“Smirking Prostitutes” and “the Problem of the Unfit Worker”:

Sir Granville St John Orde Browne’s Cross-Institutional and Imperial Career and the Imagining of an Ideal Type Colonial Labourer, 1885-1945.

The Discursive Exclusion of the Existence of Independent Female Wage Labour in the British African Colonial Context.

Weston Library Special Collections [WLSC], Oxford, MSS AFR S 1117 Box 2.1 items 1-3, item 1, Photographs of Accommodation for Native Labourers in South Africa and the Belgian Congo taken by Major Orde Browne, Labour Commissioner, 1929

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Research Master Thesis History
Subtrack: Cities, Migration, and Global Interdependence
Leiden University, the Netherlands

Word count: 63773
Referencing Style: Chicago Manual of Style

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Jon Krakauer wrote in *Into the Wild:* “It is true that I miss intelligent companionship, but there are so few with whom I can share the things that mean so much to me that I have learned to contain myself. It is enough that I am surrounded with beauty.” It is my pleasure to say that while the overwhelming sense of beauty found in nature resonates deeply with me, I have not missed intelligent companionship while writing this thesis. Both in the wild and behind my computer I have been fortunate enough to have the support of a great many friends and family.

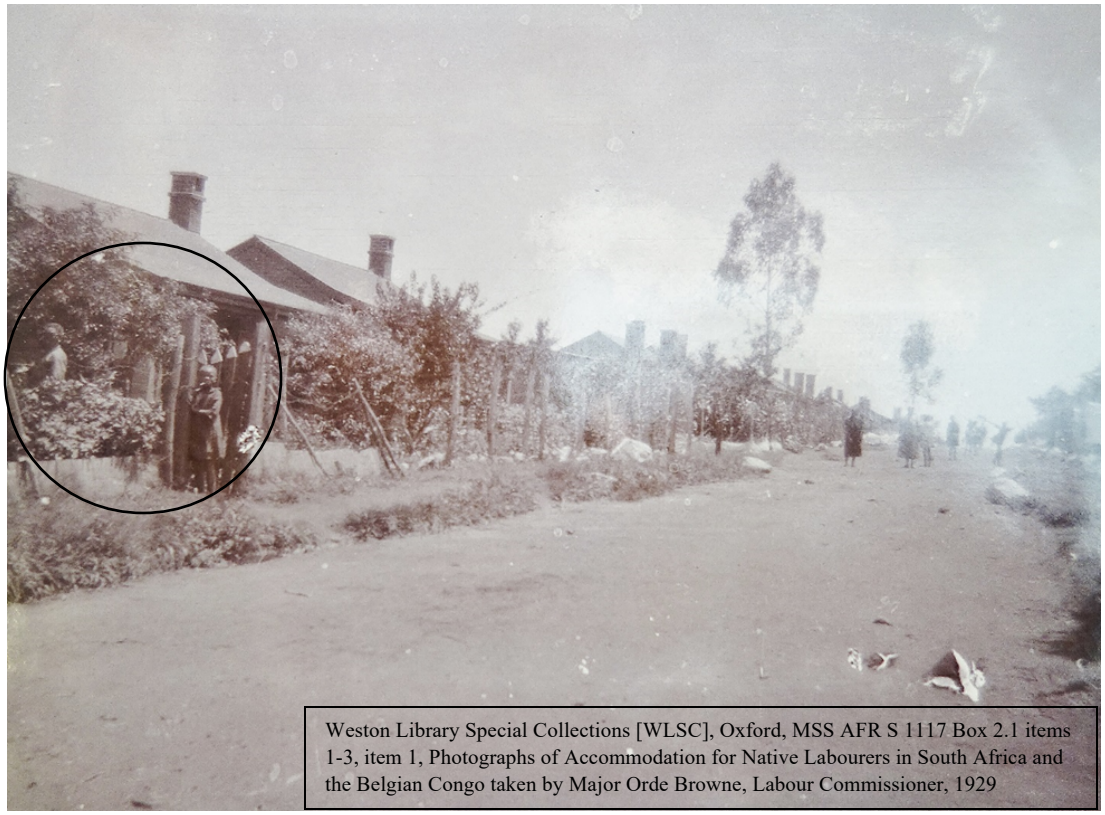
My first and utmost thanks goes to Prof Dr Jan Bart Gewald, who I deeply respect due to the seemingly endless depths of his knowledge, his sincere humanity, and his belief in my free range academic abilities. A great deal of thanks also goes to Prof Dr Catia Antunes, Prof Dr Marlou Schrover, Trudi Blomsma, Esther Buizer, and all the staff and the lunches of the Economic Social History Department at Leiden University, for their support at times when it was needed most. I thank everyone at Leiden University, the African Studies Centre in Leiden, and the School of Oriental and African Studies in London for their guidance and constructive criticism during the finishing of this thesis and the Master’s Degree it was part of. I am grateful to the LISF, the Uhlenbeck fund, the *Stagefonds Duurzame Geesteswetenschappen*, and Erasmus+ for providing me with funds to undertake my archival research and the staff at the Weston Library and the National Archives for always being helpful when faced with archival hiccups. My thanks go out to everyone that has in any way socially or institutionally supported me, even when not asked for or when inconvenient.

Alisha, Danique, Carolina, Lieke, Lotta, Lotte, Nelleke, Noelle, Riënne, and Saskia, you are more than just names to me and I cannot express how happy I am to have been surrounded by such a group of amazing friends during the last few years. I thank everyone that has had coffee with me, went hiking with me, borrowed their houses, cats, and farms to me, you know who you are. I needed your support, you gave it, and for that I am forever grateful. My family has been my rock during these last few years and if our losses have taught me anything it is that I could not have done this without the hugs of my mom and sister, the wine and dines with my dad, the pictures of cats from Arianne, and the full support of my mother-in-law, nieces and nephews. I am grateful to my grandmother for making me see the world in a different, greener, kinder way. She is dearly missed and without her I would not be the person nor the academic I am today.

Finally, Joris, I could not have finished this monster without you. You have listened to me when I was down, when I was ranting, and when I was quiet. You are the very definition of love and support and there is no way to thank you for all you have done. I hope we can spend many more years outside and inside together, because you make them my favourite spaces to be in.

INTRODUCTION

In 1929, Sir Granville St John Orde Browne wrote a report on labour accommodation on the compounds of Johannesburg and Belgian Congo.[1] He included a set of pictures that mostly depicted empty accommodations. The report documented various forms of labour accommodation and concomitantly provided labour policy recommendations for the Tanganyika Commissioner. People were not the primary subject of the photographs. However, in one of the pictures, literally in the shadow of the trees, we see a woman gazing back at Orde Browne and a child standing in the gate leading into the garden. Neither their existence, let alone their story, was included in the report, the picture almost accidentally betraying the idealized colonial portrayal of colonial labour as a preponderantly male occurrence. Instead, they were vaguely referred to as one of the 5000 "families" these compounds in Johannesburg intended to accommodate.



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[1] Weston Library Special Collections [WLSC], Oxford, MSS AFR S 1117 Box 2.1 items 1-3, item 1, Photographs of Accommodation for Native Labourers in South Africa and the Belgian Congo taken by Major Orde Browne, Labour Commissioner, 1929.

To understand why they were not included in a study of labour accommodation, and later in studies of colonial labour, it is important to understand why the gaze of the camera was turned away from women and children; what assumptions worked to facilitate this kind of behaviour? To understand exclusion, this thesis argues, it is important to analyse the assumptions of the person, in this case Orde Browne, that participated in the act of excluding.

QUESTION AND ARGUMENT

The leading question in this research is how sir Granville St John Orde Browne imagined the ideal colonial labourer in correspondence and reports written in the course of his career, 1885-1945. It asks specifically how men and women were represented or omitted within this imagining and why. It is argued that in the context of colonial labour, Orde Browne imagined the ideal colonial labourer as male and hereby excluded women from the realm of wage labour opportunities, instead discursively assigning them to the sphere of domesticity and recommending policies that limited female wage labour opportunities and reified a colonial idealization of wife-hood and motherhood. This exclusion was based on assumptions of women as especially traditional and conservative, a sexualization and associated demoralization of the independent presence of women in the compounds, and women being deemed inferior labourers. Men, on the other hand, were represented as objects of exploitation, whose bodies and minds were to be controlled through colonial policies with the aim of making labour migration as efficient and profitable as possible. Women within this structure were visualized as dependents who could either hinder said effective exploitation through the spread of disease and immorality, or could enable even more efficient and stable exploitation and ensure the reproduction of a future generation of workers. Neither men nor women were granted authority within discussions or recommendations of labour policies, an occasional reference to a talk with a chief or a group of labourers being a rare exception; the referencing of collected information remained predominantly limited to Orde Browne's professional and personal networks which were mostly higher class, white, male Europeans. Throughout his career, Orde Browne's social network functioned to both grant him opportunities, a sense of expertise, informal and formal exchanges

of information across institutions, colonial and imperial spheres and reiterate the idea that western-based institutions and educated, white, male Europeans were the most valuable references to include in one's personal and professional work. Moreover, labour recommendations that were invasive (e.g. medical inspections) and violent in their reduction of identities of peoples in colonized spaces, were presented as credible because they were thought to be examples of good governance, prevent labour unrest, and be in the best interest of industry (profit), colonial government (profit and information-based polices of control), and labourers themselves (better working conditions).

Consequently, in the context of labour migration, both men and women in colonized spaces were discursively emptied out of multiplicious identities and silenced as sources of authority. Instead they were reduced to what Orde Browne deemed to be their primary function within labour migration; being an able-bodied man - morally and physically, and being a wife and a mother as imagined by Orde Browne. People who did not fit the idealized roles were represented as "undesirables," e.g. "prostitutes," "juvenile delinquents," and "cripples," who should be pushed out of the realm of labour migration, including the space of the town. These assumptions developed early in Orde Browne's career were later in his career presented as matter of fact observations, formalized and normalized to support Orde Browne's concomitant policy recommendations for the limitation of female labour. Hereby he did not question that Europeans were both the ones granting themselves the legitimacy and power of thinking up the questions, imagining the frameworks and idealizing a certain set of answers.

As stated throughout the thesis; the truthfulness of these imaginings, constructions, recommendations and circulations is not the question here; resistance and a renegotiating of colonial discursive violence and arrogance was omnipresent but not the topic of this thesis. The aim here is to understand not the truthfulness or fictitiousness of Orde Browne's subjective understandings of colonial labour and occurrences of resistance to colonial rule in general, but to understand how Orde Browne's assumptions functioned to construct categories and translate everything back to these demarcations regardless of whether these categories make any sense to us.[2] It is in its most essential form about what was deemed discursively possible and impossible in relation to colonial labour as understood from Orde Browne's writings.

[2] An important follow up question here is how these constructions were and are imposed through recommendations and policies to create a reality that worked with what Orde Browne would understand as normative. For example, the

OUTLINE

This argument is set out in three chapters that are supported by three recurring and leading questions; (1) what information and information networks were representations of colonial labourers based on, (2) who were represented in studies of colonial labour and how were they represented, (3) how were these representations legitimized and given credibility? Each chapter discusses a part of Orde Browne's career alongside an analysis of the specifics of information networks, representations, and legitimacy during that period. The first chapter analyzes Orde Browne's early career, from his birth in 1883 until his departure from the Colonial Office to the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1931. The second chapter examines the most hectic part of Orde Browne's career, between 1931 and 1938, a period during which his social network expanded significantly and he worked throughout multiple colonial, imperial and institutional spaces on the topic of colonial labour, garnering a status of expert within that "field". The final chapter considers his return to the Colonial Office in 1938, taking his report on Northern Rhodesia as a case study to demonstrate how information networks, representations and justifications were translated into a formal policy report on colonial labour in Northern Rhodesia. The three questions, or themes, illuminate how and why men and women in colonized spaces were represented or omitted in relation to colonial labour, and the social and institutional breadth of the circulation and justification of these gendered discursive constructions. In this way Orde Browne's evolution in his career can be placed alongside the development of his assumptions. This illuminates, for example, that women were included in the collection of information only in the beginning of Orde Browne's career, and only on the topics of folklore and tradition. Towards the end of Orde Browne's career, women disappeared as a referred-to source, while the assumption that they were mostly traditional was carried through and accompanied by the idea that women were inferior workers, mostly important as wives and mothers in the context of labour migration, and the recommendation that their wage labour opportunities should be limited. Alongside this, men were portrayed as workers, not referred to as authoritative source in labour

idea that women should not work underground, translated back into a policy that forbade it, but then this policy was and is also contested by women.

reports, and valued on the basis of their perceived degree of exploitability - their "able-bodiedness".

RELEVANCE

The relevance of this thesis; the side-by-side discussion and analysis of both an imperial career, a social/information network, and the representations made by Orde Browne, and his legitimization thereof, lies in demonstrating the coexistence of social and discursive networks in a cross-colonial, cross-institutional space. This problematizes the historiographic, and also theoretical, demarcation of spaces, such as "metropole" and "colony," and their often hierarchized relationship towards one another, with emphasis being placed either on the importance of the movement from the metropole to the colony of the colony to the metropole. As will be discussed below, even in studies that emphasize the interconnectivity of various colonial spaces and the existence of multiple overlaying webs wherein a place can be both centre and periphery, there is the tendency to remain limited to a specific imperial space and overlook, or at the very least obfuscate, connections between Empires and between Empires and institutions and societies such as the ILO, the British Museum, and the Institut Colonial. The general problem of setting out spaces, connections, and combining the general with the specific is a recurring issue of debate in historiographies and theories set out below. This thesis attempts to overcome parts of this struggle by connecting a variety of spaces through the specific information of a single life-time; that of Orde Browne. This makes it possible to illuminate multiple facets within that lifetime, be detailed in that analysis, while also presenting a geographically wide perspective to demonstrate social networks worked to connect and circulate a discursive construction in multiple spheres of governance. Moreover, in this way it is highly visible that it is essential to understand discursive constructions not just in the space where they are found - e.g. in a labour report written by Orde Browne in the Gold Coast - but to also be aware of the wider career of the person that was involved in its construction and therein depended on a life-time of assumptions and social

connections.[3] While this thesis might sometimes appear descriptive in approach, its implications are important in its questioning of historiographical and theoretical boundaries, positing that inter-institutional and inter-imperial movements, discursive constructions and their legacies, networked experiences and life-time geographies are only visible when one steps outside preempted geographical and conceptual boundaries maintained in books and archives.

In other words, while like Orde Browne one would like to believe there is a certainty and expertise to be gained from demarcating spaces and areas of study, such demarcations do little to reflect a constantly in-flux and connected life of people working within these spaces and consequently limits our understanding of the origin, development, and reach of discursive constructions and their circulation and eventual normalization - and possibly violent implementation - at multiple institutional levels. By setting alongside each other both a person's career, gaze and assumptions, and social/information networks, the fragility of institutional and colonial borders becomes apparent alongside the constructed nature of the categories circulated within these connected spaces. This demonstrates how case-study based assumptions could be normalized, formalized, and generalized and consequently how potentially problematic it is to take over categories of analysis represented in sources without questioning the wider life and development of bias of the person writing that source. One stands the risk of unknowingly taking over assumptions due to the fact that they have at a certain point been granted the veneer of fact; a good example being the general assumption that female labour migrancy was irrelevant in terms of numbers in for instance Ghana in the first half of the 20th century due to the fact that sources only represented them as "wives," not wage labour migrants.[4]

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[3] National Archives [NA] Kew, London, CO 554/139/6, Report by Major Orde Browne on Visit to West Africa, 1944.

[4] See for example; Jeff Crisp, *The Story of an African Working Class: Ghanaian Miners' Struggles, 1870-1980* (London: Zed, 1984); Raymond E. Dumett, *El Dorado in West Africa: The Gold-Mining Frontier, African Labor, and Colonial Capitalism in the Gold Coast, 1875-1900* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1998); Carola Lentz, *Ethnicity and the Making of History in Northern Ghana* (Edinburgh: University Press for the International African Institute, 2006).

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THEORY

There are several historiographical and theoretical clusters that this thesis bridges on, all of which are drawn from on the basis of their attention to connectivity - be it in space or discourse. The focus is on how each of these clusters has considered and used the idea of connectivity and these various forms of connectivity are put within one analytical framework. The aim is to highlight what becomes visible if one does not focus on a specific theme or area, but on the connections between discourse and social networks in the context of the webbed reality of an individual's career; illuminating the connections between connections so to speak. While this has the risk of being too superficial in the command of each separate field, it provides an opportunity in terms of creating a layered and in-depth understanding of how various forms and types of networks might work alongside or undermine each other. The clusters are the following; (1) imperial history - specifically imperial networks and imperial careers and the use of social network analysis, (2) a gender analysis of colonialism and empire and the use of discourse analysis to display various forms of gender bias in colonialism and imperialism and the relational and intersectional quality of these various biases in relation to (unequal) power dynamics, (3) global (labour) history and the use of webs, globalization, and labour as analytical lenses to analyze alongside each other developments such as trade unionism in multiple spaces and to demonstrate spatial connections through the movement of goods, ideas, and people, (4) bureaucratic histories of colonial officials and colonialism and the use of the gap hypothesis to demonstrate variations in the theory and practice of governance, and, finally, (5) numerous area-based studies and post-colonial studies that critique an overly Eurocentric vision on colonialism and imperialism and instead emphasize and deconstruct (the legacies of) colonial hegemonic normalizations based on ideas of a western self and a colonial other and illuminate the agency of colonial subjects and the diversity of their identities and relationships to Empire and colonial rule. The most important thing to note is that within all these fields there has been a consistent and increasing attention to connectivity, whether it be in the form of social networks, information exchanges, discursive trends and connections, a shared consciousness and resistance, or imperial careers. It is this emphasis on various forms and constitutions of connection this thesis draws from and seeks to highlight; the connectivity between a person's assumptions and policy recommendations early and later in that

person's career; a connectivity in social connections and information exchanges; a connectivity in assumptions, representations, discursive constructions and an including and excluding people on the basis thereof; a connectivity between spaces through the movement of people and information.

An important source of historiographical and theoretical guidance is the field of imperial history, specifically imperial careering, and the use of social network analysis within this field. Alan Lester in his article on imperial circuits and networks and Lester and Lambert in their book on networks and imperial careers, give a brief historiographical overview of the development and use of networks and spatial metaphors in imperial history.[5] Attention is given to shifts in the way connections have been perceived; from Robinson and Gallagher's ex-centric approach (influence moving from the colony to the metropole), to Cain and Hopkin's idea of a centrifugal movement (influence going from the centre to the colony), to all sorts of variations on that theme, such as the study of "bridgeheads" as points of connections.[6] Within these developments, Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler and Catherine Hall have been used as important points of reference by many scholars due to the emphasis they placed on looking at multiple colonial spaces within one framework and considering the variety and also conflicting nature of colonial networks, discourses and agenda's within those spaces (the "tensions of empire"). Their scholarship on empire also points out the importance of people in the establishment of imperial connections, people both enabling change and being changed by connectivity.[7] Tony Ballantyne added to the spatial imagining of colonial connectivity by noting that places can be both centre and periphery, networks overlapping and coexisting within an imperial space, thereby partly dismantling the endless back-and-forthing between the idea that influence and exchange started from either metropole or colony, or moved between centre and periphery.[8] Bridge and Fedorowich looked at a networked empire in relation to group and identities, working from the idea that the concept of the British World was not simply a geographical demarcation but also "an imaginary or imagined empire, and empire of the mind which projected a common set of ideas, opinions and

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[5] David Lambert and Alan Lester, *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1–31; Alan Lester, 'Imperial Circuits and Networks: Geographies of the British Empire', *History Compass* 4, no. 1 (2006): 125–41.
[6] Lester, 'Imperial Circuits and Networks', 125–30.
[7] Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of CA Press, 1997), 1–37; Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002), 1–27.
[8] Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 1–17.

principles."[9] While the emphasis on a connectivity between ideas and networks is important, Bridge and Fedorowich are sometimes a bit too celebratory in their approach, emphasizing networks of settlers as cooperative and constructive, in service of a "we" instead of an us and them. This obscures the fact that such a we and the imagined ideal of Britishness was also violent and came at the cost of other groups whereby gender, race, and class were important factors in determining otherness and white privilege. Importantly, Metcalf and later Gosh and Kennedy work to include exactly the social diversity and violence in exclusionary discourses that Bridge and Fedorowich obfuscate in their work. Their works demonstrate that trans-colonial connections emanated from other places than the metropole and that one should move beyond the metropole-colony and centre-periphery opposition and instead, much like Ballantyne, highlight numerous networks of exchange that connected multiple spaces and were constitutive of processes of globalization.[10]

Finally, Lester and Lambert reiterate the importance of looking at connections between parts of the empire by taking the imperial careers of people within the British Empire as a starting point. In this way they highlight how "life geographies constituted meaningful connections across empire in their own right. And these connections were one kind among many which facilitated the continual reformulation of imperial discourses, practices, and culture."[11] Specifically important for this thesis is the emphasis on a connection between networks and discourses. Special reference to this relationship is made by Lester in his book *Imperial Networks*, in which he identifies and analyzes competing networks and discourses of three specific groups (missionaries, officials, and British settlers).[12] The issue with Lester and Lambert's approach, other than a predominant emphasis on the 19th century and on networks more than discourses, is that although they try to dismantle a hierarchical conception of imperial space, they pay little attention to the way imperial careers also happened in other imperial spaces and institutional spaces and the way discourses developed in this inter-connected context. By setting the way information was collected by Orde Browne alongside the way he represented colonial labour, it is

[9] Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, *The British World: Diaspora, Culture, and Identity* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 1–15.
[10] Durba Ghosh and Dane Kennedy, *Decentring Empire: Britain, India and the Transcolonial World* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2006), 1–15; Thomas R. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860-1920*, 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 1–15.
[11] Lambert and Lester, *Colonial Lives across the British Empire*, 1–31.
[12] Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (London: Routledge, 2001), 1–8.

demonstrated that a discourse developed both within a person's career in, in this case, the British Empire, but also in spaces such as the ILO and French, Belgian and Portuguese colonies, and in contact with missionaries and other groups' works. This demonstrates that it is too simplistic to say the discourses of specific groups within the Empire were competing, or that they were limited to the space of the British colonies, as in fact there were a lot of information exchanges across these groups and across colonies. In the case of Orde Browne these exchanges were moreover sometimes used as forms of evidence to support his own assumptions and discursive conceptions of colonial labour. Moreover, there is sometimes the tendency to glorify the careers of these people, almost as though them being examples of interconnectivity excuses the violent nature of their discourses and legitimizes a relative lack of attention for the ways in which discourse might have attempted to prevent certain ways of being for specific groups at the receiving end of those discourses.

It is here that the importance of gender studies comes in; where network theory in imperial history does much to highlight connectivity in terms of space, gender theory emphasizes the relational quality of the way men and women were represented in colonial discourses and the way gender bias intersected with bias in relation to race, age, and (unequal) power dynamics. The relational quality of gender was emphasized early on in Joan Scott's canonical article on the usefulness of gender as a category of analysis. Scott argued that cultural constructions and demarcations of the categories "man" and "woman" happened in relation to each other. Her work demonstrated that the usefulness of a gender analysis was to be found in its identification and concomitant deconstruction and historization of these essentialized categories, their associated assumptions, and the power relations that lay behind them.[13] Butler has since then importantly pointed out that a gender analysis also offers the opportunity of not just deconstructing cultural constructions of "man" and "woman," but also makes it possible to question the very idea that these are naturally fixed and oppositional concepts. Butler emphasized the performative nature of gender; how through the repetition of discursive acts, categories and associations to these categories become normalized and acts that do not adhere to these discursive boundaries and oppositions become abnormalized.[14] Important in relation to colonialism is the point Butler

[13] Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75.
[14] Judith Butler, 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory', *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 519–31.

makes about these performative acts creating an idea of gender, gender in itself not existing other than through those acts. Here she points out that the creators or so-called authors of gender believe in their own construction to the extent that they conceive of it as natural:

> […] because gender is not a fact, the various acts of gender creates the idea of gender, and without those acts, there would be no gender at all. Gender is, thus, a construction that regularly conceals its genesis. […] The authors of gender become entranced by their own fictions whereby the construction compels one's belief in its necessity and naturalness.[15]

In the colonial context, an unequal power relationship based on conceptions of race and cultural superiority offered a situation wherein people like Orde Browne tried to enforce their view of proper performative gender acts, penalizing behaviour that was considered immoral and unnatural. The use of gender theory in studies of British colonies and British Empire has demonstrated how colonial authorities attempted to enforce what they perceived of as traditional and morally correct gender roles.[16] Multiple scholars have demonstrated how this could lead to restrictions on female mobility, but also invasive controls of female sexuality and reproduction, such as the penalizing of clitorectomy.[17] Studies on gender in the colonial context have moreover led to the important illustration of the ways in which race and gender intertwined in colonial discourses and policies. As pointed out by scholars working on intersectionality ever since Crenshaw coined the term, to look at gender alone obscures how multiple forms of discrimination such as gender, race, and class overlap.[18] Similarly, McClintock in *Imperial Leather* argues that race, class, and gender in the imperial context cannot be seen in isolation from each other as they "come into existence *in and through* relation to each other."[19] While gender theory and gender theory based studies of colonialism have made highly important contributions, a great deal of

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[15] Butler, 'Performative Acts', 522.
[16] See for example; Marjory Harper, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Philippa Levine, *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[17] Jean Allman, 'Making Mothers: Missionaries, Medical Officers and Women's Work in Colonial Asante, 1924–1945', *History Workshop Journal* 38, no. 1 (1994): 23–27; Dennis Heinz Laumann, *Colonial Africa, 1884-1994* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 34–35; J.L. Parpart, 'Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt: 1926-1964', in *Patriarchy and Power. African Women in the Home and the Workforce*, by S.B. Stichter and J.L. Parpart (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), 115–38; Hamilton Sipho Simelane, 'The State, Chiefs and the Control of Female Migration in Colonial Swaziland, c. 1930s-1950s', *The Journal of African History* 45, no. 1 (2004): 103–24.
[18] Kathleen Guidroz and Michele Tracy Berger, *The Intersectional Approach: Transforming the Academy Through Race, Class, and Gender* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
[19] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 5.

these books have been edited volumes or collections of essays. This in itself is not necessarily problematic, but is runs the risk of not highlighting the ways in which certain tropes developed and circulated throughout various spaces - both imperial and multi-institutional.

Where gender studies therefore sometimes has the tendency of presenting numerous case studies but overlooking the spatial width of some discursive constructions and their circulation, this is met by the theory of imperial careering where exactly such exchanges are highlighted. Together they serve to demonstrate both biased representations of people in colonized spaces in terms of gender and race, who took the power of representing people in such ways, and the manner in which such representations circulated and drew from personal and professional exchanges of the people assuming the power to represent. In this sense the connectivity in power relationships, gender and racial bias, and the punishment or rewarding of certain gendered acts emphasized by gender theory, is made geographically and institutionally insightful when read alongside an analysis of the geography of an imperial career and an emphasis on social- and information exchanges.

The emphasis on the exchange of goods, ideas, and people has been omnipresent in global (labour) history. Concepts such as webs, globalization, and labour have been used as analytical lenses to examine developments such as trade unionism, organized worker resistance, and information networks in multiple spaces.[20] Within global labour history, important steps have been made to seeing developments in colonial labour, such as unionization, the circulation of management styles and so-called trained or specialized personnel, and worker resistance in a wider spatial framework.[21] In a "state of the art" article by Marcel van der Linden it is highlighted how Global Labour History as a practice and a field - maybe more so than a theory (his words) - has worked to highlight trans-national connections and pushes researchers to be bold by stepping outside of their familiar terrain; "Global history is therefore in the first instance a question of mentality. Researchers should be bold in their inquiry and dare venture outside their own familiar terrain."[22] Such a mentality is especially useful when one wants to expand both

[20] J. R. McNeill, *The Human Web: A Bird's-Eye View of World History* (New York: Norton, 2003); T. Dunbar Moodie, *Going for Gold: Men, Mines, and Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Silke Neunsinger et al., *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers* (Leiden, Netherlands; Boston, Massachusetts: Brill, 2015).
[21] Elaine N. Katz, 'The Role of American Mining Technology and American Mining Engineers in the Witwatersrand Gold Mining Industry, 1890-1910', 2005.
[22] Marcel Van Der Linden, 'The Promise and Challenges of Global Labor History', *International Labor and Working-Class History* 82, no. 1 (2012): 62.

spatially and theoretically, combining the use of networks, a push for wider consideration of imperial and institutional spaces, and the relational quality of the construction of (group) identities and categories. Global labour history can moreover benefit from these other fields, because they do a lot to question the naturalness of groups, especially from the perspective of gender theory. There is a tendency to take groups such as "slaves," "contract labourers," and "colonial labourers" as for granted categories that can be taken as a starting point for comparison on a global scale. Similarly, Callebert has argued that labour historians have looked at "those African workers involved in bringing the continent's resources into world markets" such as railway and harbor workers, those workers, in other words, implicated in export-oriented colonial economies. Callebert states this view on Africa's mobility "from without" ignores histories in trade, labour, and processes of globalization emanating from the continent itself instead of in response to European interactions. He argues that scholars such as Van Der Linden and Lucassen have "little to say about Africa beyond transport workers, slavery, and South Africa."[23] Much like Callebert argues for attention to a greater diversity of groups and types of labourers on the African continent, this thesis emphasizes that such groups that are used by Lucassen and Van Der Linden were constructed categories. Therefore, they cannot unquestioningly be used as they carry within them a great deal of bias in terms of gender, race, and age.[24] This requires them to be analyzed critically and historicized before leaping into global comparisons; without this first step continuities and similarities might be identified that were not so much inherent to various contexts as they were inherent to colonial circulations of certain assumptions such as the idea that women were not supposed to work underground.

Finally, bureaucratic histories of colonial officials have demonstrated the importance of considering the networked reality of officials. Zoë Laidlaw has illuminated the importance of social networks in imperial governance in the nineteenth century. According to Laidlaw the importance of these networks decreased in the twentieth century.[25] Prior, however, has shown that networks remained important. In a comprehensive study of colonial officials in British

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[23] Ralph Callebert, 'African Mobility and Labor in Global History', *History Compass* 14, no. 3 (2016): 117–18.
[24] It may be the case that due to my relative unfamiliarity with the wide field of global labour history, I might have missed specific scholars working on this topic, any suggestions would be welcomed. It, however, remains significant that in a state of the art article by a canonical scholar this is not noted as a problem nor suggested as part of a future research agenda; Van Der Linden, 'Global Labor History'.
[25] Zoë Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections, 1815-45: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government* (Manchester: Manchester University Press; Palgrave, 2005), 1–9.

Africa, Prior highlights how colonial official's mental state was important to colonial governance, arguing for instance that self-aggrandizement motivated colonial official's way of behaving; to please the right person could translate in one's own advancement. Within this argument it is evident that networking was important in the development of colonial careers and influenced colonial decision-making on the ground.[26] An important oversight in Prior's work is the fact that people could also move outside of the colonial office for such advancement, as will be demonstrated through a discussion of Orde Browne's career; Prior pays no attention to connections between the colonial office and other organizations. He also falsely opposes "military" and "civilian" officials as respectively dependent on "force and prestige" or "educated and anthropological," overlooking again that considerable movement between these categories was possible and that being a military man did not mean one had not received (a form of) education.[27] What is nevertheless very important in Prior's work is the fact that it shows people worked on the basis of their own self-interest and that consequently governance was influenced by people's individual agenda's and not just an imperial one. The discrepancy between practice and theory has been labelled as the gap hypothesis in studies of governance of migration.[28]

Theoretical implications of studies of Migration and institutions such as the ILO and colonial bureaucracy might be similar, in practice, however, their historiographies have often remained separate; the 'nationalist' aims of European Colonial Administrations with respect to labour policies have been portrayed as obstructive to the more 'internationalist' potential of the ILO.[29] Historiography on the ILO is extensive, but tends to be legalistic in nature. Attention is paid mostly to the Conventions the ILO formulated and the rates of ratification thereof by the ILO's member states. The ILO is represented as a toothless tiger; an ineffective organization that might have gathered information and written conventions, but was ineffective in ensuring

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[26] Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, Colonial Officials and the Construction of the British Imperial State, C. 1900−39* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 1–14, 33–34, 65–87, 99–100, 115–16, 165, 170–73.
[27] Prior, *Exporting Empire*, 8–10, 99–103.
[28] Wayne. A. Cornelius et al., eds., *Controlling Immigration. A Global Perspective* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); Mathias Czaika and Hein De Haas, 'The Effectiveness of Immigration Policies', *Population and Development Review* 39, no. 3 (2013): 487–508.
[29] Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*, African Studies Series 89 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 55–56; Daniel Roger Maul, 'The International Labour Organization and the Struggle against Forced Labour from 1919 to the Present', *Labor History* 48, no. 4 (2007): 477–500.

ratification and the implementation of ratified conventions.[30] In relation to colonial labour, some have argued that members of the ILO, partly building on the older anti-slavery movement, developed a critical discourse and initiated instruments to improve exploitative and abusive labour practices in the colonies.[31] However, simultaneously the argument has been made that during the Interbellum the critical capacity of the ILO was weakened by colonial powers that deflected international scrutiny out of fear that norms considered standard in the metropole would be transplanted to the colonial context. 'Native Labour' was considered as something separate, to be judged and regulated by different regulations than those applied in the metropole and in the case of Europeans.[32] Unfortunately, unless it concerns the Director Generals, little has been written on the people within the ILO. A great exception is Van Daele, who has emphasized the importance of ideological networks in the establishment of the ILO. However, Van Daele limits herself to networks that developed within Europe before the First World War and does not include the connections between the Colonial Office and the ILO.[33] In other words, these fields could still learn a lot from each other if more attention would be paid to historical networks connecting these spheres of governance. In that way the full implications of both the gap hypothesis and social networks in the governance of imperial spheres in relation to labour could be highlighted. Orde Browne's case shows the existence of such (informal) connectivity; ILO guidelines were both used as legitimization of policy recommendations implemented in a colonial context and information on labour conditions in specific colonies was circulated in the ILO via personal correspondence.

The history of colonial bureaucracy, the importance of networks in the advancement of one's career, and the gap hypothesis become especially important when read alongside gender theory and imperial and global connections, because it raises the question how multiple layers of government were not only connected but might have circulated and normalized forms of bias in

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[30]For an extensive review of the historiography on the ILO see; Jasmien Van Daele, 'The International Labour Organization (ILO) in Past and Present Research', *International Review of Social History* 53, no. 3 (December 2008): 485–511.

[31] Antony Evelyn Alcock, *History of the International Labour Organisation* (London: Macmillan, 1971), 81–98; Daniel Roger Maul, *Human Rights, Development and Decolonization: The International Labour Organization, 1940-70* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Laurence R. Helfer, 'Understanding Change in International Organizations: Globalization and Innovation in the ILO. (International Labour Organization)', *Vanderbilt Law Review* 59, no. 3 (2006): 681–90.

[32] Maul, 'Struggle Against Forced Labour', 477–81; Luis Rodríguez-Piñero, *Indigenous Peoples, Postcolonialism, and International Law: The ILO Regime (1919-1989)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 11–12, 17–53.

[33] Jasmien Van Daele, 'Engineering Social Peace: Networks, Ideas, and the Founding of the International Labour Organization', *International Review of Social History* 50, no. 3 (2005): 435–66.

the form of official conventions and colonial translations thereof in local laws. It is here that the thesis reaches both its full implications and limits. Within the scope of this thesis is the way certain forms of discourse were constructed and circulated; an idea of colonial labour was transmitted across the scope of Orde Browne's career - reaching into multiple spheres of governance. What remains out of the scope of this thesis but is heartily recommended as further topic of study, is the way that discursive constructions lived on in these various spheres of governance; what I would like to call "discursive legacies."

At this point it becomes important to refer to the numerous area-based studies and post-colonial studies that have critiqued an overly Eurocentric vision on colonialism and imperialism and instead emphasize and deconstruct (the legacies of) colonial assumptions and normalizations that were based on ideas of a western self and a colonial other. These studies highlight both historical diversity, the agency of colonial subjects and their various identities and relationships to empire and colonial rule. Questions such as "can the sub-altern speak" have led to productive series of theoretical discussions and prompted significant research into not just colonial violence and colonized resistance, but the diversity of lives and voices and histories one can and should look for in what is referred to as "colonial" history. In other words; people have started looking both for ways of making historical research more inclusive in terms of researchers, methods used, and stories included.[34] Spivak kicked off this discussion by asking whether the subaltern can be heard or raise its voice against the way it has been portrayed as the inferior, silent 'Other', without using the very same discourse that has assigned this identity. Speaking up and being heard in this sense requires a translation to the dominant discourse or way of thinking, which implies the loss of the subaltern discourse or status.[35] Relating specifically to Africa, Mudimbe started a similar discussion with his seminal work of 1988 *The Invention of Africa.* Mudimbe argued that colonialism imposed a specific way of organizing knowledge that opposed Africa as

[34] See for example; Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'In Defense of "Provincializing Europe": A Response to Carola Dietze', *History and Theory* 47, no. 1 (2008): 85–96; Frederick Cooper, 'Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History', *The American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (1994): 1516–1545; Carola Dietze, 'Toward a History on Equal Terms: A Discussion of "Provincializing Europe"', *History and Theory* 47, no. 1 (2008): 69–84; V. Y. Author Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*, African Systems of Thought The Invention of Africa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); J.-A. Mbembé, *On the Postcolony*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture 41 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

[35] Spivak, *The Spivak Reader*, 5–6, 287.

an inferior and primitive 'other' to a modern, Western 'self.' Similar to Spivak, Mudimbe points out that reactions to this conceptualization of Africa have often depended on the very academic and conceptual tools that lead to the dichotomy in the first place.[36] Mudimbe himself also strongly relied on Foucault, specifically the idea that the organization of knowledge and discourse is an expression of power relations, but argued "The conceptual means are there. Why not use them? You might say that they come from the scientific tradition of the West. Yes, so what? They are just means."[37] Elisio Macamo wrote a paper arguing African scholars should instead develop their own conceptual tools.[38] However, he revisited this position in a keynote of the LeidenASA, 7 December, 2017, and stated that his distinction between an African and a European scholar was nonsensical due to the impossibility of claiming such a position without understanding and thereby acknowledging participation in the Western epistemic tradition.[39] The difficulty of the matter makes it unsurprising that many have called for a decolonization of the university. The theoretical discussions have been accompanied by critiques of the dominant use of written colonial sources and the general hegemony of western institutional formats of the academic world.[40]

This thesis can rightfully be criticized for once again looking at a European white male, however, it has a longer aim; for to understand the full scale of colonial legacies one also needs to untangle what was construed, why it construed it in this way, and how and where it was circulated. Certain assumptions formulated by Orde Browne have at this point in time become so normalized people do not even question their nature or seek out their origin anymore. This thesis argues that an important follow-up research would be to understand how conceptualizations of colonial labour, such as those constructed by Orde Browne, were circulated, normalized and generalized. The legacies of these discursive constructions are truly in desperate need of consideration. Women on the mines of South Africa face frequent harassment, despite old legislation against women working underground stemming from colonial times being overturned

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[36] Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa*, 1–7, 83–84, 87–90, 189–94.
[37] Faith Smith, 'A Conversation with V. Y. Mudimbe', *Callaloo* 14, no. 4 (1991): 979–80.
[38] Elísio Macamo, 'Social Theory and Making Sense of Africa', in *Historical Memory in Africa*, ed. Mamadou Diawara, Bernard Lategan, and Jörn Rüsen (Berghahn Books, 2010), 14–25.
[39] Elísio Macamo, 'LeidenASA Annual Meeting: Keynote by Elísio Macamo', African Studies Centre Leiden, 19 October 2017, https://www.ascleiden.nl/news/leidenasa-annual-meeting-keynote-elisio-macamo.
[40] Melz, 'Decolonising the Academy: A Movement Without Borders', Medium, 12 November 2018, https://medium.com/@melz.artist/decolonising-the-academy-a-movement-without-borders-7a25c071db6e; Patricia Parker et al., 'Decolonizing the Academy: Lessons From the Graduate Certificate in Participatory Research at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill', *Qualitative Inquiry* 24, no. 7 (September 2018): 464–77.

in 1996.[41] Similarly, a woman working on a tanzanite mine in Tanzania made BBC news in May 2017, because she had pretended to be a man. Her reason for doing so - higher wages, the response: complete bewilderment.[42] The idea that women do not work underground has become so normalized that we even see it returning in present-day novels; in a speculative novel by Lauren Beukes, Zoo City (2010) in a fictional scam-email a girl states "My name is Eloria Bangana. […] I could be a prostitute or pretend to be a boy and work in the coltan mines."[43]

These are just a few examples relating specifically to the idea that women should not work on the mines, but these longer lines of discursive constructions, their normalizations, and influence on the real-life working lives of people are in much need of further consideration. As argued by Kodo Eshun; in order to participate in what he calls the "futures industry" one needs to imagine the possible and use this as a basis to (p)re-program the present.[44] I would like to add that this however also requires an understanding of what has historically and presently been discursively moved away from the realm of the possible. Decolonization also entails the deconstruction of the ways in which certain forms of discourse have not only affected people's lives but also become so normalized that people do not even recognize them as legacies of colonial discrimination. The demonstration of discursive exchanges and correlations between the ILO and the Colonial Office emphasizes the need to review critically those ILO Conventions targeted at women in what is often referred to as the Global South. There are forms of othering and bias that have not been duly questioned in the sphere of policy-making at international institutional levels, and such questioning, this thesis argues, is urgent, if more equal labour laws are to be formulated. At the moment, the ILO's website still presents "maternity protection" as the first sub-category and prime research aim within the overall category of "gender equality."[45] The passage on the page moreover relates mostly towards women's "well-being" as mothers and the importance of protecting their job security because this is key to protecting the "well-being of her entire family." Paternity is not discussed nor is the importance of female wage labour for the

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[41] Asanda Benya, 'Excluded While Included: Women Mineworkers in South Africa's Platinum Mines', in *Global Currents in Gender and Feminisms*, ed. Glenda Tibe Bonifacio (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2017), 169–80.
[42] Sarah McDermott, 'I Acted as a Man to Get Work - until I Was Accused of Rape', *BBC News*, 15 May 2017, sec. Magazine, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-39705424.
[43] Lauren Beukes, *Zoo City* (Oxford: Angry Robot, 2010), 25.
[44] Kodwo Eshun, 'Further Considerations of Afrofuturism', *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 2 (October 2003): 287–302.
[45] 'Gender Equality', accessed 9 October 2019, https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/equality-and-discrimination/gender-equality/lang--en/index.htm.

sake of female wage labour in itself emphasized.[46] The significance of this present-day ILO passage will become increasingly obvious towards the end of this thesis, as correlations between valuing female reproductive labour over female wage labour and valuing male exploitation at the expense of paternity or emotional labour become visible. The main take-away that can be alluded to, is that the formulation of labour policies on the basis of gender bias have introduced certain forms of colonial imaginations of domesticity into labour conventions that still inform present-day policy-making and female wage labour opportunities. If women continue to be valued on the basis of their reproductive labour more so than their wage labour and men continue to be taken as the most natural sources of paid exploitation, labour equity - both paid and unpaid - is long and far away for both men and women. So while this thesis uses the colonial sources that have been so widely critiqued, it uses them exactly with the hopes of demonstrating how certain discursive constructions were created and circulated so that in the long run the present-day normalization of certain assumptions at institutions such as the ILO but also various national governments can be questioned.

SOURCES

The sources that underpin this historiographic and theoretical adventure lie scattered through the UK, various libraries, archives of former colonies and the digitalized wonderworld of old newspapers. Of prime importance have been the personal papers of Orde Browne, which are to be found at the special collections of Weston Library in Oxford. The main challenge with these sources is that they focus solely on Orde Browne's professional life - no reference is made to his family or educational background. This has been partly remedied through newspapers and his military file found in the National Archives, yet it remains a considerable blank throughout this thesis and further time would be needed to spit through local archives in hopes of finding more information on Orde Browne's personal, familial life. Another issue with Orde Browne's personal papers is that one might sometimes forget the extent to which Orde Browne was very

[46] 'Maternity Protection', accessed 9 October 2019, https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/equality-and-discrimination/maternity-protection/lang--en/index.htm.

much a product of his time; while there were public critiques of colonial rule and exploitation,[47] many of his peers, such as Lord Lugard and William Ormsby-Gore, did little to question the existence of British Empire and its legitimacy. The practice of Empire was discussed and tweaked, but its very continued existence much less so amongst colonial officials such as Orde Browne.[48] Orde Browne was emblematic of his time and the flagrant racism and sexism exhibited in his personal writings can be found in many other writings, Trevor-Roper still referring to "Africa" as "unhistoric" in 1969.[49] Moreover, as Tony Ballantyne has pointed out, the constitution of the archive in itself was part and parcel of colonialism and the maintenance of unequal power relations;

> […] archives themselves were fundamentally implicated in the processes of colonialism. For historians of colonialism the archive is deeply problematic; the manuscript collections, parliamentary papers, court records, periodicals and newspapers we use are not simply documents that allow us to access the colonial past, but rather were constitutive of the inequalities of that past. Within the uneven terrains of power that characterize colonial societies, the archive was a site of authority, a lens through which colonial subjects were monitored and a textual framework from which discourses of 'improvement' and 'modernization' were elaborated. The archive also could provide the basis for the formulation of colonial policy, as [Katherine] Prior has shown with regard to the compilation of historical narratives that moulded the colonial state's intervention in communal conflict. In effect the archive constituted the 'memory of the state', as its records of the pre-colonial past moulded the 'official mind' and guided the policy-making process.[50]

So why use these papers? These assumptions are exactly what this thesis was looking for - what makes them problematic is the topic of this thesis as it seeks to analyze this bias alongside the

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[47] The Cadbury scandal and the protests against Leopold's Congo both magnificently show this, see for example; Catherine Higgs, *Chocolate Islands: Cocoa, Slavery, and Colonial Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012); Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (London: Pan Books, 2006).

[48] Hall, *Civilising Subjects*; Philippa Levine, 'What's British about Gender and Empire? The Problem of Exceptionalism', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 2 (2007): 273–82; Prior, *Exporting Empire*.

[49] H. R. Trevor-Roper, 'The Past and the Present. History and Sociology', *Past & Present*, no. 42 (1969): 6. It has to be noted that the sheer confidence with which Orde Browne penned down and shared his assumptions, especially towards the end of his career, demonstrates that labour unrest did not necessarily shake officials' belief in the continuation and naturalness of Empire. Renegotiations of and resistance to colonial rule were an every-day occurrence, however, it is important to remember that these were not always perceived as challenges to colonial rule - let alone the end of empire - but as signs that new and better policies were to be formulated.

[50] Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*, 10.

social networks of a specific individual; Orde Browne. The labour reports written by Orde Browne in the later part of his career have been used without considering the wider career, discourse and bias of Orde Browne.[51] This is highly problematic precisely because of the bias Orde Browne's personal papers demonstrate. The representation of colonial labour we might find in the national archives does not come from a neutral place; the categorization and representation or omittance of certain forms of labour drew also from Orde Browne's more general assumptions about gender and race in relation to colonial labour. Yet, this has only marginally been acknowledged by historians using his reports and this thesis would like to make a step towards changing that. The lack of consideration of Orde Browne's wider career and assumptions can largely be attributed to the fact that his reports have been used by historians working on a specific area, Orde Browne's report being one of many sources on colonial labour available within a specific time-frame and therefore not attracting attention to the person himself and his career and assumptions prior to the report. This makes perfect sense, but is problematic when one sees the scale of his exclusion of women as potential labourers. Subsequent historic research has often taken over the assumption that labour migration was a male occurrence, literature on labour migration in Ghana, for example, often stating that the exclusion of the study of women in relation to labour migration was warranted because women were numerically insignificant. Meyer Fortes stated in a footnote that he did not comment on women in the main text because female migrants were fewer and less 'normal' and therefore of lesser importance when considering the motivations of migrants and the effects of their migration and this reasoning has been used by many others in later years.[52]

To gain a full picture of not just the assumptions of Orde Browne, but also the institutional and geographical scale of the circulation thereof, not just his personal papers have been studied but also his published books (*The African Labourer* and *the Vanishing Tribes of*

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[51] See for example the footnotes of; Sahadeo Basdeo, 'The Role of the British Labour Movement in the Development of Labour Organisation in Trinidad 1929-1938', *Social and Economic Studies* 31, no. 1 (1982): 40–73; Cooper, *The Labor Question*; Horace Levy, *The African-Caribbean Worldview and the Making of Caribbean Society* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2009); Timothy Parsons, 'Being Kikuyu in Meru: Challenging the Tribal Geography of Colonial Kenya', 2012.

[52] M. Fortes, 'Culture Contact as a Dynamic Process. An Investigation in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 9, no. 1 (1936): 40; Crisp, *The Story of an African Working Class*; Dumett, *El Dorado in West Africa*; Nii-k Plange, '"Opportunity Cost" and Labour Migration: A Misinterpretation of Proletarianisation in Northern Ghana', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 17, no. 4 (1979): 655–676; Roger G. Thomas, 'Forced Labour in British West Africa: The Case of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast 1906-1927', 1973.

Kenya),[53] the British Newspaper Archive has been used,[54] and, finally, the National Archives have been scoured on the basis of both his name (leading to his military file for example) and a timeline of his career. This means that after reconstructing his career, his labour reports but also documents on labour, general governance, and reports of related committees have been requested with 3 year periods, in a search for correspondence on his appointment and visit to colonies. This is a highly time-intensive method, as it necessitates looking through documents that might seem completely unrelated to the topic. Moreover, as this thesis relies on a close-reading of all these writings, skimming over everything was not much of an option as assumptions tend to hide themselves in a thickness of biased words. While time-consuming, this method does offer the opportunity of teasing out Orde Browne's constructions of colonial labour, where they started to appear in his career, how they circulated, and when they became translated into not just correspondence, but also official policy recommendations. The bias that makes these sources problematic, in other words, has become the very topic of this thesis.

[53] G. St J. Orde Browne, *The African Labourer* (London: Oxford University Press for International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1933); G. St J. Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya: A Description of the Manners & Customs of the Primitive & Interesting Tribes Dwelling on the Vast Southern Slopes of Mount Kenya, & Their Fast Disappearing Native Methods of Life* (Edinburgh: Riverside Press Limited, 1925).
[54] 'British Newspaper Archive', accessed 9 October 2019, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/.

CHAPTER 1: EARLY CAREER AND GENDERED ASSUMPTIONS OF ORDE BROWNE, 1883-1931.

In 1925 Riverside Press Limited, Edinburgh, published a book by Sir Granville St John Orde Browne titled *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya: A Description of the Primitive and Interesting Tribes Dwelling on the Vast Southern Slopes of Mount Kenya, & Their Fast Disappearing Native Methods of Life*. The book was full of lengthy descriptions that illuminate the assumptions with which Orde Browne viewed the African continent and its inhabitants. On page 76, for example, in a chapter on Marriage Laws, Orde Browne wrote that "Women will be found most tenacious of their rights. […] Innovations in matters mainly concerning the men will be, as a rule readily accepted […] but where the women are concerned, novelties, such as improved agricultural methods, will generally be stoutly resisted."[55] Orde Browne considered change more likely to occur when it concerned men than women, and later also cautioned against rapid change of the use of dowries if "serious harm to native morals was to be avoided."[56] This is only one example of several descriptions that can be found in Orde Browne's writings that illuminate how he conceptualized and hierarchized "the African" and "Africa" in relation to race, class, and gender. These writings demonstrate that Orde Browne's colligation of "Africa" and "the African" did not solely take place within the context of the Colonial Office and the labour reports he later wrote as the first Labour Advisor to the Secretary of State to the Colonial Office - reports that have been used by many historians working in various geographically demarcated fields.[57] An analysis of Orde Browne's wider life and career enables an understanding of the geographical and temporal depth of Orde Browne's gendered assumptions and concomitantly demonstrates the institutional affiliations that enabled him to become a so-called "expert" on labour. This is the first of three chapters that describe and analyze the life and career of Orde Browne and illuminate the gender dynamics in Orde Browne's construction of the African labourer.

In the following chapter the early life and career of Orde Browne are analyzed; from his birth in 1883, up until he left the Colonial Office in 1931. After a chronology of his life and

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[55] Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 76.
[56] Ibid.
[57] See for example the footnotes of; Basdeo, 'The British Labour Movement'; Cooper, *The Labor Question*; Levy, *The African-Caribbean Worldview and the Making of Caribbean Society*; Parsons, 'Being Kikuyu in Meru'.

career, three themes are discussed; the way Orde Browne collected information/his sources, the subjects Orde Browne discussed and the way these were represented, and, finally, the way Orde Browne gave his sources and representations a sense of credibility and legitimacy. These three themes illuminate both how and why women and men were represented or omitted in Orde Browne's writings, and the institutional breadth of the circulation and justification of these gendered constructions. The chapter argues that within Orde Browne's earlier writings, women were especially associated with tradition and a reluctance to change, while labour, in particular, labour migration, was strongly linked with change, modernity, and the exploitation of "fit" male bodies by the (colonial) public and (western) private sector. Women were discussed mostly in the context of "traditional" "native" life, and more likely to be excluded in discussions of labour and labour migration. Women were mentioned in relation to labour and labour migration when it was to emphasize their potential role in stabilizing the change experienced by the male labour migrant ór as a so-called "undesirable" and "immoral" presence in the city (e.g. in the case of prostitution). As argued in the following chapters, such a representation influenced the discursive realms of possibility of men and women, either enabling or inciting against their independent movement and general mobility.[58]

EARLY LIFE AND CAREER: AN OVERVIEW

On October 26th, 1883, Annie Maria Browne and Charles Orde Browne had a son in Woolwich; Granville St John Orde Browne.[59] There is little to be found about Orde Browne's mother, but his father, Charles Orde Browne, served in the military for a significant time and was amongst other

[58] This is not to say that the discursive realms of possibilities were not in practice refuted - several studies have shed light on widespread resistance to, for example, corporate and colonial restrictions on female mobility. See for example; Jean Allman, 'Rounding up Spinsters: Gender Chaos and Unmarried Women in Colonial Asante', *The Journal of African History* 37, no. 2 (July 1996): 195–214; S. Hawkings, 'The Woman in Question: Marriage and Identity in the Colonial Courts of Northern Ghana, 1907-1954', in *Women in African Colonial Histories*, by S. Geiger, N. Musisi, and J. Allman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 116–34; Marie Rodet, 'Forced Labor, Resistance, and Masculinities in Kayes, French Sudan, 1919-1946', *International Labor and Working Class History* 86 (2014): 107–123; Simelane, 'The State, Chiefs and the Control of Female Migration in Colonial Swaziland, c. 1930s-1950s'.

[59] National Archives [NA] London, WO 374/51445, Capt. G. St. J Orde Browne RSA (henceforth OB RSA), Copy of Birth Certificate.

things remembered because he "served in the Crimea in the siege train of the night attack on Sebastopol."[60] It is probable that his father's service enabled Orde Brown to attend Wellington College from 1896 to 1899 - originally a charitable boarding school for orphans of servicemen.[61] Following his time at Wellington, Orde Browne had a year of private tutoring by Messr. Kastner Hicks and in 1900, Orde Browne applied for an Examination for Admission to the Royal Military.[62] Two years later, he was one of the "Gentlemen Cadets, from the Royal Military Academy, to be Second Lieutenants," thereby graduating from the same school his father had graduated from almost half a century before him.[63]

In the ensuing years, Orde Browne served as part of the Royal Garrison Artillery, or RGA, in South Africa and Mauritius, falling ill in Mauritius "due to service in a tropical Climate."[64] The RGA was established in 1899 as a subdivision of the Royal Artillery and worked with heavy artillery throughout the empire, ranging from coastal and frontier defence in the Cape, Bermuda, and India.[65] Orde Browne was involved in the Bambatha rebellion; a guerrilla-like war fought by Bambatha from the forests of the Nkandla mountains in Zululand. The rebellion protested a newly imposed tax on unmarried men from the region. It was brutally suppressed with the aid of heavy artillery such as the maxim machine gun and justified by James Stuart as a conflict "between a race of savages on the one hand, and a number of Europeans or representatives of Western Civilization on the other."[66]

From 1909 onwards, Orde Browne shifted from using artillery to using measuring tapes and cameras to install British colonial authority and control. He was posted "as Assistant Commissioner at various Government posts" in the area surrounding Mt Kenya in Kenya, British East Africa. Orde Browne remained in so-called "seconded-service" until he was re-

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[60] 'Capt. Charles Orde Browne', *Army and Navy Gazette*, 8 September 1900, 9.
[61] 'College History', Wellington College, accessed 9 October 2019, https://www.wellingtoncollege.org.uk; 'History - Wellington College Website', 24 August 2007, https://web.archive.org/web/20070824111552/http://www.wellingtoncollege.org.uk/page.aspx?id=6.
[62] NA, WO 374/51445, OB RSA, Admissions form to Royal Military.
[63] 'Royal Garrison Artillery', *The London Gazette*, 24 February 1903, 1217; 'Capt. Charles Orde Browne', 9.
[64] NA, WO 374/51445, OB RSA, Confidential Proceedings of Medical Board, Mauritius, 9 May, 1904; Letter from Orde Browne to the Military Secretary of the War Office, sent from The High House, Old Charlton, S.E., dated 27 September, 1915.
[65] 'Royal Artillery. National Army Museum', accessed 9 October 2019, https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/royal-artillery; 'Royal Garrison Artillery', *Londonderry Sentinel*, 1 October 1904.
[66] James Stuart quoted in Sean Redding, 'A Blood-Stained Tax: Poll Tax and the Bambatha Rebellion in South Africa', *African Studies Review* 43, no. 2 (2000): 33; John Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 203.

commissioned for the East Africa Campaign in 1916.[67] During his time in Kenya, Orde Browne suggested that he depended less on "the machine gun and lash" and more on a belief in impressing "the native" with "the power and mystery of European knowledge."[68] This approach to the establishment of colonial rule might be considered less directly lethal, however, it was arguably equally violent. Both the aim of European control and exploitation and the underlying racist logic remained the same; among other things a belief in the hierarchy of races, in the superiority of "European civilization," and in colonialism as a rightful agent of progress and economic development.[69] During the time Orde Browne was stationed in Kenya, this kind of thinking was exemplified by the large-scale land alienation and labour exploitation of local peoples that followed the expansion of British Colonial Administration and the supported enlargement of "white" settlement.[70] Orde Browne's writings are replete with examples that follow these lines of thinking. For example, in a reflection on his time in Kenya, Orde Browne wrote that "[i]n dealing with such primitive people it was of course important to impress them with the knowledge and power of the white man," comparing "them" to children and adding conclusively that contact with "Europeans" meant that "[p]rogress is inevitable and essential."[71] Moreover, like many other "anthro-administrators," he measured, described, photographed, and classified the peoples living around Mt Kenya, in an attempt to gain knowledge and thereby power over those he aimed to rule.[72] In sum, after his time in Kenya, Orde Browne had experience with both discursive and military forms of violence based on notions of British exceptionalism.

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[67] NA, WO 374/51445, OB RSA, Appointment of Lt G St J Orde-Browne as Asst Dist Comms East African Protectorate, 1909-1914; Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 6-7.
[68] Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 7-9.
[69] See for example; Laumann, *Colonial Africa*, 43–47; Lester, 'Imperial Circuits and Networks', 130; Levine, 'What's British about Gender and Empire?', 273–74; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 1–17.
[70] John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman, 'Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895–1914', *The Journal of African History* 20, no. 4 (1979): 487–505; Katherine Angela Luongo, *Witchcraft and Colonial Rule in Kenya, 1900-1955* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1–28, 29–43; Evanson N. Wamagatta, 'British Administration and the Chiefs' Tyranny in Early Colonial Kenya: A Case Study of the First Generation of Chiefs from Kiambu District, 1895—1920', *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 44, no. 4 (2009): 371–72.
[71] Weston Library, Special Collections [WLSC], Oxford; MSS AFF S1117 Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, First Draft of a Talk by Major Orde Browne on Native African Life, n.d., p.11.
[72] WLSC; MSS AF S1117 Box 1.1, Scientific Notes and Correspondence, East Africa, 1913-1915; Box 1.2, Scientific Notes and Correspondence, East Africa, 1913-1915, insects and plants; Box 1.3, Scientific Notes and Correspondence, East Africa, 1913-1915, Antropometry and Physical Details of Mwimbe, Chuka, and Embu, including pictures. For similar examples see; Luongo, *Witchcraft and Colonial Rule*; Prior, *Exporting Empire*.

After a period of leave, Orde Browne was recommissioned as temporary Captain in the RGA for the East Africa Campaign.[73] He volunteered to do so because he had "heard lately how short we are of Royal Artillery Officers in British East Africa."[74] After completing a course in Siege Artillery at the School of Instruction in Shoeburyness, Orde Browne boarded a "steamer" towards East Africa in Marseille.[75] Upon his arrival in East Africa, Orde Browne became part of "the war of legs," better known now as the East African Campaign. Very briefly summarized, this First World War conflict pitted Belgium, Britain and Portugal against Germany following the destruction of a British vessel by a German cruiser and fears that Germany would use the strategically important German East Africa (present-day Burundi, Rwanda, and Tanzania) as a supply base for its navy.[76] In name, the fight might have been between European colonial powers and their desired control over the Indian Ocean Seaways. Yet, it was fought on African soil and the soles of local men who were forcefully enlisted and died in disturbingly large numbers.[77] The importance of porters cannot be overstated; in absence of extensive roads and railways, the survival rate and mobility of troops quite literally depended on the Carrier Corps.[78] It might therefore not come as a surprise that Lucy Mair wrote in Orde Browne's obituary that "his experience with native carriers aroused the interest in native labour which dominated the rest of his life."[79] Following a joint offensive by Belgium and Britain on German troops in 1916, General Smuts set up a civil administration in 1917. At the end of the war, it was decided at the Paris Peace Conference that the territory would be renamed Tanganyika Territory and ruled by

[73] NA, WO 374/51445, OB RSA, Letter from an Army Council representative to the Under Secretary of State of the Colonial Office, stating Orde Browne has been appointed to Temporary Captaincy in the Royal Garrison Artillery for service with the Forces in East Africa, 18 October, 1915.
[74] NA, WO 374/51445, OB RSA, Letter from Chief of Staff Officer East Africa, 30 July, 1915.
[75] NA, WO 374/51445, OB RSA, Letter from Chief of Staff Officer East Africa, 30 July, 1915; Letter from the Under Secretary of State of the Colonial Office to the Secretary of the War Office, concerning return of Orde Browne to East Africa, 4 December, 1915.
[76] Michael Pesek, 'The War of Legs: Transport and Infrastructure in the East African Campaign of World War I', *Transfers* 5, no. 2 (2015): 102–20.
[77] The high sickness and mortality rates and forceful methods of recruitment were not without response: porters frequently deserted and resisted enlistment in various ways. See for example; David Killingray, 'Labour Exploitation for Military Campaigns in British Colonial Africa 1870-1945', *Journal of Contemporary History* 24, no. 3 (1989): 483–501.
[78] Peter Dumbuya, 'The Tanganyika Mandate, 1919-1933: A Political History' (PhD diss., The University of Akron, 1991), 15–16, 19–20; Iliffe, *Africans*, 215; Killingray, 'Labour Exploitation for Military Campaigns in British Colonial Africa 1870-1945', 583–84; Pesek, 'The War of Legs', 102–5, 111–12; Wamagatta, 'British Administration and the Chiefs' Tyranny in Early Colonial Kenya', 380–81.
[79] Lucy Mair, 'Sir Granville Orde Browne, K.C.M.G', *Nature* 159, no. 4050 (1947): 800–801.

Britain through a League of Nations Mandate.[80] Orde Browne came to work under the Civil Administration led by Governor Byatt (1918-1924) and he stayed on as a civil officer and a labour commissioner during the period of reconstruction that followed.[81]

In retrospect, the East Africa Campaign was a watershed moment for Orde Browne. His return to Tanganyika provided him, and many other decommissioned officers, with the opportunity of staying on in the Colonial Office in an administrative function once the war ended.[82] In the case of Orde Browne, this was his first time as a labour commissioner in the labour department. Within this role he made several tours of other colonies, "inspecting" their labour conditions and writing up reports where he compared the labour policies of various colonial powers and the streams of migration that crossed colonial and imperial boundaries.[83] This comparative approach made him critical of labour policies he considered "out-dated," writing for example, in reference to labour in Tanganyika, that "the Government adhere[s] to the methods of the last century" and that his advice was not "novel" but simply "truisms from other countries."[84] Orde Browne also developed the idea that "different standards" would cause "conflict," and that "[t]he African labourer may well unwittingly cause serious discords between his various European masters."[85] In other words, Orde Browne argued that co-ordination of labour policies was needed if control over and efficient exploitation of "the African labourer" was to be established and maintained. The portrayal of labour migrants as resource, the call for colonial cooperation and an acknowledgement of the constant crossing of borders that labour migration entailed, was something that would permeate Orde Browne's future writings, as demonstrated in the following chapters. The cross-colonial and cross-institutional connections Orde Browne made during these years, enabled him to gather and circulate information in a

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[80] Dumbuya, 'The Tanganyika Mandate, 1919-1933', 11–16, 29–41, 94–124, 143–46, 157–58; Pesek, 'The War of Legs', 106–8, 110–11.
[81] NA, WO 374/51445, OB RSA, Letter from Orde Browne to the War Office, sent from the Political Office in Lindi, East Africa, 11 August, 1919; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117 Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on labour Matters, 1929-1945, Report by Orde Browne on his tour through Belgian Congo and Angola, 18 June, 1929.
[82] Prior, *Exporting Empire*, 66.
[83] MSS AFR S 1117 Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Report by Orde Browne on his tour through Belgian Congo and Angola, reference to earlier visit of Belgian Congo and Angola in 1927 in paragraph 4, 18 June, 1929; Box 2.1 items 1-3, Photographs of Accommodation for African Labourers in South Africa and the Belgian Congo, 1929.
[84] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.4, Memorandum by Orde Browne on Government Labour, n.d. estimated date 1928-1931.
[85] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117 Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Report by Orde Browne on his tour through Belgian Congo and Angola, 18 June, 1929, paragraph 32.

geographically wide area and create a support base for a status of "expert" on matters of colonial labour. These connections also made his departure from the Colonial Office in 1931 easier; Orde Browne's network provided him with new opportunities in the field of labour, for example, the writing of the book *The African Labourer* and an appointment within the International Labour Organization as stand-in for Lord Lugard, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

INFORMATION AND INFORMANTS

In 1914, Orde Browne wrote a letter to the Director of the Imperial Bureau of Entomology of the British Museum, noting that he was "glad to hear the collection was of some interest" and that he would try to collect more insects on Mt Kenya to send to the museum. Orde Browne also inquired after a species of blood sucking fly, H. Alluaudi, that he found in such "incredible swarms, that one is almost driven away: I have indeed, had to gallop away with my pony in a half-frenzied state." What Orde Browne did not understand, is how "the dense swarms […] can exist" at the high altitudes of Mount Kenya and he wondered if the Director could tell him whether it was "worthwhile conducting any little experiment with the live insect, with a view to determining their food and longevity."[86] This was one of several letters Orde Browne wrote to the Imperial Bureau of Entomology with whom he shared his notes on insects and plant-life and inquired whether and how he should continue his "expeditions".[87] With others, like the Dean of the University of Birmingham, he discussed whether it would be of use to them if he sent "native weapons" and "a magic drum."[88] Depending on the subject, Orde Browne appealed to various persons and institutions to share and collect information. As discussed in the paragraph on credibility, the appeal to institutions was partly a way of gaining legitimacy. It was, however, also an important way for Orde Browne to collect information on subjects he found interesting.

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[86] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 1.1, Scientific Notes and Correspondence, East Africa, 1913-1915, Letter from Orde Browne to Director of the Imperial Bureau of Entomology, British Museum, on entomological and botanical specimens procured and sent from Chuka, Kenya Province, 5 August, 1915.

[87] For examples see; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 1.1, Scientific Notes and Correspondence, East Africa, 1913-1915.

[88] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 1.1, Scientific Notes and Correspondence, East Africa, 1913-1915, Letter from Orde Browne to the Dean of the Medical Faculty of the University of Birmingham on the collection of "native weapons" and "a magic drum," sent from Chuka, Kenya Province, 23 April, 1914.

Importantly; who he appealed to, was strongly linked to his assumptions on who possessed knowledge of certain topics. These assumptions were influenced by his ideas on race and gender.[89] Orde Browne's sources and manner of collecting information are a valuable way of highlighting and understanding his gender, and racial, bias in the colonial context.

Within Orde Browne's collection of information, three groups can be demarcated as those that were both implicitly and explicitly assumed to be distinct within the discourse used by Orde Browne; information he gathered from people he considered to be "experts" within a certain area (generally associated with being "white," "European," and male), information to be gained from what he saw as "the native" or "the African" (generally gendered as male), and information to be obtained from what he labelled as "the female specimen" and "the woman" in the colonial context. These three categories worked in conjunction with assumptions about the form, type, and quality of information that was to be gained. In these assumptions Orde Browne made an overarching distinction between expert (European) knowledge - considered normative and generally superior and more advanced - and so-called "native understanding" - considered more primitive. The categories are used here for the purpose of textual and analytical clarity, but exceptions can be found and Orde Browne's writings were frequently paradoxical.[90] Yet, it is notable that even in the case of exceptions, these would be noted as deviations from the assumed normative classifications. Exceptions were related back to what were considered distinct groups with distinct characteristics. For example, Orde Browne wrote that "[t]he Embu tribes have a remarkable facility for mental arithmetic, and a man is sometimes found who can work sums in his head almost as quickly and as accurately as a white man."[91] Simply put, within Orde Browne's discursive logic it was to be expected that a "white man" would be good at math, he could logically be assumed to have expertise in that area. However, that an "African tribe" could share in those qualities was considered "remarkable" as it deviated from Orde Browne's expectation of the characteristics of this discursively created group. The reality or fictitiousness of these groups and their capabilities is not necessarily the point here, as these are already seen through Orde Browne's subjectivity. Instead, it is about how Orde Browne's assumptions

[89] As will be demonstrated in the paragraph on subject and representation; who he asked as a source of information of a certain topic, was not only influenced by who his bias, the information thus gathered also tended to reinforce said existing bias.
[90] Such inconsistencies and tensions in colonial rule and thinking have also been identified by Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*.
[91] Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 125.

functioned to construct categories and translate everything back to these demarcations regardless of whether these categories make any sense to us.[92]

Within the first group, "experts," one can think mainly of people working at institutions and journals, other colonial officials, and missionaries within a European and colonial context. Exchanges with women were relatively rare and happened sporadically in a later period.[93] Experts were, in other words, mainly people that were given or appropriated the power to formulate and solve problems, those that in the eyes of Orde Browne had authority on a certain topic. For example, he relied on the Imperial Bureau of Entomology for the identification of "specimens" collected on Mt Kenya[94] and promised to send more plants to the Director of the Botanical Section of the British Museum when he expressed the wish "for more material."[95] In Kenya he used the "instruments [..] by Hermann, of Zurich" and followed "the lines laid down by the British Association" to carry out "an exhaustive series of measurements and tests" to collect "statistics of about one hundred and fifty men, and sixty boys."[96] In matters of language, when he did not consider himself "philologist enough to attempt more than a few notes on the local peculiarities" he referenced the knowledge of "Mr. E.B. Horne, District Commissioner" and "Dr. and the Rev. Crawford, of the Church Missionary Society."[97] Finally, on a tour to acquire information on labour conditions in Congo and Angola, he hardly inquired with the labourers for information and rather referred to them as objects of observation. For example, he wrote that his observations demonstrated them to be "apathetic and depressed," "unreliable," or "fine physical specimens."[98] For information on the governance and conditions of labour, Orde Browne asked those that officially governed labour and consulted the statistics they and their institutional peers

[92] An important follow up question here is how these constructions were and are imposed through recommendations and policies to create a reality that worked with what Orde Browne understood as normative. For example, the idea that women should not work underground, translated back into a policy that forbade it, but then this policy was and is also contested by women.
[93] For example, a set of correspondence can be found with Isabel Ross in 1934 preceding a speech Orde Browne would give at the Women's International League Meeting; WLSC, Box 3.6, Women's International League Meeting, 28 September - 8 December, 1934, Correspondence, chiefly with Isabel Ross, on upcoming paper to be read by Orde Browne.
[94] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 1.1, Scientific Notes and Correspondence, East Africa, 1913-1915, Letter from Orde Browne to Director of the Imperial Bureau of Entomology, 23 April, 1914.
[95] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 1.1, Letter from Orde Browne to the Director of the Botanical Section of the British Museum concerning plants collected in Kenya, 24 August, 1913.
[96] Orde Browne, *Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 45.
[97] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 1.1, Letter from Orde Browne to Sir Harry Johnstone concerning items inherited by Orde Browne from Mr. Pigott and Orde Browne's own investigations and collections, September 1914.
[98] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Report by Orde Browne on his tour through Belgian Congo and Angola, 18 June, 1929, paragraphs 25, 28.

formulated. He wrote for example that Belgian Officials in Congo had given him "some interesting information," and how he was "fortunate in meeting Colonel Torra del Vale, Portuguese officer in charge of labour on the railway, Colonel Greenwood, V.C., D.S., the representative of Messrs. Robert Williams, and Colonel Newell, of Messrs. Pauling & C. From these gentlemen I heard much about labour conditions in Angola."[99] In sum, Orde Browne relied on those he considered experts when in need of specific information and when trying to set up lines of inquiry. This was the group he trusted to provide him with scientific guidelines and methods and who provided him with the tools to carry out what he conceived of as "unbiased scientific research."[100]

The recurring theme within Orde Browne's writings was that experts were rarely "Africans" themselves, let alone, "African" women. Instead, "the African" and "the Black Man" were constructed as belonging to a different group than the group of "white men" or "experts." While both groups could provide information, only the latter was perceived of as capable of doing so in a scientific or expert manner. For example, in a 1929 paper, Orde Browne wrote in reference to the *continent* of Africa that "almost all problems in that great country resolve themselves on examination of three types; finance, transport, and labour. Of these the first is in the hands of the white man; the second depends on the white man's ingenuity and enterprise," only the third was "the peculiar possession of the black man" because "we can deal with money or machinery without reference to him, but when we need his muscles he comes the principle figure in the picture."[101] Simply put, this meant that within Orde Browne's discursive logic "the white man" decided who could speak, when, and on what topic. Women, within this example, are even completely excluded as potential actors; the labourer is assumed to be male and the other subjects are seen as the providence of "the white man." Orde Browne's exclusion of "Africans" as source of information in setting up topics, guidelines and methods seems odd when one remembers his argument in favour of a "broad-minded and scientific attitude" towards "unfortunate Africa" and "her problems."[102] However, the aim of objectivity coalesced with the

[99] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Report by Orde Browne on his tour through Belgian Congo and Angola, 18 June, 1929, paragraphs 3, 15, and 17.
[100] WSLC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs by Orde Browne, "Labour in Africa," 31 October, 1929.
[101] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2 East Africa: Papers on Labour Matters, Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, "Labour in Africa," 31 October, 1929.
[102] Ibid.

idea that it was "inevitable that the African should fall under the domination of more advanced races."[103] The "African" was seen as an 'other,' one that was not only considered distinct, but also inferior in terms of biology and civilization.[104] So while the inclusion of "the African" as an object of study made sense when dictated so by the guidelines of "science" (for example when collecting "data"), this did not preclude the exclusion of "the African" as an contributing and shaping actor in the field of "science." In fact, Orde Browne even feared that "in the training of the worker" there was a "risk of the creation of the unwanted scholar -- who is a person as pathetic as he is dangerous."[105] In sum, "the African" could be an informant, but not an expert.

"The African," was a distinct source of information; one whose mind and body were seen by colonial powers as sites of knowledge gathering, measurement, control, and exploitation.[106] During his time in Kenya, Orde Browne measured the bodies of men (but not women) as a way of collecting information on "the physical peculiarities of the Embu tribes."[107] Orde Browne framed this information as a set of biological data that he thought demonstrated the inferiority of the people he had collected the data from. This presumed inferiority was both the initial assumption and the outcome of Orde Browne's "research." Within the chapter he wrote in *Vanishing Tribes of Kenya* on the "Physical," he argued that "[n]umerous tests with compass points […] showed that the average native had perceptions little more than half as sensitive as the average European." He added that "[i]n colour perception the native appears weaker than the European, though this is no doubt largely affected by inferior intelligence and training."[108] While "the African" and "the native" appeared to have been used as general references, they in fact referred only to the male subjects of his study; women - as discussed below - were treated as a separate category. Other than observing and testing "the African" to collect information on his physical attributes, Orde Browne also used "the African" as an "informant" for matters of history and "traditional" social structures and customs. "Traditional" law and custom here being

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[103] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2 East Africa: Papers on Labour Matters, Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, "Labour in Africa," 31 October, 1929.
[104] See for example; Sander L. Gilman, 'Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature', *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (1985): 204–242; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1979).
[105] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2 East Africa: Papers on Labour Matters, Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, "Labour in Africa," 31 October, 1929.
[106] For similar arguments on data collection and categorizations as a form of power see; Gilman, 'Black Bodies, White Bodies'; Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Random House, 1990).
[107] Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 42.
[108] Ibid*,* 45.

understood by Orde Browne as the situation "before" the "advent of modern civilization" where "we ["the European"] have introduced our ideas and our codes."[109] Within the collection of information Orde Browne had a preference for old men, stating they appeared "older and stupider," but were more "accurate and reliable" than "some quick and intelligent informant." He added that he "obtained much information" from old men by "means of contradiction" and that "the friendly and young man […] proved a trap for many guileless investigators."[110] Orde Browne downplayed the usefulness and quality of the information he obtained from old men. For example, he wrote that "old men have a hazy idea of the history of their father's times, but even that is unreliable and contradictory. […] it seems as if the natives were well content to accept things as they find them, without worrying about the past."[111] The tendency to associate old men with native authority was not without consequences for women and frequently led to restrictions on women's mobility and freedom.[112] Orde Browne thought women had the status of "a perpetual minor" under "native" custom.[113]

In matters of labour, Orde Browne sometimes referred to native or "African" informants if it supported his argument for cross-border coordination of colonial labour policies. He wrote, for instance, that "on the Congo-Angola border" he "met two natives from Rhodesia with whom I had a most illuminating discussion as to the respective merits of British, Belgian, and Portuguese methods, as seen through African eyes; and in Abercorn I talked to a man who made very intelligent comparisons of the conditions of work in Johannesburg and Tanganyika."[114] He used this information to urge for "co-operation and consultation" between different colonies to avoid a situation where workers could compare and complain. Orde Browne viewed organized resistance as the worst case scenario and a reason for the swift formulation of proper policies: "Once the native is organised, the potentialities before him in the way of the boycott or the general strike, will need no emphasis; and if such a movement arises in one country […] the trouble will spread to its neighbours," and "a policy of drift will not only merely delay the evil day, but render it far

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[109] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "British Justice and the African," n.d.
[110] Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 8.
[111] Ibid, 208.
[112] Allman, 'Rounding up Spinsters'; Hawkings, 'The Woman in Question: Marriage and Identity in the Colonial Courts of Northern Ghana, 1907-1954'; Sharon B. Stichter and Jane L. Parpart, *Patriarchy and Class: African Women in the Home and the Workforce* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988).
[113] Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 73.
[114] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2 East Africa: Papers on Labour Matters, Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, "Labour in Africa," 31 October, 1929.

worse when it arrives. All the greater therefore the importance of careful search for […] [a] policy which may have some hope of general acceptance."[115] To see things through "African eyes" in this case served Orde Browne's argument for the formulation of policies thought to ensure the imposition and continuation of European control over labour.

Finally, women were a separate category within Orde Browne's collection of information. Much like "the African," they were opposed to "the European," dangling on the other end of the racialized civilizational hierarchy. They were not automatically included in the category "African," which referred to the male members of colonized society and only to women if this was specified. For example, in a paper of 31 pages on "the African and British Justice," Orde Browne stated on page 21 "So far we have considered only the male prisoner" and then wrote one paragraph on "the female specimen," after which he picked up the discussion of "the African" in "**his** own primitive society."[116] In the *Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, women were commented on as source and object of observation relatively frequently. Orde Browne described old women as "valuable, once they could be induced to start, for they are the best repositories of folk-stories and anecdotes."[117] In an ensuing chapter on "Tradition & Folklore," he commented on his experience with old women more extensively:

> The best narrators are generally the old women, though it is difficult to persuade them to display their powers. Once started on a story, however, they tell it really well, with a wealth of descriptive details and pantomime. The voices of the various actors are carefully imitated, and a considerable amount of dramatic gesture gives life to the narrative, the crucial point of the story being usually emphasized by a most impressive howl, shriek or jump. In fact, for a childish audience it would be difficult to improve on one of these old ladies as a story-teller.[118]

He listed several of the stories and compared them to "nursery stories of Europe."[119] Old women were said to voice their opinions in "tribal councils," which Orde Browne weaponized when he "became so exasperated with the incompetence and corruption of the local Elders' Council that I

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[115] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2 East Africa: Papers on Labour Matters, Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, "Labour in Africa," 31 October, 1929.
[116] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "British Justice and the African," n.d., estimated date 1929-1931.
[117] Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 8.
[118] Ibid, 208–9.
[119] Ibid.

told them they were quite unfit to rule their people, and that unless they improved it would be necessary to consider whether the old women would not manage matters better. […] The threat had a salutary effect, […] it spurred on the old men to a far higher level of efficiency."[120] Notable is that in both these instances, Orde Browne referred specifically to old women and demarcated their spheres of influence; folk-lore and tribal councils. In both cases, there is also a tone of belittlement, as something either entertaining for children or secondary to true power. Moreover, outside of the age group of "old women" and the specific topics of folk-lore and tribal councils, women were excluded as figures of authority. Orde Browne emphasized that their absence in the organization of law and order was natural and represented local opinion; "the above organization contains no mention of women. This is natural enough, since the general native view is that [a] woman is always a minor and must be represented by some male legal guardian."[121] This is problematic because Orde Browne depended on men for his construction of "general native view" and excluded women as authoritative sources. In other words, he relied on men to argue that men were "naturally" the principal authority and that women were "legal minors". In sum, women were consulted only in clearly demarcated areas of expertise. These areas were moreover thought to be embedded in a male system of authority and the true extent of female authority is consequently difficult to gauge.

Orde Browne differentiated between and compared female skill and male skill and observed what kind of activities women were engaged in. Female skills and female behaviour were more likely to be associated with amorality and undesirability. For example, when Orde Browne observed that "women are capable of astonishing weight-carrying feats" he concluded with the statement that "[i]t is obviously undesirable that very heavy loads should be carried."[122] Female handicrafts were moreover perceived of as less impressive than male handicrafts. Orde Browne thought positively of female plaiting of mats and baskets, but added that "the neatest handicrafts, notably the pretty bead-work, are practiced by men."[123] Arguably the most important observations of women were those where they were photographed but not commented on in-text, because these show the presence of women even when Orde Browne did not acknowledge them. Orde Browne's book on Kenya, where a lot of the above examples on women as sources are

[120] Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 53–54.
[121] Ibid, 53.
[122] Ibid, 48.
[123] Ibid, 46.

taken from, is exceptional in that it directly referred to information taken from women, either verbally or through observation. Other sources from Orde Browne of this period did not directly comment on women as informants or refer to them as such. This did not, however, stem from their absence, but from a tendency by Orde Browne to exclude them as interesting source of information. In his report on Congo and Angola from 1929, he added pictures of the types of accommodation one could find around the mines of Johannesburg. On these pictures we see women and children, as referred to and shown in the introduction of this thesis. In the text however, the only reference made to women was that there were some forms of accommodation that allowed labourers to take their "wives" with them. As discussed in the following section on representation, the use of the epithet "wives" obscured the presence and activities of women as independent actors at the mines. It is important to emphasize that the absence of women as sources in texts other than the book on Kenya, stemmed more from the assumptions Orde Browne had about women as source of information, and, as the next section shows, their role within "tribal" society and labour migration, than from their genuine absence. Labour migration was associated with change and modern conditions, women, however, were associated with tradition (as demonstrated below). Men, were, therefore consulted as informants in matters of labour migration, while the usefulness of women as a source was limited to the areas of "folk-lore" and "traditional" and "native" skills and society. The pictures of the Congo and Angola report, however, demonstrate that women were, in fact, present "outside" of their presumed "traditional" spheres.

SUBJECTS AND REPRESENTATION

During this period of Orde Browne's life and career, his subject matter was very diverse and had not yet narrowed down to colonial labour. Subjects ranged from insect specimens, botany, hunting, and the collection of spears and witchcraft items, to labour migration, ethnography, and endless descriptions of the "tribes" living around Mt Kenya. Only when he started working as a labour commissioner in Tanganyika, the subject matter became increasingly focused on labour. Despite a great diversity in topics, Orde Browne made consistent distinctions in the way he represented groups he drew information from and depicted in his writings. As the following

chapters demonstrate, women disappeared as a referred-to-source in Orde Browne's writings, but Orde Browne's representation of women reiterated many of the tropes already developed during this earlier period, most importantly, the fact that "the labourer" was assumed to be male. The following section argues that, first of all, the "African" and the "European" were gendered as male and subject to sweeping generalizations that overpowered any sense of diversity; the "African" was represented as male, black, strong, primitive, and suitable for labour under European power, the "European" was represented as male, smart, white, superior, and in a position of power. Secondly, it demonstrates that women were strongly associated with tradition, an unwillingness to change, and amorality if engaged in "modern" practices. Finally, as Orde Browne's subject matter narrowed down to labour, women were increasingly left out of the discussion or only referred to in very specific ways (often as either wives or prostitutes). Within this logic, women could only engage with labour migration either as a traditional wife (a moral compass to their husband), or a loose prostitute (an undesirable and amoral presence in the city). This had consequences for the way labour legislation related to women, as the ensuing chapters illustrate.

Orde Browne's conceptualization of "the European" marked them as superior and represented "the white man" as an unquestionable source of power. Europeans were represented as smarter, civilized, better educated, and the best possible people to govern.[124] Orde Browne considered the suggestion that "by 2029 the negro may possibly be on the way to dispossess the European nations of their parcelled lots of African territory and to establish in their stead a great all-black republic" simply "depressing."[125] He emphasized that "the wellbeing and development of the peoples in African territories" was to be "regarded as a "sacred trusts of civilisation"."[126] Even though Orde Browne was aware that others questioned the justifiability and longevity of colonialism, he himself did not express doubt about the legitimacy of colonial rule in his writings. While he was critical of certain policies, compared various forms of colonial rule and advocated for the streamlining of policies on an international level, he did not question the underlying rightfulness of colonialism in itself. He would for example discuss how "to deal with the whole

[124] Orde Browne was in this sense very much a representative of colonial officials of this time, see for example; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*; Levine, 'What's British about Gender and Empire?'; Prior, *Exporting Empire*.
[125] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa: Papers on Labour Matters, An Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 31 October, 1929.
[126] Ibid.

problem of the African in contact with white man's law," which was not a discussion of whether it was unlawful to impose upon a different society one's own system of justice, but a discussion of hów to get "the native" to "believe that there is some logical foundation for our rules."[127] Orde Browne considered himself part of a European "we" that he opposed to the "African" them. Both were male and were homogenized, universalized and characterized in opposition to each other.

The juxtaposition of the European and the African functioned alongside an unequal power relationship and the idea that the former was far superior and more modern than the latter. To be European was presented as being synonymous with being a male person in power and a representative of "modern civilization." A good example can be found in a draft paper Orde Browne wrote for a talk he would give "on African life." Here he reflected on his time in Kenya and many of the ideas that came forward throughout his writings were condensed into a short talk. Modernity was thought to have been brought by "the European" and represented as being synonymous with money, trade, transport by train and "motor car," fast communication, clothing from European cloth, ventilated housing, and "novelties" such as the gramophone, matches, and "bicycles or pianos." On the other hand, the "African" was pictured as "bewildered" by such modern practices and things, and the "African" was thought to live in "primitive conditions," marked by "unreliable" roads and bridges, "travel either on foot or by mule or pony, while one's luggage was all carried on men's backs," communication by messengers and an abundance of "leopards and lions," and "scanty cloaks of goat skin" as basis of clothing.[128] Elsewhere, Orde Browne represented the "European" through professional functions, positions of people in power, and representatives of European institutions considered emblematic of the introduction of modern civilization. For example, they were presented as "the settler, the capitalist, the administrator, the missionary, the policeman, the schoolmaster, and the scientist."[129] The "European" was a stereotype represented through functions of power. Such a stereotype obscured any form of diversity and power imbalance within European society. It suggested a figure of ubiquitous power that could be opposed to a similarly unduly generalized stereotype of "the African."

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[127] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa: Papers on Labour Matters, An Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 31 October, 1929.
[128] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Draft of Orde Browne's "Talk on Native African Life," estimated date 1932.
[129] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1 Items 1-3, Item 1, Precis of proposed book *The African Labourer*, 1929.

The "African" was constructed as the negative, backwards reverse image of this idealized and homogenized European figure. "The African" was compared to "a child," considered backwards, primitive, tribal, docile, intellectually stooped, and was consistently gendered as male and presented as easily impressed by "the European." For example, Orde Browne noted that "[i]t was curious to notice the reaction of the entirely ignorant native to European novelties," and added how "a youngster from a very wild section, whom I was trying to train as a house servant, put his woolly head clean through one of my sitting room windows. […] Incidentally the occurrence was very annoying, if also somewhat amusing, since sheets of glass were rare and costly at that distance from civilization."[130] Orde Browne sometimes questioned an individual "trait" that was part of his larger racial stereotyping or argued that there were some differences between people from various areas. However, he never questioned the overall idea that "the African" was far inferior as a "race" to "the European." For example, in a discussion of "the primitive sociological structure of the race" he noted that while "the African" failed to contribute "much to the world's achievements in science, art, literature, music and other forms of mental activity by which it is customary to judge of a people's progress" this overlooked a "measure of success in social organization." He added that while "[t]his primitive state had in its uncontaminated form, certain notable virtues" it also was "vulnerable" and therefore it was "inevitable that the African should fall under the domination of more advanced races."[131] In other words, Orde Browne thought certain traits could be added to and taken away from the stereotype, but he did not question his right to take conceptual power nor did he criticize the underlying idea that his conceptual "African" was legitimately under European rule.

The idea of "the African" as a lesser being than the "European" also influenced the construction of "the African labourer." Importantly, the genderization of "the African" as male, translated into the construction of "the African labourer" as male. Moreover, while, on the one hand, "the African" was perceived of as a highly important resource, *he* was also considered in no way comparable to a European worker. A very clear example of this hierarchy and the way it translated to Orde Browne's construction of "the African labourer" can be found in a paper written by Orde Browne during the First World War. In this paper he ranked workers (all

[130] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Draft of Orde Browne's "Talk on Native African Life," estimated date 1932.
[131] WSLC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa: Papers on Labour Matters, Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs by Orde Browne, "Labour in Africa," 31 October, 1929.

assumed to be male) based on race. The "able-bodied and zealous European worker" was taken as "100%," whereas "the East African" was presented as 15-35% of the European worker."[132] The idea that "the African" was a worker of lesser quality was also linked to Orde Browne's understanding of the history of slavery in various areas. Orde Browne stated that the legacy of slavery and "slave mentality" caused workers to be less capable and receptive to wage as an incentive to work. Orde Browne argued that "the modern employer finds his most satisfactory workers among those tribes who knew little of slavery" because those who had seen "the traditions of compulsion, remain apathetic and lethargic to this day."[133] Despite questions about "the capacity of the tropical labourer," Orde Browne still considered *him* essential in the development of the economy and infrastructure. Orde Browne's main concern was not whether labour should be used, but how to formulate and implement labour policies that would attract and control labourers and "increase the efficiency of the workers in the lower end of the Table."[134] He emphasized recurrently that he thought the solution was to be found in "the management" of labour and stressed that "supervision and organization" and "the introduction of modern methods" should do much to "increase efficiency."[135] "The African labourer" was represented as a male body, a resource, in a system that was put forth as something to be set up and improved by Europeans to enable efficient exploitation and control. "The African" was represented as both a lesser race and an important resource to Europeans. The question Orde Browne struggled with was not whether this hierarchy was flawed or morally apprehensible, but revolved around the question of how to formulate policies that ensured Europeans could control and exploit the bodies and minds of male Africans who were believed to be of lesser mental and physical capacity than Europeans. That Europeans had the right to stereotype and exploit the "African" as such was not examined, instead Orde Browne recommended that policies be formulated that could enable the most efficient exploitation of bodies deemed most valuable in their potential as resource.

Women were not automatically included in the above representation of "the African" and "the African labourer." Orde Browne represented women under colonial rule as a category in

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[132] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Memoranda by Orde Browne, titled "The Colonial Labourer and Post-War Conditions," written following World War One, p. 2.
[133] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa: Papers on Labour Matters, Paper titled "The African Labourer" by Orde Browne, read at London School of Economics, estimated date 1929-1930, p.10.
[134] Ibid, p. 9-10.
[135] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.4, Memorandum about Government Labour by the Labour Commissioner [Orde Browne], n.d., estimated date 1928-1931, paragraph 3, 7, 32.

their own right, and considered them to be *more* primitive, traditional, and unreceptive to (moral forms of) change devolving from "European" influence. Male bodies, while represented as primitive, were still conceived of as receptive to change following "the introduction of modern conditions."[136] For example, in the case of the introduction of European clothing Orde Browne thought, first of all, that "[t]he women […] appear to be much more tenacious to the skin dress."[137] In the second place, íf women did change to European clothing, general problems associated with such a switch were thought to be exuberated. The idea that adopting European clothing led to "the breaking down and disappearance of the salutary old tribal traditions" and the "bad effect upon health," were thought to be much worse in the case of women.[138] Orde Browne argued that "the adoption of more sophisticated ideas in the matter of clothing appears to go hand in hand with the breaking down of ideas of morality, and this is still more marked in the case of women. A native girl who had discarded her scanty skin garments and taken to the more modern dress […] is almost always devoid of all moral standards."[139] Moreover, since, as stated above, authority was assumed to be male, women who did not act accordingly were considered as a very notable exception or an incredible nuisance. For example, a "woman in Emberre, of the name of Churume" was considered "a local Joan of Arc" due to her leadership role in the defense of her society "in a time of great danger and distress from Akamba raids."[140] While this local Joan of Arc was praised due to her "traditional" leadership roles, women who did not act according to "native tradition" but expressed forms of independence seen as deriving from "European" influence were much less appreciated by Orde Browne. He argued that women who were encouraged to "assume greater responsibility and self-expression" under "European law" were "unfortunate creatures" who were induced "to assume a position and mode of life which must result in degradation and misfortune."[141] This coalesced with the idea that "the female specimen" was "accustomed to going through life as a female minor" and found it "a devastating experience to be separated from all her male relative" and was "intensely conservative in her tribal

[136] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne, "British Justice and the African," n.d., p.28.
[137] Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 135.
[138] Ibid, 135–36.
[139] Ibid, 136.
[140] Ibid, 36, 54.
[141] Ibid, 74.

observances."[142] This demonstrates that self-assertion by women was only considered positively remarkable if it followed the lines of what Orde Browne believed was the social and political structure of a traditional "African" "tribe". If, however, women asserted themselves differently and more independently due to European influence, Orde Browne did not perceive of this as commendable but instead associated it with acting loose and immorally. The representation of women consequently was split between them being a beacon of tradition or a prime example of the pitfalls of the adoption of so-called modern conditions by "traditional" peoples in "primitive" societies.

A similar pattern of representation can be found in the way Orde Browne represented women in relation to labour. First of all, as will be illuminated in the following chapters, the exclusion of women from the general construction of "the African labourer" meant women were only discussed in the shape of a specific role, for instance mother or wife, and not automatically included in general labour policies as independent working figures. For example, in his report on Congo and Angola, Orde Browne captured women in his pictures, but did not refer to them in his text as labourers. Only when he referenced "family housing" or when he stated that male labour migrants were "accompanied in many cases by their wives," was it obvious that women were in fact on the mines.[143] Women who ventured into the city on their own were represented as morally dubious. Orde Browne argued that while "prostitution under tribal conditions" was unknown, "there is an increasing tendency for women to go to the towns as prostitutes or live in concubinage with strangers."[144] Prostitution was considered one of the main problems of "town life," alongside, for example, alcohol. Ode Browne insisted on the need for the "introduction of pass laws, curfew regulations, and liquor rules, in the larger towns, to control the […] prostitute."[145] This highlights that the independent migration of women was associated with amorality and a call for regulation. Women in the cities, in other words, were accepted if recognized as the wife of a labour migrant, in which case it was argued that they should be accommodated through housing. If women were not thought to be in the city as a wife, they were

[142] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne, "British Justice and the African," n.d., p. 21-22.
[143] MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Report by Orde Browne on his tour through Belgian Congo and Angola, 18 June, 1929, paragraph 28.
[144] Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 71–72.
[145] MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne, "Some Brief Notes on African Criminal Legislation, and Prison Systems," estimated date 1929-1930.

construed as an unfortunate being that had strayed from tradition and male authority into vice and needed to be controlled. Women, therefore, were discursively excluded from the possibility of being a licit independent working presence in the towns, because they were assumed to need a traditional environment or a male guardian.

CREDIBILITY AND JUSTIFICATION

During this period of his career, Orde Browne gained credibility and justified his methods and subject matter mainly through his military and colonial career, the referencing of well-known institutions, and the publication of articles in journals. The exchange of his discourse along this network and the lack of resistance to the way he represented women was likely to reinforce Orde Browne´s own (sub-conscious) sense of discursive legitimacy; because this network and the worldview or ideologies of Orde Browne's relations, did not question his assumptions and representations of women in the colonial context, it was less probable that Orde Browne himself would consider these as a point of discussion. For example, on a paper he presented at the London School of Economics, he scribbled some of the questions from the audience.[146] Questions revolving around diet, white settlement, individualism, slave mentality, history of slavery, labour and education, recruitment were all scribbled into the margin as points of discussion. These were also topics that reappeared in Orde Browne's later papers. Questions on women, prostitution, and the validity of the idea that "Africans" were inferior were, however, not on the table. Through a lack of questioning of some of Orde Browne's assumptions and engagement in others, Orde Browne's connections either reiterated or left unquestioned certain discursive constructions. It is probable this gave him a sense of both formal and discursive legitimacy and credibility.

Orde Browne's military and colonial education career gave him a way of presenting himself through title and rank. Orde Browne used said titles and ranks to legitimize his endeavours within the colonies and establish cross-institutional relations even when his subject matter was not what he was formally educated in. To aid his own career within the Military and

[146] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa: Papers on Labour Matters, Paper Titled "The African Labourer," read at London School of Economics, estimated date 1929-1930, p.1.

Colonial Office, Orde Browne relied on others already in positions of power or esteem to strengthen his credibility and reputation. For example, when Orde Browne wanted to return to East Africa to serve in the East Africa Campaign as a Captain in the Royal Artillery, he used both the Chief Staff Officer of East Africa of the Colonial Office and General Bushe, "since I served in the Battery under his command in South Africa," as references to strengthen his application.[147] Orde Browne also used his title and rank to establish relations outside of the Military and Colonial Office. For example, his function as ADC in Kenya spurred him to write to Sir Harry Johnstone that he wanted to write a book on "the tribes round Mount Kenya." Within this letter, he also stated: "I cannot consider myself really qualified to speak: I think however, that my statements are accurate."[148] Despite the fact that Orde Browne was aware that he was not educated as an anthropologist or ethnographer, his position as an ADC granted him a position of power to speak from and legitimize such endeavours to other people. Simultaneously, his association with said people, reinforced the suggestion of experience and expertise and through these relations Orde Browne could also further develop his career. Orde Browne's career within the Military and Colonial Office presented him with a sense of legitimacy and opportunities that - when taken - further enlarged this aura of expertise, which then enabled him to find new opportunities and build up a sense of credibility.

The institutions his relations were affiliated to, were another way in which Orde Browne strove for credibility and justified his actions. For example, when the suggested book on Kenya was published, he included on the title page not only that he was "Late Royal Artillery, Senior Commissioner, Tanganyika," but also that he was now a "Fellow of the American Geographical Society" and "Membre de L'Institut d'Anthropologie Suisse."[149] His military and colonial titles enabled him to reach out to such institutions, and consequently his affiliation with these institutions increased the sense of legitimacy of his work. It also granted Orde Browne the opportunity to develop a sense for his public and what topics to present on in what institutional setting and how to adjust accordingly. For example, in his address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs Orde Browne stated that because "I am addressing the Royal Institute of

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[147] NA, WO 374/51445, OB RSA, Handwritten letter from Orde Browne to the Military Secretary of the War Office concerning his return to East Africa following an administrative leave after seconded service in the Colonial Office, Original included letter from Chief Staff Officer East Africa, 28 September, 1915.
[148] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 1.1, Letter from Orde Browne to Sir Harry Johnstone concerning items inherited by Orde Browne from MR Pigott and Orde Browne's own investigations and collections, September 1914.
[149] Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, title page.

International Affairs, […], I thought that it might be of use if I were to deal with a somewhat less familiar side of this subject [labour], in the form of its potentialities for creating complications and crises between the various African administrations. I therefore decided to term my paper Some Disquieting aspects of the African Labour Situation."[150]

Finally, during this early period it is visible that Orde Browne tried to make a name for himself by publishing in journals and using language that resonated with those already deemed experts. In his address to the Royal Institute of International affairs, he stated for example "I would recall the phraseology of the League of Nations," to make the point that one had the responsibility to ensure colonies received good governance.[151] Orde Browne therefore referred to a language he expected his audience recognized as legitimate and credible, to reinforce the idea that his statement were similarly to be deemed credible. Similarly, he contributed to journals such as *The Journal of the African Society* and *The Anthropological Journal*.[152] This also enabled Orde Browne to reach out to people already in positions of authority to ask for feedback and made him visible and more approachable. For example, T.A. Joyce from the British Museum wrote "I am glad to hear that we may expect a contribution from you shortly for the Anthropological Journal and I shall look forward to reading it. […] hoping to meet you when next in London."[153] Publishing and using the "phraseology" recognized by others as credible, were therefore two efficient ways for Orde Browne to expand his network with and work on his credibility in the eyes of others.

[150] WSLC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa: Papers on Labour Matters, Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs by Orde Browne, 31 October, 1929.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Refers to the publication "Some Notes on the Chuka Tribe" in *The Journal of the African Society* (1916) in Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*, 48; Reference to a forthcoming publication in *The Anthropological Journal* in WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 1.1, Scientific Notes And Correspondence: East Africa, 1913-195, Letter from T.A. Joyce from British Museum to Orde Browne, 1913.
[153] Ibid.

CONCLUSION

During Orde Browne's early career, he worked on a wide range of topics and worked mainly in the context of the Colonial and Military Office. His assumptions about the continent of Africa and its inhabitants were consequently not limited to colonial labour. His representations were biased in terms of gender and race and in his early writing he discursively distinguished between a group he considered European, male, authoritative, and culturally superior, and a group he considered to be African, male, culturally inferior but an important resource in terms of labour in the development of colonial economies. While the latter group was perceived of as having value in terms of labour, they were not referenced as valuable sources of information or expertise, such references were limited to those Europeans and Institutions Orde Browne assumed his peers approved of and on which he still very much depended on for his own sense of credibility. Excluded from both of these groups were the women he encountered on the African continent, there were represented as a group in their own right and not necessarily in a good way. Women on the African continent were depicted as especially conservative, traditional, and either unwilling to change or morally degraded when giving in to changes stemming from what was seen as European influence, such as clothing. What is remarkable about this period is that women are sometimes referenced by Orde Browne, especially in his book on Kenya. These references almost, if not wholly, disappeared in the following periods of Orde Browne's career. What continued to exist, however, was Orde Browne's assumption that women were especially traditional and could only be of value in an industrial or modern space such as the mines, if they were there as a traditional, socially stabilizing counterpart to "their husbands." The independent migration of women, or women's independent adaption of "modern" habits was portrayed as disruptive and prostitution was assumed to be a modern vice unknown to "traditional" village life. These assumptions would frequently be reiterated and further developed later in Orde Browne's career, while the referencing of women completely disappeared. These ideas about women were left uncontested by Orde Browne's audience and the institutions and peoples he sought recognition from. Noticeable about this part of Orde Browne's career is that his ways of legitimizing his assumptions were to a certain point less developed than in the following chapters; in the early part of his career he relied mainly on guidelines of institutions and people

that he found credible to support or question his views. Orde Browne very much continued to do this in the rest of his career, but a significant difference is that in his later writings he also explicitly started to justify his own views as he translated them into recommendations and sought support for those recommendations tried to drive them home as facts that should be enforced. This highlights that in this early period of Orde Browne's career he, and others, did not yet perceive of Orde Browne as a full-fledged expert on colonial labour and that Orde Browne consequently payed more time and attention to those he díd consider as such which makes it all the more significant that he did not refer to "Africans". Later, as Orde Browne grew into the role of expert on colonial labour, he included himself as a reference alongside those peers and institutions also considered reputable, but he continued to exclude "Africans," especially women, unless they were part of an institution he deemed admirable. What is also already visible in this part of Orde Browne's career, is that he started to use positions, rank, and titles as both a platform to speak from and a sign that he could deem others to be authoritative figures. His own titles were used by Orde Browne as a way of communicating to others that he was worth listening to and at the same time he depended on the titles of others to tell him who he should listen to and reference. Women, again, were not included as figures of authority outside of the realms of story-telling and traditional advisory functions in what was perceived of as "native society," men, instead, were the only ones recognized as legitimate sources of power, albeit in the case of African men, inferior ones.

CHAPTER 2: LEAVING THE COLONIAL OFFICE: DEVELOPMENT AND INSTITUTIONAL CIRCULATION OF ORDE BROWNE'S GENDERED ASSUMPTIONS, 1932-1938.

In June 1933, Orde Browne wrote to C.W.H. Weaver, Chief of Section at the International Labour Office that the depressing labour conditions in Tanganyika were "exactly what I expected and disliked so much, that I ended my career rather than acquiesce."[154] Only a few months later Orde Browne was appointed as a substitute member of the Committee of Experts on Native Labour of the International Labour Organization (ILO). Orde Browne's departure from the colonial office initiated a period in his career where his network grew abundantly, his status as expert became institutionally and personally entrenched, and led to him considering labour from an international (policy) perspective. Within this process, the sources he used, the representations he constructed, relied on, and reiterated, and the justifications he attached to them, both evolved and changed from the ones we saw in the previous chapter. In the context of a cross-colonial and cross-institutional career, Orde Browne's gendered construction of the colonial labourer developed into something increasingly rigid and internationalized, while simultaneously it tapped into assumptions already formed during the earlier part of his career in the War- and Colonial Office. While, for example, women disappeared from Orde Browne's writings as a referred-to-source, the idea that they were inherently traditional and were mothers and wives first before they were labourers, was translated into memoranda read at numerous institutions and conferences and international policy recommendations through ILO draft conventions.

This chapter sets out the sources, representations, and justifications Orde Browne used during this part of his career, after he left the colonial office and before he returned as an acclaimed expert on labour and took on the role of first Labour Adviser to the Secretary of State of the Colonial Office. It argues that the discursive construction of the labourer as male and migratory was translated into international policy recommendations that reinforced the idea that women's natural place was outside the realm of independent labour. Instead, women were granted mobility and access to welfare measures only if they could present themselves as fitting a

[154] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Orde Browne to Weaver, International Labour Office Geneva, about the Deterioration of Labour Conditions in Tanganyika, 14 June, 1933.

certain role; being a wife or a mother. Women that migrated independently, were not married, or did not behave according to colonial perceptions of traditional gender roles, were represented as amoral, undesirable, and diseased. Such discursive constructions were not left uncontested, but nevertheless led to a normalization of policies regulating against independent female labour and mobility at an international level.[155]

LEAVING THE COLONIAL OFFICE: AN OVERVIEW OF ORDE BROWNE'S RISE TO EXPERT STATUS

Following the Great Depression, economic difficulties led to budget cuts in British colonies.[156] The labour department of Tanganyika closed in 1931. The governance of labour now came under the auspices of "the Administration, under supervision of a specialist in the office of the Secretary for Native affairs. As the latter office has itself since been abolished, the present position is obscure."[157] This situation was considered a complete retrogression by Orde Browne and he argued that the official story on labour was painfully and deliberately misleading. He wrote to Weaver that "[t]he present governmental policy is to insist that everything is splendid, and they now omit the statistics that I used to include in my annual reports, which would disclose the actual situation; […] An officer in the Secretariat is supposed to specialize in labour, but as far as I can see, he exists mainly to throw dust in the eyes of Geneva;[158] anyhow, he does

[155] The legacies of such discursive constructions and their normalization warrants more study and would be an interesting follow up to this thesis. Present-day cases of women disguising as men to work on the mines where wages are higher, attest to the influence of colonial gendering of labour and ILO labour policies on societal perceptions of appropriate and inappropriate labour for "men" v.s. "women". Moreover, spheres of mining where mining remained privatized, was not monopolized and was outside of colonial or ILO policy changes, such as Chapada Diamantina in Brazil, demonstrate that if not regulated, mines did have female entrepreneurs, despite the associations of crime and hard labour that mining often incites.

[156] Iliffe, *Africans*, 228.

[157] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, Untitled Memorandum on the effect of the Depression on Colonial Labour and Responses to the Depression by Orde Browne, written after 1933.

[158] Geneva referred to the International Labour Organization or ILO. The ILO was founded in 1919 as an agency of the League of Nations in service of the formulation and supervision of international labour policies. Following the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the end of the First World War in 1918, it was thought that governments should work together to create a forum for workers, governments, and companies to express their concerns about labour and prevent conflicts between nations and avert the spread of communism amongst dissatisfied workers. Led by Albert Thomas between 1919 and 1932 and Harold Butler between 1932 and 1939, the ILO tried to establish international

practically no touring or inspecting, which was such an important part of my work."[159] Orde Browne added that the situation was so terrible that he ended his career because of it. This was a bone of contention he held for a long time, reflecting on his own time in Tanganyika as a golden age of labour governance that had gone to bits after his departure. For example, he wrote to Lord Lugard that "my Labour Dept. in Tanganyika was functioning properly" and that therefore there were "many protests […] when my Dept. was abolished."[160] Orde Browne's frustration about the discrepancy between official and unofficial information on colonial labour, and the lack of specialized labour officials within the British Colonial Office, returned in future years. For example, in a 1937 memorandum, he recommended that an expert on labour should have "ample practical experience, to enable him to discriminate between theory and practice, or appearance and reality, in official reports, etc."[161] Orde Browne's argument that there was a need for an expert labour staff went hand in hand with his plea for a transparent form of information collection and distribution. Within this idea, "Geneva" - the ILO - symbolized the centralization of said desired expertise and information and Orde Browne wrote that "the reports and information collected at Geneva […] provide valuable help for the consideration of these [labour] problems."[162] Both ideas will return later in this chapter as Orde Browne considered experts and the collection and interchange of information key to successful monitoring and control of labour and labour migration.

After leaving the Colonial Office in a fury, Orde Browne turned his frustration into productivity, commencing with what in retrospect was one of the most industrious periods in his

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norms on labour through the gathering of information and the formulation of Conventions at conferences. Moreover, the ILO thought that the ability of workers, governments, and companies to file complaints at the ILO and the review of Conventions via Annual Reports enabled a centralized yet universal supervision of labour policies. (However, the effectiveness of the ILO has often been questioned, because members were not required to ratify the Conventions and ratification rates were generally low. At the same time, Orde Browne suggested that the low standard of the conventions was intentional, to garner public support for their ratification.) See for example; Alcock, *History of the International Labour Organization*; Van Daele, 'Engineering Social Peace'; Daele, 'The International Labour Organization (ILO) in Past and Present Research'; Helfer, 'Understanding Change in International Organizations'.

[159] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Orde Browne to Weaver, International Labour Office Geneva, about the Deterioration of Labour Conditions in Tanganyika, 14 June, 1933.

[160] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Orde Browne to Lord Lugard about Lord Lugard's notes on the Geneva Papers, 26 April, 1934.

[161] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Memorandum about Labour Organization in the Crown Colonies, attached to letter from Orde Browne to Doctor Drummond Shields, Memorandum to be given to Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the Trade Union Council, 16 October, 1937.

[162] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2 East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Administrator, the Employer, and the Labourer," read at the League of Nations Union Conference at the London School of Economics, 18 February, 1936.

career. During this period, his gaze was focused very much on colonial labour and his output on this topic translated into an augmented expert status and network. An important example from this period is Orde Browne's completion of his monograph *The African Labourer*.[163] He considered it an "enormous amount of work" and circulated it across his existing network for comments and feedback.[164] For example, he sent it to General Smuts,[165] who was also referenced in the previous chapter during Orde Browne's military career.[166] He also expanded his network, both through the research done for the book and its positive reception. For instance, he asked Weaver for help on the finer details of the ILO's Draft Conventions - the same Weaver that later recommended him for the Committee of Experts on Native Labour of the ILO.[167] Moreover, heavy weights like Lord Lugard provided Orde Browne with feedback and compliments in a language that increased Orde Browne's esteem in the eyes of others, including the referencing of his military title. In the preface of the book, for example, Lord Lugard stated that he considered "Major" Orde Browne "no mere theorist, for as Head of the Labour Department of Tanganyika he has had ample opportunity of putting to a practical test the precepts he advocates. Moreover, by study of the legislation and the practice of the different Governments in Africa, he is able to indicate to what extent they have found it practicable to adopt these principles."[168] Lord Lugard's sentiment was reflective of the way the book contributed to Orde Browne's status as an expert on labour. *The African Labourer* illustrated Orde Browne's wide legal and theoretical knowledge and practical experience, and this made him an asset in the eyes of many - including the ILO and later the Colonial Office. Orde Browne himself also recognized that the book seemed "to be

[163] Orde Browne, *African Labourer*.
[164] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Letter from Orde Browne to Lord Lugard, includes Orde Browne's revisions on two draft chapters of the Dual Mandate and refers to Orde Browne's finishing of his Labour Monograph, 6 September, 1932.
[165] General Smuts, also known as Jan Christian Smuts, was a renowned politician and soldier. He played a significant role in both the East African Campaign, the organization of the Royal Air Force (R.A.F.), the Paris Peace negotiations in Versailles following the end of World War 1, and South African politics; he was prime minster of South Africa and represented South Africa during the creation of the United Nations following the Second World War. See for example; Bill Schwarz, 'Frontier Philosopher: Jan Christian Smuts', in *Memories of Empire, Volume I: The White Man's World*, by Bill Schwarz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); 'Jan Smuts. South African Statesman', Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed 14 October 2019, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jan-Smuts.
[166] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Letter from Smuts to Orde Browne thanking him for his book *The African Labourer*, 18 July, 1933.
[167] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Weaver to Orde Browne commenting on *The African Labourer*, 14 June, 1933.
[168] Orde Browne, *African Labourer*, Preface.

meeting with a favourable reception."[169] Thus, both his self-esteem and his general, or institutional, esteem was enlarged through the writing and publishing of *The African Labourer,* granting him a platform to work from.

Orde Browne's growing expert status provided him with many opportunities that reinforced his status as expert and expanded his cross-institutional and cross-colonial network. One of the most characteristic parts of this era in Orde Browne's life is the sheer abundance of talks, memoranda, and essays he wrote, presented, and published and their emphasis on colonial labour. It is impossible to list them all, but even a small selection shows the breadth of his network and the opportunities gained from it. For example, the British Social Hygiene Council asked him to provide them with an expert opinion on labour in the Mediterranean. Thanks to this, Orde Browne found himself touring the Mediterranean ports to check the welfare of the Merchant Marine - which was a fancy way of saying he was checking up on the numeracy and treatment of their STD's.[170] The tour was followed by a talk at the Imperial Social Hygiene Congress in July, 1933, where he presented his results to a wider audience.[171] This talk was one of many and in the following years he spoke at institutions and conferences ranging from Oxford, to Chatham House, to the Congress International Des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, to The Empire Citizenship Course of Training, the Womens' International League Meeting, and the Institut Colonial International.[172] Such institutional backings granted Orde Browne opportunities to travel and garner practical experience on colonial labour despite no longer working at the Colonial Office. For example, with the backing of the University of London Institute of Education, Orde Browne toured French West Africa with W. Bryant Mumford, head of the

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[169] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Orde Browne to Weaver, International Labour Office Geneva, about the Deterioration of Labour Conditions in Tanganyika, 14 June, 1933.
[170] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 4.1, "Mediterranean Trip," Orde Browne's tour to some of the Western Mediterranean Ports under the auspices of the British Social Hygiene Council to ascertain the efficiency of welfare measures for seamen, 1933.
[171] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.4, Memoranda on Labour Matters, Paper titled "Welfare of the Mercantile Marine and the Working of the Brussels Agreement," read at the Imperial Social Hygiene Congress, 3 July, 1933.
[172] WLSC MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper read to Oxford Auditorium by Orde Browne on Ethnology and its relation to Labour Problems in Africa, 27 April, 1933; Paper by Orde Browne titled "African Labour and the Depression," read to The African Circle, Chatham House, 4 March, 1935; Paper by Orde Browne titled "Witchcraft and British Colonial Law," read at the Congress International Des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, 3 August, 1934; Paper by Orde Browne for the Empire Citizenship Course of Training, titled "A Review of Imperial Problems," 3 July, 1935; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.6, Paper read by Orde Browne at the Womens' International League Meeting, titled "Some Problems of Dual Aspect," November, 1934; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 4.3, Institut Colonial International, invitation to Orde Browne to provide a report on detribalization in the British Colonies, 1934.

Colonial Department, University of London Institute of Education. Together they wrote the book, *Africans Learn to be French,* wherein they commented on the form and function of education in French West Africa.[173] Orde Browne's personal and institutional network expanded greatly during this time, both devolving from and consequently reinforcing the idea that he was the man to ask if one had a question on colonial labour. These connections worked at both a more personal and institutional level, meaning that Orde Browne's personal correspondence could overlap with institutional opportunities. For example, Orde Browne's correspondence with Lord Lugard and Weaver consisted both of personal interactions (e.g. personal exchanges on the process of writing their books) and institutional recommendations; Orde Browne was recommended by Weaver to stand in for Lord Lugard in the Committee of Experts on Native Labour.[174]

Orde Browne's function within the ILO was emblematic of this overlap between personal and institutional connections and illustrative of this industrious period of his career. The ILO enabled him to establish more cross-institutional and cross-colonial relations, formalize his status as expert, and catalyzed a more international perspective on colonial labour within Orde Browne's work. This international perspective and Orde Browne's already mentioned desire to have a centralized and international collection of information on colonial labour, was in line with the general aim of the ILO. The ILO aimed for both a centralization of knowledge and the formulation of conventions that could be internationally ratified and enforced.[175] Orde Browne's appointment to the Committee of Experts must be read against both this wider aim of the ILO and the ILO's differentiation between colonial and "non-colonial" labour. The Committee of Experts was the result of the idea that colonial labour was something separate and entirely different from labour in the metropole and something for which different norms should be formulated. The Committee was established in the early 1930s, following the introduction of "the Convention on

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[173] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 5.1, West African Trip, a tour of French West Africa undertaken by Dr W.B. Mumford and Orde Browne on the behalf of the University of London Institute on Education, 1935; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 5.5, Book by Orde Browne and Mumford, *Africans Learn to be French*, a Review of Educational Activities in the Seven Federated Colonies of French West Africa, 1937; NA, CO 554/125/9, Labour Conditions. Major Orde Browne's Visit and Report W. Africa (French West Africa), 1935.

[174] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Letter from Lord Lugard to Orde Browne regarding recommendation of Orde Browne by Lord Lugard for membership Forced Labour Committee (Committee of Experts on Native Labour) upon request Weaver, 4 July, 1932; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Weaver to Orde Browne commenting on his appointment to the Native Labour Committee, 7 November, 1933.

[175] Alcock, *History of the International Labour Organization*, 18–19; Van Daele, 'Engineering Social Peace', 435–36; Helfer, 'Understanding Change in International Organizations', 651–89.

Forced Labour" in 1930. This Convention stated that "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntary" should be considered forced labour and was thus illegitimate.[176] The Convention was accompanied by the establishment of the Committee of Experts on Native Labour. This committee supervised the ratification and implementation of the Convention and considered potential complaints and problems through meetings and reviews of Annual Reports.[177] This centralized knowledge and projected expertise on colonial labour attracted Orde Browne to the ILO, both as a consumer and contributor, and culminated in his appointment there.

After leaving the Colonial Office and during the process of writing his book, Orde Browne had reached out to Weaver at the ILO for some comments on ILO conventions and Labour Legislation. For example, he wrote to Weaver that the information "your people" sent was excellent, but "somewhat misleading. For instance, Forced Labour is shown as accepted only by Great Britain, which is no doubt the case as far as formal ratification is concerned; the Belgian would however be very indignant, were nothing said about their general application." Orde Browne therefore asked Weaver his opinion on how to best represent this information in his book, without discrediting either his own information on the application of these Conventions or the ILO statistics on their ratification.[178] From this followed a lengthy exchange on draft conventions, ratification rates, and discrepancies between theory and practice in colonial contexts. Orde Browne gave Weaver inside information on colonial labour situations and Weaver used this in his ILO meetings and briefed Orde Browne on these proceedings. For example, Orde Browne wrote to Weaver about Tanganyika, stating for example that "[l]icencing of recruiters is once more in the hands of the Administration in the provinces, and I have no doubt that many of the rogues that I so carefully weeded out, are once more gaily exploiting all concerned."[179] To which Weaver replied that he had long talks about the situation in Tanganyika and "returned to

[176] International Labour Organisation, *International Labour Conventions and Recommendations, 1919-1981* (Geneva 1982), 29 ('Convention No. 2: Forced Labour, 1930').
[177] Alcock, *History of the International Labour Organization*, 81–95; Cooper, *The Labor Question*, 25–29.
[178] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.1, Letter from Orde Browne to Weaver about International Conventions, 12 September, 1932.
[179] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Orde Browne to Weaver, ILO Geneva, about the deterioration of Labour Conditions in Tanganyika, 14 June, 1933.

the charge at the last meeting of the Mandates Commission, using some of the points you gave me in your letters."[180]

This correspondence also led to Weaver recommending Orde Browne for the Committee of Experts on Native Labour. While the original plan was to appoint Orde Browne as a new member, Weaver encountered difficulties and suggested a new approach. He wrote to Orde Browne that things had been held up because of "the reluctance of the Directorate, to move, proprio motu, for an increase in the British members."[181] He suggested that Orde Browne try something a French deputy member had already done in cooperation with the French government; to be appointed as the back-up of an existing member in whose absence one could attend the meeting. Weaver added that he thought that "[i]f the C.O. [Colonial Office] or Lord Lugard would take similar action, I do not think the matter would give rise to further difficulty."[182] Weaver's approach proved successful, Lord Lugard gave his approval and wrote to Orde Browne that he thought "that they could not make a better appointment."[183] Weaver personally wrote to inform Orde Browne to tell him the appointment had been successful and that he would be officially awarded the appointment soon. While officially he could only attend in the absence of Lord Lugard, Weaver wrote to tell Orde Browne that since Lord Lugard "has always refused to make the journey to Geneva," this would not prove a hindrance.[184]

Orde Browne's appointment at the ILO also added to his shine from the perspective of the Colonial Office. Soon following his appointment, Orde Browne received a letter from J.J. Paskin,[185] who wrote to say that Orde Browne's position was "a purely personal one" and that he was "in no sense a representative of His Majesty's Government. You do not receive any "instructions" either from the Colonial Office or the Ministry of Labour and are not expected to

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[180] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Weaver to Orde Browne commenting on *The African Labourer*, 14 June, 1933.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.
[183] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Letter from Lord Lugard to Orde Browne regarding recommendation of Orde Browne by Lord Lugard for membership Forced Labour Committee (Committee of Experts on Native Labour) upon request Weaver, 4 July, 1932.
[184] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Weaver to Orde Browne personally congratulating him on his appointment to the Native Labour Committee, 7 November, 1933.
[185] J.J. Paskin was a representative of the Colonial Office, best known for being the Under Secretary of State of the Colonial Office.

report to us."[186] Nevertheless, just a page later, Paskin added that while "officially, your position vis-à-vis His Majesty's Government is as described in paragraph 2 above, we shall of course at all times be willing to give you semi-officially any assistance which it may be proper for us to give." Immediately after offering semi-official forms of aid from his side, Paskin stated that the Colonial Office hoped Orde Browne would "help us here by giving us confidentially […] timely advice as to any trend of feeling or opinion current at Geneva upon Colonial labour questions."[187] Luckily for Paskin, Orde Browne was happy to oblige, and wrote back to Paskin that he had just attended a meeting and would have no problem dropping by at the Colonial Office or the Ministry of Labour. He added that matters of "Recruiting, Length and particulars of Contracts, and Penal Sanctions" were a few of the things discussed that Paskin might find of interest.[188] In the following years, Orde Browne's work inside and outside the ILO continued to reinforce his status as expert, emphasis always returning to his combination of legal knowledge and practical experience. Lord Lugard, for example, wrote to Harold Butler, the Director General of the ILO between 1932 and 1938, that Orde Browne would go to the Committee in his place and wrote that he thought the Committee could "benefit of Major O.B.'s practical experience and study."[189] Orde Browne himself also increasingly considered himself quite the knowledgeable and experienced man.

His appointment at the ILO also granted him an international perspective on colonial labour and contributed to his understanding that a centralization and coordination of knowledge and future research was essential. According to Orde Browne the ILO was important because it developed a set of policy recommendations for labour issues he thought to be relevant to all labour in all colonies:

> The main problems connected with […] labour are receiving careful study, and a body of legislation is gradually being established in the various countries which represents a decided advance. Questions such as employers' liability, hours of employment, conditions of women's work, age restrictions for children, and similar matters, are being dealt with and

[186] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Paskin to Orde Browne in relation to Orde Browne's appointment to the Native Committee of Labour, 6 December, 1933.
[187] Ibid.
[188] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Orde Browne to Paskin in relation to willingness to inform Paskin on what has been discussed at the Native Committee of Labour Meeting, 9 May, 1934.
[189] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Lord Lugard to Orde Browne, including a letter from Lord Lugard to Harold Butler, 8 March, 1934.

> kept under consideration by colonial administrations that would have been hardly conceivable before the creation of the International Labour Office.[190]

Orde Browne's narrowing down to labour but branching out geographically, influenced the subject matter of the papers he wrote and presented during this time. For example, he wrote a paper on "Labour Questions at Geneva," and on Labour Conditions on Peruvian Mines.[191] It was also reflected in his own reflection on his career where he stated that while in the past "the practical value of my inquiry was negligible" in some cases, he now preferred "to start by determining which of the many subjects for investigation were likely to prove of general importance."[192] Finally, as we will see in the next chapter, he carried these ideas into his construction of the function of labour advisor, writing a recommendation in 1940 that a labour officer should "attend periodically at the meetings of the International Labour Office in Geneva."[193]

Orde Browne's appointment at the ILO is an illuminating example of the interaction between Orde Browne's personal relations and institutional functions, the interchange of information across informal lines into formal spheres of decision-making, and the increase of esteem through the formalization of the status of expert through an institutional appointment - even when aided by personal connections. This formal-informal nexus granted Orde Browne many opportunities, both in form of information collection, job opportunities, and network expansion, which then again led to an increased sense of his expertise and a new set of promising prospects. The most explicit example of this is the Colonial Office's request for Orde Browne to return to the Colonial Office to assist in the labour situation in Northern Rhodesia following the mid-thirties strikes, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[190] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne, titled "The Administrator, the Employer, and the Labourer," read at the League of Nations Union Conference at the London School of Economics, 18 February, 1936, p.13-14.
[191] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.4, Memoranda on Labour Matters, 1933-1944, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Labour Question at Geneva," 7 December, 1933; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Report by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Labour Conditions on Peruvian Mines, n.d., written after 1936.
[192] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Ethnology and its Relation to Labour Problems in Africa," read to Oxford Auditorium, 27 April, 1933, p.3.
[193] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.4, Memoranda on Labour Matters, 1933-1944, Memorandum on the Duties of the Labour Advisor, attached to letter from Orde Browne to Jeffries from the Colonial Office, 9 May, 1940.

INFORMATION AND INFORMANTS

During this period of his career, as has been demonstrated above, Orde Browne focused more specifically on colonial labour while expanding his network in a geographical and institutional sense. The same trend is visible within the way he collected his information and who he approached for information. In the previous chapter we saw that Orde Browne discursively differentiated between European, African, and female African sources based on assumptions about their expertise and beliefs about their "natural" characteristics. During the period under review in this chapter, these assumptions were still prevalent, but combined with the increased focus on labour, translated into the exclusion of some sources, specifically the exclusion of female sources. As argued in the previous chapter, Orde Browne assumed labour was male, that the regulation and control of labour was the prerogative of European men, and that women were useful sources mostly when it came to folklore and tradition. Consequently, women fell outside the perimeters of Orde Browne's information gathering in the case of colonial labour conditions and policies. At the same time, the belief that Europeans were to be trusted as authoritative and expert sources was expounded as Orde Browne's network grew and he depended on those European institutions he believed to be reliable institutions of centralized knowledge. Specific people within these institutions also provided him with informal exchanges of information not necessarily found in published sources such as law books and surveys. His growing interest for institutions and their data also translated into an appeal to colonies and institutions to collect and share information through surveys and reports - this was the information he found of practical use and of which he wished he and others could have more. At the same time his old colonial connections and his own experience continued to feed into his data feed and his interactions with labourers were not completely discontinued, albeit limited to men.

Orde Browne continued to differentiate between "European" and "African" sources and his reliance on and belief in the importance of information of the former category grew during this period. The idea that expert knowledge was to be expected from Europeans, not Africans, now coalesced with his plea for more specialized knowledge and information collection by so-called "qualified officials." Orde Browne believed specialists were needed for the formulation

and enforcement of labour policies; "It is the writer's firm conviction that application of labour legislation and welfare measures can never be efficiently performed in the absence of special officers for the purpose."[194] From Orde Browne's perspective, the use of experts was for the benefit of everyone, relating the use of "European" knowledge to "progress". For example, he argued that "[u]nder stimulus of the International Labour Office, progressive European ideas have been imported into Africa […] the general result has certainly been towards the improvement of the African worker's status."[195] More on the legitimization and justification of information collection will be considered in the paragraph on credibility.

Unsurprisingly, we find that Orde Browne used sources of institutions and people associated to institutions that were considered knowledgeable on a specific topic. These were consistently European and colonial institutions, with the rare exception of an American one. While this in itself was not necessarily problematic, the fact that these were the only sources explicitly referenced as expert ones while "African," let alone female African, sources were not similarly explicitly referenced, demonstrates Orde Browne's continued exclusion of "the African" as a potential expert. The ILO and the Institut Colonial International at Brussels were used for their reports and volumes of colonial legislation. Orde Browne moreover considered their centralization of knowledge a "valuable help for the consideration of these [labour] problems" and of "the highest importance to the investigator."[196] The ILO also granted Orde Browne a more international perspective, his comments on meetings of the expert committee meetings including comments on labour migration "outside Africa, the Southern Indian recruiting for Ceylon and the Far East […] the Dutch recruiting in the minor islands for work in Java," while acknowledging that he had "no personal knowledge of these."[197] In the process of writing *The African Labourer* and later papers Orde Browne relied on "official publications in the Law Library of the Empire Society" and "reports of the Institut International" or "League or I.L.O.

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[194] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Notes on the Proposed Programme of Work for the Committee of Experts on Native Labour," estimated date 1934-1936.
[195] WLSC, MSS AFr S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Labour and International Relations," 19 September, 1932.
[196] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne, titled "The Administrator, the Employer, and the Labourer," read at the League of Nations Union Conference at the London School of Economics, 18 February, 1936, p.14.
[197] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Notes on the Proposed Programme of Work for the Committee of Experts on Native Labour," estimated date 1934-1936; Untitled Memorandum on the effect of the Depression on Colonial Labour and Responses to the Depression by Orde Browne, written after 1933.

material."[198] He also used government decrees based on centralized policy recommendations, stating that for *the African Labourer* he "had to search not only all the Laws and Ordinances, but also the various Government notices, proclamations, etc. based on them."[199] Similarly, Orde Browne gave a list of recommended references to Lord Lugard for the two chapters Orde Browne has revised;

> Page 593. Footnote 2.
> "a certain constraint…" I am unable to find better authority for this then the "Times" quoted; presumably reference to Brussels would obtain authoritative quotation from debates.
>
> "A year earlier…"
> See the Annual Report for 1928; also a speech by M. Jaspar, Colonial Minister, in the Chamber of Representatives, on the 21st, and the 27th, of February, 1929, in which full details were given, on the lines indicated in the draft chapter.[200]

In his own works he also referenced such sources and referred, for example, to "Ordinance No.5 of 1925," a report published by the "Kenya Medical Department," "police and prison reports," "Statesman Year Books," and so forth.[201] Such references illustrated Orde Browne's own attribution of authority to these institutions and their publications and is likely to have been considered in a similar way by others, like Lord Lugard who underwrote Orde Browne's wide theoretical knowledge of multiple spheres and levels of governance.[202] Orde Browne himself also noted the difficulty of navigating certain laws, for example quoting "The Kenya Laws of

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[198] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Letter from Orde Browne to Lord Lugard, includes Orde Browne's revisions on two draft chapters of the Dual Mandate and refers to Orde Browne's finishing of his Labour Monograph, 6 September, 1932.
[199] Ibid.
[200] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Orde Browne's revisions on two draft chapters of the Dual Mandate, 6 September, 1932.
[201] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Letter from Orde Browne to Lord Lugard with suggested revisions to previously recommended references for the Dual Mandate, 10 September, 1932; Paper by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," n.d. written after depression; Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. mid-thirties; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "A Review of Imperial Problems," presented at the Empire Citizenship Course of Training, 3 July, 1935.
[202] See for example; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Letter from Lord Lugard to Orde Browne regarding recommendation of Orde Browne by Lord Lugard for membership Forced Labour Committee (Committee of Experts on Native Labour) upon request Weaver, 4 July, 1932; Orde Browne, *African Labourer*, Preface.

1926" and stating that "one tends to rely on nomenclature and indexing to an undue degree, and a change in the exact title, unless clearly reproduced in the index, may throw one off the scent."[203] He considered it important to be precise, stating that upon finding an error in *The African Labourer*, it caused "me a considerable shock, so I have now begun to check the whole of my work, to guard against any similar occurrences elsewhere."[204] The use of formal sources and a precise depiction thereof seem to have granted Orde Browne a sense of legitimacy in his writing. This might also explain why Orde Browne often emphasized the discrepancies between official publications and informal information gained through personal connections and correspondence and why he stressed the importance of information by local informants.

What nowadays would be called an example of the Gap hypothesis - the difference between the theory and practice of migration and immigration policies - was something Orde Browne frequently complained about.[205] He frequently advocated the use of more informants and the exchange of information between local missionaries, employers, traders, and overarching forms of data collection as done by the ILO.[206] This bringing together of what can be considered formal sources (roughly defined here as published sources following certain guidelines, editing and formatting) and informal sources (personal information, unofficial correspondence and the personal exchange of information, oral interviews) appears to have functioned as a balancing out of theoretical depictions of colonial labour, and a more grounds up reflection on colonial labour. For example, he wrote that "[c]ertain aspects of the problem must be the concern of the Government; in other directions, important help can be rendered by Planters' Associations and other such bodies; while for observation and information we may expect valuable assistance from missionaries, traders and residents."[207] In other words, Orde Browne thought that the use of multiple (sorts of) sources, would render a more accurate representation of colonial labour, balancing out the different pictures sketched by policies versus personal accounts. (Note,

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[203] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Letter from Orde Browne to Lord Lugard with suggested revisions to previously recommended references for the Dual Mandate, 10 September, 1932.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Wayne. A. Cornelius et al., *Controlling Immigration. A Global Perspective*; Czaika and De Haas, 'Effectiveness of Immigration Policies'.
[206] See for example; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932.
[207] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," n.d. written after depression.

however, that while European, white men could function both as a formal and informal source, colonial labourers were considered mostly as informal, non-expert ones, hereby again racially hierarchizing his collection of information.)

This brings us to the informal sources Orde Browne depended on during this period and it is here that the importance of his personal network is again very apparent. People like Lord Lugard and Weaver have already been mentioned and were prime examples of Orde Browne's dependence on individuals for the correction of his (and their) understanding of colonial labour. Weaver, for example, passed on Orde Browne's writings to his colleagues at the ILO and "in so far as they know the legislation" promised to "pass on any comments they make."[208] He also promised to agitate on the basis of Orde Browne's information on the labour situation in Tanganyika, which Orde Browne himself had received through personal correspondence with a district commissioner still working in the colony. Weaver added that Orde Browne's "information about Tanganyika is most opportune and I shall try to cover the essential points in my questions to the accredited representative."[209] Orde Browne also met with "Professor Labouret" in Paris, to discuss labour "conditions in French Equatorial Africa."[210] Moreover, he relied on local informants to inform him of the degree to which labour policies were enforced, referring to agents of the Union and Rhodesia, "French, Belgian and Portuguese officials of various colonies."[211] Orde Browne used this kind of information to warrant corrections to official stories, for example mentioning that he was "informed by persons having experience in Mocambique that […] rules were really being observed."[212] He also stated that "unofficial circles" proved valuable as they bore "fruit in specialized studies," explicitly referring to "[J] Merle Davis' 'Modern Industry and the African."[213]

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[208] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter from Weaver to Orde Browne commenting on *The African Labourer*, 14 June, 1933.
[209] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 3.4, Letter (personal) from Weaver to Orde Browne commenting on Orde Browne's information on Tanganyika and asking for Orde Browne's opinion on *Africa Dances*, 17 May, 1935.
[210] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Orde Browne's revisions on two draft chapters of the Dual Mandate, 6 September, 1932.
[211] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932.
[212] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Orde Browne's revisions on two draft chapters of the Dual Mandate, 6 September, 1932.
[213] John Merle Davis was an American Missionary; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.

Orde Browne also advocated others to use information gathered by missionaries, traders, planters, and local administrators in the collection of information on colonial labour. He emphasized how various functions could contribute in their own particular manner to a better understanding of the colonial labourer. (These functions, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, were stereotypes in their own right, assumed to be inhabited by white men of power.) For example, he wrote that "the experienced local resident, even though devoid of any scientific training, may well be able to offer valuable material and suggestions to the investigator; the old planter, or the long-established missionary, may have stores of observation of the characteristics of various tribes, which will be of the greatest service to the scientist."[214] Simultaneously, Orde Browne considered every source to have its pitfalls and recommended others to take these into account. The following examples demonstrate this and also illustrate how Orde Browne continued to reproduce racial stereotypes based on his representation of their function within the colony. On missionaries, for example, Orde Browne wrote that they were often "the oldest resident" and had "a good knowledge of the local language" and "tribal custom."[215] Yet, he added, "the planter" could consider the missionary as an "old idealist, with a most undue tenderness for a set of rogues who bamboozle him for their own profit."[216] Orde Browne also argued that "the missionary is likely to fall victim to unreliable information" on subjects where people might expect a missionary to adopt "a censorious attitude," referring to "sexual relations" as an example of such a topic.[217] Similarly, the administrator and the planter were also given their pros and cons as sources of information. While the administrator once trusted by local authorities might have "access to a mine of information," Orde Browne also thought that due to the weight of an administrators decisions, it was likely that he would be given "erroneous information, in order to distort his view in the desired direction."[218] The planter, Orde Browne argued, was likely to have access to more uncensored information because "he lays no claim to authority either spiritual or legal, and in consequence the native will be prepared to talk far more freely to

[214] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Ethnology and its Relation to Labour Problems in Africa," read to Oxford Auditorium, 27 April, 1933, p.9.
[215] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 10-11.
[216] Ibid, p.11.
[217] Ibid, p.20-21.
[218] Ibid.

himself."[219] He added that the planter had the ability of acquainting himself with all the juicy gossip missionaries and administrators might be held far from, writing that "the planter sees the Mahomedan getting drunk, and knows where the Christian's second wife lives, and hears a quantity of gossip that would never be mentioned at the Mission or the Station."[220] The only problem, Orde Browne noted, was the planters lack of time to engage in such gossip-gathering. In sum, Orde Browne attributed various pros and cons to his recommended repertoire of oral sources, but the downsides functioned mainly as a guideline on how to use them, not to caution against using them. The overall message remained the plea for a more varied platform of information gathering, one that included the day to day experiences of people in midst of the action. However, what continued to be implicit, and even explicit, within this message was the idea that "Africans" were the legitimate subject of a male white gaze and its institutionalized figures of authority.

It is within the category of oral informants that we find reference to "Africans," specifically labourers and migrant labourers, as contributors to the information set from which Orde Browne drew his representations and reports. Next to missionaries and administrators, Orde Browne saw "the good-will of the Africans whose ceremonies it is proposed to examine" as part of a much needed "combined report" he considered "illuminating."[221] Orde Browne emphasized that without local knowledge, one could get literally and metaphorically stung; "Some of us have in our earlier days perhaps been rash enough to interfere with an African bee-hive, without the assistance of the local expert; I suggest that we might well profit by the painful experience to be gained and regard this matter of native custom as a metaphorical bee-hive only to be tackled by those who understand what they are doing."[222] Local knowledge, in other words, was considered important to one's understanding of local life and sometimes even one's survival. Orde Browne lamented the lack of more available information of "natives," writing that "[o]ne hears the experiences of a man who has driven a car from Nairobi to Cape Town; it might be more

[219] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 21.
[220] Ibid, p. 22.
[221] Ibid, p. 15.
[222] Ibid, p. 19.

interesting to have the views of the native mechanic who accompanied him."[223] The value of "native" opinion gathered through oral interviews was something Orde Browne acted upon himself, turning to the campfire and learned languages to conduct interviews; "I have sat at a fire in the western Congo, on the Angola border, and have discussed in Swahili the experiences of a group which included representatives from Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Tanganyika while in most cases their travels included several other countries."[224] The spatiality of such interviews and the manner in which to gather information was something Orde Browne found important.

Orde Browne attributed value to "native" informants, but differentiated between the usefulness of that information based on spatiality and the assumed degree of primitivity of the person questioned and the manner of interrogation. He argued that places like the camp fire or long walks during hunting were the best moments to collect information.[225] He wrote that "the best setting for intimate discussion is the camp fire; the shooting expedition with its days of strenuous effort and possible danger shared together, and its evenings of rambling talk, provides the ideal medium for the exchange of confidences."[226] He added that developments in transportation decreased the need for "the old marching journeys" and claimed that "modern transport is separating us from the African."[227] Orde Browne also believed one could differentiate between "African" informants on the basis of his perception of their degree of "primitivity." He argued that the more "primitive" the informant, the more information could be gathered, claiming that once "the African" was familiarized with "Europeans" information would cede to flow. He wrote that "the most primitive African is the most communicative […] With increasing acquaintance with the European, the African becomes far more secretive, which is scarcely a compliment to us; the slightest suspicion of a censorious or contemptuous attitude is enough to

[223] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 4.
[224] Ibid.
[225] See for example; WLSC, MSS AFr S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Labour and International Relations," 19 September, 1932.
[226] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 22.
[227] Ibid. For the effect of transportation developments on social relations (and conservations topics) in the colonial context see for example; Jan-Bart Gewald, 'Transport Transforming Society: Towards a History of Transport in Zambia, 1890-1930', *ASC Working Paper*, no. 74 (2007): 1–30.

dry up the springs of information at the source."[228] He moreover added, that the mere presence of the European influenced whether and how a rite would be performed, writing that "[o]nce the native considers that some cherished custom is being criticized or threatened, he not only becomes secretive over its performance, but he also tends to cling to it with renewed ardour."[229]

This ranking of "African" informants continued in Orde Browne's conceptualization of the form in which information given by "African" labourers was considered useful. As the above paragraph demonstrates, oral interviews in a particular setting, conducted in a certain way, with particular people, and in combination with other sources of information, were considered valuable. (To be precise; it was considered valuable as part of an information set from which Orde Browne and others could and would draw a representation of "Africans" - labourers or otherwise, "Africans" drawing a representation of themselves was not considered a legitimate option due to racial prejudice as discussed previously.) Once information was presented by "Africans" in a form associated with European knowledge production and in a setting that could not easily be supervised or controlled, interest slipped into fear.

The fear of "the educated native," which was already implicit in the previous chapter, became painfully explicit during this period. On the one hand Orde Browne represented labourers as being primitive and uneducated; "the great bulk of labourers are primitive and uneducated men."[230] On the other hand Orde Browne feared for those labourers that had in fact acquired reading and writing skills and argued that "African" information networks should be controlled, reiterating the trope of "the unwanted scholar" he already referred to as early as 1929; "there is in some parts an undoubted risk of the creation of the unwanted scholar - who is a person as pathetic as he is dangerous."[231] Sometimes the plea for controlling information networks amongst labourers began with a false sense of admiration, which soon revealed the underlying assumption that Africans could not and should not be the source of intellectuality. For example; "the African is an enthusiastic letter-writer, even when very inadequately equipped for the task." The rest of

[228] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 17.
[229] Ibid, p. 18.
[230] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Memorandum about Labour Organization in the Crown Colonies, attached to letter from Orde Browne to Doctor Drummond Shields, Memorandum to be given to Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the Trade Union Council, 16 October, 1937.
[231] WSLC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs by Orde Browne, 31 October, 1929.

the passage illuminates the widespread connectivity of such literacy;

> […] correspondence goes on across large areas of the continent, and descriptions of local conditions will be interchanged between brothers from Nyasaland, one of whom may be working in Kenya, while the other has tried his fortune in the Union of South Africa; enterprising men in the ports find employment in ships, and send home news of their voyages; newspapers are read, and European merchants are puzzled by quaintly worded replied to their advertisements.[232]

In other sections of Orde Browne's writings, it becomes obvious that Orde Browne also feared for what such connectivity possibly entailed, especially in a context of potential worker organization and socialist thinking: "I have seen natives in northern Tanganyika poor in bewilderment over the propaganda emanating from the South, with Symbols of hammer and sickle complete. Difference of language may act as a brake on this progress, but the African is a fine linguist, and interpreters are common."[233] Other writings were more explicit in their agitating against the spread of reading and writing skills amongst "Africans," let alone the use of said writings in European reports and policy. For example, Orde Browne cautioned against the spread of African magazines, noting that "various journals, many of them quite capable of acute criticism of their rulers" were "likely to have an increasing circulations," noting that "the stirring of the seething pot proceeds apace."[234] He also wrote about the threat he thought this posed to "the prestige of the European," stating that since the introduction of education "the pupil who has learned to read a European language will pay little heed to the advice of his teacher as to what he studies, and the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil has as dangerous possibilities as ever. Consideration of these factors will render it obvious that the African is becoming increasingly observant and critical; the old days when the white man was the fountain of wisdom are fast vanishing, and authorities of all kinds are subjected to discussion and comparison to a degree that was not possible even twenty years ago."[235] The fear of what education and

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[232] WLSC, MSS AFr S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Memoranda by Orde Browne titled "Labour and International Relations," 19 September, 1932.
[233] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 4
[234] WLSC, MSS AFr S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Memoranda by Orde Browne titled "Labour and International Relations," 19 September, 1932.
[235] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 5.

"knowledge in the widest form" might lead to and what communication across all boundaries could incite was imminent in a lot of these writings and Orde Browne emphasized that "unrest or upheaval will no longer be confined by the boundaries which are, after all, merely lines which the Europeans have drawn on the map."[236] So while interviews with labourers were seen as valuable additions in the context of a wider , multi-source collection of information on colonial labour, a boundary was drawn between the safety of oral interviews as sources of information for European report writers and the information production and exchange by these labourers themselves. When knowledge had the potentiality of challenging colonial control and leading to worker organization across boundaries, the threat outweighed the benefits of the visuality of the labourers' perspective and he criticized "the responsible people, [who] like modern Hezekiahs, turn their faces to the wall and pray that, if trouble must come, it shall not be in their time […]."[237]

Finally, the source that was conspicuously absent during this time were the women who Orde Browne relied on so heavily the last chapter when recording folklore and tradition. During this period in his career, when focusing more on labour instead of so-called "attractive little side-shows" (ceremonies, folklore, tradition), women were not referenced as a source.[238] While the assumptions about "African" women Orde Browne displayed the previous chapter continued, as will be demonstrated below, and while they were written about, represented, and regulated against, they were not referenced or represented as sources. Women, instead, were only referenced indirectly, as those that complained, caused trouble, or upset the cocky colonial masculinity Orde Browne carried so proudly in his bones and his pen. For example, Orde Browne found excellent organization to mean nothing when met with smirking women; "the excellence of the organisation of tribal government upcountry leaves me unmoved if I find the towns swarming with potential jail-birds and smirking prostitutes."[239] Or when discussing an investigation into

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[236] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Memoranda by Orde Browne titled "Labour and International Relations," 19 September, 1932; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne for the Empire Citizenship Course of Training, titled "A Review of Imperial Problems," 3 July, 1935.
[237] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Memoranda by Orde Browne titled "Labour and International Relations," 19 September, 1932.
[238] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Ethnology and its Relation to Labour Problems in Africa," read to Oxford Auditorium, 27 April, 1933, p. 3.
[239] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p. 13.

labour migration he would write that "agitated female relatives must be reassured."[240] These references are best understood when read against the general representation of women, which will be discussed in the following section. For now, however, it is important to emphasize that while women were included in the repertoire of labour policies, they were not referenced as a direct source in the process of information collection. They were something information could be collected on, when in reference to a specific topic, but were not referenced as informant in such an investigation. Examples of this are the discussions on the effect of "wives" on the productivity and morality of labour migrants in the towns, or the effect of diet on the "fertility of the tribe."[241] Note that women here were researched as the sources of a change or as the recipients of it, but not included as informant on their own identity or bodies. For example, in a discussion of reproduction and diet, Orde Browne wrote:

> Recent scientific research has shown how markedly the fertility of a race may be affected by the lack of some constituents, and it may well prove that the oft-remarked slow increase in the population in to some extent attributable to this cause. In any case, the women and children must often have to exist on a far from adequate diet, and this must result in deterioration of general health and stamina, and reduced resistance to disease.[242]

In this case statistics on the diets of a group and its effect on the reproductivity of women were collected, to serve the larger agenda of surveying and controlling reproduction. Women here were reduced to their reproductive ability and not included as informants in the investigation.

The exclusion of women, the qualitative differentiation of "European" expertise and "African" information, the excessive use of the formal forms of the former and the fear of an uncontrolled spread of the latter, were all aspects of the way Orde Browne collected information during this time. What bound all these sources together, was the perception that they were all valuable, although not equally so, contributors to an overall representation of colonial labour. This makes the absence of the reference to female informants even more conspicuous - were

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[240] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne on the Legal System of African Primitive Society, written in the mid-thirties.
[241] See for example; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p. 4.
[242] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne on the Legal System of African Primitive Society, written in the mid-thirties.

women not thought to be worthy of reference in colonial labour investigations? Women were considered part and parcel of colonial labour, however, Orde Browne did not consider their role to be that of informant or of labourer, but of mother, wife, or prostitute and bearer of disease - the former being considered desirable the latter undesirable. This will become apparent in the following paragraph.

SUBJECTS AND REPRESENTATION

Orde Browne increasingly dedicated himself to the investigation and regulation of colonial labour and in doing so his attention moved from "the African" in general to "the African labourer." His representation of the colonial labourer emphasized unaccounted for international movements and discussed how to efficiently exploit "able-bodied men" and prevent them from falling prey to disease and immorality. Corollary to this, Orde Browne's representation of "the European" became more specific, taking the form of particular functions - the administrator, the business man and so forth - that represented the desired supervision, control, and exploitation of "the African labourer." These authoritarian stereotypes were already present in the last chapter, but now they were reiterated, discussed and advocated in great detail, their advantages and disadvantages methodically deliberated, and their cooperation placed within an overarching image of the control and exploitation of colonial labour. Women were not included within the category of "the African labourer," nor as subjects of authority. Instead, they were a category in their own right, associated very strongly with conservatism and tradition. They were represented as desirable mothers and wives, or as undesirable prostitutes and bearers of disease - as either enabling a smooth exploitation of labour or proving a moral hindrance. These categories functioned alongside a countryside-urban binary, the countryside being associated with tradition and a romanticized form of native morality, the "towns" thought to be places of "novelty" and sin. The moving between town and countryside was represented as potentially dangerous if not supervised and controlled. Fear of the "detribalized native" was strong and incited Orde Browne to urge for more international policies, repeating again and again how labour migrants disregarded any European notion of borders, instead going where salary and conditions were

favourable. The ILO was represented as having an important place in the international supervision and regulation of cross-colonial and inter-imperial labour migration through the formulation of recommended labour policies in the form of draft conventions. Women within ILO policies were separated from overall labour policies, again put into a separate box as dependents; wives, mothers and widows. It was within this category of "being a dependent" of a male labourer that women could access some forms of protection, such as housing or maternity welfare measures. As independent labourers, however, they were either regulated against or taken not to exist. While many of these discursive constructions were already present in the previous chapter, during this period they became explicit and an image of colonial labour as male, migratory and women as either wives or prostitutes became enshrined and reinforced through policy recommendations. (The following chapter will demonstrate the consequent geographical panning out of such representations through the spread of such policy recommendations via labour reports throughout the British Empire.)

Europeans, as already noted, were represented as experts, as figures of authority, and as those legitimately in control. The assumptions presented in chapter one were not discontinued during this period. Orde Browne still associated "whiteness" with being more advanced, writing for example that "[o]nly in white inhabitants and in revenue does the Union overshadow the rest; in other words, it is far more advanced," adding the question "what can be the effect on the African, who started many centuries behind us?"[243] In another case, he would fall back on the idea that "communities of subject peoples [are] still in a condition of tutelage under the aegis of the more advanced and powerful nations" and that finance was the "province of the White Man," and how the "best available brains were essential if civilization were to be salvaged."[244] Whiteness and power remained correlated, European supervision taken as the most logical form of authority. However, during this period this authority was more explicitly associated with certain functions.

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[243] See for example; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p.1-2.

[244] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties; Personal Copy of Orde Browne of Paper titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa, n.d., estimated date mid-thirties.

Orde Browne represented power as being in the hands of certain people - certain functions - who needed to cooperate to form a strong basis of authority. He would plead for cooperation, writing for example "The problem [colonial labour] is one that concerns all. The administrator, the doctor, the policeman, the schoolmaster, the employer, the missionary, in fact, all those who are in any way responsible for the control of the native population, are involved in the search for remedies. To their practical experience and detailed knowledge should be added the scientific abilities of the sociologist and the anthropologist."[245] Besides attributing various qualities to various functions, he stated that while they might disagree, it was better to work together than to criticize; "So I plead for collaboration rather than criticism; the administrator may doubt the practical value of the missionary's efforts, and the missionary may consider some of the administrator's methods reprehensible, while the planter regards both with a measure of amused scepticism; nevertheless there will be much ground in common between all of them, and I would stress the importance of discovering points of agreement."[246] Cooperation between people of various "expertise" was thought to contribute to a better understanding of "the relations between the two races" and also a more efficient exploitation of labourers.[247] A combination of a "competent manager" and "tact and comprehension of the native" was believed to, for example, "secure an extra half-hour's work per man."[248] Besides the idea that increased specialization, knowledge, and cooperation led to more efficient control and exploitation, there was also an undertone of fear.

The goal of professing the need for cooperation also lay in the believed risk of losing control, as a lack of coordination gave room for the disregard of policies and borders. With increased connectivity, also lay the risk of losing oversight. On the one hand, development of (safe) transport was seen as one of the many feats of European modernity and one of its outstanding features proving its superiority; "The outstanding characteristic of the progress of this century has been the vast improvement in means of transport and communication, and this

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[245] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.
[246] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 5.
[247] Ibid, p. 11.
[248] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Personal Copy of Orde Browne of Paper titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa, n.d., estimated date mid-thirties.

has applied with peculiar force to the Continent that even middle-aged people remember as Darkest Africa."[249] This moreover was seen as a successful component to effective exploitation of "the colonial labourer," and Orde Browne wrote that the development of transport "enabled a previously untapped source of labour to be exploited."[250] On the other hand, such connectivity and movement was considered risky. Boundaries and policies could be circumvented and the increased mobility of labourers also led to a perceived peril in the spread of comparison and criticism. Orde Browne emphasized the "ingenuity in circumventing these [labour policies]" and that "[b]oundaries, laws and flags are disregarded as being the negligible invention of the white man; travel is now safe, and the African therefore allows his naturally enterprising nature full play. Attempts to restrict movement have served merely to mask it […]."[251] Whereas the previous chapter, the superiority of "the white man" was often taken for granted and seen as enough of an explanation for colonial rule, during this period, this confidence became mitigated by the fear of wide-spread criticism and consequently the need for cooperation became a pressing agenda point:

> […] the African is becoming increasingly observant and critical; the old days when the white man was the fountain of wisdom are fast vanishing, and authorities of all kinds are subjected to discussion and comparison to a degree that was not possible even twenty years ago**.** The administrator, the missionary, the settler and the trader, are watched by far more discriminating eyes than those that looked at them in childish wonder last century; geographically and intellectually, the frontiers are becoming blurred, and the prestige of the European on the one hand, or of old established custom on the other, is likely to be rudely shaken.[252]

The need for cooperation went hand in hand with a renewed stress on the ILO as coordinator of that supervision. The ILO was represented as a much-needed centre of international supervision.

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[249] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p.2.
[250] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p.1.
[251] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Ethnology and its Relation to Labour Problems in Africa," read to Oxford Auditorium, 27 April, 1933, p.6
[252] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 5.

Orde Browne argued, for example:

> [o]ne striking advantage of the method of procedure by Draft Conventions is the absence of possible international complications and friction […]. National pride is […] usually sufficiently great to make a government reluctant to face the criticism which would follow any admission of inferior conditions, and in fact a surprising amount has been accomplished by such means. Again, the interchange of information which naturally accompanies the discussions, reveals to national representatives what is being done elsewhere; their influence is thus secured towards persuading their own countries to embark on improvements which they have previously ignored or feared to attempt. The success with which different authorities have dealt with the various problems is revealed, and valuable information is thereby provided for the use of others.[253]

Such information was considered a first step towards grasping the movements of the labour migrant and understanding what might be effective policies to adopt in view of efficient colonial exploitation.

The change in perspective on the role of the represented white people of power, as individually important - specialized experts - but collectively stronger - under the guidance of internationally oriented institutions - , also came from a change of representation of the African labourer. No longer was the labourer solely represented as a simple countryside fool, overwhelmed by the changes brought by Europeans. Instead, labourers were seen as connected internationally and as partaking in international forms of comparison and critique of colonial governments, as potential problems if not "managed" properly. Orde Browne's focus on the African labourer as compared to "the African" came with a new set of representations, tied to ideas about the adaptability and connectivity of migrants, the temporality of labour migration and the function of women as stabilizers or disrupters of "traditional" morality.

The labourer was a being whose body was represented as a resource, to be tapped and exploited. This idea was already present the previous chapter, but was now given free range and linked to the further development of transport, specifically the use of lorries, cars, and even aeroplanes and the management of labour.[254] For example, Orde Browne wrote how "[t]he

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[253] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.4, Memoranda on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Labour Questions at Geneva," n.d., estimated date mid- to late-thirties.

[254] It is important to note the involvement of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association in the development of transportation for labour migrants. The WNLA focussed on bringing labour migrants to the Gold Mines on the Rand (where there was a high demand for labour) and invested in transportation such as railways and later even aeroplanes. See for example; Alan Jeeves, 'Over-Reach: The South African Gold Mines and the Struggle for the

opening up of the main traffic routes therefore materially affected the labour market; the construction of a railway, or the establishment of a river steamer service, usually enabled a previously untapped source of labour to be exploited."[255] The African labourer was represented as essential to progress, a resource which had to be available and "tapped into" for exploitation. Orde Browne argued that "Africa can progress only with the aid of a multitude of black hands" and that "the black man is indispensable."[256] This should not, however, be confused with a discontinuation of the idea of "the African" as lesser than the European: *his* labour was constructed as a valuable resource, the overall individual still ranked lower in racialized hierarchies of civilization. Images of "the innate conservatism of the African" and "the African's defects" and the idea that "the African" had "a mind which works on lines naturally alien to European mental habits," remained.[257] An understanding of this "alien" mind was considered crucial to the effective exploitation of the body as Europeans saw fit. In other words "tact and comprehension of the native" served the use of the African labourer represented as resource.[258] Information on this and "the availability of essential man-power" was construed as vital to avoiding "developments equally sinister for the administrator and industrialist."[259] These men were referred to as "able-bodied" men - the potentiality of labour migrants represented as dependent on the "fitness" of the bodies. Knowledge and consequently control over these bodies was taken as vital, both in terms of the inclusion of new areas into labour migration flows, the more efficient exploitation of existing labour migrants, and the securing of future labourers. (The normalization of bodies through state power both in terms of discourse and institutional feats as

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Labour of Zambesia, 1890-1920', *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne Des Etudes Africaines* 17, no. 3 (1983): 393–393; Gordon Pirie, 'Railways and Labour Migration to the Rand Mines: Constraints and Significance', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19, no. 4 (1993): 713–730.

[255] See for example; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p. 1-2.

[256] Ibid, p. 1.

[257] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p.5; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Letter from Orde Browne to Lord Lugard, includes Orde Browne's revisions on two draft chapters of the Dual Mandate and refers to Orde Browne's finishing of his Labour Monograph, 6 September, 1932; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p.20.

[258] See for example; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p.5.

[259] Ibid.

argued by Foucault being especially explicitly visible in the following examples. The discursive violence enacted through colonialism, as already referred to in the first chapter, is illustrated in this dehumanization and industrialization of human bodies.)[260]

In reference to the first group, "new" labour migrants, Orde Browne represented these as "raw tribes," whose value depended on their contrived "tribal" characteristics. This group was most closely discursively represented as a resource, words like "tapping," "raw," and "value" eerily resemblant of references to the discovery and use of natural resources. Orde Browne argued that after "tapping previously unexploited resources; raw tribes will come into contact with advancing civilization and take their place in the numbers of the wage-earners; the degree of value of the new addition will depend on their tribal characteristics."[261] This first group was constructed as in desperate need of study, because they were suspected to be especially vulnerable to the vices found in "the towns." For example, Orde Browne pressed for an investigation of the "effects of a first experience of wage-seeking upon an unsophisticated native; for this, in its physical and mental results, must represent a more revolutionary change than the European mind can easily imagine," adding that a "series of regulations and formalities must be grasped by a mind quite unaccustomed to control other than that of the tribal condition."[262] These new labour migrants, "the primitive tribesmen," were seen as high risk actors, in the sense that their much-wanted potential output was allegedly at risk once confronted with to the moral trials and tribulations of the towns.[263] This built from a romanticized idea of life in the countryside, as a place where there was "little serious drunkenness, no pauperism, no paid prostitution, and surprisingly little crime; all had adequate food, shelter, and clothing, according to the primitive standard, and the mode of life was a healthy and natural one in the main."[264] The towns, on the other hand, were represented as a place where "the tribal habit of life is weakened" and the

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[260] Foucault, *History of Sexuality*.
[261] Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Personal Copy of Orde Browne of Paper titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa, n.d., estimated date mid-thirties.
[262] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.
[263] WLSC MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper read to Oxford Auditorium by Orde Browne on Ethnology and its relation to Labour Problems in Africa, 27 April, 1933, p. 7; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne on the Legal System of African Primitive Society, written in the mid-thirties.
[264] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p.6.

"primitive tribesman" was liable to "degeneration into crime or vice; exposure to disease, particularly venereal; and vulnerability to pauperism or destitution […] Traditional rules of behaviour are weakened."[265] Whereas in this first group it was the first moment of contact that was considered in need of supervision and control, in the second group, it was the repeated contact that was thought to be in need of moderation.[266]

The second group, the existing labour migrants, was the group where Orde Browne pushed for further supervision and control as a crucial step to guiding repeated contact with town life and ensuring the continued value of their labour. Orde Browne claimed that it was important to "increase […] [the] efficiency of [the] existing labour force" through "better supervision and instruction."[267] The ones supervising and instructing being again, the representatives of authority over colonial labour identified above (the administrator, the business man). As an example, Orde Browne referred to "experienced planters" who classified their labourers on the basis of attributed "tribal characteristics"; "The experienced planter will generally classify the various tribes with which he has to deal, according to their peculiarities; certain ones are good workers but apt to be quarrelsome; others are inclined to be lazy and impertinent; others again are intelligent but unreliable; and so forth."[268]

Both groups were therefore seen as potential preys of the vices of town life, as the undesirable outcomes of labour migrations, oppositional to the romanticized image of "the naked tribesman." The "town dweller" - was a figure considered to be more threatening that "the

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[265] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.

[266] It should be noted that studies by anthropologists such as those found at the Rhodes Livingstone Institute (from 1938 onwards) were similarly interested in the effects of labour migration on migrants, their families, and their villages. While their studies were not free of bias and, in the case of the RLI, of a slightly later date, they were different to Orde Browne's discussion of the effects of labour migration in that they did not sexualize and morally judge the effects of labour migration to the same degree. Instead they were more concerned with the socio-economic effects of labour migration and the formation of stabilized workers and class consciousness, thereby following a narrative of modernization (the stabilization of workers as urban members of an industrialized society). In other words, anthropologists such as Max Gluckman and Godfrey Wilson were also prone to using narratives that had argumentative bias in their analysis of labour migration, however, they were not sexualized and morally charged to the same degree that Orde Browne's narrative was. See for example; James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*, Perspectives on Southern Africa 57 (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999); Jan-Bart Gewald, 'Researching and Writing in the Twilight of an Imagined Conquest: Anthropology in Northern Rhodesia 1930-1960', *ASC Working Paper*, no. 75 (2007).

[267] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p. 3.

[268] WLSC MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper read to Oxford Auditorium by Orde Browne on Ethnology and its relation to Labour Problems in Africa, 27 April, 1933, p. 9.

primitive savage," and in need of more attention, despite being less "attractive" than his counterpart in the countryside:

> the naked tribesman, with his paint, feathers, and weapons, is more likeable. As well as more romantic, than his brother shuffling through the town in ill-fitting clothes and clumsy boots; inevitably the European observer is filled with a wish to get right away from civilisation, and settle down in the bush to cultivate the acquaintance of these charming people unspoilt by alien influence. Incidentally, they may prove rather less charming on closer acquaintance; but the point that I wish to make is, that the man in boots and trousers is really the more interesting of the two and certainly the more urgently in need of study. The very fact that he is a somewhat repellent object, leads to his problems being generally overlooked and neglected […][269]

The town dweller was associated with detribalization; the fear of labour migrants being "exposed" to life in the city too long and settling there, supposedly causing a lapse into amorality and criminality due to a disconnect from "tradition" and "traditional authority" - meaning the customs and chiefs identified, constructed and categorized by colonizers as constituting tradition and power. Labour migrants were thought to be attracted to "all sorts of striking and attractive novelties, probably useless and possibly pernicious."[270] Some were considered relatively harmless, like the purchasing of clothing. However, "potent alcohol or drugs," for example, were seen as cause for trouble.[271] To prevent the permanence of trouble, Orde Browne argued that the duration of labour migration had to be managed - the shorter the trip the less likely negative effects were thought to last as "home life" would entail a return to "normalcy"; "[…] once he returns home, the old regime will reassert itself, and he will drop back into his former reverence for tribal custom […] Presumably, this readjustment will become harder as his absence is prolonged […]."[272] Moreover, the "maintenance of the native's right of access to land" was also

[269] WLSC MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper read to Oxford Auditorium by Orde Browne on Ethnology and its relation to Labour Problems in Africa, 27 April, 1933, p. 3-4.
[270] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.
[271] Ibid.
[272] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne on the Legal System of African Primitive Society, written in the mid-thirties.

believed to prevent settlement in the towns and the associated lapse of morality.[273] Orde Browne argued that sometimes labourers would "settle permanently on the place of employment, and cut themselves adrift finally from tribal life. […] The ease with which such people may drift into the criminal classes, or the fertile ground which they will provide for inflammatory political propaganda, must be obvious."[274] Detribalization, specifically the settlement in towns, also corresponded with fears of rebellion. Orde Browne claimed that the loss of reverence to "tribal" authorities, represented by figures such as "the elder or wizard whose approval or predictions formerly governed any important step," induced a loss of reverence to any authority, thereby creating the breeding ground for revolution.[275] At the heart of this was the risk of labourers - represented as a resource - becoming a political problem to industrial and colonial interests:

> Were we able to visualise the path of progress of white civilisation, it would, I fear, be strewn with the fragments of shattered native beliefs and observances, to an extent that we can hardly imagine. […] The creation of a detribalised mass of cynical sceptics who revere no law and respect no authority except the rule of force, is a menace to all civilised government. As Gustav le Bon puts it: "Les revolutions qui commencent son ten réalité les croyances qui finissent".[276]

In other words, fear of a challenge of authority by discursively dehumanized labour resources, incited Orde Browne to call for more regulation, more supervision, more control of labour migration. He wrote that; "[t]he constant threat of a growing criminal class renders government precautions against this tendency highly desirable, and many codes therefore include provisions intended to ensure the return of the worker to his home."[277] This, alongside, his belief that "in the main […] the movements take place without official control or even knowledge," and that these movements led to the spread of disease (and as we have seen above, the interchange of

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[273] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.
[274] Orde Browne, *African Labourer*, 103–4.
[275] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.
[276] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p.24
[277] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne, titled "The Administrator, the Employer, and the Labourer," read at the League of Nations Union Conference at the London School of Economics, 18 February, 1936, p. 7-8.

potentially critical impressions of colonial governments) led to a constant reiteration of the idea that labourers had to be observed and managed.[278] The colonial labourer, was, in sum, represented as a male resource, whose body was to be exploited and whose mind was thought to be in need of control if disease and rebellion - and thereby the degradation of the value of the body - were to be prevented.

The construction and regulation of the colonial labourer as resource came to fruition in policies meant to safeguard the final group of labour migrants; the future generation. Research and policy-making meant to safeguard the availability of "able-bodied men" targeted male and female bodies in an attempt to create a readily available labour force that was "fit" and could be exploited as colonial authorities and industry pleased. Again, these discursive constructions did not reflect a reality of resistance and circumvention of colonial policies, however it illuminates colonial thinking about what colonial labour was thought to be and what colonial authorities wished it to be. Importantly, the labour force was treated as a concept whose "fertility" and "reproductive rate" had to be controlled. In relation to the future, Orde Browne would speak of controlling the "numbers and physique of the next generation" through "improved feeding."[279] He would urge to keep surveys of the number of "employable males" so that policies could be formulated that served the "preservation and development of the essential labour force of the country" that could also help with an "estimate of the existing and future resources available."[280] The ideal here was a fit, young man that returned to "his community" after a short period of labour migration. Both the long term "detribalised native" and "the cripple" were seen as a separate, undesirable category; in the case of the former due to the idea that long term migration translated into a demoralized mindset and behaviour and in case of the latter because he was not physically able to match normalized standards of output. To ensure the future supply of "capable workers," Orde Browne focused on ensuring "numerous sturdy offspring." What was termed

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[278] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p.2; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.

[279] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Personal Copy of Orde Browne of Paper titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa, n.d., estimated date mid-thirties.

[280] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p.4.

"over recruitment" - recruiting more men than a community could lose, was considered pernicious not simply because the community might not be able to support itself, but because "The undue depletion of the able bodied males […] becomes a positive menace to the future labour supply."[281] Here women came into play, because they were seen as key to upholding what Orde Browne called "the fertility of the tribe," especially when "dealing with a tribe of importance in the labour market."[282] Reproduction was seen as part of colonial control over the labour market, thereby legitimizing studies into the diet of women and the health of their children. Discursively, children were labelled as potential "able bodied men" or future producers of said men, even before they were born. It was considered interesting, not violent, to investigate "the effect upon the women, particularly in connection with the birth and rearing of children" of specific diets.[283] This was considered "a field for inquiry with the most beneficial possibilities," - meaning beneficial to those who wanted to control "the future labour supply."[284] Consent of said women or their children was not considered, nor was the willingness or unwillingness of "able-bodied men" to work according to colonial policies taken into account at this stage.

Women, within this safeguarding of the future labour force, were targeted through policies seen to benefit the continued availability of men, and it is at this point that the perceived willingness of male workers to play by colonial rules also comes into play. Women were not represented as independent labourers, but as those that could either hurt or enable the ultimate goal of having a numerous supply of available able-bodied men and as those that could be either an obstacle or an ally in battling fears of "detribalized natives." As aforementioned, the "towns" were associated with novelty and sin and a controlled duration of stay was conceived of as necessary to preventing a lapse into amorality creating "a detribalised mass of cynical

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[281] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne, titled "The Administrator, the Employer, and the Labourer," read at the League of Nations Union Conference at the London School of Economics, 18 February, 1936, p. 3-4.
[282] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p.4
[283] WLSC MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper read to Oxford Auditorium by Orde Browne on Ethnology and its relation to Labour Problems in Africa, 27 April, 1933, p.15
[284] WLSC MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper read to Oxford Auditorium by Orde Browne on Ethnology and its relation to Labour Problems in Africa, 27 April, 1933, p.15; Paper by Orde Browne, titled "The Administrator, the Employer, and the Labourer," read at the League of Nations Union Conference at the London School of Economics, 18 February, 1936, p.4.

sceptics."[285] One novelty strongly associated with the towns were "prostitutes." These were seen as different from "traditional" "primitive" societies, which were romanticized as being places where there was "little serious drunkenness, no pauperism, no paid prostitution, and surprisingly little crime; all had adequate food, shelter, and clothing, according to the primitive standard, and the mode of life was a healthy and natural one in the main."[286] This was contrasted to town life, where new labour migrants were believed to possibly succumb to unknown sexual relations; "In sexual matters the neophyte [new labour migrant] must receive a number of shocks; his own code may be lax [note the gendering of labourers as male], but it is a natural and reasonable one [and the romanticising of "traditional" life]."[287] Orde Browne continued: "The professional prostitute is unknown in village life and on first acquaintance she must be a repellent figure. […] he must do without a home, and must acquiesce in the promiscuity and worse […]"[288] The suggestion here being that on second and third and following acquaintances, "the prostitute" became "normal" to the migrant labourer, thereby drawing "him" into a life of amorality. The "prostitute" was seen as the result of single women in the towns and the symbol of new (undesirable) sexual relations and a source of disease, specifically the spread of venereal disease. Orde Browne set up the idea that if a woman came to town unaccompanied by a man, the "probable fate" of "the woman town habituee" was "prostitution."[289] He wrote about single women in the towns that "[m]arriage is usually as easily broken as it is contracted, and she soon dispenses with even that formality, embarking on a series of temporary alliances with anyone able to keep her in reasonable comfort. From that to lying for hire is a short step, with disease as an almost inevitable sequel."[290] He added that he thought one of the issues of new labour migrants was that when they came to town "female society will be limited and undesirable" and "cooking can no longer be

[285] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 24.
[286] Ibid, p.6.
[287] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne on the Legal System of African Primitive Society, written in the mid-thirties.
[288] Ibid.
[289] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.
[290] Ibid.

done by the female members of the family." He though the exposure to towns without the accompaniment of wives led male labour migrants to "return home diseased and demoralized."[291]

Orde Browne also offered a solution to the problem of the demoralization of the male labour migrant through the construction of "the wife". Within Orde Browne's writings, "wives" represented the continuation of "traditional"[292] life and the safeguarding thereof through "normal" sexual relations; [293] "There is a growing tendency […] for employers to do all that they can to ensure that each man [representing all able-bodied labourers], has a wife; this will certainly achieve a marked improvement in the happiness and welfare of the workers [male]."[294] Wives were presented as a solution to amorality both in the towns and in the villages, they were represented as what I would like to term social anchors; the discursive embodiments of tradition and thereby the imagined protectors of the continuation of romanticized village life and morality. Women in general were represented as especially conservative and adverse to modern change. In relation to the introduction of new tools in villages, for example, Orde Browne claimed that such changes would "arouse the hostility of those ardent conservatives, the women."[295] This idea of women as especially conservative and as a way of tying male labour migrant to their place of origin coalesced in the figure of the "wife." Wives were represented as important accompaniments to migrating men - not as independent labour migrants, but managers of the effects of labour migration upon men and the community they came from. For example, Orde Browne wrote that labour migration had "a profound and disconcerting effect on the subject" both "physically" and "mentally."[296] However, if women accompanied them "home life and

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[291] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.
[292] Traditional meaning social and political relations as perceived and (forcibly) reproduced by colonial observers. For general reference on the colonial construction and use of tradition and "tribal" identities and it's theoretical implications see for example; Laumann, *Colonial Africa*; Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa*.
[293] Normal sexuality meaning sexuality as constructed (and imposed) by colonial authorities, see for example; Levine, *Gender and Empire*; Gilman, 'Black Bodies, White Bodies'; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Stichter and Parpart, *Patriarchy and Class*.
[294] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne on the Legal System of African Primitive Society, written in the mid-thirties.
[295] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 24.
[296] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.

associations will be largely maintained, while family ties will be preserved."[297] The biggest potential risk attached to wives accompanying men was the idea that if men were joined by their family they would have no incentive to return to the village. This idea was attributed mostly to the "elders";

> In the villages, such developments are quite realized by the elders, in so far as they recognize the possibility that a man who leaves accompanied by his wife may never return; their traditional anxiety to preserve and extend the tribe therefore renders them hostile to the departure of that woman, and it will generally be found that the native authorities are openly or secretly exerting their influence to discourage this, even when they may be quite favourable to the exodus of men who may be expected to bring back additional wealth to the village.[298]

Orde Browne however dismissed this possibility, again by relying on the image of the evil prostitute who had no connection to the village of the labour migrant, as opposed to "the tribal wife," writing:

> If […] he has been accompanied by his tribal wife, the couple will retain old habits and associations to a greater degree, and a return to their original home is far likelier. It would thus seem that the practice of wives accompanying their husbands tends to ensure the return of a greater proportion of the men.[299]

It was this return which, as already argued, was considered essential to the continuation of "traditional" life and as a prevention of "detribalization." The entire debate, however, was between male authorities about the bodies and mobility of women, female movement being taken as a ground for discussion and regulation without including the women themselves.[300]

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[297] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.
[298] Orde Browne, *African Labourer*, 104.
[299] Ibid, 104–5.
[300] The question within this discussion was not whether male authority and a patriarchal system of control was legitimate, but whether "traditional" or "colonial" male authority had the final verdict on women's mobility. This discussion was reminiscent of similar discussions about the practice of widow-burning in India. It is interesting to note that Orde Browne himself also refers to the debate on widow-burning in the context of what he considered obvious examples of deplorable colonial practices: "it is obvious that we cannot tolerate cruelty or depravity of a pronounced kind, whether it is widow-burning in India or ceremonial executions in Africa." [WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932,

While "wives" were also considered to be susceptible to the so-called vices of city life, Orde Browne argued the benefits of having the wife of the labourer there to accompany him outweighed the downsides; "the woman may perhaps acquire a laxity of standards of which her husband will not approve, but the balance is probably all in favour of the married employee."[301] Within this consideration was also the argument that if "wives" did not join labour migrants, it would be "an unreasonable strain on fidelity," of the wife, thereby severing the tie between husband and wife and consequently erasing the alleged reason for the labour male migrant to return.[302] Orde Browne argued that since "much of the harm alleged to result, comes from the separation of husband and wife; therefore, […] would it not be better to provide that facilities must be afforded for the wife to accompany or follow her husband? (Most wise employers do this already)."[303] No matter the potential down-sides, the main argument remained that employers and colonial authorities should support the accommodation of "wives" in the towns, because they were seen as a safeguard against demoralization and detribalization. This also suggests that women who wanted to migrate or who wanted to be granted legitimate access to the towns and be provided with accommodation could do so by presenting themselves as a "wife." The degree to which this was actually the case and how the label was appropriated by women in an attempt to circumvent and resist colonial control has been an interesting subject of study, demonstrating how women could resist restrictions on their mobility.[304] Again, whether women would wánt to join as "wives" rather than independent labour migrants was not considered as a question by Orde Browne; it was assumed independent female migrants could only end up as prostitutes, spread venereal disease and immorality, and should therefore be regulated against.

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p.15] Lata Mani argues beautifully that women's bodies in colonial debates were used as a space on which to formulate laws, a space where multiple patriarchies competed for authority, but where women themselves where excluded as authoritative figures in deciding what happened to their bodies. See; Lata Mani, *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India* (University of California Press, 1998).

[301] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Condition of Native Communities in or near European Centres," n.d. estimated date mid-thirties.

[302] Ibid.

[303] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Notes on the Proposed Programme of Work for the Committee of Experts on Native Labour," estimated date 1934-1936.

[304] See for example; Allman, 'Making Mothers'; Allman, 'Rounding up Spinsters'; Hawkings, 'The Woman in Question: Marriage and Identity in the Colonial Courts of Northern Ghana, 1907-1954'; Parpart, 'Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt: 1926-1964'; Rodet, 'Forced Labor and Resistance in Kayes'; Simelane, 'The State, Chiefs and the Control of Female Migration in Colonial Swaziland, c. 1930s-1950s'; Stichter and Parpart, *Patriarchy and Class*.

Another representation of women within Orde Browne's discourse on colonial labour was that of "mothers." Much like the label "wives," the epithet of "mother" gave women access to certain colonial ideas of welfare measures if said label could be proven applicable (in this case being pregnant and later having children). These measures came down to the reduction of paid labour in favour of a reformation of "maternity." Orde Browne saw "mothers" as integral to the continuation of a labour force; and when he considered "the wider aspect of future supplies of workers," he advocated for policies to ensure "the wellbeing of the population from which these are to be drawn" including "matters as infant welfare, maternity work, and social hygiene" and attacking "such scourges as […] venereal disease."[305] The main focus point became policies surrounding maternity, which was strongly discursively connected to reproduction and the aimed for continuation of "able-bodied men." Maternity became a central point of policy-making where controlling reproduction was privileged over the continued existence of paid female labour. For example, Orde Browne argued that "the reformer" should pay particular attention to the reduction of "the employment of women shortly before and after childbirth."[306] Pregnant women engaged in wage labour and women who had given birth returning to paid labour (in other words an absence of maternity as defined by Orde Browne) was considered "deleterious, and a radical change will be required in this matter, not only in the hours of employment for wages, but in the whole treatment of the subject of maternity."[307] Orde Browne continued: "Most of the more recent codes now require a clear month of unemployment both before and after childbirth," and he pressed for the enforcement of such policies.[308] Note that unemployment here referred to unpaid female labour due to pregnancy and consequent labour (child birth), paternity or paid maternity leave was not mentioned let alone discussed. The policies were seen as in the best interest of "mother" and "child," the long term aim here being the increase of the birth-rate and consequently the "preservation and development of the essential labour force of the country."[309] Much like the study of women's diets in relation to the "fertility of the tribe" was seen as

[305] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne, titled "The Administrator, the Employer, and the Labourer," read at the League of Nations Union Conference at the London School of Economics, 18 February, 1936, p. 2
[306] Orde Browne, *African Labourer*, 108.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Ibid.
[309] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p. 4.

supporting the future supply of workers, maternity policies and the construction and imposition of a colonial sense of appropriate motherhood was seen to contribute to the overall goal of making available "able-bodied men."

The homogenization of mothers and the privileging of reproduction over paid labour, functioned alongside a homogenization of male bodies as (future) resource - "child" functioning as an undefined period in between where one was raised to be one of those two roles. In both cases we see an emptying out of female and male bodies in terms of meaning; both genders became identified by what Orde Browne perceived of as their primary importance within colonial labour, women relegated to the sphere of unpaid labour, men being conflated with wage labour or with being a "cripple" if not exploitable. The point here is not whether the reduction of paid labour was in fact in the best interest of women, men or children, but that the reduction was imposed according to what Orde Browne believed to be the best version of maternity in the overall establishment of control over colonial labour. Moreover, it functioned alongside both the aforementioned construction of the (unpaid!) wife (as opposed to the paid prostitute considered immoral), and the dismissal or even advocated reduction of existing forms of paid female labour and the continuation and pushing of the image of women as especially conservative and adverse to modern innovation. Orde Browne wrote how he thought the introduction of new tools in the villages would be opposed by women working in the fields:

> Similarly, the advocacy of innovations in tools or materials will depend on the degree to which these may possibly affect tribal prejudice; an iron hoe seems an obvious improvement on a wooden one, but it may prove that the use of iron on the soil is a flagrant infraction of ancient custom; the arch conservatism of the women, who will be the principal users, will be violently opposed to the novelty, and considerable discretion and tact may be required to circumvent their objections.[310]

Whether this resistance might have been part of an overall resistance to the constant narrowing down of female wage opportunities by colonial policies, was not considered by Orde Browne. Women working in the field were not otherwise mentioned, only in this passing reference to their supposed conservatism do we learn of their existence. It is highly likely that this is due to the fact that women who worked within a setting of a household were not taken as independent workers

[310] WLSC MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper read to Oxford Auditorium by Orde Browne on Ethnology and its relation to Labour Problems in Africa, 27 April, 1933, p. 13-14.

but as subsidiary to their husband's enterprise. (This idea was already present in the former period of Orde Browne's career, especially when he worked in Kenya and observed women worked on the fields but represented this labour as being part of a family unit, not an independent enterprise that was also rewarded independently, but as the complementary services of what he deemed "dependents" of a working man.)[311]

There was a noted absence of the representation of women as independent workers, let alone a protection of women within this role; policy recommendations stopped where perceived roles as wives or mothers ended. As already pointed out, women who sold sex as a service where not considered working women but diseased and immoral bodies that were the scourge of town life. Women that worked outside of prostitution, were described as either being dependents indirectly involved in labour, contributing to the family income, or as labourers within "light work," or as inhabiting a form of labour that should be regulated against. The promotion, or even simply the desire for the continuation, of female wage labour, was absent. "Directly" employed female wage workers (employed by an employer not a family member) were described as engaging in "light work"; "Generally, women and children, when directly employed, will be found engaged in tasks such as weeding, coffee-picking, insect-gathering, and other light work, for which dexterity rather than strength is required."[312] Work that was not considered to be light was, such as work in factories or mines, was moreover, regulated against, as we will see in the next chapter. When described as "indirectly" employed, the emphasis was on women being seduced out of their home duties by the possibility of making an extra buck through aiding their husband. The suggestion here was also that in these cases the wage that was received was subsidiary and supplementary to an overall income earned by a male worker. For example, Orde Browne wrote how there was "the possibility of women being indirectly employed, as carriers of the produce of their husband's labourers […] when the temptation to earn additional money may withdraw them from home duties."[313] He urged for extra supervision within this area, because it was not covered by existing policies. These existing policies were those that generally advocated for a reduction of female labour. In reference to the ILO, for example, Orde Browne wrote that as part of raising "the standard" in "depressed areas," the ILO formulated draft conventions that reduced the employment of women ("The employment of women and children is being reduced

[311] See for example; Orde Browne, *The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya*.
[312] Orde Browne, *African Labourer*, 106.
[313] Ibid.

or subjected to salutary supervision").[314] This reduction of female wage labour was incorporated into a program that stated its overall goal was to "lift" Africa out of a "depressed" state.[315] The abolishment of female wage labour within factories and mines was even used as a reference point by Orde Browne as an example of the obvious need for governmental responsibility and a policy of interference;

> An attempt is is sometimes made to justify a policy of non-interference […] Similar arguments were used by the supporters of female and child labour in mines and factories, […] The attitude of impartiality, which leaves employer and native to reach an agreement, can only be regarded as the shirking of obligations rather than the maintenance of freedom. Some control of development, […] must be accepted as the duty of a worthy administration.[316]

In sum, as Orde Browne narrowed his focus to labour, he represented colonized men and women through what he perceived of as their primary function within the larger scheme of organizing and controlling colonial labour for industry and government. Men were not simply men, but perceived and represented as "able-bodied" and exploitable, or "cripple" and useless. The possibility of not having enough "able-bodied men," was considered an incredible problem that should therefore be researched and consequently controlled through a supervision and control of the rate of reproduction of areas that "supplied" these men slash resources. Women were from the onset excluded as part of the "able-bodied," their bodies instead being valued on the basis of their possible contribution to reproduction of able-bodied men and the safeguarding of labour migrants from demoralization and detribalization (social anchors). Women were presented as mothers and wives, but not represented as independent wage labourers. Instead, both the roles of mother and wife as conceived of by Orde Browne were pushed through policies that entailed a decrease in paid female labour. Direct and indirect employment of women was either discouraged, categorized as subsidiary or belittled as light, or presented as morally corrupt. What this added up to was a lack of representation of women as wage workers, a reduction of female wage labour opportunities, a disregard of paternity. In other words, it amounted to the reduction of both male

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[314] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.4, Memoranda on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "The Migrant Labourer and the Map," n.d., estimated date 1933-1935.
[315] Ibid.
[316] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne, titled "The Administrator, the Employer, and the Labourer," read at the League of Nations Union Conference at the London School of Economics, 18 February, 1936, p. 10-11.

and female bodies to their function within a colonial ideal of colonial wage labour and labour migration. In the next chapter it will be demonstrated that these representations translated into policy recommendations that circulated empire-wide once Orde Browne became the labour advisor to the Secretary of State of the Colonial Office.

CREDIBILITY AND JUSTIFICATION

To enable the institutional trek and the sense of legitimacy of Orde Browne's writings, Orde Browne drew from his own and other's representation of him as an expert and by building from his idea of legitimacy as something devolving from reason and science. As his own status of expert became institutionally acknowledged through, among other things, his appointment as expert at the ILO, he paid more attention to representing his labour recommendations as justified and important than proving his own value as an advisee. Orde Browne relied on the invocation of fear for labour unrest and the idea of governmental responsibility (alongside the belief in the superiority of Europeans in matters of governance) to justify his reports and recommendations. The gathering of information was moreover presented as the best way to come to a policy that was in the best interest of everyone (meaning both the economic interests of colonial authorities and industries and the welfare of the so-called "primitive" and the labourer). Data was presented as a legitimization of policies based on said data; the idea that the data was collected according to scientific methods gave policies an air of objectivity, despite the clear unequal racial hierarchy present in the subjection of colonized peoples to European observation and the assumption of inferiority of the colonized behind the guidelines of investigation. Moreover, the gathering of information, the formulation of policies, and the enforcement of policies were all considered to be legitimate when executed by "qualified officials." As already noted above, these were almost if not always, assumed to be European men, yet their supposed training and attributed specific qualities were taken as a token of their credibility. Institutions like the ILO were presented as a centralization of both data and expertise, thereby profiting from at least two forms of supposed credibility. Additionally, inter-imperial comparison was used to portray the English Empire as lagging behind, policy recommendations in this context being presented as legitimate because

they were already being practiced by those more conscious of the times and the idea that Britain needed to catch up. Finally, the loss of profit through not coming to some form of uniform collaboration was presented as an argument for quick action on labour policies. These forms of legitimization often coexisted in a single paper or argument, but for the sake of argumentative clarity they will be presented somewhat separately in the following sections.

Orde Browne used his appointment at the ILO as a way of easily arguing and communicating his expert status and, simultaneously, the legitimacy of his suggestions. For example, he would add to his recommendations that they were also "recommended by the Committee of Experts."[317] He also emphasized the "scientific" quality of his recommendations as he thought this gave them more weight. His definition of "legitimate" for example was the following: "I use the term legitimate, as denoting reasoned and scientific methods of genuinely enlarging the resources available."[318] To demonstrate the credibility of a specific text, scientific methods often entailed the endless referencing of sources and institutions deemed credible. For example, he sent Lord Lugard a list of references that he considered the best authorities; "Authority for references to British Colonies is the published Laws, etc. consulted in the Law Library of the Royal Empire Society. […] I am unable to find better authority for this then the "Times" quoted; presumably reference to Brussels would obtain authoritative quotation from debates."[319] This idea of legitimacy as devolving from following scientific guidelines and reasoning also translated into the hauling of "qualified officials" as those that made authority successful and legitimate. "Qualified officials" were seen as a direct passage to credible decision making, because they were thought to be trained and selected for a task on the basis of having certain qualities, selection and expertise propping each other up; "officers carefully selected for their knowledge of the native are specially appointed for labour duties and inspection […] they render a real service […] their annual reports […] form the basis of the policy to be pursued."[320]

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[317] WLSC, MSS AFR S, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Report by Orde Browne on a Meeting of the International Committee of Experts on Native Labour, 1934, part III, Review and Forecast.

[318] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p. 3.

[319] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Letter from Orde Browne to Lord Lugard, includes Orde Browne's revisions on two draft chapters of the Dual Mandate and refers to Orde Browne's finishing of his Labour Monograph, 6 September, 1932.

[320] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p. 5

In other words, policy recommendations advised by (self-)appointed experts gave those recommendations more legitimacy, because of the suggestion that the people who had formulated them were trained to do so and hence followed scientific guidelines when doing so. Moreover, institutions such as the ILO were considered as granting credibility to the ones they employed and those that used their guidelines - the officials and the institution consequently mutually reinforcing their sense of credibility.

This professional and institutional sense of legitimacy and credibility intertwined with the idea that "European ideas" served the interest of everyone, especially "the primitive African." Consequently, Orde Browne's recommendations and those of his advocated expert-peers and institutions were seen as not only being within their rights, but as doing everyone a favour by improving the well-being of al civilizations: "the useful application of modern scientific principles to the guidance of the more primitive sections of human society. It is difficult to think of any country where such considerations are of greater importance than in Africa."[321] Consequently, institutions that were thought to work on the premise of modern scientific principles, were taken as working towards the improvement of everyone. For example, in reference to labourers specifically, he wrote "Under stimulus of the International Labour Office, progressive European ideas have been imported into Africa, and attention has been turned to a variety of questions which were until recently regarded as being of negligible important. […] the general result has certainly been towards the improvement of the African worker's status."[322] That such institutions and their employees needed to gather information was hence not considered a possible violation of said peoples bodily and mental rights, but as a step towards the realization of progress. Moreover, said information was described as enabling the best policy imaginable, one that would benefit all parties. For instance, Orde Browne wrote that "The essential preliminary to any development on safe and satisfactory lines is some sort of economic survey, with particular relation to the labour resources of the country."[323]

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[321] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Primitive Cultures and Modern Theories," read to the Conference of Missionary Societies and the British Social Hygiene Council, Easter, 1932, p. 2.
[322] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Paper by Orde Browne titled "Labour and International Relations," 19 September, 1932.
[323] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p. 4.

Additional to the idea that information served all parties in policy-making and thereby made it more justified, was the use of people's fear of labour unrest. Here Orde Browne deployed the idea that if information was not gathered, if experts were not used and policies not formulated, control would be lost and labour upheaval would follow:

> There is also the need for the experienced official who has a close understanding of the native labourer's position. Such a man can adjust minor difficulties, supervise the observance of welfare regulations, deal with small requests and grievances, and generally lubricate the working of the labour machinery. In addition, he can act as a go-between to explain the application or intention of government policy or measures while he will also be able to represent the views of the workers when fresh legislation seems desirable. The appointment of such officials has long been a feature of French policy, while other colonial powers have followed suit; the British territories have hitherto experimented only, while the retrenchment of recent years has almost put a stop even to this. Last year's outbreak in the Northern Rhodesian mines seems an unfortunate instance of the developments possible in the absence of any such functionary.[324]

Within the invocation of fear was also the comparison to other colonial powers' policies, and the suggestion that Britain was lagging behind. For example, Orde Browne complained about the lack of unison in the British colonies and "the Cheshire-Cat-like appearance and disappearance of Labour Departments."[325] The introduction of new policies was consequently legitimized as being part of progress instead of retardation, as keeping up with developments other colonies had already implemented. For instance, Orde Browne wrote that surveys investigating labour were needed: "The need for this survey would seem to be obvious, but in practice anything of the kind is rare. The British African colonies are, as a whole, regrettably devoid of any such records, and, indeed, lag conspicuously behind some of their neighbours in most matters connected with labour."[326] (In this specific paper the Belgian Congo was referenced as a colony that did in fact invest in surveys and in other papers we see the Union Minière and the Witwatersrand pop up as

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[324] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, papers on Labour Matters, Paper by Orde Browne, titled "The Administrator, the Employer, and the Labourer," read at the League of Nations Union Conference at the London School of Economics, 18 February, 1936, p. 12-13.
[325] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Letter from Orde Browne to Lord Lugard, includes Orde Browne's revisions on two draft chapters of the Dual Mandate and refers to Orde Browne's finishing of his Labour Monograph, 6 September, 1932.
[326] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p. 4.

Orde Browne's points of reference.[327]) Orde Browne moreover argued that if Britain did not meet the standards set in other colonies, who did implement ILO draft conventions, they would become victim to critical public opinion: "a refusal to accept the principles of the Draft Convention would seem liable to lay Britain open to a charge of neglect of native welfare which would be difficult to answer."[328] Added to this image of lagging behind and of possibly losing control, was the argument that it would also cost them - literally and metaphorically. It was suggested by Orde Browne that if information was not gathered and policies were not based on proper information sets, a crisis would follow that damaged everyone: "The administrative Rip Van Winkle, who lets matters drift until a positive crisis demands attention, may cause irreparable harm before the mischief is detected, and the sufferer will be, not the official whose methods have been discredited, but the shareholder whose dividends have disappeared."[329]

CONCLUSION

After Orde Browne's departure of the Colonial Office, he increasingly focused on colonial labour as a subject while his career branched out geographically and institutionally. The growth of his network, in a social and institutional sense, and his focus on colonial labour, contributed to his status as expert on colonial labour. His appointment at the ILO gave him an institutionally defined position to speak from, made him appealing as source to others, and contributed to Orde

[327] See for example; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, Untitled Memorandum on the effect of the Depression on Colonial Labour and Responses to the Depression by Orde Browne, written after 1933; Personal Copy of Orde Browne of Paper titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa, n.d., estimated date mid-thirties.

[328] WLSC, MSS AFR S, Box 2.1, Memoranda and Reports by Orde Browne on Labour Matters, 1929-1945, Report by Orde Browne on a Meeting of the International Committee of Experts on Native Labour, 1934, part III, Review and Forecast.

[329] Rip van Winkle was a short story by the American author Washington Irving, published in 1819 and tells the tale of a Dutch-American villager who goes into the mountains in the Catskills only to fall asleep, misses the American Revolution and upon return to his village unknowingly identifies himself as a subject of King George the Third, arousing the anger of the villagers. Orde Browne's reference appears to have been used to make the point that Colonial Officials should not lull themselves to sleep only to find themselves after twenty years receiving the negative effects of their political sleep and inactivity which might cause irreparable damage before someone has the chance of updating them on their errors and outdated wisdom; WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.2, East Africa, Papers on Labour Matters, Uncorrected proof by Orde Browne titled "Labour and the Economic Development of Tropical Africa," read before the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts and the African Society, 28 February, 1932, p. 5.

Browne's understanding of colonial labour as an international issue. In Orde Browne's collection of information he continued to privilege those institutions and people he considered reputable. Orde Browne's privileging of referencing European expert sources, discursively excluded African labourers and women in the colonies from being considered as expert. African labourers were only mentioned as informal sources when interviewed by Orde Browne in a specific setting, such as the campfire, and when it was to highlight an argument he wanted to make, such as the disregard of borders in labour migration flows. The independent production of knowledge by African labourers were not referenced but feared, information production through the form of newspapers and information networks amongst labour migrants were perceived of as potentially threatening to European power. Women in the context of labour migration were never referenced as a source of information. Unlike the previous chapter, where Orde Browne would sometimes include a reference to women, even when solely in relation to a discussion of tradition and folklore, women were now completely excluded as references. In his representation of Europeans, African labourers and women, Orde Browne continued to associate power with whiteness. He argued for the importance of experts, but Europeans were the only ones deemed capable to inhabit such a position. Labourers were represented as male, as resources, and as valuable to the extent that they could be exploited. "Cripples" or unproductive labourers were deemed undesirable. Women were not included in the category of wage labourers. Instead, they were represented as valuable as either "mothers" or "wives." As "mothers" they were thought to be crucial to the reproduction of the labour force, while as "wives" they were represented as valuable to the extent that they could prevent the moral degradation and detribalization of male wage labour migrants. Women who came to industrial areas independently were represented as prostitutes and bearers of disease and amorality. Orde Browne argued in favour of legislating against their presence. The privileging of reproduction and "wife-hood" led to Orde Browne recommending reductions of female wage opportunities and instead recommending the employment of colonial notions of maternity, such as unpaid maternity leave. Orde Browne created as discursive situation where layered meanings of men and women in the context of labour migration were dismissed and instead bodies were homogenized and normalized on the basis of Orde Browne's construction of what was to be "men" or "women's" privileged function in relation to labour migration. Orde Browne's collection of information and his representations were legitimized on the basis of fears for labour unrest, the idea that policies formulated by

labour experts were in the best interest of everyone and were the responsibility of "good governments," and the belief that data collection was the most scientific basis for policy-formulations. It was not questioned whether it was legitimate that Colonial Authorities, Orde Browne's peers, and the people working at institutions such as the ILO, had the right to assume such power. Instead, Orde Browne argued that it was their duty to provide good governance, the assumption being that Africans were not capable of good governance themselves. The next chapter argues that representations of men and women in the colonial context were translated into policy recommendations where these representations were presented as facts instead of assumptions.

CHAPTER 3: THE FORMALIZATION OF GENDERED ASSUMPTIONS OF THE COLONIAL LABOURER BY ORDE BROWNE

In 1936, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia sent a Confidential Telegram to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, stating that after "discussions with [the] Governor of Southern Rhodesia and [the] Governor of Nyasaland [and] deliberation of [the] Industrial Labour Advisory Board and conference with my Provincial Commissioners" he considered it "vitally necessary that special study of [the] labour situation in this territory should be undertaken by qualified person(s)." He added that he did not think "such a person can be found here and in any case prefer to employ [an] expert from outside who may bring fresh mind to bear on the subject." Clumsily, he stated "[i]t is suggested to me that Major Tede Browne [misspelled by Governor] would be particularly well qualified for this purpose and I shall welcome his appointment […]."[330] Several years went by before, in 1938, Orde Browne received a letter that his services were requested and he accepted the position.[331] In preparation of his trip, he asked for a questionnaire to be circulated amongst the District Officers of Northern Rhodesia, "with a view to the information requested being available on his arrival in the territory."[332] Within this questionnaire, there were the following questions:

> Do they take their wives with them?
> If not, is it owing to tribal opposition?
> Do the young women encourage the men to seek wages?[333]

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[330] NA, CO 795/83/2, Northern Rhodesia, 1936, Native Labour - (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Telegram from the Governor of Northern Rhodesia to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1 July, 1936.
[331] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), c.i. Labour, nr 1 Governor, request to obtain services of Orde Browne, 9 August, 1937; c.i. nominal nr 2. Mr Orde Browne accepts enquiry, 5 September, 1937; c.i. nominal nr 4 in continuation of nr 3, Orde Browne accepts enquiry, 9 September, 1937.
[332] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Circular No. 536, Northern Rhodesia, Circulation of Orde Browne's Questionnaire amongst District Commissioners, October, 1937.
[333] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Questions Relating to Labour, Particulars Desired from Labour-Supplying District, October 1937.

These questions served as preliminary information to his trip to and consequent report on colonial labour in Northern Rhodesia. What is notable here, is the combination of Orde Browne's return to the Colonial Office within an official function, and the consequent translation of his gendered assumptions of colonial labour formulated earlier in his career to the format of a Report that was to be published and circulated to a wider public (200 copies were made for Northern Rhodesia alone). In other words, the representations of colonized men and women set out in the previous chapter, became formalized in the form of colonial labour reports upon Orde Browne's return to the Colonial Office.

This chapter argues that Orde Browne's gendered constructions of the colonial labourer, were translated into labour reports that were published and circulated within the British Empire. These gendered assumptions were thereby normalized and granted the institutional backing of the Colonial Office, giving them more weight and wider circulation. To demonstrate this, this chapter analyzes Orde Browne's return to the Colonial Office in 1937-38, and analyzes the gendered language used in his report on labour in Northern Rhodesia (present-day Zambia). This will show how, for example, the ideas that women as mothers should not work and that women as wives should accompany male labour migrants, were translated into formal policy recommendations with the intent of urgent legislative change. An interesting and highly recommended follow-up study would consist of comparing the formatting of this report and its formalization of gendered assumptions with Orde Browne's consequent reports written form the position of Labour Advisor to the Secretary of State, thereby illustrating how bias stemming from a personal imperial career upon the African continent, was translated to colonial labour analyses that were empire-wide (Ceylon, West Indies).

CAREER: RETURN TO THE COLONIAL OFFICE

In 1936, when Orde Browne was working for the ILO, the idea developed in Northern Rhodesia that there should be an expert to travel the colony and write a report on the labour conditions with a set of recommendations for improvements. The Native Industrial Labour Board gave the advice that there was "A need for co-ordination and special direction of the work of various

departments," attributing the strikes of 1935 to "this lack of contact."[334] In 1935, strikes had broken out on the mines following the announcement that tax would no longer be based on a person's origin, instead, tax demands in the cities would be raised while those in villages in the countryside were lowered. The strikes started at Mufulira, where the raise in taxes was announced by the mine police. A few days later the strike broke out at Nkana and finally spread to Roan Antelope. Charles Perrings argues that the strikes spread as strikers from Mufulira went to Nkana and finally strikers from Nkana spread leaflets at Roan Antelope, the strikes following the footsteps of its supporters. Following the strike, a commission was set up and in the wake of both the commission's report and the discussions thereof in the Native Industrial Labour Board, it was decided the labour situation needed to be reviewed and improved.[335] The Board proposed "an officer with experience of this Territory should be appointed to study labour problems […] to keep under constant review the work of departments dealing with labour matters; to keep records and statistics; and to travel freely about the country for the purpose of having first-hand knowledge."[336] The Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Hubert Young, agreed and wrote a letter to the Secretary of State of the Colonies, suggesting "Tede Browne".[337] The matter was suspended, however, "in view of the financial crisis in N. Rhodesia," only to be picked up again at the end of 1937 when "N.R. finances […] recovered."[338] A letter was sent to Orde Browne on behalf of the Secretary of State, Ormsby Gore, inquiring whether Orde Browne would be willing to investigate the labour situation in Northern Rhodesia during a period of six months, writing that "Sir Hubert Young stated that you would be particularly well qualified for such an

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[334] NA, CO 795/83/2, Northern Rhodesia, 1936, Native Labour - (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Letter from Charles Dundas, Deputy to the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, to J.H. Thomas, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in relation to advice of the Native Industrial Labour Advisory Board, February, 1936, p. 2-3.
[335] See for example; Elena L. Berger, *Labour, Race, and Colonial Rule: The Copperbelt from 1924 to Independence* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 28; Larry Butler, *Copper Empire. Mining and the Colonial State in Northern Rhodesia, c.1930-1964* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 51–53; Charles Perrings, 'Consciousness, Conflict and Proletarianization: An Assessment of the 1935 Mineworkers' Strike on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 4, no. 1 (1977): 32–35.
[336] NA, CO 795/83/2, Northern Rhodesia, 1936, Native Labour - (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Letter from Charles Dundas, Deputy to the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, to J.H. Thomas, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in relation to advice of the Native Industrial Labour Advisory Board, February, 1936, p. 2-3.
[337] NA, CO 795/83/2, Northern Rhodesia, 1936, Native Labour - (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Telegram from the Governor of Northern Rhodesia to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1 July, 1936.
[338] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), c.i. Labour, nr. 1, Telegraph requesting obtaining services of Orde Browne due to recovery N.R. Finances, 9 August, 1937.

investigation," the little spelling error gently left out of the matter.[339] Orde Browne, as described in the previous chapter, was however quite the busy man at this point in his career and asked about the requested date of departure, after accepting the position, presuming that "the inquiry is not a matter of great urgency, necessitating immediate departure by air."[340] He added that he had previous obligations, having "undertaken certain functions at an International Congress in Paris at the end of this month, and in addition, I have still some commitments towards Lord Hailey, in whose African Research I have been assisting since last year."[341] Although he was busy, he was not too busy to send a letter to Weaver at the ILO immediately, writing [the letter is illustrative of Orde Browne's tone at this point in his career, and therefore worth quoting in full]:

> Dear Weaver,
>
> You will, I am sure, be interested to hear I have accepted an appointment to go for six months to Northern Rhodesia to conduct an inquiry into labour conditions there, with a view to starting a Labour Department; I expect to leave England in the latter part of next month.
>
> So at last the progressive view on labour seems to be coming into its own! There will be a great deal to do, but I am quite sanguine about the situation on the whole. Presumably, also, this move is likely to be followed by similar action elsewhere. Better late than never.
>
> Is there likely to be a meeting of the Expert[s] on Labour next year? There would seem to be a lot for them to discuss. Should there be one, I would like to make an effort to attend, if it were not too early in the year.
>
> Labour matters in the British Colonies generally don't seem very satisfactory, do they? However, I hope that more attention will be paid to them now.
> My wife and I both wish to be remembered to Mrs. Weaver.
>
> Yours sincerely,
> G.J. Orde Browne

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[339] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Letter from G.F. Seel, the Under Secretary of State, on behalf of the Secretary of State of the Colonial Office, to Orde Browne, requesting his services for an investigation of labour conditions in Northern Rhodesia, 31 August, 1937.
[340] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Letter from Orde Browne to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, accepting the position for Northern Rhodesia and commenting on details, itinerary, and preparation of the trip, September, 1937.
[341] Ibid.

> Have you seen the Chatham House "Colonial Problem"? I was a very minor member in the group responsible. It might interest you.[342]

Orde Browne wrote a similar, although a bit more modest in tone, letter to Lord Lugard, who replied that "even though temporary it is an acknowledgment by the Colonial Office that they recognize you as a high authority and are anxious to re-employ you."[343] Only "Sir Donald Cameron was unable to place full confidence in his character," others being generally approving of the appointment.[344] For example, A. Cooke wrote that he had "no personal knowledge of Major Orde-Browne, but he seems to be an acknowledged authority on questions of native labour," others writing in the margin "I agree."[345]

After meeting with general approval, Orde Browne's appointment was pushed forward and his itinerary was planned. He departed by steamer; the "S.S. "Dunnottar Castle" which is advertised to sail for South Africa on the 22nd of October."[346] After this, he spent roughly six months in Northern Rhodesia, his trip including a visit to Barotseland and outings to Southern Rhodesia and the Rand (upon invitation by W. Gemmil).[347] Orde Browne profited from the developments made in transport in the late 20s and 30s, both because it facilitated easier and faster travel and because he could use it to polish his ego. In his own words; "Thanks to the use of an aeroplane, I was able to pay a short visit to this somewhat inaccessible area [Barotseland]

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[342] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Letter from Orde Browne to Weaver, notifying Weaver of his departure to Northern Rhodesia, 12 September, 1937.

[343] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Letter from Lugard to Orde Browne congratulating Orde Browne with his re-employment to the Colonial Office, 13 September, 1937.

[344] NA, CO 795/83/2, Northern Rhodesia, 1936, Native Labour - (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Telegram on the suggestion of the appointment of Major Orde Browne for the study of labour conditions in Northern Rhodesia, unknown sender, probably a representative of Governor of Rhodesia, sent around N.R., 1 September, 1936.

[345] NA, CO 795/83/2, Northern Rhodesia, 1936, Native Labour - (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Responses to Telegram on the suggestion of the appointment of Orde Browne for the study of labour conditions in Northern Rhodesia dated 1 September, 1936, Response by A. Cooke and others, 9 September, 1936.

[346] [346] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Letter from E.B. Boyd, head of the Tanganyika Department, on behalf of Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State of the Colonial Office, approving Orde Browne's request for the circulation of a questionnaire amongst District Commissioners of N.R. and confirming booking of his passage to N.R. with the S.S. Dunnottar Castle for October, 12 October, 1937.

[347] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Letter from W. Gemmil, asking if Orde Browne will be visiting the mines on the Witwatersrand during his investigation in Northern Rhodesia, inviting him to lunch with the Gold Producers' Committee, 17 November, 1937.

and to investigate matters at four of the Government stations."[348] Orde Browne's trip also included a short visit to Nyasaland. He stayed there for three days. The length of his trip in Nyasaland caused some disagreement and miscommunication; several people wanted his trip to be longer or shorter, while Orde Browne wrote he was not wanted for a longer time. For example, Orde Browne stated that he was disappointed his report did not include Nyasaland, but that it was because "the Nyasaland people were not very encouraging about my visit."[349] On the other hand, a certain Mr. Seel of the Colonial Office wrote that they "had been counting on his visiting Nyasaland and it is a nuisance that the Commission need him so late."[350] The Commission referred to was the Royal Commission in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, whom Orde Browne was to give evidence to, collected during his trip.[351] His busy schedule moreover dictated that after this he needed to return to London, due to an International Labour Conference previously planned, that took place in Geneva. Upon arrival in England "by seaplane," Orde Browne recounted his trip back, illustrating the complicated network of transport developing in Northern Rhodesia and surrounding colonies at the time and showing how the referencing of means of travel could be used as a status enhancer:

> In accordance with your instructions, I left Lusaka on May 15th for Salisbury. There, I appeared before the Royal Commission during the whole of Tuesday, 17th. On Wednesday the 18th I went to Blantyre by aeroplane, and thence to Zomba by car. There I discussed labour matters with His Excellency Sir Harold Kittermaster and the senior members of the Nyasaland Government. I left Zomba on Saturday, catching the aeroplane for Salisbury on Sunday, whence I went on

[348] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, Paragraph 135.
[349] NA, CO 525/173/8, Nyasaland Protectorate, Northern Rhodesia, 1938, Native Labour. Visit to Nyasaland of Major Orde Browne to Discuss Labour Questions (Also Evidence Before Royal Commission), Letter from Orde Browne to Ormsby-Gore updating him on the investigation and report of labour conditions in Northern Rhodesia and Orde Browne's itinerary, 23 April, 1938.
[350] NA, CO 525/173/8, Nyasaland Protectorate, Northern Rhodesia, 1938, Native Labour. Visit to Nyasaland of Major Orde Browne to Discuss Labour Questions (Also Evidence Before Royal Commission), Note from Mr. Seel from the Colonial Office, recipient unknown, stating he had expected Orde Browne to visit Nyasaland, 4 May, 1938.
[351] NA, CO 525/173/8, Nyasaland Protectorate, Northern Rhodesia, 1938, Native Labour. Visit to Nyasaland of Major Orde Browne to Discuss Labour Questions (Also Evidence Before Royal Commission), Confidential telegram to Governor of Northern Rhodesia to be repeated to Governor of Nysaland and to be passed on to Orde Browne, in relation to Orde Browne giving evidence before the Royal Commission in Salisbury, April, 1938.

> to Beira to catch the seaplane for England. I presume that the Secretariat, Lusaka, reported my departure.[352]

Corollary to his trip and his departure, was the discussion of how the report on Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia should be titled, made, published and circulated, and what topics it should cover. For a moment, there was the question if Orde Browne could also investigate "white labour." Orde Browne declined this request, due to a professed lack of knowledge on this topic; "Major Orde Browne has not specialized in knowledge of white labour conditions and would prefer not to extend terms of enquiry."[353] Later, during his trip, he wrote to Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State of the Colonial Office, that he "was much relieved that the suggestion that my inquiry should cover conditions of white labour as well, came to nothing, for it would have been a most inconvenient red herring across the trail; I have no desire to get mixed up in the embryo Trade Unionism of the twenty-seven nationalities now represented on the Copper Belt."[354] His trip and consequent therefore remained "limited" to "colonial" labour. The report was moreover split into a public and a confidential one. The confidential part concerned itself with "interracial relations in the mining area of N. Rhodesia" and was circulated on a smaller scale; "six copies" and later "14 copies" were circulated, more copies only being sent if it was requested.[355] The public report, however, was published "simultaneously in this country [UK] and in the Colony on 2nd September," 200 copies ordered for Northern Rhodesia alone.[356] The report appeared "as a non-Parliamentary Paper in the Colonial series" and it was suggested that "copies of the report shd [should] be sent to all colonies," and "advance copies" were "sent

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[352] NA, CO 525/173/8, Nyasaland Protectorate, Northern Rhodesia, 1938, Native Labour. Visit to Nyasaland of Major Orde Browne to Discuss Labour Questions (Also Evidence Before Royal Commission), Extract from letter from Major Orde Browne, Original with Establishments Branch, 28 May, 1938.
[353] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), c.i. nr. 25, Governor, Telegram No.197 in relation to Orde Browne's refusal to include enquiry into white labour conditions, 20 November, 1937.
[354] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Letter from Orde Browne to Ormsby-Gore commenting on progress of Orde Browne's inquiry in Northern Rhodesia, 28 December, 1937.
[355] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Note to Mr Cohen, signature illegible, included "cartoonproof" of Orde Browne's confidential report on interracial relations in the mining area of N. Rhodesia, 9 July, 1938; Note to Mr Cohen from B.H. Christian, stating that six copies of Orde Browne's confidential report are available, 22 July, 1938; Note from Cohen to Christian, requesting 14 copies and 2 more proofs, n.d., 1938.
[356] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Message from B.H. Christian to Mr. Lee, in relation to production and delivery Orde Browne's report, 17 August, 1938.

out to about a dozen newspapers."[357] Due to problems at the stationary office, publication was delayed, but on September 21st the report was published and sent round.[358] Northern Rhodesia received 200 copies, the Library 75, and various individuals within the Colonial Office were sent one directly.[359] Orde Browne demanded two copies for his "private library," one for "Sir Alan Pim" who "expressed a desire to see the Report," and stated that a "copy should certainly go to the Royal Commission."[360] Due to the delayed publication date however, the copy had to be sent to "the Governor of Trinidad," due to the fact that by this time Orde Browne was already on his way to the West Indies.[361]

The report also received some criticism, a certain H.B. Spilller wrote to the Financial News that Orde Browne's statements about the lack of development in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia - a concession area of the North Charterland Company - were untrue. Some personal interest was no doubt behind this criticism, as Spiller was once an employee of said company; "As one of your officials has so gravely impugned the honour and integrity of the late Directors of the North Charterland Company, in which capacity I acted for 17 years, during the last eight of which I presided, I send you, as an act of courtesy, a copy of a letter I have written to-day to the Editor of the "Financial News"."[362] Spiller's critiques were not taken very seriously

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[357] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Note from A.B. Cohen on the publication of Orde Browne's report, 29 July, 1938; Note by A.B. Cohen that he agrees with [signature illegible] that copies of report should be sent to all colonies, 29 August, 1938; Note by [illegible signature] that advance copies have been sent to about a dozen newspapers, 19 September, 1938.

[358] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Note by F.G. Lee in relation to delays at the stationary office and the setting of a new date of simultaneous publication on Wednesday 21 September, 22 August, 1938; Note from A.B. Cohen that 200 copies of the Report are sent to Northern Rhodesia, 6 to Mr Seel for the Royal Commission, and 2 to Orde Browne on his way to Trinidad, publication set for 21 September, 13 September, 1938.

[359] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Note by F.G. Lee in relation to delays at the stationary office and the setting of a new date of simultaneous publication on Wednesday 21 September, 22 August, 1938; Note from A.B. Cohen that 200 copies of the Report are sent to Northern Rhodesia, 6 to Mr Seel for the Royal Commission, and 2 to Orde Browne on his way to Trinidad, publication set for 21 September, 13 September, 1938.

[360] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Note from Orde Browne requesting two copies for himself and a copy of the published and confidential report for Sir Alan Pim, 23 July, 1938.

[361] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Note from A.B. Cohen that 200 copies of the Report are sent to Northern Rhodesia, 6 to Mr Seel for the Royal Commission, and 2 to Orde Browne on his way to Trinidad, publication set for 21 September, 13 September, 1938.

[362] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Letter from H.B. Spiller to Malcom MacDonald, Secretary of State of the Colonial Office, in relation to Orde Browne's comments on the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia, includes Spiller's letter to the Financial News, 22 September, 1938.

by the Colonial Office, his letter was acknowledged but no more than that, a simple reference to "Mr. Spiller's behaviour in the past, please see (25) on 45006/35" ending the matter.[363]

By this time Orde Browne was well on his way to the West Indies, engaging in his first trip as Labour Advisor to the Secretary of State of the Colonial Office. Orde Browne received news of this new appointment and accepted it while still in Northern Rhodesia; writing on the tenth of February that he would "be grateful" to "reply to the Secretary of State" that he accepted "the offer in question, which I much appreciate."[364] The appointment was to begin upon Orde Browne's return to London, after which he would immediately go to "the International Labour Conference at Geneva," now no longer as member of the Expert Committee, but as representative of the Colonial Office.[365] Following Orde Browne's appointment, Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State of the Colonial Office, sent round a circular to "inform you that I have decided to create the post of Labour Adviser to the Secretary of State, and that I have selected for this appointment Major G. St. J. Orde Browne."[366] The circular detailed part of Orde Browne's previous career and his new appointment. Emphasis was given to the fact that Orde Browne was to travel through "various groups of Colonial Dependencies," after which he was to write a report which were to "be circulated to the Governments of the Dependencies concerned, and, where desirable, to Governments in other parts of the Colonial Empire." It was also already announced that his first trip would "be made this autumn" and would be to "the West Indian area." Finally, Ormsby-Gore added that Orde Browne would attend "the International Labour Conferences at Geneva as one of the advisers to the United Kingdom Government delegation whenever International Labour Conventions or other matters directly affecting the Colonial Empire are on the agenda for discussion."[367] In a personal letter, Ormsby-Gore added that "the

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[363] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Note by H. Swaney, agreed to by A.B. Cohen, stating it seems unnecessary to pass Spiller's comments on to the Secretary of State, 29 September, 1938.
[364] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Letter from Orde Browne to Chief Secretary of Lusaka responding to telegram from the Secretary of State offering him the post of Labour Advisor, states his acceptance of the post, 10 February, 1938.
[365] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Letter from H. Bradley, Chief Secretary Northern Rhodesia, on behalf of the Secretary of State, informing Orde Browne of the suggested itinerary following the enquiry in Northern Rhodesia and the starting date of his position as Labour Advisor, 2 March, 1938.
[366] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Circular from Colonial Office form Orsmby-Gore, Secretary of State, stating Orde Browne has been appointed as Labour Advisor to the Secretary of State, 14 March, 1938.
[367] Ibid.

labour chaps in the house" were glad of Orde Browne's appointment and that it would be "a good thing if you try and keep more personal touch with more of them" and that "there'll probably be quite a lot of politics in your job here!"[368] In sum, Orde Browne was now fully incorporated into the Colonial Office, his outings to other institutions now officially being in the interest of the British Colonial Office and the political agenda of those in favour of keeping colonial rule alive.

Orde Browne's first tour was to the West-Indies, due to the violent strikes there, particularly the strikes in Jamaica - euphemistically called "labour disturbances."[369] It was deemed important that Orde Browne visited "most, if not all, of the Colonies in that area," and afterwards again produce a report.[370] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to go into the tour in Jamaica and Orde Browne's consequent tours as labour advisor. It is however important to note two provisional notes based on a rough examination of the material produced during that period.[371] Firstly, Orde Browne's destinations appear to have been determined largely by the outbreak of labour disturbances - whether strikes or general violence - in the context of labour migration. Secondly, these reports displayed striking similarities in their form and topics, the restriction of female wage labour and the adoption of the corresponding Draft Conventions being a recurring issue within these reports. Further study of these consistencies in form and their discursive legacies through consequent normalization of said policies and their effect on female wage labour opportunities up to the present-day is strongly recommended by this thesis. Examples of present-day consequences of these policies can for example be found in the context of tea plantations of Sri Lanka, where women still do not receive their wages independently, and the violence and harassment women in South Africa face when wanting to work on the mines where wages are higher.[372]

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[368] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Personal letter from Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State, to Orde Browne, commenting on Orde Browne's appointment as Labour Advisor, 8 April, 1938.
[369] See for example; NA, CO 137/836/2 Jamaica, Disturbances, 1939.
[370] NA, CO 318/434/8, W. Indies, 1938, Major Orde-Browne, Visit to West-Indies, Copy of Circular discussing the itinerary and geographical scope of Orde Browne's visit and report to the West Indies, 14 March, 1938.
[371] A digital copy of the database of the files upon which this rough scan is based will be provided to the readers of this thesis.
[372] See for example; Benya, 'Excluded While Included: Women Mineworkers in South Africa's Platinum Mines'; Rachel Kurian and Kumari Jayawardena, 'Plantation Patriarchy and Structural Violence: Women Workers in Sri Lanka' (Conference on Bonded Labour, Migration, Diaspora and Identity Formation in Historical and Contemporary Context, Paramaribo, Suriname, 2013).

INFORMATION AND INFORMANTS

The various ways of gathering information set out in the previous chapters all coalesced in Orde Browne's preparation for and undertaking of his trip to Northern Rhodesia. The collection of information through informal and formal relations, the use of surveys and questionnaires, the reliance of reports and books, and the referencing of statutes and ordinance's and ILO Draft Conventions all return within the writing of this one report. The exclusion of women as a source and the solely sporadic mentioning of talks with colonial labourers themselves also illustrate how former bias here became the basis of acting. While Orde Browne was employed as someone capable of examining labour "in all its aspects," the sources explicitly referenced were those thought to convey authority and expertise to his peers.[373] As argued in the previous chapter, these references were statutes, ordinances, and male white figures of authority, interviews with colonized men and women being left out of the footnotes.

Upon news of his appointment, Orde Browne started out by collecting information on the situation in Northern Rhodesia before his departure. He did this through correspondence, by resorting to papers and books, by sending out questionnaires, and by talking to people he deemed knowledgeable on the subject and able to convey information to him that might not be found on paper.

One of the most interesting examples of Orde Browne's informal exchanges in person is the series of meetings that followed upon Orde Browne's correspondence with Boyd, the head of the Tanganyika department.[374] Orde Browne asked Boyd whether he could come to his office to discuss the upcoming trip to Northern Rhodesia, adding that he was "also anxious to be put au fait with the situation there generally; there must be a lot of confidential information regarding the riots [1935 strike], and other labour matters, which never got into the papers." Orde Browne also asked for further advice as to which papers to read before departure, concluding the letter

[373] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Letter from Mr Seel to Orde Browne on behalf of the Governor of Northern Rhodesia and the Secretary of State of the Colonial Office, requesting his services for an enquiry into labour "in all its aspects" in Northern Rhodesia, 31 August, 1937.
[374] It is highly probable that Orde Browne knew Boyd from his time in Tanganyika as discussed in the first chapter.

with the following question; "Perhaps you would then lunch with me at the Empire Society?"[375] Boyd accepted the invitation and arranged several new meetings with, for example, Mr. Calder, "head of the General Department of this Office which is responsible for the handling of general "labour" problems," Ormsby-Gore, who later appointed Orde Browne as labour adviser, and Sir H. Kittermaster, who dropped in on the conversation when Orde Browne was talking to Boyd and informed him that he would like Orde Browne to "pay him a visit at Zomba."[376] In reference to his meeting with Orde Browne, Boyd wrote that he has "supplied Major Orde Browne with a number of Northern Rhodesia departmental reports and also some of the other papers shown in Mr. Tuff and Smith's list attached at (9) in the file." He added that "it will be useful if Mr. Calder could see his way to give him [OB] an interview one day soon." Finally, he put in a request on behalf of Orde Browne for an interview with Mr. Ormsby Gore, writing that "Major Orde Browne said that he had known Mr. Ormsby Gore for many years and would greatly appreciate it if the Secretary of State could spare him a few minutes."[377] Both Calder and Ormsby Gore agreed to meeting with Orde Browne, and Orde Browne accepted to meet with Kittermaster, speaking with him near the end of this trip in Zomba.[378] These interactions are important because they demonstrate the great deal of information exchanged in person and, partly, of record. While we only have inklings of what was discussed at these meetings, it is in itself important that this was information not deemed proper to publish in relation to labour unrest. It is highly likely that these

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[375] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Letter from Orde Browne to E.B. Boyd, requesting a lunch at the Empire Society to discuss confidential information on the labour situation in Northern Rhodesia, 20 September, 1937.

[376] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Letter from E.B. Boyd to Orde Browne proposing to schedule a meeting between J.A. Calder and Orde Browne and the approval of Orsmby-Gore give an interview to Orde Browne, 4 October, 1937; NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Letter from E.B. Boyd to Mr. Calder, commenting on Boyd's meeting with Orde Browne and proposing meetings between Orde Browne and Mr. Calder and Orde Browne and Ormsby-Gore, 20 September, 1937.

[377] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Letter from E.B. Boyd to Mr. Calder, commenting on Boyd's meeting with Orde Browne and proposing meetings between Orde Browne and Mr. Calder and Orde Browne and Ormsby-Gore, 20 September, 1937.

[378] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Response Calder to Boyd, accepting suggested meeting Orde Browne, 27 September, 1937; Response Creasey to Boyd on behalf of Ormsby-Gore, stating Ormsby-Gore agrees to meeting with Orde Browne, September, 1937; NA, CO 525/173/8, Nyasaland Protectorate, Northern Rhodesia, 1938, Native Labour. Visit to Nyasaland of Major Orde Browne to Discuss Labour Questions (Also Evidence Before Royal Commission), Extract from letter from Major Orde Browne, Original with Establishments Branch, 28 May, 1938.

exchanges included information considered problematic to the image of colonial control and were consequently literally kept within the bounds of the minds of officials working within the colonial office, and outside of public knowledge (and thereby public opinion). (Similarly, as aforementioned, Orde Browne's report was split into a public report, available on the market, and a confidential section circulated on a person to person basis.)

The list referred to by Boyd was not destroyed under Statute and its existence helps illustrate some of the material Orde Browe read when preparing for a trip. The list included numerous reports, for example, "Report of commission on Disturbances in the Copperbelt 1935," and the "Native affairs Annual Report 1935." It also included "Evidence taken by the Commission Vol I and II 1935" and for example the minutes of an Annual Conference held in Northern Rhodesia in 1936 and the minutes of meetings of the Native Industrial Labour Advisory Board held in 1936 and 1937 (the Board that had been created after the 1935 strikes and that had suggested the appointment of an expert on labour).[379] Many of these he appears to have read on board of the S.S. Dunnotar, writing, for example, to Sir John Harry of the Anti-Slavery & Aborigines Protection Society, that he had "been working at my Rhodesian material, including an attempt at Chinyanja [language spoken in i.e. Zambia], which I do not so far know, but shall need. I have a difficult task before me, I fear, though that makes it the more interesting."[380]

Besides personal exchanges with people inside the Colonial Office and information sent to him, Orde Browne also requested that a questionnaire be sent to the District Officers in Northern Rhodesia to prepare for his trip. These questionnaires were anything but neutral however, the questions already determining the possible range of answers. For example he inquired whether "young women encourage the men to seek wages?"[381] Implied in the question is that men did not encourage women to seek wages and was not a question worth asking. Similarly, he asked if labourers "take their wives with them?," again the assumption being women would

[379] CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), List of collection of papers (selected by Boyd) sent to Orde Browne, September, 1937.
[380] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Letter from Orde Browne to Sir John Harry of the Anti-Slavery & Aborigines Protection Society, written en route to Capetown on the S.S. Dunnotar Castle, 2 November, 1937.
[381] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Questions Relating to Labour, Particulars Desired from Labour-Supplying District, October 1937.

otherwise not migrate.[382] In addition, he asked that if "wives" were not "taken with" the men, if it was "owing to tribal opposition?"[383] Any degree of female agency within labour migration was hereby per onset excluded; men being the ones "taking women with them" or "opposing" their migration. This demonstrates that within Orde Browne's collection of information even before departure, women as a source or independent labour migrants were not included. His research questions and categories of data collection, in other words, were biased, thereby leading to biased information to be collected.

Once Orde Browne arrived in Northern Rhodesia and when writing his report, he continued to rely on reports, books, minutes, ordinances and laws, and interviews. Within his report, he referenced a variety of reports, similar to the ones sent to him before arrival in Northern Rhodesia. Many of these reports were written by Committees set up to investigate a certain topic and granted a lot of authority by Orde Browne. For example, he referred to a report made by "The Committee of Nutrition, appointed in 1936."[384] He stated they made "a prolonged investigation of native food supplies, and produced a report which covers every aspect of the subject, many valuable conclusions being reached." He even suggested "that this report merits printing."[385] It was only in this context, the referencing of reports made by organizations or people deemed authoritative, that we see Orde Browne recommending a report by a group of women; "encouraging evidence as to the employability of the local African woman, will be found in a pamphlet published by the Federation of Women's Institutes of Southern Rhodesia."[386] The contents of the report, however, were not shared, Orde Browne only stated that "the African man is more reliable and intelligent than the woman."[387] Many reports were referenced in Orde Browne's own reports. A few examples will give a sense of the range of topics Orde Browne

[382] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Questions Relating to Labour, Particulars Desired from Labour-Supplying District, October 1937.
[383] Ibid.
[384] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 19.
[385] Ibid.
[386] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 77.
[387] Ibid.

tried to cover. He referred to numerous Medical Reports, for example one from 1936.[388] The Native Affairs Annual Report, 1936 is also mentioned several times.[389] Reports published by the ILO were also used, for example the Report on the Recruiting of Labour Issues,[390] and he used reports by Provincial and District Commissioners, referring for example to "somewhat briefer reports (unpublished) by Mr. E.H. Cooke, District Commissioner, and Mr. T.F. Sandford, Senior Provincial Commissioner" as "equally satisfactory."[391]

Orde Browne also depended on books, ordinances, laws, and interviews during his trip and when writing the report. Appendix II of the Report, for example, included an overview of International Labour Conventions ratified and the Ordinances they were translated into within Northern Rhodesia.[392] The Inter-Colonial Agreement of 1936, was also referenced numerous times; "In 1936 an agreement was concluded between Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Southern Rhodesia, for the regulation of the movement of labour between the three countries, with a view to more adequate control, and also to ensure attention to the varying needs of the three countries."[393] He referred to it partly because while it included "an undertaking to appoint an Administrative Officer to travel about Southern Rhodesia to supervise the conditions in which men from this country work," Orde Browne wanted to point out it was not effected in practice; "This appointment was to have been made in 1st January, 1938, but shortage of staff has so far precluded this."[394] The law, in other words, was referenced to demonstrate what on the one hand Orde Browne thought should be happening, but, on the other hand, deemed not to be happening

[388] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 82, 126.
[389] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 101, 119.
[390] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 59.
[391] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 177.
[392] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, appendix II.
[393] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 161 appendix I.
[394] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 161.

and therefore in need of improvement - either through action or a change in the law. Besides Ordinances, numerous books are also mentioned as a source, for example *The Improvement of Native Agriculture* by Sir Daniel Hall.[395] Books were quoted when Orde Browne thought the passage was especially illuminating. For example, he wrote "The functions of a Labour Officer have been well described by M.Th. Heyse in *Le Regime du Travail au Congo Belge*."[396] Similarly he referred to C.W. Coulter as "a careful observer" and quoted an entire passage from his book *Modern Industry and the African*.[397] Similarly, interviews were referenced when the figure was considered to have an opinion worth mentioning. For example, he referred to his discussions with the Provincial Commissioner and "the Paramount Chief" of Barotseland, mostly to emphasize those aspects where he thought the "Paramount Chief Yeta" agreed with him:[398]

> 142. In discussion with Paramount Chief Yeta, I found that his views accorded closely with the foregoing; his shrewd appreciation of the needs of his people rendered him fully alive to the importance of securing ample opportunity for his young men on the one side, with due regard for the preservation of tribal well-being on the other. He emphasized the importance of the return home after an absence of a year or eighteen months, and also of deferred pay.

In other words, authority was given to statements deemed in line with Orde Browne's own ideas. This is unsurprising when considering the fact that Orde Browne considered himself an authoritative source and referenced his own experience within the report. In absence of certain statistics, for example, Orde Browne stated he filled in the blanks on the basis of his own

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[395] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 18.

[396] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 283.

[397] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 228.

[398] It is important to note that "Chief Yeta" was in fact King; Litunga (King of the Lozi People) Yeta III. He attended, for example, the coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. Orde Browne's casual and almost belittling reference to him has to be seen in context of Orde Browne's general tendency to brag about means of travel and social relations to enhance his own status, see for example, Gerald L. Caplan, *The Elites of Barotseland, 1878-1969: A Political History of Zambia's Western Province* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).
It is moreover important to note that there was a collaboration between African chiefs and kings and colonial authorities in relation to patriarchal power and taxes, on this, see for example; Gwyn Prins, *The Hidden Hippopotamus: Reappraisal in African History: The Early Colonial Experience in Western Zambia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

experience; "these details are entirely lacking […] a reasonable estimate (founded on experience elsewhere) of the total numbers required for this exodus would be about 90,000."[399]

Finally, throughout the before, during, and after of this trip, correspondence remained an important addition to Orde Browne's gathering and exchanging of information. He updated Ormsby-Gore in an unrestrained way about his opinion of the situation in Northern Rhodesia. For example, he wrote that he considered the number of labour migrants leaving Northern Rhodesia too high and the response to this high number to be too passive, comparing it to letting an alcoholic drink as long as the liquor was of high quality:

> I am perturbed by the wage-seeking exodus, for it is too high. There is a local tendency to consider it harmless, so long as good conditions can be secured; which seems to me a little like allowing the dipsomaniac to drink himself to death, provided that he does so only on the best vintages. However, I think that I can see possibilities of improvement, though they may not prove altogether popular with some of our slightly truculent neighbours.[400]

Moreover, Orde Browne kept himself updated on the situation in colonies other than Northern Rhodesia through his continued correspondence with Weaver. For example, Weaver wrote to tell Orde Browne that the Tanganyika annual report mentioned plans of "a special organization to deal with labour" but that this only came about "after the situation had become really scandalous."[401] He added that "The West Indian colonies are now in the limelight – together with Mauritius – and I hope with you that some attention will now be paid to them; my opinion is that the exploitation is serious."[402] Later, Orde Browne used this information to inform Ormsby-Gore that he was "not surprised at your information about Mauritius: I have had news of it which has made me expect trouble for some time past."[403] Correspondence enabled Orde Browne to keep up

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[399] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 147.
[400] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Letter from Orde Browne to Ormsby-Gore commenting on progress of Orde Browne's inquiry in Northern Rhodesia, 28 December, 1937.
[401] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Letter from Weaver to Orde Browne commenting on Orde Browne's appointment to Northern Rhodesia and other news on labour matters, 15 September, 1937.
[402] Ibid.
[403] WLSC, MSS AFR S 1117, Box 2.5, Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia, Correspondence with the Secretary of State and Others, Letter from Orde Browne to Ormsby-Gore commenting on the progress of Orde Browne's Northern Rhodesia report and Orde Browne's new appointment as labour advisor, 23 April, 1938.

to date quickly and easily by letting those that were on the in, informed him of what was happening outside his own realm of experience.

Notably absent was the direct referencing of male, let alone, female labourers. If anyone was asked, they were not referenced - the aforementioned “Chief Yeta” being a notable exception. While the listing of how Orde Browne got his information might therefore sometimes appear as a monotonous descriptive duty, it displays one very important thing: all of these sources that were granted authority and used to communicate a sense of legitimacy to Orde Browne’s peers, were European and generally male. The African expert again here did not exist within Orde Browne’s references of his report, let alone the African female expert. The Colonial Labourer might have been the subject of the report, but he nor she was never an object of authority referenced in the report.

SUBJECTS AND REPRESENTATION

In the report on colonial labour in Northern Rhodesia, the demarcations and correlated representations of “European,” “African labourer” and “African woman” described in the foregoing chapters were formalized as factual descriptions. The context of a colonial report on labour - published and circulated by the colonial office - granted these representations a sense of officiality. The tropes of (1) Europeans as experts, (2) European institutions as centres of authoritative guidance and centralization of knowledge, (3) the male “African” labourer as a resource whose mind was to be controlled so that his body could be exploited, and (4) the female “African” as a lesser being whose reproductive and domestic labour was valued and controlled more than wage labour opportunities and (5) the diseased unscrupulous prostitute that was to be regulated against, were all reiterated as accurate imageries in need of colonial policies that could enable and uphold their reality. The truthfulness of these descriptions was not a matter of discussion, the assumptions being so normalized within the context of the report that attention shifted to enacting these imageries through policy recommendations. As Orde Browne’s authority grew, so did his power to write and thereby act on his assumptions at an empire-wide level. The policies that were recommended were often extremely intrusive, advocating the control over

bodies through, for instance, medical inspections and maternity courses. The legitimization of such policies will be discussed in the section on justification and credibility, but it can already be stated that these invasive policies were based on a belief that the availability and control of labour migration depended on the control and supervision of the minds and bodies of labourers and "their dependents." To be efficient and to uphold stability, in other words, it was considered warranted to impose a colonial construction of "the right kind of" morality, fitness, and social relations. Elements deemed "undesirable" - such as prostitutes and cripples - consequently became central nodes of control and policy-making, justified by the advocated aims of efficiency, productivity, and availability of labourers. Women, within this discourse, were not considered as independent labourers, but valued on the basis of colonial ideas of reproduction and domesticity - realms that were not rewarded through wages.

The representation of (especially if not solely) male Europeans and Western-based institutions as centres of expertise was reiterated and fortified in Orde Browne's report on colonial labour in Northern Rhodesia. A has been demonstrated in the previous section on information, Orde Browne gathered information from - and explicitly referenced - male Europeans and institutions such as the ILO while leaving out reference to colonized men and women. Within the report on Northern Rhodesia, the ILO was again used as a constant point of reference in relation to policy recommendations and the judgement of the legal state in the Colony. For example, Orde Browne referred to the Report on the Recruiting of Labour Issues of 1935 published by the ILO.[404] He reiterated the ILO's recommendations, concluding that "These conditions correspond with the provisions of Northern Rhodesian law, and the working of the contract system may be said to afford genuine protection and advantage to the migrant worker."[405] He also added an appendix listing International Labour Conventions "which have been applied in Northern Rhodesia, with particulars of the local legislation which gives effect to them."[406] He stated that "Considerable progress has […] been made with regard to the application" of the conventions ratified by Northern Rhodesia.[407] Orde Browne also included a

[404] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 59.
[405] Ibid.
[406] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, appendix II.
[407] Ibid.

list of proposed alterations to "existing law"; "The following proposals for alteration or modification in the existing law are made with a view to adaptation to local requirements, or to bring present regulations into line with modern practice."[408] In other words, institutions such as the ILO were taken as legal reference point for what constituted "proper" policy in line with Orde Browne's idea of "modern" labour conditions. Unsurprisingly, in his recommendations for the position and appointment of Labour Officers and Labour Commissioners in Northern Rhodesia, he stated it was important that they be familiar with "the publications of the Institut Colonial International of Brussels," "the Rhodes-Livingtone Institute," and that "[c]omparative colonial legislation will require attention."[409]

The large contrast between Europeans as experts and African labourers as objects of study and control, but not as subjects of expertise, was enhanced by the fact that Orde Browne only represented those (male) Europeans he considered of a high class and moral standard. For example, Orde Browne did not include a study of so-called "white labour." Following a request to look into the topic, Orde Browne refused to include a study of white labour in Northern Rhodesia in his investigation and report, stating that he was "not specialized in knowledge of white labour conditions nor has he studied them and he would prefer not to extend terms of enquiry."[410] He did, however, include a reference to "low-grade Europeans" in a discussion of domestic servants, that gave away some of his opinions of those Europeans not included in his information gathering and expertise claiming. He stated that this "limited proportion of low-grade Europeans" were "quite unfitted by experience or up-bringing to employ Africans. […] Such an element has a most regrettable effect in embittering racial relations, and deserves little consideration."[411] Those Europeans that were not capable of being represented of symbols of European (moral) superiority, were literally consciously excluded from Orde Browne's discourse.

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[408] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, Section III, Proposed Alterations in the Existing Law.
[409] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 307.
[410] NA, CO 795/91/2, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervisor of Labour. (Also Appointment of Major Orde Browne to Investigate and Report on Labour Conditions), Telegram from the Governor of Northern Rhodesia to the Secretary of State for the Colonies passing on that Orde Browne refuses to extend terms of enquiry to include white labour conditions, 20 November, 1937.
[411] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 76.

Similarly, he disapprovingly spoke of "a considerable settlement of Dutch, of poor education, living in depressed conditions" living in the Lusaka district. He recommended a "Dutch-speaking Labour Officer" to be appointed "to provide a stimulus towards betterment of social conditions."[412] The male European experts hauled by Orde Browne as centres of knowledge and moral guidance to "the African," were limited to those of high function or education. While lower-class white Europeans are not the direct topic of this thesis, these few examples give an inkling of how class, race, and gender intersected into various parameters of inclusion and exclusion and show that Orde Browne positioned himself within the group he constructed to be legitimately in power and control due to their gender (male), their class (educated), and their race (white).

The "African labourer" was - again - represented as a resource in the Northern Rhodesia report; someone whose mind was to be controlled in favour of an effective exploitation of his body. This trope was represented through several binary oppositions that worked alongside each other; the able-bodied man vs the cripple, married men vs single men, and the temporary migrant vs the permanent one. Their movement was moreover portrayed in gendered language, migration seen as "an exodus" that if not controlled would lead to a "drain on the manhood of the country."[413] For the sake of argumentative clarity these dualities will be discussed somewhat separately, but it is important to note that they functioned in support of each other - the able-bodied, married, and temporary migrant being Orde Browne's constructed ideal that was contrasted with the construction of the image of the cripple, single, permanent migrant, leaving "their tribe" to starve in the village - that image was used as the ultimate horror to be prevented through various policies regulating the form and flow of labour migration.

Orde Browne gave leading roles to his discursive construction and opposition of labourers as either productive, able bodied men or non-productive "cripples" in his scripted version of labour migration. Throughout the Report on colonial labour in Northern Rhodesia, he stated that sickness was a drain on workers - a costly one - and that therefore bodies should be checked to prevent "less capable" workers from decreasing efficiency and "stamina";

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[412] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 130.

[413] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 175.

> […] yaws, influenza, relapsing fever, dysentery, and tuberculosis, form a perpetual drain on the stamina of the people. The degree to which such a state of affairs must affect the labour supply will be obvious; available numbers are reduced, and the worker himself is less capable. […] if the total incidence of disease is taken into account in connection with the numbers in employment, some idea can be formed of the enormous waste of money entailed, firstly in curtailing of the available numbers of workers, and secondly, in the reduction of efficiency of those employed.[414]

The control of labourers' health was not coming from a standpoint of social concern, but from one of cost, control, efficiency, and productivity and from this perspective one sees how deeply invasive advocated policies were and how indifferent Orde Browne was to labourers' own opinions on suggested policies. To be made healthy, in other words, was to be made available for more effective exploitation by colonial and industrial interests. Workers not considered "fit" were deemed a problem and considered responsible for the "degeneration" of the labour force.[415] For example, Orde Browne wrote that "there is the problem of the unfit worker," and that one could identify a "vicious circle" in such cases; "low-grade labour, worth only a meagre wage; poor housing and rations as a result; consequently unpopularity of the area; and a steady degeneration of the whole standard of work."[416] Medical inspections were seen as a proper solution to dealing with this "problem," via inspecting bodies before they were employed Orde Browne thought one could keep a "higher" standard; "Discrimination in engagement is exercised by means of medical inspection; the strongest and fittest are selected and the remainder are refused."[417] The labourers refused were termed "rejects."[418] Orde Browne also warned that if no medical check was exacted before departure, these men, "rejects," would go to higher paying places like the Rand, but after

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[414] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 21.
[415] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 126.
[416] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 40, 126.
[417] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 88.
[418] Ibid.

rejection would be hawked by "unscrupulous persons" which would lead to them to being "lost" to the system entirely;

> The Rand, with its high wages and traditional glamour, attracts many that cannot be employed there; and unfortunately there are plenty of unscrupulous persons, recruiters and others, who will take advantage of such travelers. It might thus well occur that decoying from the other side of the borders might account for a larger number than open recruiting, and that, under most objectionable conditions, tends towards permanent loss of men.[419]

The fear of the loss of men also led to recommendations on whether married or single men were to be preferred and how temporary and permanent migration should be handled - fears of the "detribalized native" also forming a strong basis of advocacy for the accommodation of "wives" as will be argued below.

Fears of detribalization were linked to the length of stay of migrants and the circumstances under which a longer stay took place; the formation of "undesirables" in the cities was seen to stem from a lack of information and effective policy and control. Consequently, policy recommendations were based on the assumption that it was better if the length and conditions of stay were controlled and supervised. Orde Browne still maintained that the largest group of migrants should "be regarded as a temporary resident only; in the majority of cases, he will return to the tribal home."[420] However, he admitted that there was "an increasing tendency for some to delay their return."[421] Consequently, he stated that "the urbanized native" was to "a certain degree, at least, […] unavoidable." Orde Browne regarded the problems of "detribalization" and "stabilization" as less likely to "become a nuisance and a menace" if "up-to-date policy" was established.[422] Research into the "native in his unsophisticated state in his village" was advocated as a way of "ascertaining the particulars of health, mentality, and social

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[419] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 176.
[420] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 196.
[421] Ibid.
[422] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraphs 197-198.

organization generally, likely to affect him on his appearance in the industrial world."[423] Orde Browne recommended that "the town compound" should be "controlled by the township authority or municipality and be laid out methodically, with good services provided and efficient supervision established."[424] Orde Browne believed that both the collection of information and the consequent formulation of policy was absent in Northern Rhodesia, and led to a lack of insight on the extent of potential problems associated with "stabilization" and "detribalization." Orde Browne argued that he saw in Northern Rhodesia the "development of class 4 in the shape of loafers, beggars, criminals, prostitutes, and similar undesirables" in the urban area, to be differentiated from "the work-seeker, either local or on his way elsewhere, or the equivalent man returning home after discharge."[425] In his recommendations he stated that there was not enough information available on the so-called "sociological effects" on "primitive native society" due to "the progress of industrialism" and therefore no reliable basis from which to formulate policies.[426] He recommended that if "progress" was to be "made in dealing with menaces such as juvenile crime, the spread of venereal diseases due to the labour migration, the effects of the wage-seeking exodus on the birth-rate, the stamina of the travelling workers […] and numerous problems of a similar nature," matters considered "subsidiary problems" of "urban conditions," information was to be collected by a to-be-appointed labour officer so that policy could be formulated and enacted to prevent further problems.[427]

The formation of undesirables due to the (uncontrolled) length of stay and poor conditions of stay was strongly related by Orde Browne to the last binary opposition; that of married vs single men. Single migrants were considered more likely to become a problem if they remained in the towns for a longer period, while married migrants were presented as older, more

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[423] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 9.
[424] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 222.
[425] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 199.
[426] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraphs 304-305.
[427] The listed problems were categorized and discussed in the section "Urban Conditions: Subsidiary Problems" of Orde Browne's report, NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraphs 304-305.

skilled, and less probable to cause trouble; "As a rule the married man is an old employee, who intends to make a long stay, while the single man is frequently employed only for a few months; the labour force tends towards a definite division on these lines."[428] This, again, was a previously existing assumption of Orde Browne that was formalized as "fact" in Orde Browne's report and consequently became a topic of policy recommendations. In relation to bachelor migrants and the bachelor compound, Orde Browne stated it was "undeniable [that] the system does tend to promote objectionable malpractices."[429] He argued that the accommodation of families for older workers should be provided and stated contracts of bachelor labourers should be shortened;

> […] the compound which admits of at least a portion of married men is from every point of view preferable; this conclusion is indeed almost universally admitted […] Briefly, the best policy would seem to be to shorten the contract under bachelor conditions as far as possible and to provide extra accommodation for the older workers who may reasonably claim to be allowed a family with them, in return for longer service. […] Such a solution, where feasible, might be positively preferable to the ill-regulated compound with a large proportion of the irregular temporary unions already mentioned and the inevitable concomitant of venereal disease.[430]

Again, the spread of venereal disease and fear of sexual relations other than those considered proper (marital), were presented as the inevitable outcomes of not enforcing short term migration for single men and accommodating wives of "stabilized," longer-term migrants. Besides advocating for the accommodation of family and the limiting of the length of contract of single men, Orde Browne noted how spousal privileges also attracted men and "their wives." For example, the access to gardens was stated to be "one of the main attractions for married couples."[431] The extension of garden allotments where possible was consequently also recommended. The accommodation of women was moreover again linked to reproduction, Orde

[428] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 83.
[429] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 72.
[430] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 73.
[431] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 87.

Browne writing how the accommodation of women "aims at a second generation of workers born on the premises."[432]

Reproduction, length and marital status of migrants all coalesced in Orde Browne's concerns about controlling the number of migrants. He argued that if numbers were not controlled, alongside control of the length of migration of single migrants and the accommodation of married migrants, this would lead to the loss of "manhood."[433] This lack of control over "productive" "male" labourers was seen as a potential threat to reproduction in general and productivity in the countryside. Orde Browne wrote that "the serious aspect of absenteeism is intensified by its length of time; an established habit of going away for six or eight months will have little evil effect; a year will be more serious; and when the period is lengthened into several years, real harm is done to the structure of native society and to the birth rate is being done."[434] This loss of "manhood" was moreover presented in highly gendered terms; productive workers being men, Northern Rhodesia presented as their mother who would lose her (re)productivity through the loss of "her sons." He argued that while in the past "Northern Rhodesia could well afford to let her sons go away to earn" this should no longer be an uncontrolled "natural" situation, stating that "The phenomenon of the wage-seeking exodus therefore required careful and continuous observation lest it become an industrial bleeding artery draining away the vitally necessary manhood of the country."[435] In the section on recommendations, Orde Browne therefore suggested that "all possibilities for reducing the evil effects must be explored," which included "the limitation of the period of engagement if possible to a year or even less."[436] Policies were also recommended because the wholesale prevention of labour migration was seen impossible and not justifiable:

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[432] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 86.
[433] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph, 120, 145, 175.
[434] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 153.
[435] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 145.
[436] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 154.

> The flow of labour in a certain direction once started, there will be great difficulty in turning off the tap at a given moment; in the absence of a fence and turnstile system, it is quite impossible to restrain the African if he wishes to travel. Nor can such action be reasonably justified; if a young man is desirous of bettering his circumstances and standard of living by seeking good wages, no progressive government could endeavor to drive him back to primitive village conditions in order to satisfy its sociological uneasiness.[437]

As will be discussed in the section on legitimization, policies to control numbers, length, and marital status of migrants were taken as being in the best interest of all involved parties and represented as the best way of preventing labour unrest.

Finally, Orde Browne's representations of women were at the heart of his construction of the ideal labourer and his imaginations of the worst possible outcomes of uncontrolled, unsupervised labour migration. Women were represented as wives, as mothers, sometimes as widows, or as prostitutes, lesser workers, and bearers of disease - the epitome of colonial fears of demoralization associated with uncontrolled labour migration and urbanization. These imageries were repeated in the Northern Rhodesia report and accompanied by policy recommendations that sought to control women's marital status, their sexual relations, their bodies, their movements, and their labour - reproductive and otherwise.

Orde Browne did not represent women as independent wage labourers and when he referred to female labour he made sure he diminished it's importance, quality, and severity. In reference to "the employability of the local African woman" he referred the readers of his report to a pamphlet "published by the Federation of Women's Institutes of Southern Rhodesia," leaving out the contents of the report only writing that "the African man is more reliable and intelligent than the woman."[438] Moreover, when referring to female labour he stated it was lighter, of poor quality, and "uneconomic." He wrote that in case women sometimes helped with "light work such as weeding, etc. Not only is this labour poor in quality, but it is additionally

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[437] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 148

[438] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 77.

uneconomic in that it is highly unreliable."[439] In his recommendations for representatives for labour problems, he did recommend a representative for women. However, Orde Browne did not recommend a representative for female wage labour, but for "the female aspect of labour problems."[440] This did not need to be an expert, like in the case of male wage labour, but could be "any lady prominent for her interest in welfare work."[441] Women in relation to labour migration were considered a "subsidiary problem" of labour migration; while wives were considered a potential solution to the degeneration of the moral standard of the wage labourer, women in the compound as either wives or single women were thought to be in desperate need of regulation - either to enhance their agreeability as wives and mothers or to prevent their presence as prostitutes, bearers of venereal disease, and wage labourers. These associations existed well before Orde Browne's writing of the Northern Rhodesia report, but were reiterated and made explicit and related to policy recommendations.

The "unoccupied woman" was a central node of fear and policy-making in Orde Browne's report on Northern Rhodesia, as opposed to the well-behaved "wife."[442] He feared and opposed "irregular unions," especially women who appropriated the role of wife without being one as defined by Orde Browne:

> Couples apparently married will prove on investigation to be living together as a temporary arrangement; women will readily transfer themselves from one man to another when the finished period of service breaks up the provisional household. While paid prostitution is uncommon, these irregular unions are general; the man with a wife to whom he is really married by his tribal custom must be a comparative rarity in the compounds. The tendency towards spreading of venereal disease through this laxity will be obvious, as will be also the unsatisfactory nature of these liaisons as provision for a family.[443]

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[439] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 104.
[440] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 271.
[441] Ibid.
[442] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 243.
[443] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 71.

It is important to note both the fact that women appropriated colonial constructions of their imagined "appropriate roles" to their own advantage, and the fear such appropriation elicited. Women who engaged with men in "temporary alliances" were considered part of "class 4"; "loafers, beggars, criminals, prostitutes, and similar undesirables."[444] They were strongly associated with the spread of venereal disease and general amorality and undesirability in the towns.[445] Simultaneously, married labourers were deemed preferable to single ones. "Wives" were thought to be essential to male moral behaviour in the towns and a continued link with villages in the countryside. If men brought "their" wives it was considered "from every point of view preferable."[446] Women as wives, in other words, were perceived as both a core problem and solution, consequent policy recommendations attempting to control what type of "wife" entered the compounds. Orde Browne, in other words, advocated control of women's minds and bodies according to colonial ideas of what women, wives specifically, should be.

Policy recommendations were extremely invasive and attempted both to prevent the entering of "fake" wives - associated with disease - and to "better" "real" wives as mothers and care-takers. Orde Browne recommended that regulations of medical inspections of "wives" be enacted to prevent such diseases from spreading; "The Employment of Natives Regulations, based on Cap. 62 of the Laws, make ample provision for the requisite medical care for workers; in addition they refer in several sections to inspection of wives and families permitted to accompany the worker to the place of employment, to ensure freedom from disease."[447] Besides medical inspections of women - the cut off being whether they had venereal diseases or not - legislation was introduced in Northern Rhodesia preventing "Night Work" and "Underground Work" of women.[448] Orde Browne also pushed for the education of women in the compounds.

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[444] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 199.
[445] See for example; NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 73.
[446] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 73.
[447] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 243.
[448] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, appendix II.

He based this recommendation on his belief that wives in the compounds had to much time on their hands and needed to learn how to be better wives and mothers. The following passage is worth quoting at length because it shows Orde Browne's imaging of "the wife" as someone to be "improved" through colonial policies and how he switched from a stereotyping of the wife to policy recommendations imagined to uphold his ideal "wife" in the context of labour migration:

> 243. Another feature noticeable in the various compounds is the lack of occupation for the women. In tribal life the wife has numerous duties, not only in the household but also in cultivating, fetching fuel and water, and similar tasks. In the compound she has only the hut to keep clean, her children to attend to, and the cooking to do; there is no garden to be weeded, water is available from a tap, and much of the daily routine of the village is eliminated. Consequently time is apt to hang heavy on the hands, and with husbands away for long hours, occasions for domestic trouble easily arise. The presence of these large numbers of women provide an excellent opportunity for instruction and improvement. In the Belgian Congo, regular classes for pre- and post-natal supervision are held, with others for infant welfare; milk is provided, babies are weighed and fed, and a general improvement in the whole standard of child-management is introduced. Something similar should be possible by means of welfare-workers who would undertake such teaching, together with simple cooking, sewing and other domestic accomplishments.[449]

He added that an extension of the subjects in which women should be taught would benefit women and the population on the compound in general:

> 244. The work detailed above is of course admirable; but it covers the limited class of subjects regarded as "welfare" and it does not provide for the instruction for the women in such matters as cooking, household management, sewing and similar crafts. This teaching would be of real benefit to the native woman, both as a source of occupation while in the compound and as real contribution to the improvement of the native methods of living.[450]

Not only did Orde Browne implicitly downplay the duress of household duties, he also seamlessly transitioned from gender-based stereotyping to the recommendation that women

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[449] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 243.

[450] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 244.

should be taught how to be wives and taught how to be mothers. Female education was presented as a way of "elevating" the "native population from primitive dirt and disease."[451] This also translated to the education of "girls"; while boys were thought to benefit from "instruction in trades," he thought that much like Catholic missionaries in the Belgian Congo, "girls" should be "trained in domestic work and home industries."[452] Orde Browne argued that this "would secure the gradual production of useful and capable natives." Men hereby should be transformed "into useful productive workers" and he stated his advocated education policies came "merely from the point of view of the importance of increasing the labour supply."[453]

Finally, women were also controlled as "mothers"; pregnancy, birth, and parenthood were all topics of ideal imageries and consequent policy-making. It was recommended that women's diets be controlled, "mineral salts […] lacking in the native dietary" thought to have "evil effects on child welfare and maternity."[454] Control of women's diet was presented as necessary to prevent "the employer" having "to work with inefficient material."[455] Orde Browne also recommended against female wage labour during and after pregnancy; "Part IV. Employment of Women. Recommended that a section should be introduced prohibiting the employment of women for one month before and after childbirth."[456] After pregnancy, as could already be seen in the quoted passage above, women considered "mothers" were recommended to have training in infant welfare according to guidelines Orde Browne had seen in Belgian Congo. The invasiveness of said guidelines was not considered, women's bodies assumed to be legitimate grounds for policy-making due to the greater aim of "a second generation of workers born on the

[451] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 237.
[452] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraphs 231-232.
[453] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraphs 232-233.
[454] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraphs 16, 18.
[455] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 18.
[456] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, Section III, Proposed Alterations in the Existing Law.

premises."[457] Here also, the Union Miniere was taken as a guideline for the fact that women as wives should be accommodated and women as mothers taught in order to ensure proper domesticity and reproduction.[458]

In sum, Orde Browne argued and recommended that girls should be trained for a future in the house, women should be educated to be better wives and mothers, and men, solely men, should be productive paid workers. Orde Browne's privileging of these functions according to gender in the context of labour migration and his removal of other forms of identity and fluid gender roles, was translated into recommended controls of (wo)men's bodies and minds. In the case of women, colonial ideals of domesticity and reproduction were privileged above wage labour opportunities or self-choice in matters of parenthood - shared or otherwise. Whether policies might have worsened or bettered conditions for women is not the question here and would only reiterate the colonial trend of setting a norm on the basis of a self and measuring it against a constructed other; the point here instead is that this group of policies added up to a limitation of female wage opportunities and homogenized women on the basis of domestic roles construed by white colonial men such as Orde Browne and that these homogenized roles were imposed without referenced negotiation. The only identities recognized outside of these roles were those of prostitute and other "undesirables" and were accompanied by a limiting of female wage opportunities such as underground work and night work. This, of course, did not preempt women from resisting the colonial male gaze and accompanying policies. As demonstrated by the women who "pretended" to be wives, women renegotiated the terms on which they could exist whether colonial authorities agreed with it or not. Nevertheless, reproduction and domesticity were seen as prime solutions to both the continuation of new workers and the productivity of existing ones and their moral well-being. Concomitantly, policies were introduced to enhance the existence of these roles while limiting other possibilities of "legitimately being" from the perspective of colonial authorities such as Orde Browne.

Somewhat novel, or at least more prominent, in the Northern Rhodesia report, was Orde Browne's shift from the sole control of women's and men's bodies, to the extended control of older children. As already stated, education was recommended for "boys" and "girls," with an

[457] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 86.
[458] Ibid.

eye on making them, respectively, future productive workers and good domestics, the missionaries in the Belgian Congo taken as a guideline.[459] Besides education, fears of the development of criminal youth motivated Orde Browne to recommend that children of an older age should be sent back to the villages to maintain both moral behaviour in the compounds and a continued link with "tribal villages." The lack of the "normal structure of tribal life" was hailed as reason for sending children back, the argument being that without the presence of "elders and the dominance of tradition" children "tend to grow up undisciplined and disorderly."[460] There was the fear of a "large juvenile population without occupation or control" who found "amusement as they can."[461] Again the "native village" was presented as the romanticized place of perfect morality, where children should be sent if they were not to become criminals:

> In native villages this would not be the case, since almost all tribes have very definite arrangements for training the young people according to their ideas. The authority of the elders and the weight of tribal tradition form guiding influences which serve as an introduction to adult life. In the compound or in the native quarter of a town this element is absent; old people are rare, the tribal tradition is non-existent, and the father is probably away at work for the greater part of the day. The risk of young people growing up vicious and uncontrollable is therefore considerable.[462]

While married employees were therefore considered desirable, and trained "wives" and "mothers" were deemed beneficial to the productivity labourers, their older children now became part of the group of potential undesirables whose bodies and minds should be controlled were they not to end up in the same class as prostitutes.[463] Families, in other words, were not safe from Orde Browne's idealizing and concomitant policy-recommending. At every level, mind and body

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[459] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraphs 231-233.
[460] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 85.
[461] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 227.
[462] Ibid.
[463] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 199.

were first subject to the construction of an ideal and then to the formulation of policies that were thought to enable the reality of that ideal.

CREDIBILITY AND JUSTIFICATION

The justification of recommended policies and the proposed extensive collection of information happened in several ways; the 1935 riots specifically and a fear of labour unrest in general was used as an example of the importance of collecting information and formulating policies that enabled high levels of control and supervision, information collection was considered scientific and the best basis for determining future policy, these labour policies were argued to be in the best interest of everyone, and, finally, Orde Browne considered himself an expert and argued that there should be more experts to ensure that information collection and policy-making could be done correctly.

The riots of 1935 on the Copperbelt not only led to Orde Browne's appointment following the recommendations of the Native Industrial Labour Advisory Board and the concomitant endorsement of the Northern Rhodesian Governor, they also formed a key argument for Orde Browne in the legitimization of recommendations for new labour policies. Orde Browne attributed the riots to a lack of qualitative communication between Colonial Authorities and labourers and stated that improved collection and dissemination of information could have prevented them from happening:

> There is also an absence of any machinery for maintaining contact with the labour market generally. Events in the distant villages may have most important repercussions in the compounds; an alteration […] may be distorted and misrepresented to men in employment in such a manner that they are very seriously upset. This actually occurred in the riots of 1935, when an unexplained change in tax was largely responsible for the trouble; the enquiry emphasized the unfortunate lack of contact between the Administration and the workers which might have eliminated the misconceptions. The steady collection and dissemination of such information is thus very necessary.[464]

[464] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 95.

To prevent problems associated with labour migration, such as the 1935 riots, it was considered necessary to collect more information and create better policies. A past situation of labour unrest was therefore used as a legitimization for the future collection of information and policy-making.

A "lack" of "machinery" for the supervision and control of labour migration was taken as a short-cut to trouble and Orde Browne promoted an increase in gathering information and mechanisms for control of labour migration.[465] The absence of statistics and surveys was seen as unscientific and leading to no more than "a vague guess" when it came to the supervision of labour migration.[466] Orde Browne claimed that labour problems could not be solved if there was no consultation of multiple parties, no subsequent policy-making, and no development of "efficient machinery"; "satisfactory settlement of the problem will only be attainable through consultation with all concerned, with subsequent adoption of a definite policy to be energetically pursued. […] the trouble lies in the lack of efficient machinery to deal with the primary problems."[467] The Rand was used as an example of how things should be done; "the actual conditions on the Rand itself […] may be described as excellent in every way. Scientific study of native welfare has been carried out to an extent without parallel, and the enormous machinery for the supervision and control of some 300,000 workers functions with extreme efficiency."[468] Such a situation was considered both absent and desirable in Northern Rhodesia. Orde Browne argued that the "large wage-seeking exodus" in Northern Rhodesia took place without "supervision and assistance, and is therefore under most unfavourable conditions."[469] He also stated that there was an "urgent need for information on which to base estimates of the future requirements of the industry," and that "at present there is no possibility of securing more than a vague guess which

[465] See for example; NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 8.
[466] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 96.
[467] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 218.
[468] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 177.
[469] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 181.

has no basis on a combined study of the progress of industrialization."[470] To ensure an improvement in the conditions and control of labour migration, Orde Browne reasoned that information and policies were necessary if problems, such as labour unrest, were to be prevented; "I submit that without such information, statistics, and detailed studies no adequate grounds exist on which to found the far-sighted policy necessary for the development of the country."[471] Labour migration was portrayed as inevitable, and since there was no preventing it, Orde Browne argued, it should be guided to take place in the best possible manner. He suggested, for example, that there should therefore be "(a) a detailed record of the Emigrant, either as contract or otherwise, (b) the limitation of the period of engagement if possible to a year or even less, (c) the provision of the necessary means for travelling, with food and accommodation on the way, and (d) deferred pay."[472] These policies, supervision, and control were presented as being in the best interest of everyone - authorities, industry and the labourers themselves. Information and supervision were portrayed as basic pre-conditions for increased profitability of labour migration, good working conditions, and governmental prevention of "deteriorated" "native" conditions; "a full share of the financial benefit should be secured, while the worker himself should have the best procurable conditions and the native community be duly safeguarded against deterioration."[473]

Finally, Orde Browne argued that the best person to review and direct the collection of information and the development of policies such as deferred pay of migrants was an appointed labour commissioner and labour officer. The collection of information and formulation and enactment of policies was seen to be legitimated if done by an appointed expert who was to be a mirror image of Orde Browne. He argued that this would not only lead to improvements of the labour situation, but also enable progress - a linear idea of progress used here alongside the image of the expert to give credibility to Orde Browne's recommended actions and

[470] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 96.
[471] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 305.
[472] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 154.
[473] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 181.

appointments. Orde Browne wrote that the appointment of labour officers would solve all the problems he had put forward in his report, thereby stopping "degeneration" and creating a platform for "progress" in matters of labour migration:

> 129. I believe that the remedy lies largely in Government action by means of special officers; […] A Labour Officer paying frequent visits to all the properties in his area would, I believe, gradually have an appreciable effect in raising the standard of performance, and once the existing degeneration can be stopped and improvement substituted, steady progress should be possible. Such efforts will require time and patience, but the result should fully justify them.[474]

Orde Browne believed appointed experts would create a better situation for everyone, that it would both create "increases in revenue," improve "native welfare," and take the strain of an overworked government thereby "remedying to some extent the admitted existing shortage of staff."[475] He claimed that it would also mean that "the employee will find his needs and shortcomings equally understood."[476] Orde Browne took time to set out what he thought the qualifications of this officer should be:

> 293. Considering the qualifications and characteristics of the candidate I summarize these as follows. He should be of similar educational and social status as that of the administrative officer. He should possess as wide an experience of Africa as possible and should also have personal knowledge as planter, manager, or similar position, of the difficulties connected with native labour, and he will require a keen sympathy with, and knowledge of, the African.[477]

Note again how education, but also a combination of practical and theoretical knowledge were presented as key characteristics. This demonstrates the overlap between the basis on which Orde Browne was considered and portrayed as an expert and his consequent recommendations of the

[474] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 129.
[475] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraphs 301-314.
[476] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 282.
[477] NA, CO 795/100/3, Native Labour, N. Rhodesia, 1937, (a) Suggested Labour Department, (b) Supervision of Labour, Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia, Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, OBE, 1938, paragraph 293.

appointment of new experts. The new experts, in other words, were to be versions of Orde Browne himself and these qualifications would grant them, as it had granted Orde Browne, credibility in taking in a position of observation, recommendation, and control in matters of labour. In granting them a basis to act on, in other words, Orde Browne reiterated the legitimacy of his own function.

CONCLUSION

Upon return to the Colonial Office, Orde Browne took his gendered imaginings of ideal labour migrants and policies with him and formulated them as official recommendations in an empire-wide circulated Report on colonial labour in Northern Rhodesia. His and others belief in his expertise was granted the authority of a colonial appointment from which Orde Browne could make recommendations that were directly given to those in the highest realms of colonial authority. His assumptions about colonial men and women, in other words, were no longer limited to conference audiences and informal inter-institutional correspondence, but directly transmitted to policy-makers. This gave Orde Browne's discursive constructions the chance to live in colonial legislative books and thereby impact the lives of those he so violently homogenized and simplified. Within his Northern Rhodesia report, Europeans continued to be depicted as figures of authority, experts and centres of legitimate observation and decision-making. It was with these men that Orde Browne corresponded and whom he referenced in his report; they were considered authoritative sources while men and women of a different race and a lower class were excluded from these explicit references. Colonized men, were considered an important object of study and potential source, but were not referenced as figures of knowledge and authority - rare examples being chiefs recognized as authorities by colonial authorities. While labourers might have been interviewed, this was not considered worthy of notation within the report. Men in the colonies, instead, were portrayed as resources and the report recommended how to most efficiently exploit them, how their bodies and minds should be controlled in order to increase profitability and efficiency. Invasive policies such as medical inspections were recommended with the aim of increasing profit and effective exploitation. So-called "cripples,"

consequently, were considered undesirable elements of society as they could not contribute to it through their labour. Similarly, women were excluded from the realm of wage labour as they were deemed inferior labourers. The Northern Rhodesia report recommended that night and underground labour be abolished and that women should not work before and after giving birth. Women were only welcome within the realm of labour migration if they were deemed proper, and healthy wives and mothers. Orde Browne recommended medical inspections of women's bodies and the giving of courses on maternity, cooking and cleaning in order to secure the presence of solely "good" and "undiseased" wives and mothers in the compounds. This control was extended to older children, who were recommended to be sent back to villages at an older age to maintain "tribal" connections and authority and prevent them from becoming delinquents - another feared "undesirable element." Examples are endless as this chapter has demonstrated, but what remains the most important message from these examples is the discursive violence enacted by Orde Browne at this point in his career. He created ideal men and women based on assumptions about gender and race, that simplified a diversity of identities, ways of being, and wants. Orde Browne privileged characteristics and identities he thought were important in the context of labour migration and the exploitation of labour migrants by industry and colonial authorities. Attached to this homogenization and thereby dehumanization of men and women in his Northern Rhodesia report were the endless policy recommendations.

The Northern Rhodesia report thereby demonstrates the importance of understanding pre-existing assumptions of people like Orde Browne who wrote these types of reports. Such an understanding illuminates how assumptions such as women being inferior workers and men being valued on basis of their productive labour only, were integral to the reports and the recommendations attached to them. While these could and were resisted and did not dictate reality, they were influential in the way Orde Browne perceived of and desired to create reality and in how he recommended others to create and enact policies. Orde Browne's constructions and recommendations were moreover given credibility through the idea that these policies were in the best interest of everyone and a belief in expertise. The emphasis on expertise and the racial and gendered imagining of who could be an expert, meant that people who were perceived of as being outside of those gendered and racialized categories of expertise and authority - such as male labourers and women thought to be wives - would have a hard time finding recognition as authoritative voice. Orde Browne, in other words, both observed and attempted to create a world

through a particular lens and this was a lens that excluded women from having wage labour opportunities or an authoritative voice with which to protest their construed homogenized identity in Orde Browne's colonial discourse.

CONCLUSION

The accidental portraiture by Orde Browne of a woman and child on the compound at Johannesburg encapsulates the question and conclusion of this thesis; how did sir Granville St John Orde Browne imagine the ideal colonial labourer in correspondence and reports written in the course of his career, 1885-1945? How were men and women represented or omitted within this imagining and why? The subsequent research has demonstrated that on the matter of colonial labour, Orde Browne conceived of men and women differently; men were represented as bodies to be most efficiently exploited through a normalization and enforcement of able-bodiedness, women instead were valued not on the basis of their able-bodiedness but their ascribed morality (either single and delinquent or married and morally magnificent) and reproductive labour. Women were thought to be more conservative and traditional than men, lesser quality labourers and unfit to face the challenges of industrial labour as independents, but especially qualified to function as moral anchors to male labour migrants in the roles of wife and mother. The pernicious prostitute, juvenile delinquent, male cripple or derailed single labour migrant were constructed as problems to be solved through ensuring the presence of the married migrant and his perfect traditional wife and future mother of new potential labourers. The truthfulness of these categories and representations was not questioned, the biased stereotypes instead being taken as useful points of departure for the formulation and recommendation of labour (migration) policies. Such representations were based on and circulated through personal and professional (information) exchanges within the colonial office, other institutions such as the British Museum and the ILO, and officials working in various imperial spheres such as the Belgian Congo and Portuguese Angola. They were moreover perceived as credible representations and - later in his career - recommendations due to the idea that they were presented as based on “scientific” methods such as surveys and the idea that acting on such constructions would ensure profits would be greatest, control would be best, and labour conditions would be improved. Orde Browne worked from the idea that the best policies could be formulated if they were based on “scientific evidence” and the privileging of men’s ability to work and women’s ability to reproduce and function as morally perfect wives and mothers. Consequently female wage labour opportunities were recommended against and excluded as a discursive possibility, while medical inspections of male and female

bodies were suggested as effective ways of ensuring the fitness of men and the absence of venereal diseases in the case of women. Labourers' own opinions on these representations and consequent policy recommendations were not referenced in Orde Browne's writings and even their open resistance was not referred to as such but as "unrest" or "disturbances" in a system that was not questioned but simply seen as in need of perfecting. Frequently referenced sources were European institutions such as the Institut Colonial, ILO Draft Conventions and Orde Browne's peers, who were represented and used as authoritative sources and places of power. Credibility, in other words, was not thought to be gained by talking with labourers and referencing them, but by talking about labour with the people and collectives considered most qualified and by following their guidelines in the collection and presentation of information. Due to the fact that Orde Browne thought a person's qualifications stemmed from them being educated, male, and white, the selection was very narrow and demonstrates how power and discourse were circulated through an old boy's network of conservative white men.

What this demonstrates is that the analysis of discourse, the networked reality of a person's career, and the connectivity between various spheres of governance and colonies, when set side to side, show a complex engagement between the spatial and temporal span of a person's life, language, power, and social networks. In other words, the various forms of connectivity demonstrated in imperial history, gender theory, bureaucratic histories and post-colonial critiques become increasingly productive and insightful when themselves connected. In this way it is demonstrated how information was gathered and circulated across multiple spheres of governance - both imperial and institutional, how and why assumptions were created, constructed and circulated, and how, over time, such discursive forms of possibility, impossibility, exclusion and inclusion became normalized - thereby hiding their once discriminatory origins. It also demonstrates that while area studies are essential in their high quality contextual analysis, it is absolutely paramount to keep an eye on the almost ephemeral quality of these demarcations when a network perspective is taken into account. At the same time, when looking at a network it is important to follow the connections even when they lead you outside of a bigger demarcated space such as "the British Empire." Even within such larger conceptual spaces, one needs to stay alert to the constructedness of such a space and take into account that life-time histories demonstrate the high degree of movement and exchange between now historiographically separated spaces. Finally, this makes it necessary to look at discourse as not just a single and

spatially isolatable thing; much like the people that construed and circulated, certain notions spread in spaces and times we might intellectually have come to perceive of as separate. This undermines the idea that there were spatially isolated "colonial discourses" let alone "a colonial discourse" - as it has been demonstrated that discursive constructions spread along with the people that co-created them. Consequently a need arises to illustrate what sorts of assumptions have been translated into policies in various institutional spheres and it is necessary that institutions such as the ILO, that have long been considered largely separately from colonialism, are scrutinized in terms of their research aims and conventions.

In the first part of Orde Browne's career, in military and local administrative postings, he developed the idea that African women were especially conservative and more likely to be negatively impacted by being connected to "modern" life. Men, on the other hand, were from early on portrayed as potentially wonderful sources of labour, if only a proper selection and treatment of their bodies could be made. From the Bambatha rebellion in South Africa to the large scale exploitations of labour in the First World War to the development of a labour department in the mandated area of Tanganyika Territory, Orde Browne picked up on social connections, notions of racial and cultural superiority, and the idea that "proper" labour policies in the Colonial context were imperative to a control of and efficient exploitation of labour migrants. Within this sapling of colonial labour constructions made by Orde Browne, women were from the very start excluded as wage labour participants, instead assumed to belong to the sphere of domesticity as conceived of by Orde Browne. While both men and women of colour were perceived of as inferior to Europeans, women were considered even less useful than men of colour, who were targeted as potential resources. Once Orde Browne left the colonial office and spread his institutional wings, he carried this idea with him and throughout his writings in the ILO and other missions, colonial labour was always represented as male and as a resource, women popping up only in relation to motherhood, the desirability of wives and undesirability of prostitution and venereal diseases. As time passed and Orde Browne's status of expert on colonial labour became consolidated, his representations of men and women in the context of colonial labour became more and more normalized as facts more than opinions. This veneer of fact and objectivity was explicitly used upon Orde Browne's return to the Colonial Office, a movement again facilitated by his personal and professional network. His opinions were presented as matter of fact truths, legitimizing policy recommendations that limited female wage labour

opportunities, allowed for invasive treatments of male and female bodies, and argued for a colonial control of motherhood, spousal arrangements and sexual relations. This was then circulated throughout the Colonial Office and shared by Orde Browne to people within his network. What this development shows, is that assumptions and connections developed early in his career travelled with him as he developed into the role of expert. Once granted an official position of authority, as labour advisor to the Secretary of State of the Colonial Office, such assumptions were formulated as formal recommendations. Orde Browne's privileging of certain aspects of men and women in the context of labour migration thereby were circulated not only through the channels of his own network, but through empire wide circulars.

The question remains how Orde Browne's discursive constructions about colonial labour, not only travelled his network in his own time and were translated to spaces other than those they were formulated in, but outlived him and continued to affect the imagined and or normalized possibilities for female and male wage labour. This would be heartily recommended as a follow-up research and relates back to the need to scrutinize carefully institutions such as the ILO that should not be treated separately to colonial discourses and political agendas.

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