's participation in the RRWU had remained low across the colonial period. In 1976 one hundred and fifty women were members of the RRWU, despite the railways employing

---

[944] Sotto Voce, 'Lady Clerks', *RRR*, February 1976, p.15. Italics my emphasis.
[945] 'Bulawayo no. 2 Branch Notes', *RRR*, October 1973.
[946] *RRR*, April 1974, p.13.
[947] 'Umtali no.4 Branch Notes', *RRR*, March 1974, p.12.
[948] Sotto Voce, 'Lady Clerks', *RRR*, February 1976, p.15.

in excess of seven hundred women.[949] Moreover, resistance to women's employment persisted from sections of the railway staff. Many railwaymen did not support the idea of married women in employment, claiming it debarred single women from promotion. Specifically, wives of railwaymen were blamed for taking unnecessary work from single women.[950] That wives of railwaymen, rather than married women more generally, were mentioned indicates that this resistance, at least in part, came from a desire of railwaymen to keep their own wives in the home. The role of the railwayman's wife was idealised as supportive to her breadwinner and there was considerable pressure to conform to a particular pristine appearance.[951] Women were accused of not playing their part in relieving demoralisation on the railways by failing in their duties of beautification:

> any modern suburban scene in the morning can testify to the bleary
> eyed wives, in rollers and nondescript costume, seeing husbands off to
> work. No wonder the man has little to boost him on his way.[952]

Women working on the railways were subject to similar scrutiny. The dress of 'our Lady members' was noted as causing discontent, although at least one branch scribe took some sympathy with the women:

> Surely if the ladies are neat in appearance and conform to the
> requirements of modesty and cleanliness, taking into account what
> they can afford for clothing and cosmetics, what must they do to please
> some of the gentlemen?[953]

The reference to 'what they can afford' to spend suggests that this may have been directed at some of the poorer women on the railways. Nevertheless, changing work patterns demanded that white unions modify their attitude to female labour. By 1978 RRWU were arguing for a united pay structure of thirteen pay grades, in effect assuring 'rate for the job', while acknowledging there was a need for a reduction in the wage gap between skilled and unskilled grades.[954] The Unified Pay Structure was agreed upon and came into effect in November 1978 which prohibited discrimination between sexes. RRWU membership fees between men and women were equalised in light of formal

---

[949] Brian Holleran, 'Railways' Proposals for Lady Employees!', *RRR* October 1976, p.9. 'Clerical Identification Survey', *RRR*, December 1977, p.9.
[950] *RRWU Conference*, 1973, p.6.
[951] See also Godwin and Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die.* p.32.
[952] Solange Bertrand, 'Wife's Morning Looks can Boost or Bomb', *RRM*, p.44.
[953] 'Bulwayo no. 2 Branch Notes', *RRR*, May 1974, p.12.
[954] 'Unified Conditions of Employment', *RRR*, April 1978, p.11.

pay equality.[955] Yet white women across the country would have to wait for independence for the principle of equal pay to be established in law.

Independence looms

The resolve of employers to Africanise certain positions hardened as shortages intensified. They pushed for job fragmentation and the need to increase apprenticeships for all races with renewed vigour.[956] The rigid five year apprenticeship was castigated as outdated and there were moves to reduce the number of years an individual had to train before achieving journeyman status. Roy Welensky, in contrast to the opinion espoused by his own old union, argued that Africans needed to be trained, especially in painting, welding and bricklaying. He pointed out that white women had learned skills very quickly during the Second World War and there was no reason why Africans could not take up skills with similar rapidity. Attempting to fix particular occupations as white was useless, he declared

> I can remember when every lorry driver had to be white...tell me
> where do you see white lorry drivers in this country today?[957]

The chairman of Rio Tinto Rhodesia, a Spanish multinational mining corporation, urged immediate training for Africans. He indicated that progress had been made and that by 1978, grades that had previously been entirely white were now at least thirteen percent African.[958] The President of Bulawayo Chamber of Industries explicitly called for an end to current racialised employment practices and demanded that employers pursue an 'independent economic policy...geared to destroying the established and traditional pressure of the colour bar in commerce and industry'.[959]

In 1969 one letter to the *Review* pointed out, working men had supported the RF in order to maintain rate for the job, but 'this confidence was misplaced, to say the very least, in the face of the unease about the depression of standards that is rife at this moment.'[960] Sections of the RF were keen to protect white workers but they were a minority. Mr Newington, the Front's MP for Hillcrest, repeatedly asserted the importance of protection of white workers who, he continually reminded the party, had

---

[955] 'Membership Fees: Females', *RRR*, October 1980, p.5.
[956] 'Employers Back Principle of Rate for the Job', *Rhodesia Herald*, 15 May 1974, p.10. Crookes, 'Labour Problems in Rhodesia', pp.2-3.
[957] 'Sir Roy Urges: Train Africans', *Rhodesia Herald*, 29 March 1974, p.9.
[958] 'Employing Expatriates Uneconomic - Rickards', *Business Herald*, 25 May 1978, p.1.
[959] 'Train More Africans for Top Jobs - Plea', *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 May 1974, p.3.
[960] Fairfax, 'Letters to the Editor', *RRR*, February 1969, p.13.

elected them. Newington found support from other MPs including Glieg and Sutton Pryce, both of whom represented wards populated by lower class Europeans. They shared the viewpoint of many white workers that the skilled labour shortage was a consequence of the failure of employers to appreciate their skilled workforce and accused employers of exploiting unskilled and elderly whites.[961] In particular Newington argued that there was a problem of finding work for the unskilled as 'it is a known fact of nature that no matter how intelligent the parents may be it does not follow automatically that their children are going to be blessed with the same academic prowess.' He noted an 'alarming' number of 'sub-standard youngsters coming out of European, Coloured and Asian schools' and felt that the RF had a responsibility to find them employment. Newington estimated at least twenty five percent of whites were 'below average in capacity and ability' and found it increasingly difficult to find employment. Despite assurances from other RF MPs that job opportunities were sufficient, he asked:

> If there is no deterioration in job opportunity, one wonders where all
> the European women have gone who used to operate the cash desks in
> the supermarkets, where have all the European barmen gone, the
> receptionists, many of the telephone operators? Where have all the
> long-distance European road motor service drivers gone, except on the
> railways; where have all the building artisans gone?[962]

This image harked back to previous idealisations of a white man's country populated by hardy Europeans fulfilling all levels of employment in society. It was an imagined past, which like its previous incarnations erased the reality of the centrality of African labour, but one which nonetheless engendered the image of a mythical pantheon of pioneering white workers.

While removed from the heyday of the white radicalism of the RLP and Jack Keller, the RRWU nonetheless continued to propagate an image of itself through the language of class struggle. When retrenchment plans were announced in 1963 the RRWU responded 'let the economies and cuts start at the top'.[963] They retained ideas of difference between the 'productive staff', i.e. the grades represented by their union, in contrast to the supervisory and managerial staff who were dismissed as unnecessary addendums to the actual running of the railways.[964] The *Review* continued to print 'songs of the working

[961] M.W. Beaton, 'No Racial Restriction in Training', *Rhodesia Herald*, 10 May 1974, p.14.
[962] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1973, pp.1669-1770.
[963] 'Umtali Branch no.4', *RRR*, March 1963, p.32.
[964] *RRWU Conference*, 1963, p.45.

man'. 'The happy paysheet clerk', written by a clerk in Bulawayo appeared alongside several songs from *Songs of Work and Freedom,* a collection of folk songs from the US which glorified trade union struggle, class warfare and denounced the inequalities engendered by capitalism.[965] It also continued to carry biographies of leading figures including Herbert Walsh and Davy Payne and their struggles to establish trade unionism in Rhodesia.[966] There was a sense of class division and an identity rooted in the concept of a working man. The fact that the sweeping tide of decolonisation had failed to breach the white minority of Rhodesia was explained with allusions to this identity. Whereas other white settlements had failed, it was the presence of a particular type of white worker, which, in the eyes of one trade unionist, set Rhodesia apart; white workers were foundational to sustained white rule. One letter to the *Review* heralded this proletarian character of the remaining white bastions in Africa:

> My first impression of Rhodesia, after Kenya, was the throbbing vitality of the place. I saw grime-streaked Europeans shovelling coal and building houses, building a nation. I saw men sitting in a bar after a hard day's work with calloused hands and sweat-matted hair. I saw a people confident of the future who were prepared to perform all the tasks that had built a civilisation in the lands of their origin. I saw men who recognised that they could not create by sitting and looking. These people were proud and eager. I soon learned that this was the secret that stamped Rhodesia as different to the other African countries I had known. The white collar and the desk did not constitute the pinnacle of ambition for these Europeans.[967]

The manual labour they had performed had *built the nation itself.* It was not high statesmen, colonial officials or industrial leaders who were responsible for the emergence of Rhodesia; it was the working man. They saw a country which they had built up in sweat and grime. Their calloused hands were proof of their struggle and sacrifice as well as a physical expression of their difference from the high statesmen and aristocrats of other colonies who had failed to create and maintain spheres of civilisation in Africa. It also fed into growing dissatisfaction and alienation from the 'colonial office' types. Guy van Eeden wrote in *The Crime of Being White*, that despite the progress and civilisation bestowed upon Africans by settlers, the uppity types of the colonial office who were described as a pompous mass of inward-looking toffs, frustrated this progress through working against the settlers and 'encouraging the nationalists'.[968] As well as

---

[965] 'Songs of the Working Man', *RRR*, September 1962, p.16.
[966] See 'Rhodesian Trade Union History', *RRR*, June 1974, pp.4-6.
[967] Eildon, Bulawayo Branch no.2, *RRR*, December 1968, p.13.
[968] van Eeden, *Crime of Being White*, pp.54; 58.

drawing on images of white Rhodesians as an oppressed minority, this also reflected growing pride in relative poverty; a pride in enduring hardship, in resourcefulness. It was precisely the idea that they had struggled, and built civilisation 'with their hands' as the famous song by Rhodesian folk singer Clem Tholet proclaimed, which imbued a sense of rights and entitlement.[969]

One woman wrote into the *Herald* to stress the hardship whites had faced and recalled how her father, an engineer, had to do the work of 'an unqualified man' while the family lived in 'a small one-bedroomed flat'.[970] White trade unions were keen to stress how this struggle was one that they continued to endure. Such hardships were simultaneously glorified and bemoaned. Suffering could be romantic, but also shameful and demeaning. RALE complained of being overworked, single men's accommodation was described as 'stone boxes which often do not favourably compare even, with the stables provided for horses and it would appear that in some areas these single men are expected to live on grass.'[971] There was particular concern over the impact of rising prices and the effect this was having on the lower grades. In 1974 they complained that while the media covered recent investigations into the African urban poverty datum line, much less was said about white pensioners many of whom were 'required to subsist, or barely survive, on pensions lower than those figures shown in the survey'. As Europeans had higher 'basic needs' the RRWU pressed that 'it leaves much to the imagination when one tries to visualise the type of meals these senior citizens are compelled to concoct, brought from the residue of the pension after the other compulsory needs have been met.'[972] The elderly and the young, both evocative of vulnerability, were often used in this way to elicit emotive responses. Newington reported that in his constituency three male European pensioners had to come out of retirement to take on work to supplement their income. They were trained technical storeman who had been hired at two thirds what they have been paid previously, which was gradually reduced to one third before they were ultimately replaced by Africans.[973] What is interesting here is that these were *skilled* men; while it had been accepted that less educated and unskilled Europeans had a certain degree of instability, this signalled an attack on what was thought to be safeguarded employment. These accounts were not only used to highlight how certain

[969] Clem Tholet, *With his Hands*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DVLS8ny0HUU> [accessed 27 August 2017].
[970] Jeanette Creswell, 'It Took Determination, Hard Work, Resilience', *Rhodesia Herald*, 16 May 1974, p.8.
[971] *The Locomotive Express*, August 1972, pp.6-8.
[972] 'President's Notes', *RRR*, November 1974, p.5.
[973] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1971, p.1984.

individuals had been treated; they functioned as prophetic warnings. Individual tales were allegorical for white workers *tout court*. These elderly men were figures of vulnerability, first undercut then completely ousted.

In the early 1970s lower class Europeans in the country were described as being in a state of unrest over wages. Gleig, Sutton-Pryce and Newington made several remarkably anachronistic and uneconomical demands in parliament. Employers were encouraged to pay inflated wages, with Mr Gleig arguing that in order to keep their skilled workers, employers must pay reasonable wages to their white semi-skilled staff who were after all the sons and daughters of the skilled.[974] Sutton Pryce advocated that employers should take it upon themselves to find out whether particular jobs were desired by Europeans and if they were, that they should see to it that a reasonable salary was offered - in essence suggesting employers voluntarily increase their own wage bill. Newington argued that a lack of adequate pensions and unemployment benefit had caused 'thousands' of Europeans to emigrate.[975] These MPs who argued for protective measures were generally glibly dismissed by the rest of the party. When Newington denounced incursions into 'European jobs' in parliament he was shut down by the Minister of Labour who questioned what was meant by 'European jobs' pointing out that this category had shifted over time.[976] Whereas the demarcating lines of 'white work' had always been contested many in the RF had begun to reject the very concept of a 'white job'.

This was begrudgingly recognised by some trade unionists. In one letter from a regular contributor to the *Review* it was claimed that the 'rate for the job' had failed to hold up the colour bar; it was a well-established fact that Africans performed jobs which used to be the sole preserve of Europeans. He continued that the immigration policy was fundamentally flawed if rate for the job was the only protection for white workers:

> I appreciate that those who possess certain skills are in demand,
> but what of their future? What of the future of their children? If
> anything is beyond doubt it is the fact that all our children are
> potential geniuses, fitted only for higher education and white-
> collar work. If the opportunity ceases to exist for your son to build
> a wall and for my son to plaster a ceiling and for Nobby Clark's
> boy to fire an engine then we may as well pack our bags and take

---

[974] See Clarke, *Distribution of Income and Wealth,* on how unskilled whites linked to skilled whites by familial connection.
[975] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1973, pp.1669-1770; pp.1783-1788; p.1890.
[976] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1971, p.1984; p.1899; p.2002.

ourselves to some part of the world where this type of work is still considered to be honest and honourable employment[977]

When occupations became 'black', their respectability and transformative potential was sapped from them. Work could become infected by African hands. There was a tacit recognition that not all whites could secure skilled employment; whites did not have an inherent intelligence or skill that would protect them. The answer, this trade unionist argued, was explicit job reservation for whites. He warned against 'buying that house and building that swimming pool' as they would not be enjoyed by white children. The reference to 'Nobby Clark', which was English slang for clerks associated with the richer middle class, reveals how these narratives warned that even the children of the wealthy would not be spared the humiliation of poverty and unemployment.

The Minister of Labour responded to Newington et al that there were already safeguards put in place for substandard Europeans; those who failed to meet entry requirements for apprenticeships on academic grounds could still be admitted if they were recommended by apprenticeship authority.[978] Yet generally protection for such whites could not be afforded under the RF. The unskilled European could not be uplifted.[979] In theory the RF was dedicated to upholding the colour bar. Its 1962 Principles and Policies declared that 'the party will protect the standards of skilled workers against the exploitation of cheap labour'.[980] Yet while deploring job fragmentation as 'lowering standards', the Ministry of Labour highlighted the need for flexibility with regards to technological advance and therefore, 'motivations [when applied in] good sense, goodwill and a real concern for the interests of the country as a whole, and not merely their own self-interest' were to be encouraged, while 'motivations inspired by a desire to exploit cheap labour are to be deplored.'[981] The Minister of Labour repeatedly stated that under no circumstance would he or the cabinet interfere in industrial councils but that technological changes meant that there must be some flexibility in labour.[982] Thus he stated that if employers and employees 'freely - and I emphasise the word freely - decide on measures which appear to constitute fragmentation, they obviously have argued the

[977] Eildon, Bulawayo Branch no.2, *RRR*, December 1968, p.13.
[978] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1971, p.2048; p.2061.
[979] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1971, p.2028-2029; p.2057.
[980] ICOMM: *Rhodesian Front Principles and Policies*, 1962, p.2.
[981] Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, *Governments Policy on Labour* (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1971), pp.6-7.
[982] Quoted in Crookes, 'Labour Problems in Rhodesia', p.5.

matter out without duress or under any pressures and have had domestic reasons for including in their agreements'.[983]

Of course white trade unionists protested that they had been coerced into accepting such agreements. White workers could not expect to receive unconditional support from the RF. The RF's traditional power base came from professional, managerial and agricultural groups. Despite polling well amongst white workers and the fact that the Member of Parliament for Bellevue, Wally Stuttaford, had been a railwayman before entering politics, only two Front MPs could be considered to be from 'artisan' stock.[984] White workers were subordinated partners in the Front. Frustration over the failure of the RF government to secure white worker's standard of living and uncertainty about the future saw white workers turn to more militant activity. When members of the AEU at Broken Hill demanded that six permanent posts be instated at the Motive Power Depot and the rate of basic pay for artisans be increased by 4/10 an hour they issued an ultimatum declaring they would strike if these demands were not met. On the 3rd August 1964 AEU members went on strike lasting eleven days while its 2000 members in Southern Rhodesia worked to rule in support. The AEU demonstrated their importance as the government despaired that 'a comparatively small number of people [could] break the railway system'.[985] The strike cost the Administration an estimated £700,000.[986] While the South African railway union leant its support by refusing to accept goods consigned to Northern Rhodesia and the African RAWU declared its 'moral support', the RRWU refused to support the AEU.[987] The RRWU belatedly issued a directive for its northern members to strike from the 14th to prevent the organisation looking ineffective. However, the strike was not unanimously supported amongst RRWU members. Gwelo defied the Executive Committee orders to work to rule, which was in any case declared ineffectual by management. This must have been particularly galling for the RRWU, as the AEU's action a week earlier had caused a severe backlog of goods.[988] Yet what this revealed most was the division within the ranks of RRWU. While Livingstone branch no.1 members felt 'that to have to gone back to work when they did was capitulation in the face of Government threats and Management non-cooperation', other members resigned from the union because they disagreed with strike

---

[983] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1965, pp.614-5.
[984] Godwin and Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die,* p.58.
[985] 'Big Tonnages of Goods Pile up From Rail Strike', *Rhodesia Herald*, 6 August 1964, p.1.
[986] 'Emergency Action Threat by NR Government Ends Rail Strike', *Rhodesia Herald*, 19 August 1964, p.1.
[987] 'AEU Bans Overtime in S. Rhodesia', *Rhodesia Herald*, 5 August 1964, p.1.
[988] 'Work to Rule has No Effect of Rail Operation in S. Rhodesia', *Rhodesia Herald*, 18 August 1964, p.1.

action.[989] This reflected the differing pressures upon workers staffed north of the border, but also reflected fears and pressures intensifying upon white workers. Importantly, it demonstrated that some white workers would not refrain from taking strike action out of loyalty to the RF.

The RRWU warned not to make idle threats about strike action and argued that 'threats made for appearance sake, without the knowledge of a substantial majority backing in support of required actions to initiate such threats, are made by irresponsible elements, and end up like the fable of the boy who cried wolf once too often.'[990] This seems to have stemmed from a perennial hostility to any action which took place outside of the formal structures and hierarchies of the RRWU, rather than an outright rejection of strike action. It was not just the apparent retreat from protecting white standards of living which alienated white workers from the Front. White trade unionists resented interference in their internal workings and increasing powers given to the Minister of Labour. In 1967 the Railway Industry Act of 1949 was replaced by the Industrial Conciliation Act, which applied to other industries across Rhodesia. The Railways Act allowed for eight representatives from the Railways, six from RRWU and two from AEU. However the ICA sought to equalise representation to include the African RAWU, much to the dismay of the white unions.[991] The AEU increasingly protested the national labour policy and argued that successive ICAs had restricted freedom of association and the rights of trade unions. While the government sought to control the funding of unions under the guise of preventing communist infiltration into African unions the AEU claimed that 'in reality the restrictions introduced were equally restrictive to organised European labour and possibly more so.' The policy of the RF, it was claimed, was leading to a future 'with unions as puppets of the State performing according to a predetermined and regimented pattern of behaviour.'[992]

Considerable anger was mounting in response to the RF's actions against white industrial action. In 1969 railway staff were offered an 8.5 percent pay rise which was rejected by all three unions.[993] From the 4th November the RRWU worked to rule and

---

[989] Eildon, 'Livingstone Branch Notes', *RRR*, December 1964, p.15.
[990] 'From the President', *RRR*, December 1976, p. 3.
[991] 'Editorial', *RRR*, June 1967, p.1.
[992] *The AEU of Rhodesia and the Rights of A Free Trade Union* (Bulawayo: Mardon Printers, 1967), pp.29-30. In 1967 the AEU boasted a paid membership of over 5000 and claimed to represent the interests of over 24,000 employees in Rhodesia under industrial conciliation laws who worked primarily across the Rhodesia Railways, Engineering and Motor Manufacturing Industries, the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company and the Bulawayo Municipality.
[993] Godwin and Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die,* p.24.

250

placed a ban on overtime from the 5th. When the AEU announced it would take strike action on the 14th the next day the Government promulgated the Emergency Powers, (Maintenance of Railway Services) Regulations which prohibited railwaymen from taking strike action. The Regulations were only repealed in February 1970.[994] Amendments to the ICA in 1971 attempted to extend the ban on strikes into other industries. However the Minister of Labour was pressured by the white TUC to forego an outright prohibition of strikes, but strikes could still be illegal if the President decided it 'would prejudice the public interest.'[995] RRWU decried 'the millstone hung round our necks by Legislation...which restricts our liberty as Railwaymen and working men...[I would] rather talk than strike...but I object to my right to do so being taken away from me arbitrarily.'[996] In 1973 the President of RRWU resigned quoting that Government interference in trade unions was 'destroying the instrument which differentiates us from totalitarianism *in whatever form it may take*.'[997] There is an implicit assertion here that Rhodesia, with its staunch anti-communism was becoming just as authoritarian as communist regimes with state-controlled unions. Rhodesia was a frontline state surrounded by an ever-growing number of independent African states dominated by political leadership which, at least in rhetoric, subscribed to Marxism-Leninism. It also had to defend itself from ZAPU and ZANU, variously funded by the USSR and China, as well as the more explicitly Marxist ZIPA.[998] Anti-communism had an urgency for Rhodesia within the Cold War context which was far removed from the experiences of, for example, the UK. Anti-communism thus formed a large part of dominant political rhetoric and justifications for military action. While trade unions had been consistently anti-communist, they did not shy aware from the language of class and attempted to use the Front's denunciation of communist totalitarianism against the party's own policies.

Fears about majority rule were fuelled by horror stories of treatment of whites in decolonised territories. Railwaymen often used the experiences of their white counterparts in Zambia in assessing their future fortunes. From Zambia, European railwaymen wrote to the *Review* complaining that the ascendance of Ian Smith had worsened racial tensions between employees north of the Zambezi. Particularly

---

[994] *RRWU Conference*, 1970, p.19.
[995] Godwin and Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die,* p.23.
[996] 'Salisbury no.1 Branch Notes', *RRR*, October 1974, p.13.
[997] 'Valedictory Message from Jim Kinley, Ex President of the Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union', *RRR*, October 1973, pp.3-4.
[998] See Sue Onslow (eds), *Cold War in Southern Africa: White Power, Black Liberation* (Abingdon: Routedge, 2009).

unnerving to European employees was the new-found confidence of Africans under an independent state. One European railwayman professed that the white workers were entirely apolitical and simply wanted to work but

> two Africans, representing themselves to be Officials of UNIP, trespassed on to Club premises and began arguments about racial prejudice in the Club. One member objected to being called "comrade", and with a mild Anglo-Saxon adjective, told them so. The outcome was an accusation that the European threatened to kill them., etc., etc. Whilst this is entirely false, it could lead on to more trouble and reprisals.[999]

What proved most unnerving was the apparent nerve Africans had to enter European social spaces and challenge European behaviour. The RRWU accused African trade unions in newly independent states of being tools of nationalist governments. The United National Independence Party (UNIP) came under heavy criticism, in particular for apparently threatening the African Mine Workers Union in order to prevent them from taking strike action on the Copperbelt. RRWU accused UNIP politicians of intimidating African trade union leaders and using 'gangs of loafers who threatened to kill anyone who obeyed the decision to strike'.[1000] In these narratives independence would signal the end of trade unionism and democratic organisations. Accusations of nationalist infiltration were not purely instrumental in order to de-legitimise real demands and discontent of African workers. This was a particular fear of the AMWR who noted that over half of the Wankie workforce was comprised of Africans from Northern Rhodesia. At the Wankie Colliery strike in 1964 the AMWR noted women were wearing UNIP badges and that the crowds shouted UNIP slogans. They reported intimidation and violence towards 'ordinary' Africans who wanted to return to work.[1001]

Some white workers increasingly rejected the ruling government and offered support to parties to the political right of the RF. Disillusioned trade unionists had broken away from the Front in 1969 in order to set up the Republican Alliance, which promised to uphold segregation and prevent majority rule. Its principles stated a commitment to pass laws, the rate for the job, 'to protect from cheap labour' and unemployment, to review multiracial trade unions, to oppose job fragmentation and to create white jobs, white social security and separate education for whites and Africans. It was also staunchly

---

[999] 'Kafue Branch Notes', *RRR*, June 1965, p.15.
[1000] 'Concern over Future of Trade Unionism in Northern Rhodesia', *RRR*, September 1962, p.4.
[1001] 'Wankie Colliery Strike from Monday, March 2nd to March 9th, 1964', *Granite Review*, May 1964, pp.2-5.

anti-communist and opposed to 'political' and wildcat strikes.[1002] Despite these policies which were aimed to garner lower class white support the popularity of the Republican Alliance amongst workers should not be overstated. In the 1970 general election the Republican Alliance were overwhelmed.[1003] While two executive members of AEU were members of the Alliance, they received considerable backlash as over eighty lay members of the AEU petitioned that the two men resign from the party.[1004] White labour was never a homogenous block, and did not respond in a uniform way to the impending changes. However, the RF were not only worried about being outflanked from the right. Newington argued that government policy could have the unintended effect of pushing European workers into multiracial alliances, in which they would be 'forced to side with dissident and anti-government elements.'[1005] White worker radicalisation remained a fear; never fully incorporated, white workers continued to be treated with suspicion as suggestible and potentially subversive elements of society in need of conciliation and policing.

In 1976 the Rhodesian Front finally accepted proposals for majority rule within two years. In the same year the RRWU leadership threatened that 'the economy of this country will rely, and possibly depend upon, the efficient running of the Railways during the period of any government, transitional or otherwise. I am fully aware, as are government ministers, of the chaos which would result from a unified action of determined railwaymen fighting for their rights.'[1006] One letter printed in the *Herald* argued that while most white workers would put up 'with the hardships of war' they would not suffer the indemnities inflicted by employers who continued to increase workloads but not salaries. The writer claimed that he had applied for fifty jobs in a three month period and attended six interviews but had got no further in finding a job despite having considerable experience in sales and administration. He argued that he had no choice but emigration: 'I hate to leave this country which I consider home, but there is an old saying that "you get what you pay for"'.[1007] Another letter demanded compensation for whites who lost their jobs under Africanisation, suggesting eighteen

---

[1002] NAZ: GEN-P/REP, Republican Alliance, Principles and Policies.
[1003] In the election the Republican Alliance received the following percentage of the vote in these districts: Bellevue, 10.5; Belvedere, 6.2; Bulawayo North, 5.5; Bulawayo South, 8.6; Gwelo, 12; Jameson, 14.9; Mabelreign, 7.3; Queen's Park, 8.3; Raylton, 4.4; Salisbury Central, 16.9; Salisbury City, 5.3; Selukwe, 10; Umtali West, 2.5; Waterfalls, 11.2.
[1004] Godwin and Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die.* p.324.
[1005] Dorothy Davies, *Race Relations in Rhodesia: A Survey for 1972-3* (London: Rex Collings 1975), p.424.
[1006] 'From the President', *RRR*, December 1976, p.3.
[1007] 'Disheartened, 'Exodus due to Policies of Employers', *Rhodesia Herald*, 28 January 1978, p.6.

months salary, or three years salary for those over forty-five, reflecting a pervasive fear about the future of white pensioners. He further demanded that Europeans should be able to sell their houses to the State at 'reasonable valuation' paid in cash while unemployed Europeans wanting to leave should have their fares paid.[1008] Fears surfaced over lower class whites without capital who might be stranded under an African government without financial assistance. Moreover, there was an attempt to secure European pensions in the transition to majority rule. The RF attempted to prevent the Old Age Pensions Repeal Bill which would get rid of the means tested pensions of Coloureds, Asians and Europeans which they argued meant that 'impoverished old people will in the future have to go cap in hand to Government Bureaucrats to ask for what was once theirs by right.'[1009] This is an image of deference; it portrayed old pioneers who would have to beg to Africans for their 'rights'. While civil servants and MPs had their pensions guaranteed railwaymen were concerned that they would lose their pensions if they left the country.[1010]

By 1977 the RF had reneged on all of its founding principles.[1011] Majority rule was inevitable. Wage freezes were announced in February 1977 to curb inflation.[1012] The RRWU initially accepted the freezes, acknowledging that 'a war is being waged and that it has to be paid for' but emphasised that 'we were given an assurance from Mr. Smith **that the burden would be shared.**'[1013] However, the RRWU argued that the Civil Service, Railways and Statutory Bodies including Municipal Workers, were being forced to 'bear the brunt of the burden of deficit.'[1014] White workers feared not only ever growing numbers of Africans in 'their' jobs, but in residential spaces imagined as suburban white enclaves. In October 1977 it was announced that Lochinvar, a residential area for white railway employees, was to become multiracial. By January 1978 Sixty-nine families had moved out of the area, most relocating to Waterfalls (those

---

[1008] G. Scott, 'Guarantees on European Employment', *Rhodesia Herald*, 6 January 1978, p.10.
[1009] 'Pensions: RF Battle all But Lost', *Rhodesia Herald*, 6 October 1979, p.1.
[1010] 'Railmen Are Worried About Pension Payments Externally', *Business Herald*, 18 May 1978, p.1.
[1011] Godwin and Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die,* p.179.
[1012] 'Wage Restraint has Helped -Minister', *Rhodesia Herald*, 15 March 1978, p.1. 'Prices and Wages', *Rhodesia Herald*, 18 March 1978, p.6.
[1013] Emphasis in the original. 'From the General Secretary's Desk', *RRR*, April 1977, p.2.
[1014] 'Assistant General Secretary Addresses the Association of Lecturers in Further Education', *RRR*, April 1977, p.5.

who moved claimed that they left Lochinvar because of a lack of schools rather than fears of African neighbours.)[1015]

The Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism pleaded for whites to stay in Rhodesia and promised that there would be 'no Africanisation for the sake of Africanisation' while the Minister of Commerce and Industry proclaimed there would be a place for skilled whites in the country as trainers of Africans.[1016] Yet assurances did little to thwart white emigration which only compounded skilled labour shortages. While Rhodesia sustained a net gain of white immigration which, apart from a blip in 1966 due to uncertainty over UDI, increased from 1965 to 1971, immigration fell from 1971. This ultimately sounded the death knell for the white skilled monopoly.[1017] The net migration of economically active men decreased from 3288 to 701 from 1972-3. The figures for women decreased from 135 to minus 408.[1018] Between seventy and eighty percent of the skilled workforce had emigrated by 1980.[1019] In Rhodesia unskilled white workers had always benefitted from the bargaining strength of their skilled counterparts.[1020] Many low paid Europeans were supported by familial networks which included skilled members, who were now leaving in their droves. Coupled with the removal of a racialised welfare state, skilled and unskilled alike who remained would see their remaining privileges eroded. The fate of white workers' protected position was ultimately tied to the fate of Rhodesia itself.

Conclusion

For white workers, protecting standards and civilisation was synonymous with upholding the colour bar and the gendered division of labour. Yet despite promises to protect these white standards, under the RF the colour bar had become untenable and Africans entered skilled work in ever greater numbers. The state's ideological commitment to the settler family saw continued discrimination against white women's employment. Some women struggled against unequal employment practices and argued

[1015] 'Getting on With It', *Rhodesia Herald*, 7 January 1978, p.4. 'Lack of Schools Upsets Lochinvar', *Rhodesia Herald*, 7 January 1978, p.1. 'Rail Families Moving out of Lochinvar', *Rhodesia Herald*, 12 January 1978, p.9.
[1016] 'Gabellah Gives Assurance to Whites', *Rhodesia Herald*, 30 May 1978, p.1. 'Dont Rush to Bridge the Wage Gap', *Rhodesia Herald*, 18 May 1978, p.2.
[1017] In the last seven months of 1972 ten percent of RALE members were lost to wastage. *The Locomotive Express*, January 1973, p.7.
[1018] 'Jobs Galore for Skilled Workers', *Rhodesia Herald*, 11 May 1974, p.4. See also *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 1971, p.754.
[1019] Xesha Madabu Ndlovu, *Manpower Planning in Rhodesia, 1965-1980: A History* (University of Zimbabwe, unpublished BA Hons dissertation, 2006), p.14.
[1020] See Duncan Clarke, *Distribution of Income and Wealth*.

for greater participation outside of the home, but the conservatism of Rhodesian society and the social experience of most white women who preferred their lives overseeing domestic labour in the home militated against the development of a women's movement. The struggle against the African nationalist movement took precedence. Nevertheless, as the 1970s progressed white women's roles as mothers and housewives was put under increasing stress as shortages intensified and military conscription disrupted daily life.

While boundaries over black and white and male and female work shifted over the century, during the 1970s the very concept of 'white work' came under scrutiny. Majority rule loomed on the horizon as Rhodesia became weaker under sanctions and intensified guerrilla war. A ceasefire was finally called in 1979 by which time 30,000 had died, 275,000 were wounded and 1.5 million refugees had been created by the conflict.[1021] The narrative that white workers had built the nation only added to the acridity of white workers' responses to impending independence. As pressure upon white workers mounted pretensions to multiracialism and a matter of maintaining 'standards' were abandoned in favour of more openly racist and segregationist discourse. As wage labourers, white workers held a variety of sectional interests but nevertheless generally shared an opposition to the dilution of the colour bar and to job fragmentation. In South Africa, miners experiencing similar threats of displacement and undercutting aligned themselves with right-wing groups and took strike action in protest at the National Party's shifts towards a series of reforms which removed white workers' state protection. However, the ineffectiveness of the strikes simply highlighted their political and economic weakness.[1022] In Rhodesia the notable lack of industrial struggle is generally indicative of both a tacit acceptance of defeat and acknowledgement of white worker weakness. The relationship of white workers to the RF is best characterised as a volatile cross-class alliance in which workers felt increasingly alienated and 'sold-out'. While the Lancaster House agreement afforded some protection to white land holders in the postcolonial state, the twenty safeguarded white seats in the majority rule government and reconciliatory statements made by Mugabe asking whites to stay did little to persuade many white wage labourers to remain. Fifty to sixty thousand whites left in the first four years of independence.[1023] By 1987 the European population had

---

[1021] Michael Evans, 'The Wretched of the Empire', p.176.
[1022] Danelle van Zyl-Hermann, '*Baas* or *Klaas*? Afrikaner Working-Class Responses to Transformation in South Africa, ca. 1977-2002', *International Labour and Working-Class History,* 86 (2014), pp.142-158.
[1023] Tevera, D. and J. Crush 2003 The New Brain Drain from Zimbabwe. Migration Policy Series No. 29, SAMP.

reduced to 110,000 from its peak of 278,000 in 1975.[1024] Clutching onto fantasies of white rule some relocated to apartheid South Africa. Others emigrated in the wake of increasing calls for indigenisation. By 2001 64,261 Zimbabwean-born whites were living in South Africa[1025] and only 28,732 Europeans were counted in the 2012 Zimbabwean census.[1026]

[1024] Alois Mlambo, 'A History of Zimbabwean Migration to 1990', in *Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival,* edited by Jonathan Crush and Daniel Tevera (Cape Town: SAMP, 2010), p.63.
[1025] Jonathan Crush and Daniel Tevera, 'Exiting Zimbabwe', *Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival,* edited by Jonathan Crush and Daniel Tevera (Cape Town: SAMP, 2010), p.5.
[1026] Zimbabwe Census 2012, p.22.
<https://web.archive.org/web/20140901192722/http://www.zimstat.co.zw/dmdocuments/Census/CensusResults2012/National_Report.pdf> [accessed 12 September 2017].

Conclusion

Rhodesian settler colonial society differed from other areas of British settlement in important respects; its idiosyncrasies sprung from its demographic and administrative peculiarities, but were also informed by the type of Europeans that were variously discouraged or incentivised to settle in the area. Rhodesia established a reputation quite distinct from the aristocratic excesses associated with the white highlands of Kenya or the poor whiteism and Afrikaner nationalism which characterised white South Africa. The Rhodesian state attempted to cultivate an image of the settler-colony as the British imperial destination for the aspirant and respectable working man and adventurous, yet subservient and family orientated woman. White agriculture formed an important and powerful block in the setter colonial structure; land apportionment and state intervention in white and African farming was hugely important in shaping how the colony developed and in the hardships Africans endured and the contentious inequalities which remain today. The image of hardy European farmers imposing promethean mastery over the African environment and transforming supposedly unused land into productive agricultural assets was used to obscure broader settler anxieties about European rule and the inequalities which underpinned European agricultural success. Yet, for the most part Europeans who migrated to Rhodesia settled in urban areas. Many were wage labourers who attempted to secure work with high status and skill or find a position which consisted of the supervision of African workers. It is the peculiarity of the condition of white wage labourers in Southern Rhodesia which has allowed for this thesis to make an original contribution to labour history and to histories of settler colonialism.

Broadly, this thesis has endeavoured to look at the manifestations and mutations of white worker identity; to examine the white labouring class as an ethnically and nationally heterogeneous formation comprised of both men and women; and to emphasise the active participation of white workers in the ongoing and contested production of race. Building on important work by Ian Phimister and Jon Lunn, this thesis has challenged the idea that white workers were easily incorporated into the settler community.[1027] Workers' nationalism and restraint in industrial matters was conditional upon ruling elites' commitment to protecting white workers interests. The existing historiography has been modified both by looking at under-researched areas of culture and identity, but also by extending the typical chronological focus pursued by labour historians. Struggles over the labour process and the racial division of labour

---

[1027] Phimister, 'White Workers'; *An Economic and Social History*; Lunn, *Capital and Labour.*

continued over the century and the boundaries of white work were repeatedly contested. Confusion about what constituted 'white work' was compounded by imperial flows of labour that both informed and disrupted white workers' ideologies and identities. Settler socialisation was a continual process and lower class immigrants provoked particular concern over their ability or willingness to act in ways which supported ideologies of racial difference. This concern extended not only to non-British whites and poor whites, but also to new arrivals who failed to meet middle class standards of Britishness, as demonstrated by reactions to the RAF recruits in Chapter Three. Moreover, in the early twentieth century the trade union bureaucracy was considered to be comprised of the most radical and politically engaged section of white workers in contrast to a supposedly apathetic rank and file which lacked political education and in many cases respectability. Yet, as demonstrated by Chapter Four, this was not necessarily accurate across the entire settler period. In some instances trade union bureaucracies were regarded as increasingly conservative and a barrier to militant action by sections of white workers. This was intensified by the imperial flows of labour which on occasion brought new radical currents into the rank and file. White workers' identities were shaped by the inevitable tensions resulting from earlier settlers' sense of Britishness being challenged by newcomers, but also by competing ideas over the appropriate role of trade unions and the 'correct' political allegiances of white workers.

The colour bar was of central importance to the ways in which white workers enforced notions of racial difference. White workers were involved in the production of race in specific ways as they pushed for segregation and fiercely guarded their own monopolies and privileges. Fears over African incursion were often articulated through the physical and representational contest over space which included attempts to remove Africans from the pavement, the workplace, the city and the suburbs, as well as social clubs, railway platforms and carriages, hospitals and schools. White workers' desires for African elimination from the labour process was hampered by capital's reliance on cheap African labour in the region, a lack of whites to fulfil all available positions, and their own desires to be waited upon by black domestic servants. Despite periodic attempts to invest menial manual labour with respect and dignity and appeals to create a large class of working class whites, this was never put into widespread practice. The boundaries of white work were fiercely guarded precisely because work was central to performances of race for this layer of settlers. The Rhodesian Nurses Association commemorated the first trained nurses in Rhodesia by arguing that 'this intrepid band of

girls were the real pioneers in geographical, political and economic history.'[1028] According to RALE, when George Stephenson drove the first locomotive he had not only brought forth a 'new means of Public Transport, BUT HE HAD ALSO BROUGHT TO BIRTH A NEW RACE OF MEN.'[1029] Workers laid claim to pioneering status through the physical work they performed; whether that be laying rails, mining, or nursing. This thesis has contended that work was transformative; it was an arena in which race, class and gender identities were forged, claimed and performed. Work enabled differentiation from racialised others and also from women through the delineation of certain types of work as 'white' and 'male'. Yet white work was always a deep source of ambivalence. One the one hand the very notion of 'white work' offered a means of differentiation from Africans and a source of pride, respectability and racial identity. On the other hand, the struggles over the boundaries of white work meant recognising that many Europeans did not have an innate higher productivity, ability or workmanship than Africans; it signalled that some Europeans could not secure white work without colour bars or protective measures from the state. Following Deborah Posel, David Roediger's concept of the psychological wage has been reworked for the settler-colonial context.[1030] The wages of whiteness were double edged; white skin could be a source of pride and status but also one of shame and dislocation. This humiliation was only deepened by the existence and actions of middle class Africans and African trade unions who challenged white workers' claims to superiority. Despite white affluence and a racialised occupational structure, not all whites secured unfettered wealth and neither did all white workers attain skilled or supervisory positions in the workplace. As white men increasingly failed to secure a monopoly over skilled work as the century progressed it is evident that once jobs became 'black', even if employers were willing to hire whites in the position, the respectability and therefore the desirability of the work had been compromised. Anxieties also sprung from concern over the presence of 'interstitial groups' amongst white workers, whether the physical proximity to Coloureds or doubts over the racial status of some workers who self-identified white. Nevertheless, the intricacies of complex racial hierarchies were not always obvious. Many of the internal debates between white workers reveal a considerable level of confusion over how race should be specifically structured into the

---

[1028] 'Address Given by Dr. J. Wakeford to Commemorate the 70th Anniversary of the First Rhodesian Trained Nurse', *Rhodesian Nurses Newsletter,* vol. 5, no. 2, June 1972, p.7.
[1029] *The Locomotive Express*, no.5, 15 October 1971, p.1
[1030] Roediger, *Wages*; Posel, 'Whiteness and Power'.

workplace as well as conflicting responses to African trade unionism, education and strike action.

This research has rectified a long-standing omission of lower class white women. It has argued that white women worked as wage labourers in greater numbers than has usually been acknowledged. The Great Depression was the first significant period in which white women were propelled into wage labour. This suggests that despite conservative notions of gender, women worked outside the home in order to increase household incomes and employers hired more women during this period in order to reduce labour costs. The Second World War and 1970s liberation war likewise saw women's roles expand as the increased participation of white men in military activity disrupted established labour practices. While for the most part women did not enter traditionally masculine occupations, the types of work deemed acceptable for white women were modified, particularly during wartimes, but also as a result of new immigrants arriving from Europe with different attitudes towards what constituted appropriate work for white women. Nevertheless, despite ongoing labour shortages the Rhodesian state pursued restrictive employment practices. The attitudes of male dominated trade unions towards white women's entrance into the labour force were informed by a degree of pragmatism; women were preferable to Africans and defending the colour bar was more important than maintaining a strict gendered division of labour. Women's employment was tolerated as a necessary measure if it was thought to prevent white families from becoming destitute. In other instances white women's employment was justified through emphasising it as a temporary or extraordinary measure. When white workers' organisations did agitate around women, it reinforced notions of white women's vulnerability which was contrasted with African men and employers. In turn white male workers constructed a white masculinity which located men as providers and defenders of women from the ravages of capitalism and exploitation. Yet women were not passive bearers of gender and racial ideologies and white women's struggles against unfair wages and marriage restrictions sometimes rested on the exclusion and oppression of African men and women. While many women took pride in particular occupations, the ways in which many women performed their racial identities also relied on the work of those they depended upon rather than their own formal labour and was expressed through the home or in the community.

This thesis has not aimed to provide a comprehensive narrative account of white workers across the period of minority rule. Rather, it has drawn upon significant events

and day to day activities which highlight the ways in which racial identity was produced. There is more research to be done in this area. With access to the National Archives of Zimbabwe more attention can be paid to other types of workers, such as builders, those employed in the manufacturing industry as well as civil servants. More precise data on white women's employment during the 1970s would provide a better picture of the impact of the war on white gender roles. Further research would benefit from comparative work into other geographical regions. Already some work has been completed in this regard between South Africa and the US.[1031] Colonial Kenya, Zambia, Malawi, South Africa, Portuguese Angola and Mozambique as well as French Algeria could provide fruitful points of comparison which illustrate the complex relationships between white workers, the state and employers within settler colonial contexts.

This research has also outlined important historical antecedents for current conceptualisations of the white population. Meanings attached to poor whiteism were contested and went through several transformations across the colonial period. Today, the figure of the poor white has again been reworked. Other familiar figures of white vulnerability have become central to the ways in which white identity is represented, particularly the elderly and infirm. These vulnerable whites are hailed as a failure of postcolonial government, and specifically land upheavals of the early 2000s. In 2009 the British *Telegraph* lamented that

> Fred Noble, a 78-year-old Scot, will return to Fife this weekend, 51 years after he and his wife departed with £100 for what was then Britain's Crown Colony of Southern Rhodesia. He worked for Rhodesian Railways, retiring on a pension with medical aid 13 years ago...About 1,500 other Zimbabwean pensioners have no foreign citizenship, no family and no means of escape.[1032]

These narratives draw heavily upon images of the white 'aristocrats of labour' who 'built civilisation' and made Rhodesia's economy thrive, but who now lie abandoned in a failed pariah state. Comparative research into the ways in which lower class whites have articulated their struggle to maintain their position into the postcolonial period could

---

[1031] Peter Alexander and Rick Halpern, *Racialising Class, Classifying Race: Labour and Difference in Britain, the USA, and Africa* (New York: St. Martin's Press, in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford, 2000). Peter Alexander and Rick Halpern, 'Introduction: Comparing Race and Labour in South Africa and the United States', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 1, (2004), pp.5-18.
[1032] Peta Thornycroft, 'Zimbabwe's Destitute Britons to be Repatriated', *The Telegraph*, 28 May 2008 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe/5394171/Zimbabwes-destitute-Britons-to-be-repatriated.html> [accessed 12 September 2017]. The charity referred to here is Zimbabwe A National Emergency (ZANE).

reveal the mutations which white identity has undergone while militating against tendencies to homogenise the white population.

This thesis has endeavoured to redress several imbalances and omissions in the current historiography of Rhodesian settler society and southern African labour. White workers have not received sustained attention by historians, neither has the heterogeneity and dynamism of white worker identity been fully explored. Recent work on settler colonialism has offered new ways to approach the subject of white labour by utilising work on space, emotions, ethnicity, gender and borders within a class based analysis.[1033] Struggles over the gendering and racialisation of particular types of work elucidate the ways in which race, gender, ethnicity and nationality were understood and performed. These social categories were profoundly shaped by the structural position of white workers and the broader political economy. Economic instability and the pressures of war forced the continual reworking of white worker identity and the boundaries of white work. The language of class and self-identification as working men or women in opposition to white elites, employers and unskilled African labour across the settler period points to the continued importance of class experience in the settler colonial context. Rhodesian settler society was wracked by internal class divisions despite the enduring images of socioeconomic homogeneity amongst Europeans. This class division did not erode the potency of racial ideologies, but neither did processes of 'othering' create uncompromised cross-class unity. White workers in Rhodesia, part of the privileged colonising population yet subordinated within the settler community, have offered a unique perspective from which to examine this fragmentation.

[1033] On space: Mar and Edmonds, *Making Settler Colonial Space*. On settler colonialism: Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*; Wolfe, 'Logic of Elimination'. On emotions: Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions'. On borders: Andrew MacDonald; Achille Mbembe. Andrew MacDonald, 'The Identity Thieves of the Indian Ocean'; Mbembe, 'At the Edge of the World'; Paul Nugent, *Smugglers, Secessionists*. On ethnicity: Christopher Lee, *Unreasonable Histories*. On gender: Barbara Bush, 'Gender and Empire'; Deborah Kirkwood, 'Settler Wives in Southern Rhodesia'; Karen Tranberg Hansen, 'White Women in a Changing World'; Robert Morrell, 'Of Boys and Men'.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Newspapers and Printed Journals

Bulawayo Chronicle

Business Herald

Central African Examiner

Federal Newsletter

Granite Review

Labour Era

Labour Front

The Maoriland Worker

RADAR

Rhodesia Herald

Rhodesia Railway Magazine

Rhodesian Nurses Newsletter

Rhodesian Railway Review

Rhodesian Trade Union Review

The Locomotive Express

Censuses

Report Upon the Census taken on 3rd May, 1921: European Population (Salisbury: Central Statistical Office, 1922)

Report of the Director of Census Regarding the Census taken on the 4th May, 1926 (Salisbury: Central Statistical Office, 1927)

Report of the Director of Census on the Census of Population, 1936 (Salisbury: Southern Rhodesia Department of Statistics, 1943)

Report on the Census of Population of Southern Rhodesia held on 6th May 1941 (Salisbury: Central Statistical Office, 1944)

Report on the Census of Population held on 7th May, 1946 (Salisbury: Central African Statistical Office, 1949)

Census of Population, 1951 (Salisbury: Government Printer, 1954)

Census of Population, 1956 (Salisbury: Central Statistical Office, 1960)

Census of the European, Asian and Coloured Population, 1961 (Salisbury: Central Statistical Office, 1961)

Census of Population 1969 (Salisbury: Central Statistical Office, 1971)

Census of Zimbabwe, 2012
https://web.archive.org/web/20140901192722/http://www.zimstat.co.zw/dmdocuments/Census/CensusResults2012/National_Report.pdf

The National Archives of the UK

DO 35/4831 Deportation of Charles Taylor: Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office: From UK High Commissioner in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

DO 35/4831 Deportation of Charles Taylor: Letter from Keller and Stoney

DO 35/4831 Deportation of Charles Taylor: SECRET: Inward Telegram from High Commissioner of Federation to Commonwealth Relations Office

DO 35/7460: African Advancement on Rhodesia Railways (Note for the Secretary of State for the Colonies)

DO 35/7460: Federal Newsletter, 29th January, 1960

LAB 13/1533 Committee on Freedom of Association: Case no. 251 Complaint Presented by the Word Federation of Trade Unions against the Government of the United Kingdom in Respect of Southern Rhodesia

LAB 13/1533 Department of Labour 1962

LAB 13/204 1820 Memorial Settlers Association, Requisitions: Southern Rhodesia.

LAB 13/204 Memorandum: Immigration, 8th September 1950

Memoirs, Autobiographies, etc

Anderson, Daphne, *The Toe-Rags: The Story of a Strange Up-Bringing in Southern Rhodesia* (London: A. Deutsch, 1989)

Croxton, Anthony, *Railways of Zimbabwe: The Story of the Beira, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1982)

Gouldsbury, Cullen, *Rhodesian Rhymes* (Salisbury: Books of Rhodesia, 1969)

Kadalie, Clements, *My Life and the ICU: The Autobiography of a Black Trade Unionist in South Africa* (London: Cass, 1970)

Lessing, Doris, *Under My Skin: Volume One of My Autobiography, to 1949* (London: Flamingo, 1995)

Lucas, H. J., 'Early Days on a Small Working', *Rhodesiana*, 20 (1969), pp.14-15

Makunike, Ezekiel, *I Wont Call You Sir: Black Journalist's Encounters in White-ruled Rhodesia* (Harare: SAPES, 1998)

Mears, Chris, *Goodbye Rhodesia* (Eastborne: Antony Rowe Publishing Services, 2005)

Nkomo, Joshua, *The Story of my Life* (London: Methuen, 1984)

Parkyn, Amanda, *Roses Under the Miombo Trees: An English Girl in Rhodesia* (Beauchamp: Matador, 2012)

Richards, Hylda M., *Next Year will be Better and the Verse of T. Hylda Richards* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1952)

Sherwell, Val, *The Guinea Fowl Girl: A Colonial Childhood in Southern Rhodesia, 1939-1958* (Armidale: Fastnet Books, 2012)

Smith, Ian, *The Great Betrayal: The Memoirs of Ian Douglas Smith* (London: Blake, 1998)

Smith, Ian, *Bitter Harvest: Zimbabwe and the Aftermath of its Independence: The Memoirs of Africa's Most Controversial Leader* (London: John Blake, 2008)

Taylor, Molly P., 'Early Recollections of Raylton', in *Down Memory Lane with some Early Rhodesian Women* (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1979)

Armstrong, Peter, *Tobacco Spiced with Ginger: The Lift of Ginger Freeman*

van Eeden, Guy, *The Crime of Being White* (Nasionale, 1965)

Vambe, Lawrence, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe* (London: Heinemann, 1976)

Wright, Sam, *Tracks across the Veldt: Memoirs of a Rhodesia Railwayman, 1950-1976* (Bognor Regis: Woodfield Publishing, 2005)

Tredgold, Robert C., *The Rhodesia That Was My Life* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1968)

Zimbabwe Amalgamated Railwaymen's Union Headquarters, Bulawayo

Minutes of RRWU Conferences

The AEU of Rhodesia and the Rights of A Free Trade Union (Bulawayo: Mardon Printers, 1967)

Photographs

Private Collection in the possession of Heather Ginsburgh

Rhodesian Government Papers, Zimbabwean Parliamentary Library

Ibbotson, Percy, *Report on a Survey of Urban African Conditions in Southern Rhodesia* (Bulawayo: Federation of Native Welfare Societies, 1943)

Wells, G. E., *Report on Unemployment and the Relief of Destitution in Southern Rhodesia*, Salisbury, 1934 and 1935

Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, *Governments Policy on Labour* (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1971)

Hammond, General F. D., *Report on the Railway System of Southern Rhodesia, Under the "Railways Enquiry Act, 1924"* (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1925)

Report of Public Service Board (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1941)

Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Racial Discrimination (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1974)

Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Further Education in the Technical and Commercial Fields (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1974)

Report of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Social Welfare of the Coloured Community of Southern Rhodesia, (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1946)

Report of the Post Master General 1946

Southern Rhodesia Report of the Social Security Officer, Parts One and Two (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1944)

Survey of Engineering Manpower in Rhodesia, 1974/5 (Salisbury: Department of Labour, 1976)

The Requirements and Supplies of High Level Manpower in Southern Rhodesia, 1961-1970 (Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1964)

Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly Debates

National Archives of Zimbabwe

A3/14/1-6 Immigration Report of Afrikaner Immigration to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1949

GEN-P/REP, Republican Alliance, Principles and Policies

S2239: Southern Rhodesia Department of Labour, Report for the Month of June, 1958

S2239: Southern Rhodesia Department of Labour, Report for the Month of October, 1958

S2239: Southern Rhodesia Department of Labour, Report for the Month of July, 1960

S2379/11/109, Dr Paterson, Report on Employment of Women in Southern Rhodesia, 1931-1945

S3279 11/109 Press Statement 553/58/CB by Mr J.B. Ross, 1958, Chairman of the Interim Federal Public Service Commission to the Business and Professional Women's Club at the New Rhodesians Club, Salisbury, 1958

S3279 Ref 11/109, Report to the Prime Minister 13 Feb 1964, Employment of Women in the Southern Rhodesia Public Service

S3279, Cabinet Memorandum 1961. Parity for Men and Women in the Southern Rhodesia Government Service

S3279, Women's Branch of Administrative and Clerical Association of the Southern Rhodesia Civil Service, 1961

S480/146C NOTICE TO ALL RAILWAYMEN ON STRIKE

S480/1460, Strikes and Labour Disputes among Railway Employees, 1926-1929: Memorandum, 21st February 1929

S480/1460 Copy of Letter to Mr Keller, 11th February 1929

S480/95 C.H. Berger's Records of Unemployment.

S482 198/40 Letter to Mr. Sutherns from Rivell's Commercial Classes

S482 198/40 'Square Pegs in Round Holes'

S482/198/40 Letter to Prime Minister from the Controller of Industrial Manpower, 9th March, 1942

S801/2, Italian Labour Service (1944-1945), General Policy and Administration

SR PSA, Journal of Rhodesian Services Records, Affiliated to Rhodesia Teachers' Association, vol. 1, no. Xi, September 1920

National Archives of South Africa, Pretoria

117/74 Southern and Northern Rhodesia Immigration Law, Volume 2, 'Letter from Office of the Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, May 15th 1929, to The Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic affairs, Pretoria'

117/74 Southern and Northern Rhodesia Immigration Law, Volume 2, 'Letter from Hendrik David Verheen'30th November 1929

117/74 Southern and Northern Rhodesia Immigration Law, Volume 2, 'Letter from Premier's Office, Southern Rhodesia', 20th March 1930

P.M. 93/64.

Institute of Commonwealth Studies ICOMM, London

pp.zw.rlp. RLP 1938 Constitution

pp.zw.srlp.1, Memo Re Split SRLP from RLP, 1946

pp.zw.srlp.5 Minutes of Informal Congress of SRLP.1948

Rhodesian Front Principles and Policies, 1962

Other Printed

Manchester University Special Collections, Foreign and Commonwealth Office Pamphlet Collection, Notes for Prospective Settlers, April 1922, issued by the Southern Rhodesia's Settlers' Board

The African in Southern Rhodesia Industry (Bulawayo: Rhodesian Institute of African Affairs)

Passmore, Gloria C., Margaret Mitchell, F. M. G. Willson, *Source Book of Parliamentary Elections and Referenda in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1962* (Salisbury: Department of Government, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1963)

Survey of Engineering Manpower in Rhodesia, 1974/5 (Salisbury: Department of Labour, 1976)

Universities National Bureau, 'The Measurement and Behaviour of Unemployment', *National Bureau of Economic Research*, 1957, http://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6871122.pdf [accessed 17 September 2017]

Roberts, H. W., *Education and Training in Rhodesia* (Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1965)

'Report on Urban Conditions in Southern Rhodesia', *African Studies*, 4, 1 (1945), pp.9-22

Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies, Rhodes House, Oxford, United Kingdom

Pott, Gladys S., *Report upon Agricultural Openings for Women in The Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia* (London: The Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women, 1922)

Southern Rhodesia's Welcome to Women: Facts and Figures for the New Settler (Salisbury: Department of Public Relations, 1947)

Bulawayo Railway Museum Archives

Bulawayo Railway Museum Archives: SD16: Strike, Firemen. 1954. Rhodesia Railways Letters, Press Cuttings, Etc. REPORT.

Bulawayo Railway Museum Archives: SD16: Strike, Firemen. 1954. Rhodesia Railways Letters, Press Cuttings, Etc. Letter to Chief Mechanical Engineer, 16th June 1954, no.368/33

University of Zimbabwe Library

Rhodesia Railways Report of the General Manager, 1956-1959

Rhodesia Railways Report of the General Manager, 1974-1979

Electronic Resources

Clem Tholet, *With his Hands* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DVLS8ny0HUU> [accessed 27 August 2017]

Gann, Lewis, The Development of Southern Rhodesia's Military System, 1890-1953, <http://www.rhodesia.nl/gann1.htm.> [accessed 27 August 2017]

Thornycroft, Peta, 'Zimbabwe's Destitute Britons to be Repatriated', *The Telegraph,* 28 May 2008 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe/5394171/Zimbabwes-destitute-Britons-to-be-repatriated.html> [accessed 12 September 2017]

No Other Life: A Tribute to the Women of Rhodesia <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yACnZz6vtk8> [accessed on 28 August 2017]

Interviews

Interview with Sharon Smith, Chris May, and Jackie Wright, white women aged 60- 90, Essex, November 2016

Interview with Barry Bright, white ex-railwayman, Bulawayo, June 2015

Interview with Maureen Moss, retired white woman, Harare, June 2015

Interview with Shirley Webb, retired nurse, aged 70s, Harare, May 2015

Secondary Sources

Books

Alexander, Joceyn, Joann McGregor and Terence Ranger, *Violence & Memory: One Hundred Years in the "Dark Forests" of Matabeleland* (Oxford; Portsmouth, NH: James Currey, Heinemann, 2000)

Alexander. Peter, and R. Halpern (eds), *Racialising Class, Classifying Race: Labour and Difference in Britain, the USA, and Africa* (New York: St. Martin's Press, in association with St. Antony's College, Oxford, 2000)

Allen, Theodore, *The Invention of the White Race* (London, New York: Verso, 1994-1997)

Angus Calder, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London: Pimlico, 1992)

Banivanua Mar, Tracey, and Penelope Edmonds (eds), *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

Barnes, Teresa, *"We Women Worked So Hard": Gender, Urbanisation, and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956* (Portsmouth, N. H.: Heinemann, 1999; Oxford: James Currey, 1999)

Bear, Laura, *Lines of the Nation: Indian Railway Workers, Bureaucracy and the Intimate Historical Self* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007)

Berger, Elena, *Labour, Race and Colonial Rule: The Copperbelt from 1924 to Independence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp.19-41

Bickford-Smith, Vivian, *The Emergence of the South African Metropolis: Cities and Identities in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Boucher, Ellen, *Empire's Children: Child Emigration, Welfare and the Decline of the British World, 1869-1967* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Boucher, Leigh, Jane Carey and Katherine Ellinghaus (eds), *Re-Orienting Whiteness* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

Brodkin, Karen, *How Jews Became White Folks & What That Says About Race in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998)

Brownell, Josiah, *The Collapse of Rhodesia: Population Demographics and the Politics of Race* (London; New York: I. B. Taurus, 2011)

Butcher, John, *The British in Malaya, 1880-1941: The Social History of a European Community in Colonial Southeast Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979)

Callinicos, Alex and Chris Harman, *The Changing Working Class: Essays on Class Structure Today* (London: Bookmarks, 1987)

Callinicos, Alex and John Rogers, *Southern Africa after Soweto* (London: Pluto Press, 1977)

Clarke, Duncan, *Contract Workers and Underdevelopment in Rhodesia* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1974)

Clarke, Duncan, *The Distribution of Income and Wealth in Rhodesia* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1977)

Clements, Frank, *Rhodesia: the Course to Collision* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1969)

Coates, Timothy J., *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonisers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001)

Cohen, Andy, *The Politics and Economics of Decolonisation in Africa: The Failed Experiment of the Central African Federation* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2017)

Darwin, John, *Britain and Decolonisation: The Retreat from Empire in the Post War World* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988)

Darwin, John, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge University Press, New York: 2009)

Davie, Grace, *Poverty Knowledge in South Africa: A Social History of Human Science, 1855-2005* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Davies, Dorothy, *Race Relations in Rhodesia: A Survey for 1972-3* (London: Rex Collings 1975)

Davies, Robert, *Capital, State and White Labour in South Africa, 1900-1960: An Historical Materialist Analysis of Class Formation and Class Relations* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1979)

de Ste Croix, G. E. M., *The Class Struggle in the Ancient World : From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1989)

Du Bois, W. E. B., *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (London: Cass, 1960)

Dubow, Saul, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919-36* (Basingstoke: Macmillan in Association with St. Antony's College, Oxford, 1989)

Dubow, Saul, *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Erichsen, Casper W., and David Olusoga, *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide* (London: Faber, 2011)

Fedorowich, Kent and Bob Moore (eds), *The British Empire and Italian Prisoners of War, 1940-1947* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002)

Fischer-Tine, Harald, *Low and Licentious Europeans: Race, Class and 'White Subalternity' in Colonial India* (New Dehli: Orient Blackswan, 2009)

Fisher, J. L., *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles: The Decolonisation of White Identity in Zimbabwe* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2010)

Frantz, C., and Cyril A. Rogers, *Racial Themes in Southern Rhodesia: The Attitudes and Behaviour of the White Population* (Port Washington; New York; London: Kennikat Press, 1973)

Freund, Bill, *The African City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Gann, Lewis and Michael Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964)

Gann, Lewis, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965)

Godwin, Peter, and Ian Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia, 1970-1980* (Harare: Baobab Books, 1995)

Gorz, Andre, *Farewell to the Working Class: An Essay on Post–Industrial Socialism* (London: Pluto, 1982)

Hansen, Karen Tranberg, *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900-1985* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1989)

Harris, Peter, *Black Industrial Workers in Rhodesia* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1974)

Hartigan Jr., John, *Racial Situations: Class Predicaments of Whiteness in Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999)

Haskins, Victoria K., and Claire Lowrie (eds), *Colonization and Domestic Service: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015)

Hensman, Howard, *A History of Rhodesia* (Edinburgh; London: W. Blackwood, 1900)

Hobsbawm, Eric, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1964)

Hone, Percy F., *Southern Rhodesia* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1909)

Ignatiev, Noel, *How the Irish Became White* (New York; London: Routledge, 1995)

Ivaska, Andrew, *Cultured States: Youth, Gender and Modern Style in 1960s Dar es Salaam* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011)

Jackson, Ashley, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006)

Jackson, Lynette, *Surfacing Up: Psychiatry and Social Order in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1908-1968* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005)

Jackson, Will, *Madness and Marginality: The Lives of Kenya's White Insane* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013)

Jochelson, Karen, *The Colour of Disease: Syphilis and Racism in South Africa 1880-1950* (Oxford: Palgrave in Association with St Anthony's College, 2001)

Johnstone, Frederick A., *Class, Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa* (Lenham; London: University Press of America, 1976)

Kennedy, Dane, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987)

Killingray, David, *Fighting for Britain: African Soldiers in the Second World War* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2010)

Krikler, Jeremy, *White Rising: The 1922 Insurrection and Racial Killing in South Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

Lake, Marilyn, and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Lange, Lis, *White, Poor and Angry: White Working Class Families in Johannesburg* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003)

Law, Kate, *Gendering the Settler State: White Women, Race, Liberalism and Empire in Rhodesia, 1950-1980* (New York: Routledge, 2016)

Lee, Christopher, *Unreasonable Histories: Nativism, Multiracial Lives, and the Genealogical Imagination in British Africa* (Durham: N.C: Duke University Press, 2014).

Levine, Philippa (eds), *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Leys, Colin, *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959)

Lindsay, Lisa, A., *Working with Gender: Wage Labour and Social Change in Southwestern Nigeria* (Postsmouth: NH: Heinemann, 2003)

Lopez, Alfred J., (eds), *Postcolonial Whiteness: A Critical Reader on Race and Empire* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005)

Lunn, Jon, *Capital and Labour on the Rhodesian Railway System, 1888-1947* (Basingstoke: Macmillan in Association with St Antony's College, 1997)

Lyons, Tanya, *Guns and Guerrilla Girls: Women in the Zimbabwean National Liberation Struggle* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2004)

MacDonald, J. F., *The War History of Southern Rhodesia, 1939-1945, vol.1* (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1976)

 MacDonald, J. F., *The War History of Southern Rhodesia, 1939-1945, vol.2* (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1976)

Malik, Kenan, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996)

Marks, Shula and Stanley Trapido (eds), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (Harlow: Longman Group, 1987)

Marx, Karl, *Capital: Volume III* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971)

May, Joan, *African Women in Urban Employment: Factors influencing their Employment in Zimbabwe* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1979)

McCulloch, Jock, *Black Peril, White Virtue: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935* (Indiana: Bloomington, 2000)

 McDermott Hughes, David, *Whiteness in Zimbabwe: Race, Landscape, and the Problem of Belonging* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

McKenna, Frank, *The Railway Workers, 1840-1970* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980)

Mlambo, Alois, *A History of Zimbabwe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Mlambo, Eshmael, *The Struggle for a Birthright* (London: C. Hurst Company, 1972)

Moreton-Robinson, Aileen, *Talkin' Up to the White Woman: Aboriginal Women and Feminism* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2000)

Morrell, Robert, *Changing Men in South Africa* (Natal: University of Natal Press, 2001)

Mosse, George L., *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (London: Dent, 1978)

Mutambirwa, James Alfred, *The Rise of Settler Power in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), 1898-1923* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980)

Nattrass, Nicoli, and Jeremy Seekings, *The Economy and Poverty in the Twentieth Century in South Africa* (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, 2010)

Nugent, Paul, *Smugglers, Secessionists and Loyal Citizens of the Ghana-Togo Frontier: The Lie of the Borderlands Since 1914* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003)

O'Meara, Dan, *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

Ochono, Moses, *Colonial Meltdown, Northern Nigeria in the Great Depression* (Athens: Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009)

Olin Wright, Erik, *Classes* (London: Verso, 1985)

Onslow, Sue (eds), *Cold War in Southern Africa: White Power, Black Liberation* (Abingdon: Routedge, 2009)

Palmer, Bryan, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990)

Parsons, Timothy, *The Second British Empire: In the Crucible of the Twentieth Century* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014)

Phimister, Ian, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle* (London; New York: Longman, 1988)

Pilossof, Rory, *The Unbearable Whiteness of Being: Farmers' Voices from Zimbabwe* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2012)

Raftopoulos, Brian, and Ian Phimister, *Keep on Knocking: A History of the Labour Movement in Zimbabwe* (Zimbabwe, Baobab Books, 1997)

Raftopoulos, Brian, and Lloyd Sachikonye, *Striking Back: The Labour Movement and the Post Colonial State in Zimbabwe, 1980-2000* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2001)

Ranger, Terence, *Are We Not Also Men? The Samkange Family and African Politics in Zimbabwe, 1920–1964* (London: James Currey, 1995)

Ranger, Terence, *Bulawayo Burning: The Social History of a Southern African City, 1893-1960* (Oxford: James Currey, 2010)

Ranger, Terence, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97* (London: Heinemen, 1967)

Ranger, Terence, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930* (London: Heinemann Education, 1970)

Richard Dyer, *White* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997)

Robinson, Shirleene, and Simon Sleight (eds), *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World* (Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2015)

Rochfort, James, *Cecil Rhodes: A Biography and Appreciation by Imperialist* (London: Macmillan, 1897)

Roediger, David, *How Race Survived US History* (London: Verso, 2008)

Roediger, David, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 2007)

Rolin, Henri, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, translated by Deborah Kirkwood (Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia, 1978)

Rose, Jonathan, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2001)

Ross, Robert, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (London: Routledge, 1993)

Scarnecchia, Timothy, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe: Harare and Highfield, 1940-1964* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008)

Schmidt, Elizabeth, *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870–1939* (Portsmouth: NH, 1992)

Schwarz, Bill, *White Man's World: Memories of Empire, Volume One* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Shadle, Brett, *The Souls of White Folk: White Settlers in Kenya, 1900s-1920s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015)

Sombart, Werner, *Why is there no Socialism in the United States?* (London: Macmillan, 1976)

Steyn, Melissa*, 'Whiteness Just Isn't What it Used To Be': White Identity in a Changing South Africa* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001)

Stoler, Ann Laura, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010)

Stoneman, Colin, *Skilled Labour and Future Needs* (Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1978)

Summerfield, Penny, *Women Workers in the Second World War: Production and Patriarchy in Conflict* (London: Routledge, 1989)

Summers, Carol, *From Civilization to Segregation: Social Ideals and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1934* (Athens: Ohio, Ohio University Press, 1994)

Swain, Shurlee, and Margot Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race and Empire: Child Rescue Discourse, England, Canada and Australia, 1850-1915* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010)

Thompson, E. P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968)

Thompson, Willie, *Postmodernism and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)

Thompson, Willie, *What Happened to History* (London: Pluto Press, 2000)

Tischler, Julia, *Light and Power for a Multiracial Nation: The Kariba Dam Scheme in the Central African Federation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993)

Townsend, Jules, *The Politics of Marxism* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996)

Van Dijk, Teun A., *Elite Discourse and Racism* (London: SAGE, 1993)

van Onselen, Charles, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1933* (London: Pluto Press, 1976)

van Onselen, Charles, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914* (Harlow: Longman, 1982)

van Rooyen, Johann, *Hard Right: The New White Power in South Africa* (London: I.B. Taurus, 1994)

Veracini, Lorenzo, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

Vogel, Lise, *Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Towards a Unitary Theory* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2013)

Volosinov, Valentin, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1986)

West, E.M.B., *Review of African Employment in Southern Rhodesia* (Bulawayo: Rhodesian Institute of African Affairs, 1963)

West, Michael O., *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002)

White, Luise, *Unpopular Sovereignty: Rhodesian Independence and African Decolonisation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015)

Articles and Chapters in Edited Collections

Alexander, Jocelyn, '"Hooligans, Spivs and Loafers"?: The Politics of Vagrancy in 1960s Southern Rhodesia', *The Journal of African History*, 53 (2012), pp.345-66

Alexander, Karin, 'Orphans of the Empire: An Analysis of Elements of White Identity and Ideology Construction in Zimbabwe', in *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and T. Savage (Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004), pp.193-212

Alexander, Peter, 'Introduction: Comparing Race and Labour in South Africa and the United States', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 1, (2004), pp.5-18

Alexander, Peter, Coal, Control and Class Experience in South Africa's Rand Revolt of 1922' *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, XIX, 1 (1999), pp.31-45

Allen, Theodore, 'On Roediger's Wages of Whiteness', <http://clogic.eserver.org/4-2/allen.html#note1> [accessed 24 May 2017]

Anderson, David, and David Throup, 'The Agrarian Economy of Central Province, Kenya, 1918-1939', *The Economies of Africa and Asia in the Inter-war Depression,* edited by Ian Brown (London: Routledge, 1989), pp.8-28

Arnesen, Eric, 'Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 60 (2001), pp.3-32

Arnold, David, 'European Orphans and Vagrants in India in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 7, 2 (1979), pp.104-127

Arrighi, Giovanni, 'The Political Economy of Rhodesia', in *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, edited by Giovanni Arrighi and John S. Saul (New York; London, Monthly Review Press, 1973), pp.336-377

Barnes, Teresa, 'Democracy and Historiographies of Organised Labour in Zimbabwe', *International Review of Social History*, 3, 48 (2003), pp.457-471

Barnes, Teresa, Nyakudya Munyaradzi and Joseph Mtisi, 'Social and Economic Developments during the UDI Period', in *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Alois -Mlambo (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009), pp.115-140

Baron, Ava, 'Introduction', in *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labour,* edited by Ava Baron (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp.1-46

Bay, Edna G., 'Protection, Political Exile, and the Atlantic Slave Trade: History and Collective Memory in Dahomey', *Slavery & Abolition*, 22, 1 (2001) pp.22-41

Bickers, Robert, 'Introduction: Britains and Britons over the Seas', in *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, edited by Robert Bickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.1-17

Bickford-Smith, Vivian, 'South African Urban History, Racial Segregation and the Unique Case of Cape Town?', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 1 (1995), pp.63-78

Block, Fred, 'Beyond Relative Autonomy: State Managers as Historical Subjects', *Socialist Register*, 17 (1980), pp.227-241

Bond, Patrick, 'The Rise and Fall of the Rhodesian Economy, 1965-1979: A Marxist Account of Space, Time and the Capital Accumulation Process', African Studies Seminar Paper given at the University of Witwatersrand African Studies Institute (1993)

Bonello, Julie, 'The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890–1914', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 43, 2 (2010), pp. 341-367

Bonner, Philip, Jonathan Hyslop, and Lucien van der Walt, 'Rethinking Worlds of Labour: Southern African Labour History in International Context', *African Studies*, 66, 2–3 (2007), pp.137-167

Bonnett, Alastair, 'Who Was White? The Disappearance of Non-European White Identities and the Formation of European Racial Whiteness', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21, 6 (1998), pp.1029-1055

Bonnett, Alastair, 'How the British Working Class Became White: The Symbolic (Re)formation of Racialised Capitalism', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 11, 3 (1998), pp.316-340

Bottomly, Edward John, 'Transnational Governmentality and the 'Poor White' in Early Twentieth Century South Africa', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 54 (2016), pp.76-86

Brand, C. M., 'Politics and African Trade Unionism in Rhodesia Since Federation', *Rhodesian History*, 2 (1971), pp.89-109

Brink, Elsable, ''Maar 'n klomp "factory" meide': Afrikaner Family and Community on the Witwatersrand during the 1920s'', in *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives*, edited by Belinda Bozzoli (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1987), pp.177-209

Brown, Carolyn A., 'African Labour in the Making of World War II', in *Africa and World War II*, edited by Judith A. Byfield, Carolyn A. Brown, Timothy Parsons and Ahmad Alawad Sikainga (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp.43-67

Bryder, Linda, 'Sex, Race and Colonialism: A Historiographical Overview', *The International History Review*, 20, 4 (1998), pp.806-822

Bush, Barbara, 'Gender and Empire: The Twentieth Century', in *Gender and Empire*, edited by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.77-111

Callinicos, Alex, 'Plumbing the Depths: Marxism and the Holocaust', *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 14, 2 (2001), pp.385-414

Camiscioli, Elisa, 'Women, Gender, Intimacy, and Empire', *Journal of Women's History*, 25, 4 (2013), pp.138-148

Carchedi, Guglielmo, 'On the Economic Identification of the New Middle-class', *Economy and Society*, 4, 1 (1975), pp.1-86

Challiss, Bob, 'Education and Southern Rhodesia's Poor Whites, 1890-1930', in *White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa, 1880-1940*, edited by Robert Morrell (Pretoria: UNISA, 1992), pp.151-170

Cilliers, Jeanne, and Johan Fourie, 'South African Demographic and Development Trends over Three Centuries', *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 27, 2 (2012), pp.61-86

Connell, John, 'Foreward: The Man and his Country', in *Welensky's 4000 Days: The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, by Sir Roy Welensky* (London: Collins, 1964)

Constantine, Stephen, 'Migrants and Settlers', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol IV, The Twentieth Century*, edited by Judith M. Brown and W. M. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.163-187

Crookes, K. B., 'Labour Problems in Rhodesia: An Employer's Viewpoint', *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 6, 4 (1972), pp.1-8

Crush, Jonathan, and Daniel Tevera, 'Exiting Zimbabwe', in *Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival*, edited by Jonathan Crush and Daniel Tevera (Cape Town: SAMP, 2010), pp.1-49

Davies, Robert, 'Mining Capital, the State and Unskilled White Workers in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 3, 1 (1976), pp.41-69

Davies, Robert, 'The White Working Class in South Africa', *New Left Review*, 82 (1973), pp.40-59

Davin, Anna, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', *History Workshop*, 5 (1978), pp.9-65

Dawson, Suzanne, 'The First Chimurenga: 1896-1897 Uprising in Matabeleland and Mashonaland and the Continued Conflicts in Academia', *Constellations*, 2, 2 (2011), pp.144-153

De Genova, Nicholas, 'The "Crisis" of the European Border Regime: Towards a Marxist Theory of Borders', *International Socialism*, 150 (2016) http://isj.org.uk/the-crisis-of-the-european-border-regime-towards-a-marxist-theory-of-borders [accessed 15th January 2017]

Deacon, Harriet, 'Racial Segregation and Medical Discourse in Nineteenth Century Cape Town', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22, 2 (1996), pp.287-308

Denman, James, and Paul McDonald, *Labour Market Statistics Group, Central Statistical Office, Unemployment Statistics from 1881 to the Present Day, 1996*, www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/lms/labour.../unemployment-since-1881.pdf

Dennis, Carolyne, ''Women in African Labour History'', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 23 (1988), pp.124–140

Dopcke, Wolfgang, 'Depression in Colonial Zimbabwe' in *The Economies of Africa and Asia in the Inter-war Depression,* edited by Ian Brown (London: Routledge, 1989), pp.29-58

du Toit, Marijke, 'The Domesticity of Afrikaner Nationalism: Volksmoeders and the ACVV, 1904-1929', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29, 1 (2003), pp.155-176

Dubow, Saul, 'Race, Civilisation and Culture: the Elaboration of Segregationist Discourse in the Inter-War Years', in *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, edited by Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido (New York: Longman, 1987), pp.71-94

Duncan, W. F., 'Labour Problems in Rhodesia: A Trade Union Viewpoint', *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 6, 4 (1972), pp.15-17

England, Kim, and Kate Boyer, 'Women's Work: The Feminisation and Shifting Meanings of Clerical Work', *Journal of Social History*, 43, 2 (2009), pp.307-340

Errante, Antoinette, 'White Skin, Many Masks: Colonial Schooling, Race and National Consciousness among White Settler Children in Mozambique, 1934-1974', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36, 1 (2003), pp.7-33

Evans, Michael, 'The Wretched of the Empire: Politics, Ideology and Counterinsurgency in Rhodesia, 1965-80', *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 18, 2 (2007), pp.175-195

Fischer-Tine, Harald, ''The Drinking Habits of Our Countrymen': European Alcohol Consumption and Colonial Power in British India', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40, 3 (2012), pp.383-408

Fischer-Tine, Harald, and Christine Whyte, 'Introduction: Empires and Emotions', in *Anxieties, Fear and Panic in Colonial Settings: Empires on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*, edited by Harald Fischer-Tine (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp.1-23

Fischer-Tine, Harald, and Susanne Gehrmann, 'Introduction: Empires, Boundaries and the Production of Difference', in *Empires and Boundaries: Race, Class and Gender in Colonial Settings*, edited by Harald Fischer-Tine and Susanne Gehrmann (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp.1-22

Foner, Eric, 'Why is there no Socialism in the United States?', *History Workshop Journal*, 17, 1 (1984), pp.57-80

Gartrell, Beverley, 'Colonial Wives: Villains or Victims', in *The Incorporated Wife*, edited by Hilary Callan and Shirley Ardener (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 165-186

Good, Kenneth, 'Settler Colonialism in Rhodesia', *African Affairs*, 73, 290 (1974), pp.10-36

Gwisai, Munyaradzi, 'Revolutionaries, Resistance, and Crisis in Zimbabwe' in *Class Struggle and Resistance in Africa*, edited by Peter Dwyer and Leo Zeilig (Chicago: Haymarket, 2009), pp.219-251

Hall, Catherine, 'Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century', in *Gender and Empire,* edited by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) pp.46-67

Hansen, Karen Tranberg, 'White Women in a Changing World; Employment, Voluntary Work and Sex in Post-World War II Northern Rhodesia', in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance,* edited by Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Indiana University Press, Indianapolis, 1992), pp.247-258

Hardwick, P. A., 'Journey-to-Work Patterns in Salisbury, Rhodesia: The Contrast between Africans and Europeans', *Journal of Transport Economics and Policy*, 8, 2 (1974), pp.180-191

Harris, Peter, 'Manpower Requirements and Existing Vacancies – A Note on the Central Statistical Office Survey', *The Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 6, 2 (1972), pp.55-60

Hartigan Jr., John, 'Establishing the Fact of Whiteness', *American Anthropologist*, 99, 3 (1997), pp.495-505

Hartman, Andrew, 'The Rise and Fall of Whiteness Studies', *Race and Class*, 42, 6 (2004), pp.22-38

Hartnack, Andrew, 'Whiteness and Shades of Grey: Erasure, Amnesia and the Ethnography of Zimbabwe's Whites', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* (2014), pp.1-15

Henderson, Ian, 'White Populism in Southern Rhodesia', *Society for Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14, 4 (1972), pp.387-399

Hendrich, Gustav, 'Allegiance to the Crown: Afrikaner Loyalty, Conscientious Objection, and the Enkeldoorn Incident in Southern Rhodesia During the Second World War', *War & Society*, 31, 3 (2012), pp.227-243

Higgs, Edward, 'Fingerprints and Citizenship: the British State and the Identification of Pensioners in the Interwar Period', *History Workshop Journal*, 69, 1 (2010), pp.52-67

Hill, Herbert, 'Myth Making as Labour History: Herbert Gutman and the United Mine Workers of America', *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 2, 1 (1988), pp.49-127

Hitchcock, Peter, 'They Must Be Represented? Problems in Theories of Working-Class Representation', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 115, 1 (2000), pp.20-32

Hobsbawm, Eric, 'The Forward March of Labour Halted', *Marxism Today* (1978), pp.279-286

Hofmeyr, Isabel, 'Building a Nation From Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity, 1902-1924', in *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, edited by Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido (London: Longman Group, 1987), pp.95-123

Hopkins, Antony, 'The New Economic History of Africa', *Journal of African History*, 50 (2009), pp.155-177

Howell, Jessica, Anne Marie Rafferty, Anna Snaith, '(Author)ity Abroad: The Life Writing of Colonial Nurses', *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 48 (2011), pp.115-1162

Hunt, Nancy Rose, 'Introduction', *Gender & History*, 8, 3 (1996), pp.232-337

Hyslop, Jonathan, 'The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself 'White': White Labourism in Britain, Australia, and South Africa Before the First World War', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 12, 4 (1999), pp.398-421

Hyslop, Jonathan, 'Undesirable Inhabitant of the Union … Supplying Liquor to Natives: D. F. Malan and the Deportation of South Africa's British and Irish Lumpen Proletarians 1924–1933', *Kronos*, 40 (2014), pp.178-197

Hyslop, Jonathan, 'White Working Class Women and the Invention of Apartheld: 'Purified' Afrikaner Nationalist Agitation for Legislation against 'Mixed' Marriages, 1934-9', *The Journal of African History*, 36, 1 (1995), pp.57-81

Hyslop, Jonathan, 'Scottish Labour, Race, and Southern African Empire c.1880–1922: A Reply to Kenefick', *International Review of Social History*, 22 (2010), pp.63–81

Ivaska, Andrew, 'Of Students, "Nisers', and a Struggle over Youth: Tanzania's 1966 National Service Crisis', *Africa Today*, 51, 3 (2005), pp.83-107

Jackson, Lynette, '"When in the White Man's Town": Zimbabwean Women Remember' in *Women in African Colonial Histories,* edited by Jean Allman, Susan Geiger and Nakanyike Musisi (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), pp.191-217

Jackson, Will, 'Bad Blood: Poverty, Psychopathy and the Politics of Transgression in Kenya Colony, 1939-59', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 39, 1 (2011), pp.73-94

Jackson, Will, 'Poor Men and Loose Women: The Poor White Problem in Kenya Colony', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 14, 2 (2013)

Jeater, Diana, 'No Place for a Woman: Gwelo Town, Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1920', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26, 1 (2000), pp.29-42

Jerven, Morton, Gareth Austin, Erik Green, Chibuike Uche, Ewout Frankema, Johan Fourie, Joseph Inikori, Alexander Moradi and Ellen Hillbom, 'Moving Forward in African Economic History: Bridging the Gap Between Methods and Sources', *African Economic History Working Paper Series* (2012), https://www.aehnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/AEHN-WP-1.pdf [accessed 19 August 2017]

Jewsiewicki, Bogumil, 'The Great Depression and the Making of the Colonial Economic System in the Belgian Congo', *African Economic History*, 4 (1977), pp.153-176

Johnson, David, 'Urban Labour, World War II, and the Revolt of the Working People in Colonial Zimbabwe', *South Asia Bulletin: Comparative Studies, Africa and Middle Class*, 15, 2 (1995), pp.72-88

Kalaora, Lea, 'Madness, Corruption and Exile: On Zimbabwe's Remaining White Commercial Farms', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37, 4 (2011), pp.747-762

Kaler, Amy, 'Visions of Domesticity in the African Women's Homecraft Movement in Rhodesia', *Social Science History*, 23, 3 (1999), pp.269-309

Keegan, Timothy, 'Gender, Degeneration and Sexual Danger: Imagining Race and Class in South Africa, ca.1912', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27, 3, (2001), pp.459-477

Kenefick, William, "Confronting White Labourism: Socialism, Syndicalism, and the Role of the Scottish Radical Left in South Africa before 1914", *International Review of Social History*, 22 (2010), pp. 29–62

Kesby, Mike, 'Arenas for Control, Terrains of Gender Contestation: Guerrilla Struggle and Counter-Insurgency Warfare in Zimbabwe 1972–1980', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22, 4 (1996), pp.561-584

Kirkwood, Deborah, 'Settler Wives in Southern Rhodesia: A Case Study', in *The Incorporated Wife*, edited by Hilary Callan and Shirley Ardener (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp.143-164

Kolchin, Peter, 'Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America', *The Journal of American History*, 89, 1 (2002), pp.154-173

Kriger, Norma, 'The Zimbabwean War of Liberation: Struggles within the Struggle' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14, 2 (1988), pp.304-322

Krikler, Jeremy, 'Lessons from America: The Writings of David Roediger', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20, 4 (1994), pp.663-669

Krikler, Jeremy, 'Re-thinking Race and Class in South Africa: Some Ways Forward', in *Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital*, edited by Wulf D. Hund, Jeremy Krikler and David Roediger (Piscataway: Transaction Publishers, 2010), pp.133-160

Kufakurinani, Ushehwedu, 'Negotiating Respectability: White Women in the Public Service of Southern Rhodesia', *Online Journal of Social Sciences Research*, 1, 4 (2012), pp.115-124

Law, Kate, ''Even a Labourer is Worthy of his Hire: How much more a Wife?' Gender and the Contested Nature of Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe, c.1945–1978', *South African Historical Journal*, 63, 3 (2011), pp.456-474

Law, Kate, 'Mostly we are White and Alone': Identity, Anxiety and the Past in Some White Zimbabwean Memoirs', *Journal of Historical Sociology* (2014), pp.297-318

Lee, Christopher, '*Jus Soli* and *Jus Sanguinis* in the Colonies: The Interwar Politics of Race, Culture and Multiracial Status in British Africa', *Law and History Review*, 29, 2 (2011), pp.497-522

Lemon, Anthony, 'Machinery and Voting Patterns in Rhodesia, 1962-1977', *African Affairs*, 77, 309 (1978), pp.511-530

Levine, Philippa, 'States of Undress: Nakedness and the Colonial Imagination', *Victorian Studies*, 50, 2 (2008), pp.189-219

Lindgren-Gibson, Alexandra, ' "I Wish I Could See You as Often as I Could See Your Letter": Imperial Anxieties and Working Class Family Life in the Raj', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 17, 3 (2016).

Lindsay, Craig, and Paul Doyle, 'Experimental Consistent Time Series of Historical Labour Force Survey Data', *Labour Market Trends* (2003), pp.467-475

Lonsdale, John, 'Kenya: Home County and African Frontier', in *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas,* edited by Robert Bickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.74-111

Lowry, Donal, '"White Women's Country": Ethel Tawse Jollie and the Making of White Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23, 2 (1997), pp.259-281

Lowry, Donal, '"Making Fresh Britains Across the Seas": Imperial Authority and Anti-Feminism in Rhodesia', in *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*, edited by Christopher Fletcher, Laura Nym Mayhall and Philippa Levine (London: Routledge, 2000), pp.175-190

Lowry, Donal, 'Rhodesia 1890-1980: The "Lost Dominion"' in *Setters and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas,* edited by Robert Bickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.112-149

Lowry, Donal, 'The Crown, Empire Loyalism and the Assimilation of Non-British White Subjects in the British White Subjects in the British World: An Argument against 'Ethnic Determinism'', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31, 2 (2003), pp.96-120

Lowry, Donal, 'The Impact of Anti-Communism on White Rhodesian Political Culture, 1920s-1980', *Cold War History*, 7, 2 (2007), pp.169-194

MacDonald, Andrew, 'The Identity Thieves of the Indian Ocean: Forgery, Fraud and the Origins of South African Immigration Control, 1890s-1920s', in *Recognition and Registration: Documenting the Person in World History*, edited by Keith Breckenridge and Simon Szreter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.253-276

Marguerite Elaine Lee, 'The Origins of the Rhodesian Responsible Government Movement', *Rhodesian History*, 6 (1975), pp.33-52

Marindo, Ravai, 'Death Colonised: Historical Adult Mortality in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)', *Zambezia*, 26, 2 (1999), pp.147-168

Marks, Shula, 'Southern Africa', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol IV, The Twentieth Century*, edited by Judith M. Brown and Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.545-573

Marx, Karl, 'Wage Labour and Capital', (1847) '<ins>https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/wage-labour/ch09.htm</ins> [accessed 15 January 2016]

Mbembe, Achille, 'At the Edge of the World: Boundaries, Territoriality, and Sovereignty in Africa', *Public Culture*, 12, 1 (2000), pp.259-284

Mlambo, Alois, '"Some are More White Than Others": Racial Chauvinism as a Factor in Rhodesian Immigration Policy, 1890 to 1963', *Zambezia*, 27, 2 (2000), pp.139-160

Mlambo, Alois, 'A History of Zimbabwean Migration to 1990', in *Zimbabwe's Exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival*, edited by Jonathan Crush and Daniel Tevera (Cape Town: SAMP, 2010), pp.52-78

Mlambo, Alois, 'Building a White Man's Country: Aspects of White Immigration into Rhodesia up until World War II', *Zambezia*, 25, 2 (1998), pp.123-146

Mlambo, Alois, 'From the Second World War to UDI, 1940-1965', in *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Alois -Mlambo (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009), pp.75-114

Money, Duncan, 'The World of European Labour on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, 1940-1945', *International Review of Social History*, 60, 2 (2015), pp.225-255

Money, Duncan, "There Are Worse Places than Dalmuir!' Glaswegian Riveters on the Clyde and the Copperbelt', *Labour History Review*, 80, 3 (2015), pp.273-292

Morrell, Robert, 'Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 4 (1998), pp.605-630

Msindo, Enocent, 'Ethnicity, Not Class? The 1929 Bulawayo Faction Fights Reconsidered', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32, 3 (2006), pp.429-447

Mtisi, Joseph, Munyaradzi Nyakudya and Teresa Barnes, 'Social and Economic Developments During the UDI Period', in *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Alois Mlambo (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009), pp.115-140

Ndlovu-Gutsheni, Sabelo J., 'Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s-1930s', in *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Alois Mlambo (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009), pp.39-74

Nicol, Martin, ''Joh'burg Hotheads' and the 'Gullible Children of Cape Town': The Transvaal Garment Workers' Union Assault on Low Wages in the Cape Town Clothing Industry, 1930-1931', in *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives*, edited by Belinda Bozzoli (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1987), pp.209-217

Nyamunda, Tinashe, ''More a Cause than a Country': Historiography, UDI and the Crisis of Decolonisation in Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42, 5, (2016), pp.1005-1019

O'Hanlon, Rosalind, 'Gender in the British Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV, The Twentieth Century*, edited by Judith M. Brown and W. M. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.379-397

Okunlola, Oluwadamilola, 'Memories of Fietas From the Late 50s to the 70s', in *Oral History: Representing the Hidden, the Untold and the Veiled*, edited by Christina Landman (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2013), pp.65-83

Paisley, Fiona, 'Childhood and Race: Growing Up.in the Empire', in *Gender and Empire*, edited by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.240-260

Pape, John, 'Black and White: The 'Perils of Sex' in Colonial Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16, 4 (1990), pp.699-720

Parnell, Susan, 'Slums, Segregation and Poor Whites in Johannesburg, 1920-1934', in *White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa, 1880-1940,* edited by Robert Morrell (Pretoria: UNISA, 1992), pp.115-129

Parpart, Jane L., 'Class and Gender on the Copperbelt: Women in Northern Rhodesian Copper Mining Communities, 1926–1964', in *Women and Class in Africa*, edited by Claire Robertson and Iris Berger (New York: Holmes & Meier/Africana Publishing, 1986), pp.141–160

Phimister, Ian, ' Narratives of Progress: Zimbabwean Historiography and the End of History', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 30, 1 (2012), pp.27-34

Phimister, Ian, 'African Worker Consciousness: Origins and Aspects to 1953', in *Studies in the History of African Mine Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe*, edited by Ian Phimister and Charles van Onselen (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1978), pp. 23-40

Phimister, Ian, 'An Emerging African Proletariat: The Shamva Mine Strike of 1927', in *Rhodesian History,* 2 (1971), pp.65-88

Phimister, Ian, 'Coal, Crisis and Class Struggle: Wankie Colliery, 1918-22', *The Journal of African History*, 33, 1 (1992), pp.65-86

Phimister, Ian, 'Gold Mining in Southern Rhodesia, 1919-1953', *The Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 10, 1 (1976), pp.21-44

Phimister, Ian, 'Lashers and Leviathan: The 1954 Coalminers' Strike in Colonial Zimbabwe', *International Review of Social History*, 39 (1994), pp.165-196

Phimister, Ian, 'White Miners in Historical Perspective: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1953', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 3, 2 (1977), pp.187-206

Phimister, Ian, 'Workers in Wonderland? White Miners and the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, 1946-1962', *South African Historical Journal*, 63, 2 (2011), pp.183-233

Pilossof, Rory, 'Reinventing Significance: Reflections on Recent Whiteness Studies in Zimbabwe', *Africa Spectrum*, 49, 3 (2014), pp.135-148

Porter, Dorothy, '"Enemies of the Race": Biologism, Environmentalism, and Public Health in Edwardian England', *Victorian Studies*, 34, 2 (1991), pp. 159-178

Posel, Deborah, 'Whiteness and Power in the South African Civil Service: Paradoxes of the Apartheid State', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25, 1 (1999), pp.99-119

Posel, Deborah, 'The Apartheid Project, 1948-1970', *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Vol II,* edited by Carolyn Hamilton, Bernard K. Mbenga and Robert Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.319-368

Post, Charles, 'Exploring Working-Class Consciousness: A Critique of the Theory of the 'Labour Aristocracy'', *Historical Materialism*, 18, 4 (2010), pp.3-38

Poulantzas, Nicos, 'Marxism and Social Classes', *New Left Review*, 78 (1973), pp.27-54

Prins, Gwyn, "But What Was the Disease? The Present State of Health and Healing in African Studies", *Past & Present*, 124 (1989), pp.159–179

Raftopoulos, Brian, and Ian Phimister '''Kana sora ratswa ngaritswe'': African Nationalists and Black Workers — The 1948 General Strike in Colonial Zimbabwe', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 13, 3 (2000), pp.289-324

Raftopoulos, Brian, 'Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 1 (1995), pp.79-93

Raftopoulos, Brian, 'Problematising Nationalism in Zimbabwe: A Historiographical Review', *Zambezia*, 26, 2 (1999), pp.115-134

Ranger, Terence, 'Europeans in Black Africa', *Journal of World History*, 9, 2 (1998), pp.255-268

Ranger, Terence, 'Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 2 (2004), pp. 215-234

Ray, Carina E., 'The White Wife Problem: Sex, Race and the Contested Politics of Repatriation to Interwar British West Africa', *Gender & History*, 21, 3 (2009), pp.628-646

Reed Jr., Adolph, 'Response to Eric Arnesen', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 60 (2001), pp.69-80

Reich, Michael, 'The Economics of Racism', in *The Capitalist System: A Radical Analysis of American Society*, edited by Richard C. Edwards, Michael Reich and Thomas E. Weisskopf (London: Prentice Hall, 1978), pp. 381-388

Robert, Davies, 'Mining Capital, the State and Unskilled White Workers in South Africa, 1901-1913', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 3, 1 (1976), pp.41-69

Roos, Neil, 'Alcohol Panic, Social Engineering, and Some Reflections on the Management of Whites in Early Apartheid Society, 1948-1960', *The Historical Journal*, 58, 4 (2015), pp.1167-1189

Roos, Neil, 'Work Colonies and South African Historiography', *Social History*, 36, 1 (2011), pp.54-76

Rose, Sonya, 'Gender at Work: Sex, Class and Industrial Capitalism', *History Workshop*, 21 (1986), pp.113-130

Rosenwein, Barbara, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *The American Historical Review*, 107, 3 (2002), pp.821-845

Rupiah, Martin R., 'The History of the Establishment of Internment Camps and Refugee Settlements in Southern Rhodesia, 1938-1952', *Zambezia*, 22 (1995), pp.137-152

Schattil, Alec, 'The Report of the Franzen Commission and the Rhodesian Budget', *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 3, 4 (1969), pp.8-14

Seekings, Jeremy, ''Not a Single White Person Should Be Allowed to go Under': Swartgevaar and South Africa's Welfare State, 1924-1929', *Journal of African History*, 48 (2007), pp.375-394

Shear, Keith, ''Not Welfare or Uplift Work': White Women, Masculinity and Policing in South Africa', *Gender & History*, 8, 3 (1996), pp.393-415

Shutt, Allison K., ''The Natives Are Getting Out of Hand': Legislating Manners, Insolence and Contemptuous Behaviour in Southern Rhodesia, c. 1910–1963', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33, 3 (2007), pp.653-672

Shutt, Allison K., and Tony King, 'Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Studies* (2005), 31, 2, pp.357-379

Simson, Howard, 'The Myth of the White Working Class in South Africa', *The African Review*, 4, 2 (1974), pp.189-203

Sinha, Mrinalini, 'Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India', *Journal of British Studies*, 40, 4 (2001), pp.489-521

Sithole, Phineas, 'Labour Problems in Rhodesia: A Trade Union Viewpoint', *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, 6, 4 (1972), pp.11-12

Stigger, Phillip, 'Minute Substance versus Substantial Fear: White Destitution and the Shaping of Policy in Rhodesia in the 1890s', in *White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa, 1880-1940,* edited by Robert Morrell (Pretoria: UNISA, 1992), pp.130-150

Stoler, Ann Laura, and Frederick Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda', *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of Cambridge Press, 1997), pp.1-56

Stoler, Ann Laura, 'Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31, 1 (1989), pp.134-161

Summers, Carol, 'Boys, Brats and Education: Reproducing White Maturity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1915-1935', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1, 1 (2011), pp.132-153

Swanson, Maynard, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', *The Journal of African History*, 18, 3 (1977), pp.387-410

Szreter, Simon and Keith Breckenridge, 'Introduction: Recognition and Registration: The Infrastructure of Personhood in World History', in *Registration and Recognition: Documenting the Person in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.1-38

Tavuyanago, Baxter, Tasara Muguti, James Hlongwana, 'Victims of the Rhodesian Immigration Policy: Polish Refugees from the Second World War', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 38, 4, (2012), pp.951-965

Tevera, D. and J. Crush 2003 The New Brain Drain from Zimbabwe. Migration Policy Series No. 29, SAMP

van der Walt, Lucien, "The First Globalisation and Transnational Labour Activism in Southern Africa: White Labourism, the IWW, and the ICU, 1904–1934", *African Studies*, 66, 2–3 (2007), pp. 223–251

van Zyl Hermann, Danelle, 'White Workers in the Late Apartheid Period: A Report on the Wiehahn Commission and Mineworkers' Union Archival Collections', *History in Africa*, 43 (2016), pp.229-258

van Zyl-Hermann, Danelle, 'Baas or Klaas? Afrikaner Working-Class Responses to Transformation in South Africa, ca. 1977-2002', *International Labour and Working-Class History*, 86 (2014), pp.142-158

Veracini, Lorenzo, 'Introducing', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1, 1 (2011), pp.1-12

Vickery, Kenneth P., 'The Rhodesia Railway Strike of 1945, Part One: A Narrative Account', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 3 (1998), pp.545-560

Vickery, Kenneth P., 'The Rhodesia Railways African Strike of 1945, Part Two: Cause, Consequence, Significance', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25, 1 (1999), pp.49-71

Volpato, Chiara, and Laurent Licata, 'Introduction: Collective Memories of Colonial Violence', *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 4, 1 (2010), pp.4-10

Walsh, Margaret, 'WomanPower: The Transformation of the Labour Force in the UK and the USA since 1945', *Recent Findings of Research in Economic & Social History*, 30 (2001), http://www.ehs.org.uk/dotAsset/4e68f7d2-4ddb-4d34-889d-30c831beb6b1.pdf [accessed 19 August 2017]

Welsh, David, 'Right-Wing Terrorism in South Africa', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 7, 1 (1995), pp.239-264

White, Luise, 'Other People's Sons: Conscription, Citizenship and Families, 1970-1980', http://wiser.wits.ac.za/system/files/seminar/White2013.pdf [accessed 19 August 2017]

Wolfe, Patrick, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8, 4 (2006), pp.387-409

Wolpe, Harold, 'The 'White Working Class' in South Africa', *Economy and Society*, 5, 2 (1976), pp.197-240

Yedes, Ali, 'Social Dynamics in Colonial Algeria: The Question of Pieds-Noirs Identity', in *French Civilisation and its Discontents: Nationalism, Colonialism, Race* edited by Tyler Stovall, Georges Van Den Abbeele (Plymoth: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.235-250

Unpublished theses

Jaruka, Samora, *White Civil Service in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1953* (unpublished BA honours dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2006)

Johnson, David, *The Impact of the Second World War on Southern Rhodesia, with Special Reference to African Labour, 1939-1948* (unpublished thesis, School of African and Oriental Studies, 1989)

King, Monica, *Serving in Uniform: Women in Rhodesia Defence Forces and the Police, 1939-1980* (unpublished BA honours dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2000)

Kufakurinani, Ushehwedu, *White Women and Domesticity in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1980* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2014)

Lee, Marguerite Elaine, *Politics and Pressure Groups in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1923* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1974)

Madabu Ndlovu, Xesha, *Manpower Planning in Rhodesia, 1965-1980: A History* (unpublished BA honours dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2006)

Manjiche, Brenda, *Implementation and Impact of the Marriage Allowance in Southern Rhodesia, 1914-1953* (unpublished BA honours dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2012)

Mataruka, Matthew, *History of Mutare African Municipal Workers 1945-1994* (unpublished BA honours dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1995)

Mhike, Ivo, *"A Case of Perennial Shortage": State Registered Nurse Training and Recruitment in Southern Rhodesia Government Hospitals, 1939-1963* (unpublished BA honours dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2007)

Mutyavaviri, Max Jerry, *Labour Legislation in Zimbabwe in Historical Perspective: A Historical Survey of the Development of Zimbabwe's Labour Legislation from 1891 to 1989 with Special Reference to Labour Relations* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1989)

Samkange, Stanlake, *A History of the Rhodesia Labour Party, 1920-1948* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard, 1982)

Tinashe Aldrin, Magaya, *A History of the Rhodesia Teachers Association* (unpublished BA honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2007)

Appendices

Table 1: Percentage of Total Economically Active Europeans Engaged in Mining and Quarrying[1034]

Year	Percentage
1921	12.8
1926	11.7
1931	8.1
1936	14.8
1941	11.5
1956	8.8
1961	3
1969	3.2

Table Two: Railway Employees, 1926 Census

Occupation	Males	Females	Total Persons
Railway administrative, accounting, clerical staff	400	53	453
Stationmasters, inspectors, guards, conductors	351	0	351
Gangers, platelayers, pumpmen, etc	199	0	199
Transport contractors, riders and conductors	328	6	334
TOTAL	**1278**	**59**	**1337**

Table Three: Numbers of European Females per 1000 Males, 1907-1969

Year	European Females per 1000 European Males
1904	407
1907	482
1911	515
1921	771
1926	796
1931	830
1936	864
1941	883
1946	863
1951	902
1956	918
1961	982
1969	989

[1034] Collated from successive censuses. 1936, p.49; 1941, p.5; 1956, p.9; 1969, p.25

Table Four: Government Expenditure on Relief of Destitutes, 1904-1923

Year	Amount
1904	£920
1907	£540
1911	£134
1921	£2,200
1922	£3,700
1923	£6,700

Table Five: Men Engaged on Relief Work, 1934[1035]

Place	Number
Mtao	98
Stapleford	52
Ronda	132
Bulawayo Municipality	96
Salisbury	34
TOTAL	412

[1035] G. E. Wells, *Report* on *Unemployment and the Relief of Destitution in Southern Rhodesia*, Salisbury, 1935, p.2.

Table Six: Unemployed European Men by Occupation, 1933[1036]

Occupation	Number
Clerks	92
Farmers	138
Salesmen and Travellers	31
Hotel Occupations	4
Business Managers	4
Compound Managers	5
Skilled or Qualified	
Carpenters	38
Bricklayers and Plasterers	22
Plumbers	6
Painters	11
Boilermakers	7
Blacksmiths	7
Miners	13
Fitters, Engineers and Mechanics	43
Other	52
Total Skilled	**199**
Unskilled or Semi-Skilled	
Handymen	37
Mechanics	33
Building Trades	76
Railway Workers	59
Miners	16
Miscellaneous Mining	23
Other Unskilled	27
None (mostly youths)	82
Total Unskilled	**353**
Total Unemployed	**826**

Table Seven: Number of Coloured Persons Actually Known to be Supervising African Labour, 1946[1037]

Industry	Number
Trades and Secondary Industries	13
Commerce and Miscellaneous	11
Mining Industry	3
Agriculture	37
Railways (gangers)	32
Municipalities	12
Government Employees	4
Statutory Commissions	3

[1036] Slightly modified from Wells, 1934, p.5.
[1037] *Report of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Social Welfare of the Coloured Community of Southern Rhodesia, 1946*, p.61.

Table Eight: Women's Occupations as a Percentage of Total Economically Active Women, 1926-1969

Year	Clerical	Teachers	Nurses	Shop Assistants	Hairdressers and Beauty	Farmers
1926	39.2	n/a	8.3	16.9	0.3	11.7
1936	26.3	10.2	10	9.9	2.1	4.8
1941	39.3	4.6	10.4	11.6	1.9	4.3
1946	39.4	7.6	9.4	10.3	1.7	3.6
1951	44.9	6.7	5.9	13.4	1.1	2.5
1956	44.6	5.8	5.6	11.9	1.1	1.9
1961	56.1	7.5	4.7	12.1	1.6	1.3
1969	59.3	8.4	5.3	8.6	2.2	1.4

Table Nine: Percentage of Men and Women Performing Clerical Work, 1926-1969

Year	Male	Female
1926	71.1	28.9
1936	55.6	44.4
1941	48.6	51.4
1946	49.1	50.9
1951	32.1	67.9
1956	28.1	71.9
1961	33.1	66.9
1969	42.6	57.4

Table Ten: Percentage of Women Performing Clerical Work across Rhodesia, the US and Canada[1038]

Year	Southern Rhodesia	US	Canada
1920		48.4	41.8
1926	28.9		
1930		52	45.1
1936	44.4		
1940/1	51.4	52.6	50.1
1946	50.9		
1950/1	67.9	60.2	56.7
1960/1	66.9	67.8	61.5
1969	57.4		
1970/1		74.6	68.9

[1038] Data for the US and Canada was taken from Kim England and Kate Boyer, 'Women's Work: The Feminisation and Shifting Meanings of Clerical Work', *Journal of Social History,* 43, 2 (2009), pp.307-340.

Table Eleven: Numbers and Percentages of Women Employed in the Mining and Quarrying, Manufacturing, Electricity by Race, 1964-1970

Year	European, Asian and Coloured			African			All Races		
	Total Employees	Females		Total Employees	Females		Total Employees	Females	
		Numbers	% of total		Numbers	% of total		Numbers	% of total
1964	19315	3668	19	106014	2649	2.5	125245	6317	5
1965	20326	4023	19.8	110262	2755	2.5	130511	6778	5.2
1966	20414	4081	20	111809	2905	2.6	132122	6986	5.3
1966	20123	4022	20	110799	2876	2.6	130628	6898	5.3
1967	20656	4128	20	116685	3265	2.8	137238	7393	5.4
1968	21558	4283	19.9	121979	3411	2.8	143359	7694	5.4
1969	22964	4782	20.8	133311	4205	3.2	156948	8987	5.7
1970	24082	5013	20.8	145794	4717	3.2	169876	9730	5.7

Table Twelve: Economically Active Women as a Percentage of Adult

Women and of Total Economically Active Persons, 1926-1969

Year	Total Numbers of European Women	Percentage Change from Previous Census	Total Women Stated Economically Active Occupation	Women who are Economically Active as a Percentage of the Female Population 15 Years and Over	Women as Percentage of Total Economically Active Persons
1921	14633		1949	20.6	13.2
1926	17366	18.7	2359	20	14.4
1931	22630	30.3	3917	24.8	17.6
1936	25683	13.5	4630	25.1	18.8
1941	32339	25.9	6861	29.5	27.9
1946	38166	18.0	7666	28.3	23.1
1951	64289	68.4	14933	33.6	24.7
1956	85596	33.1	22023	37.7	28
1961	109784	28.3	30775	41.1	32
1969	113505	3.4	33333	43.1	33.3

Table Thirteen: Railway Employees North and East of Bulawayo[1039]

Year	European	African and Coloured
1946	3843	11420
1947	4251	12972
1948	4556	13485
1953	7792	19516
1954	7846	19978
1955	8505	20885
1956	9122	21930
1957	9789	23273
1958	9895	20805

Table Fourteen: Percentage of Africans Working Unskilled to Skilled Jobs in Mining and Manufacturing, 1965[1040]

		Manufacturing	
	Mining	Processing	Other
in unskilled jobs	70	87	56
in semi-skilled jobs	22	10	56
in skilled jobs	0	3	5
in staff jobs	8	0	5

Table Fifteen: African Wages per Capita Across the Federal Territories[1041]

African wages £ per capita			
Year	Southern Rhodesia	Northern Rhodesia	Nyasaland
1954	63	77	36
1957	72.5	102.2	43.6
1960	87	n/a	n/a
1962	101.5	146.1	65.1
Average Percentage Increase Per Annum 1954-1962	4.9	5.1	2.5

[1039] Collated from Rhodesia Railways Annual Report 1956-1959.
[1040] Roberts, p.22.
[1041] Adapted from E.M.B. West, *Review of African Employment in Southern Rhodesia* (Bulawayo: Rhodesian Institute of African Affairs, 1963), p.11.

Table Sixteen: Average Cash Earnings of Employees During the 30 days ending 26th September, 1961, Excluding Annual or Less Frequent Bonuses, Allowances etc., by Race and Industry[1042]

Approximate average earnings per head in £			
Industry	**Africans**	**Europeans**	**African wages as a percentage of European wages**
Agriculture and Forestry	**3.2**	**61.7**	**5.19**
Mining and Quarrying	**5.6**	**105.8**	**5.29**
Food, Drink and Tobacco (Manufacturing)	8.4	99.8	8.42
Textiles, Clothing Etc (Manufacturing)	9.8	101.9	9.62
Wood and Furniture (Manufacturing)	8.6	101.9	8.44
Paper Products, Printing Etc (Manufacturing)	12.7	78.2	16.24
Chemical Products (Manufacturing)	11.1	105.1	10.56
Non-Metallic Mineral Products (Manufacturing)	10.2	104.7	9.74
Metal Industries (Manufacturing)	11.4	97.9	11.64
Other Manufacturing	14	98.8	14.17
Total Manufacturing	**9.8**	**98.8**	**9.92**
Construction	8.7	102.1	8.52
Electricity, Water, Etc,	9.5	102.3	9.29
Commerce and Finance	9.6	80.5	11.93
Rail	**17.1**	**88.2**	**19.39**
Road	18.3	92.4	19.81
Other Transport and Communication	8.4	86.9	9.67
Total Transport and Communications	**14.8**	**88.1**	**16.80**
Private Domestic	4.3	n.a	
Other	10.3	80	12.88
Total Services	7	80	8.75
Activities not adequately described	6.9	71.7	9.62
Grand Total	**6.3**	**86.4**	**7.29**

[1042] Taken from Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Preliminary Results of Federal Census of Population and of Employees, Industrial and Racial Distribution of Employees, 1961.

Table Seventeen: Apprenticeships Registered Each Year 1961-1975[1043]

Year	Number of Apprentices	Number of Africans	Percentage of Africans
1961	308	n/a	-
1962	436	10	2.3
1963	371	9	2.4
1964	378	8	2.1
1965	445	7	1.6
1966	378	9	2.3
1967	396	5	1.3
1968	498	17	3.4
1969	531	49	9.2
1970	600	n/a	-
1971	751	n/a	-
1972	807	n/a	-
1973	798	n/a	-
1974	880	100	11.4
1975	1211	219	18.1
1976	964	143	14.8

Table Eighteen: Maximum Possible Additions of Skilled People to the Workforce from Schools, 1961-1977[1044]

	1961-1969	1970-1977
Blacks	7676	32298
Whites	39224	43059

Table Nineteen: Grading of African Employees as Percentage of Total in 1965[1045]

		Manufacturing	
	Mining	Processing	Other
in unskilled jobs	70	87	56
in semi-skilled jobs	22	10	56
in skilled jobs	0	3	5
in staff jobs	8	0*	5

*96 in number

[1043] Stoneman, p.14.
[1044] Stoneman, p.25.
[1045] Roberts, p.22.

Table Twenty: Age Distribution of Stock of Engineers at 30th June 1974[1046]

	under 30	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60+	Total
Number of Engineers	53	70	115	82	119	137	101	110	787
As a Percentage of Total Engineers	6.7	8.9	14.6	10.4	15.1	17.4	12.8	14.0	100

Table Twenty-One: 1962 Election Results in Descending Order of the Highest Percentage Voting for RF

District	RF	UFP	CAP/IND
Queen's park	75.92	24.08	
Gwelo Rural	69.32	30.68	
Rusape	69.18	30.82	
Waterfalls	68.72	28.98	2.3
Central	68.02	31.98	
Hatfield	67.41		32.59
Shabani	66.93	31.06	2.01
Gatooma	66.64	33.36	
Charter	64.45	35.55	
Gwebi	64.41	35.59	
Gwelo	63.81	36.19	
Marlborough	63.64	36.36	
Braeside	63.56	36.44	
Hartley	63.3	36.7	
Jameson	61.94	35.34	2.72
Lomagundi	61.72	38.28	
Umtali East	60.48	39.52	
Mabelreign	59.84	40.16	
Umzingwane	59.53	40.47	
Raylton	59.25	40.75	
Umtali West	58.25	41.75	
Hillcrest	57.59	42.41	
Bellevue	56.2	43.8	
Mazoe	55.77	44.23	
Wankie	55.77	44.23	

[1046] Modified from assumed age distribution given in the *Survey of Engineering Manpower in Rhodesia, 1974/5* (Salisbury: Department of Labour, 1976), p.13.

Bulawayo South	55.7	44.3	
Greendale	55.5	44.5	
Marandellas	55.39	44.61	
Victoria	55.27	44.73	
Que Que	54.4	45.6	
Eastern	54.32	45.68	
Bulawayo North	52.4	47.6	
Salisbury Central	51.61	48.39	
Matobo	51.3	48.7	
Bulawayo District	50.83	41.64	7.53
Bulawayo Central	49.22	50.78	
Mtoko	49.02	50.98	
Highlands South	48.91	51.09	
Belvedere	46.97	53.03	
Willowvale	44.85	55.15	
Hillside	44.27	55.73	
Salisbury City	44.26	55.74	
Avondale	43.68	56.32	
Salisbury North	40.5	59.5	
Milton Park	40.41	59.59	
Highlands north	40.27	59.73	
Arundel	39.73	60.27	
Greenwood	39.61	53.39	7
Borrowdale	35.09	64.91	
Bulawayo East	29.63	70.37	