

Illustrated Life Rhodesia.

INVESTIGATING THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY
IN UDI PERIOD RHODESIAN ADVERTISING AND PRINT
JOURNALISM.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements and Information	2
Introduction	3
Literature Review	4
Methodology	6
Chapter 1: The Early History of Southern Rhodesia	11
British South African Identity Formation	12
The Gold Rush and the Creation of Rhodesia	15
Early Development of Southern Rhodesia	18
Conclusion	22
Chapter 2: Rhodesia up to the Federation	27
Introduction	28
The Land Apportionment Act	32
The Industrial Conciliation Act	36
The Post-War Boom	37
Chapter 3: Illustrated Life Rhodesia	43
Introduction	44
Overview of Content and Editorial Positions	46
Advertisements and Imagery in ILR	52
Gender in Advertising	52
Domestic Environments and Suburbia	55
Nationalism and Identity	58
Language	60
Race	61
Conclusion	65
Opportunities for Further Research	68
Appendix	72
Bibliography	80

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Anne Marieke van der Wal-Rémy, for all her help in completing this project, as well as all the lecturers and staff of the MA History program in Leiden. I would furthermore like to thank the staff of the Bodleian Library at Oxford University for granting me access to their collection of issues of Illustrated Life Rhodesia, and for all their help during my stay in Oxford. A special thanks is also due to my colleague Sebastian Strohmayr for his help in developing my ideas during our conversations on the subject.

Completed as part of the Master in History Program at Universiteit Leiden, 2018-2019.

Word count: 19,205.

Date: 29/08/19

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Illustrated Life Rhodesia; Investigating the Construction of National Identity in UDI Period Rhodesian Advertising and Print Journalism.

On the 11th of November 1965, the Rhodesian cabinet adopted the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, proclaiming their immediate secession from British control and the establishment of an independent, white-minority ruled nation. The move was the result of a protracted conflict with Britain over the terms under which the country could be granted independence, specifically the prerequisite of a transfer to democratic majority rule. The UDI was considered by Britain to be illegal, and Rhodesia would remain a pariah state under economic sanctions and without international recognition up to its dissolution in 1979. Before and after the state entered into rebellion, it was often commented that white Rhodesians exhibited a form of 'Little Britain' culture, reflecting an exaggerated version of what they considered to be traditional British cultural values. In the context of the late British Empire, this often manifested as a form of ultra-loyalism, in which an idealized conceptualization of said cultural values (often discussed in terms of 'British Standards') were placed at the core of the community's identity and membership of the Empire was seen as under-writing the future survival of the territory as 'white man's country'.¹ From 1965 to 1979, this same ultra-British identity was employed in a discourse of rebellion against that same imperial motherland, often expressed as a rebellion against a declining metropole in the context of decolonization in Africa. The Rhodesians also frequently placed themselves in an anti-communist continuum, in which 'socialist' Britain was abandoning the 'standards of civilisation', leaving it up to them to defend an imperial legacy defined by Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith as 'justice, civilisation and Christianity'.²

This paper will seek to explore the formulation of a national identity in Rhodesia before and during the UDI period, with a particular emphasis on how the state related to concepts of Britishness and how they employed the language of 'standards' in service of a nationalist project. To do so it begins with a survey of Rhodesian history from the original invasion of the territory in 1890 up to the mass

¹ Donal Lowry, 'Rhodesian: 1890-1980' in Bickers, & Bickers, Robert A. (2010). *Settlers and expatriates Britons over the seas* (The Oxford history of the British Empire. Companion series). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.116- 118.

² Law, K. (2017). Pattern, Puzzle, and Peculiarity: Rhodesia's UDI and Decolonisation in Southern Africa. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45(5), p.723.

European immigration after World War II. The first chapter will attempt to establish the importance of Britishness to the original colonisation of the territory, particularly in the contemporary South African context and the conflict between Afrikaners and the recent arrivals from Europe. The second chapter will discuss the second major wave of European immigration, from which the vast majority of white persons resident in the territory during UDI originated. In discussing this post-war influx it will be discussed how the concept of standards was employed by the state to attract and retain these immigrants, connecting the visible, often mundane markers of Britishness to the demographic survival of the community and viability of minority control over the country. In the third chapter, we will examine in depth the magazine 'Illustrated Life Rhodesia' (ILR), a fortnightly publication that ran from 1968 to 1979 as a cultural/current affairs magazine aimed at a white audience. By examining the general content of the magazine and then by discussing in detail the advertisements carried in it, we will hope to gain an idea of the banal forms that national identity took and how these relate to a settler-colonial idea of modernity and history, and specifically how this relates to the British identity of the country's white population.

Literature Review

Recent scholarship has brought interesting new perspectives to the historiography of Rhodesia. A 2015 conference at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein has led to the publication of several articles which explore the UDI period from a more international and post-colonial perspective, with a particular focus on the economic context and the relationship with concurrent events in southern Africa.³ In particular, the role of large businesses and their relationship to the Rhodesian Front has come into focus, with it becoming clear that many in Rhodesian politics doubted the loyalty of businesses with international holdings who were often willing to work with African Nationalists.⁴ Giovanni Arrighi even went so far as to contend that UDI was as much concerned with nationalistic, middle England-style anxieties about big business as it was with African nationalism. Given the RF's relationship to working

³ Kate Law (2017) Pattern, Puzzle, and Peculiarity: Rhodesia's UDI and Decolonisation in Southern Africa, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45:5, 721-728,

⁴ Andrew Cohen & Rory Pilosof (2017) Big Business and White Insecurities at the End of Empire in Southern Africa, c.1961–1977, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45:5, 777-799,

class whites (which was aided by the collapse of the Rhodesian labour party over the issue of segregation, and the basic fact that a powerful labour movement was ultimately impossible without including black workers) the interplay of economics and class will be of interest to any study of Rhodesian nationalism.

Recent years have also seen a new focus on the demographic history of the colony. The white Rhodesians never amounted to more than 4% of the total population, and a great deal of the increase post-war was fuelled by transient workers who would often move on if work ran out. The first censuses to include black people were taken in the early 1960s, and this made clear just how small the minority really was. As a result demographics became an extremely important political issue and source of anxiety for the white Rhodesians, especially the longer term residents of British ancestry.⁵ While it will be important to integrate this sort of research which has seen an upsurge in recent years, I feel it is important to avoid an overly deterministic approach by integrating the demographic anxiety of the Rhodesians into the wider context of political issues in the colony.

The recent book 'Unpopular Sovereignty' by Professor Luise White is of particular interest to this survey due to its focus on the cultural world of white Rhodesia and how the population related to whiteness through a specifically British lens, and expressed their national identity in a similar language.⁶ Professor White's work examined many of the issues that we will be focusing on in this paper, and in writing this the intention is to add to her work by focusing more specifically on a single publication in detail, rather than on the political/governmental perspectives that she employed. The book 'Rhodesians Never Die' by Ian Hancock and Peter Godwin, though it focuses on a later period, has also been of interest because of its exploration of culture and identity.⁷ Peter Godwin's own memoir of growing up in Rhodesia has also been of use as a cultural document, one of many personal memoirs published about

⁵ Brownell, J. (2011). *The collapse of Rhodesia : Population demographics and the politics of race* (International library of African studies ; 28 (NL-LeOCL)147971594). London: I.B. Tauris.

⁶ White, L. (2015). *Unpopular sovereignty : Rhodesian independence and African decolonization*. Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press.

⁷ Godwin, Hancock, and Hancock, Ian. (1993). *'Rhodesians Never Die' : The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia C. 1970-1980*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford UP, Print.

Rhodesia since the state's dissolution.⁸ On the topic of culture, the work of the author Doris Lessing has also been of use as an insight into the culture of the white minority population, particularly her own memoir/travelogue 'Going Home' (though this was written before the UDI period).⁹ In trying to understand the African experience and their relationship to the colonial government, the work of historian and journalist Lawrence Vambe has been very useful, particularly for the first chapter.¹⁰

In general, it can be said that new perspectives on the history of Zimbabwe before it gained independence have emerged over the last twenty years, incorporating new approaches emanating from developments in post-colonial theory, settler-colonial studies and nationalism studies. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to our understanding specifically of the cultural developments that made Rhodesia so different from its immediate neighbours, and ultimately made its strange course from 1965 possible. ILR itself has not been extensively discussed elsewhere, nor have there been any in depth studies of visual advertising as an expression of national identity in Rhodesia.

Methodological Approach.

In the first chapter, I will approach the development of Rhodesian nationalism from the perspective of Benedict Anderson's concept of Creole Nationalism, which he used to refer to the nationalist movements that developed in the Americas among European settler populations who felt culturally close to their ancestral homes but articulated a perceived victimhood and inequality relative to their homelands through nationalist, separatist movements. The white Rhodesians at times aspired to the status of the Old Dominions, hoping to follow the path of Canada, Australia and New Zealand from responsible government to full independence within the commonwealth, making a comparison between their concept of nationality and that of other European settler states relevant.¹¹ In Latin America Anderson also argued that the initial move to break away from Spain was driven as much by fear of the non-white majorities in their own countries (i.e., the fear of slave revolts) as it was by conflict with the

⁸ Godwin, P. (1996). *Mukiwa : A white boy in Africa*. London [etc.]: Picador.

⁹ Lessing, D., & Somers, J. (1957). *Going home*. London: Michael Joseph.

¹⁰ Vambe, Lessing, Somers, Lessing, Doris, & Somers, Jane. (1972). *An ill-fated people : Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*. London: Heinemann.

¹¹ Carl Watts (2008) Britain, the Old Commonwealth and the Problem of Rhodesian Independence, 1964–65, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36:1, 75-99.

colonial mainland.¹² Anderson's approach to nationalism, particularly in the relationship between colonies and the metropole, can provide an interesting framework for the study of Rhodesian nationalism.

Furthermore, nationalism studies can here be used as a model to justify the study of material like print journalism and advertising as a form of 'Banal Nationalism', meaning the everyday expressions of national identity that were highlighted by Michael Billig following on from Benedict Anderson.¹³ Everyday cultural objects like advertisements or film reviews can be seen as part of the wider national project, and inform a people's sense of identity by placing them in a cultural space that reaffirms the state's identity and legitimacy. In this specific context, the self-consciously British elements of this identity will be related to the field of British World studies, a field of Atlantic studies that seeks to examine British identity existing beyond the national boundaries of the United Kingdom and how those identifying as such conceptualised Britishness and related to the imperial metropole.¹⁴ As a balance to these theoretical models which largely focus on cultural factors, the approach of more materialist scholars like the previously mentioned Marxist historian Giovanni Arrighi and demographic/economic historians such as Josiah Brownell and Munhamu Botsio Utete will be employed to try and connect this process of identity formation to material conditions, if not as a determinant then certainly as an important factor.¹⁵

In approaching ILR and the advertisements that will be studied in chapter three, the field of semiotics has been employed along the theoretical model devised by Roland Barthes in his seminal essay

¹² Anderson, Benedict (1991). *Imagined Communities; Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Verso), p.48-49.

¹³ Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London [etc.]: Sage.

¹⁴ Bridge, C., & Fedorowich, K. (2003). *The British world : Diaspora, culture, and identity*. London [etc.]: Frank Cass.

Donal Lowry, 'Rhodesian: 1890-1980' in Bickers, & Bickers, Robert A. (2010). *Settlers and expatriates Britons over the seas* (The Oxford history of the British Empire. Companion series). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Canny, Pagden, Canny, Nicholas, & Pagden, Anthony. (1987). *Colonial identity in the Atlantic world, 1500-1800*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

¹⁵ Arrighi, G. (1973). 'International corporations, labor aristocracies, and economic development in tropical Africa', in *Essays on the political economy of Africa* / by G. Arrighi and J.S. Saul, p. 105-151.

Brownell, J. (2011). *The collapse of Rhodesia : Population demographics and the politics of race* (International library of African studies ; 28 (NL-LeOCL)147971594). London: I.B. Tauris.

Utete, C. (1979). *The road to Zimbabwe : The political economy of settler colonialism, national liberation and foreign intervention*. Washington: University press of America.

'Myth Today'.¹⁶ This approach seeks to analyse media as a form mythology, presupposing that said media contains ideology inherently and that this ideology reflects the nature of the dominant hegemony in a society. The imagery, text and content of a piece of media is approached as a form of language (or meta-language), with the totality of the object under study creating a 'sign' in the Saussurean sense. By analysing the media as a coherent whole and trying to understand what it seeks to express in the context in which it was intended to be consumed, we can begin to approach the national identity that forms the linguistic framework in which such a sign has meaning, essentially reconstructing the context that imparts meaning to the object. In relation to advertising specifically, as Bonsu has discussed there is a wide consensus that such media reflects dominant ideology, and can be analysed as such.¹⁷ As Oyedele and Minor further argued, there has been a wide consensus that such rigorous tools as semiotic analysis are necessary to discuss material such as advertisements, which are so reliant on cultural context to impart information and employ such a complex visual language to communicate with their viewer.¹⁸ It is also important to consider the advertisements in the context of general developments in the theory of advertising in the 1960s, when the general theory moved from imparting information to enable the consumer to fulfil needs towards the idea of creating a desire through advertising a product in such a way as to engender a need for it in the consumer.¹⁹ In the contemporary African context this must also be considered in the light of a cultural discourse which presented western consumer goods as a component of the capitalistic 'civilising mission', in which the consumption of goods was an important indicator of the all-important civilizational standards which in the Rhodesian context was intimately related to discourses on citizenship and democratic rights.²⁰

¹⁶ Barthes, R., 'Myth Today' in *Mythologies* (1957).

¹⁷ Samuel K. Bonsu (2009) Colonial Images in Global Times: Consumer Interpretations of Africa and Africans in Advertising, *Consumption Markets & Culture*, vol. 12/1, pp. 1-7.

¹⁸ Adesegun Oyedele & Michael S. Minor, Consumer Culture Plots in Television Advertising from Nigeria and South Africa, *Journal of Advertising*, vol. 41/1 2012, pp. 94-95.

¹⁹ Posel, Deborah. (2018). Getting Inside the Skin of the Consumer: Race, Market Research and the Consumerist Project in Apartheid South Africa. *Itinerario : Bulletin of the Leyden Centre for the History of European Expansion.*, 42(1), 120-138.

²⁰ Burke, T. (1993). Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Colonial Zimbabwe, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, pp.249-250.

White, L. (2015). *Unpopular sovereignty*, pp.62-63.

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Chapter 1: The Early History of Southern Rhodesia.

- i. British South African Identity Formation
- ii. The Gold Rush and the Creation of Rhodesia
- iii. Early Development of Southern Rhodesia
- iv. Conclusion

i. British-South African Identity Formation.

Anglophone colonists began arriving in South Africa from the early 1820s, but the population remained relatively small compared to the Dutch speaking population and limited to the coastal Cape and Natal regions until the beginning of the mineral revolution in the 1870s. Between 1873 and 1883, 25,000 mostly British colonists migrated into South Africa following the diamond boom, beginning a series of immigration waves fuelled by the growth of the mining industry and the expansion of direct British power inland.²¹ The growth of the British presence was matched by the gradual migration of the Afrikaner peoples into the interior, beginning with the first 'Great Trek' of the 1830s and continuing through the existence of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR, 1852-1902) as the Dutch speaking settlers sought to escape the politically ascendant Anglophone minority.²² The period was characterised by deep demographic and cultural anxiety on both sides, as the British settlers feared that the rising Afrikaner nationalism would result in their becoming a minority in an Afrikaner dominated state.²³ While it might be imagined that the white settlers of European origin would have exhibited a shared identity and consciousness of their position as a settler minority in a majority black country, in practice the British settlers largely expressed a distinct identity in opposition to the Afrikaners.²⁴ They identified strongly with a conception of Britishness focused on the monarchy, the English language, an Anglo-Saxon 'racial destiny', and a strong sense that their position in Africa was underwritten and ensured by their place within the British Empire. This informed a distinct variation of Loyalism which self-consciously identified with the Loyalist tradition in the 'Old Dominions' and Ulster.²⁵ The Anglophone settlers remained distinct in their sense of identity and in their priorities of loyalty well into the 20th century, and the developments that led to the creation of the two Rhodesias must be understood in the context of the political and demographic struggle between these two groups that characterised the late 19th century in Southern Africa.

²¹ Saunders, C., 'Southern Africa, 1795-1910' in Louis, & Louis, Wm. Roger. (1998). *The Oxford history of the British Empire*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press, p.598 and 606.

²² Ibid, p.601.

²³ Thompson, A. (2003). The Languages of Loyalism in Southern Africa, c . 1870-1939. *The English Historical Review*, 118(477), p.623.

²⁴ John Lambert (2009) 'An Unknown People': Reconstructing British South African Identity, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37:4, p.603.

²⁵ Thompson, The Language of Loyalism, p. 629.

The concept of Britishness in this context requires some further attention. Throughout the various waves of Anglophone immigration the majority of the settlers were English, but it does not appear that the smaller groups (Scottish, Welsh, Irish) exhibited any great discomfort being identified as British, or simply as English, and more politically neutral terms like White English Speaking South African did not come into common usage until the 1950s.²⁶ These settlers shared a common language and by in large shared a sense of British Imperial identity that was defined in opposition to the groups they encountered, primarily African and Afrikaner but also with the Portuguese to the North. Even into the 20th century up to a third of the British South Africans had been born in Britain, and as whole they retained exceptionally close contact with a metropole that even second or third generation settlers tended to define as 'home'.²⁷ Regular shipments of newspapers, letters and books from Britain kept this connection strong, and Anglican/Presbyterian Churches and regional societies helped to maintain a collective memory of the homeland. This was a concept of Englishness or Britishness defined above all else by the maintenance of 'standards', expressed as an opposition to the perceived rusticity of the Afrikaners and the supposed savagery of the Native Africans.²⁸ These standards were highly masculine and bourgeois, with strictly delineated roles for men and women focusing on a conception of domestic and masculine standards that had to be maintained in an alien environment.²⁹ In the absence of a landed gentry to enforce the class system, this was a specifically middle class concept of British identity which emphasised the parliamentary and constitutional tradition.³⁰ This followed a common model of settler Britishness in which social standards (often defined negatively in relation to the other) went along with highly visible markers, such as architecture, flags, war memorials, Anglican churches and British-modelled institutions of governance.³¹ Similar models of identity can be found in the dominion territories such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada, but within South Africa it took on a greater political significance for a group highly conscious of their status as a minority within the minority. For the British

²⁶ Lambert, J. *An Unknown People*, pp.600-601.

²⁷ *Ibid*, pp.604-605.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.602. Lambert also sees this as intrinsically tied to the Anglophone settlers' alienation from the Afrikaners' experience of the Great Trek.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.603.

³⁰ Saul Dubow (2009) *How British was the British World? The Case of South Africa*, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37:1, p.7.

³¹ Lambert, J., (2000) *South African British? Or Dominion South Africans? The Evolution of an Identity in the 1910s and 1920s*, *South African Historical Journal*, 43:1, p.209.

South Africans, Loyalty to the empire was essential to ensuring their political dominance and their cultural survival, and for the Imperial government their growing presence in the colony was seen as vital to safeguarding British control and dominance over the Afrikaners.³²

This being said, the British South Africans were not a homogenous group. They were separated along lines of class and especially between urban-industrial immigrants in the Cape Colony and later in the Transvaal, and rural-‘Pioneer’ settlers in Natal and later Southern Rhodesia.³³ In many areas British settlers did integrate with the Afrikaners, and over time many began to develop a stronger sense of South African Nationalism in opposition to their Imperial Loyalty. As early as the 1870s Cape Colony politician John Merriman was describing himself publicly as ‘a colonist first, then an Englishman’, a position that prefigures the rise of settler nationalism in the context of the Responsible Government debates in the early 20th century.³⁴ We can relate this to recent developments in the field of British World Studies as described by Saul Dubow who has argued for a distinction between;

‘...the overt projection of British power from abroad (imperialism) and the assertion of British influence by local actors whose affinities with their new countries of settlement overlapped with their sense of ‘home’ (colonialism).’³⁵

If we accept these definitions we can begin to identify a dialogue that occurs between colony and metropole, in which a sense of shared identity that is initially associated with political unity can develop into an assertion of identity that purports to maintain the cultural affinity while explicitly rejecting direct political association. Over time the attachment of the settlers to the homeland becomes more complex as the reality of the home country comes to differ significantly from the settlers’ memory/conception of it. From an early point the British South Africans associated Britain with a rural idyll, and over time they came to view this as a lost world which they sought to recreate in their new

³² Lambert, J., *South African British?* P.202.

The Victorian Imperial Theorist James Anthony Froude provides a useful description of the late Imperial dream of a ‘perfect commonwealth’ of Britain, Ireland and a new world of Anglophone settler nations, a new empire underwritten by the planting of loyal populations, in James Anthony Froude, (1886) *Oceana*. G., & Publisher: Longman, p.14-15.

³³ Thompson, *The Language of Loyalty*, p.622.

³⁴ Dubow, *How British was the British World?* P.6.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p.7.

surroundings.³⁶ Over time, their attachment to a nostalgic, bourgeois/ruralistic concept of Britishness alienated them from the country that they professed such intense loyalty to. The process was reciprocated as British sensibilities came to see the settlers as rustic, provincial, and later as incurably racist. The curious result was that by the 20th century British visitors to Rhodesia, which was so proud of its 'British civilisation', commonly observed that it felt like an imitation or parody of an imagined middle-English past, one that felt either horrifying or comforting depending on the observer's own political inclinations.³⁷

ii. The Gold Rush and the Creation of Rhodesia

The discovery of gold at Witwatersrand in 1886 presented immense opportunities and challenges for Paul Kruger's ZAR. It provided the financial security that the republic desperately needed to maintain its independence from the Cape Colony government, but it also led to an unprecedented influx of African and British immigrants into the Transvaal.³⁸ The British immigrants, known as *Uitlanders*, retained their cultural distinctiveness from the Afrikaners and posed a challenge to their independent status, particularly as British mining magnates grew in power.³⁹ Cecil Rhodes, newly elected premier of the Cape Colony, saw the *Uitlanders* as a potential tool in his wider project to contain the ZAR and bring it under imperial control. He used the supposed expansionist ambitions of the republic as an argument for the annexation and colonisation of the African polities to their north, specifically the territory of the Ndebele king Inkos'uLobengula Khumalo (hereafter referred to as Lobengula) and the region occupied by the Shona language group.⁴⁰ This area had long been subject to mineral speculation, which may have been informed by the association of the Ophir/King Solomon myth with the Great Zimbabwe ruins.⁴¹ Rhodes and others were confident that the region north of the Limpopo

³⁶ Lamber, J., *An Unknown People*, p.605.

³⁷ White, L. (2015). *Unpopular sovereignty : Rhodesian independence and African decolonization*. Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, p.13 and p.105.

³⁸ Saunders, C., 'Southern Africa, 1795-1910', p.609.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p.615.

⁴⁰ Headlam, C., *The Race for the Interior in Rose, Newton, Benians, Rose, John Holland, Newton, A.P., & Benians, E.A. (1929). The Cambridge history of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.525 -531.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.542.

would prove as rich in gold deposits as Witwatersrand, and they believed that a British colony there would encircle the ZAR and ensure imperial hegemony over southern Africa.

In 1888 Rhodes' representatives had secured a treaty and a series of mineral concessions with King Lobengula which formed the basis for their claim to the lands then occupied by the various Shona speaking peoples to his east. The validity of the entire endeavour was based on Lobengula's claim of lordship over the MaShona, which became part of a colonial ideological construct which portrayed the MaShona as a peaceful, childlike people, in need of 'protection' from the aggressive, imperialistic Ndebele.⁴² As a Bulawayo diarist put it, 'No one likes the Mashonas (sic), dirty, cowardly lot. Matabele (Ndebele) bloodthirsty devils but a fine type'.⁴³ This formulation has been hotly contested by the MaShona themselves, in particular by Lawrence Vambe, who concluded from extensive interviews within his own community in the 1950s that none of the 'great Shona fraternity had ever been a subject race of the Ndebele.'⁴⁴ He argued that Rhodes and Lobengula had both misrepresented the reality for their own benefit. Lobengula believed he could trade away the sovereignty of the Shona while gaining an alliance with the Cape Colony, while Rhodes found it useful to create a proto-typical good natives/bad natives dichotomy to present his invasion as an essentially humanitarian act (this could be compared to King Leopold's famous employment of the Arab Slave trade construct to justify his annexation of the Congo). For the Shona, the result was 'the biggest disaster and curse in the entire history of their national life.'⁴⁵

After securing the mineral concession Rhodes set about obtaining a Royal charter in London. This period had seen a revival of the older chartered company colonisation model in the British Empire, and this was the model Rhodes intended to pursue. Despite some resistance within the Colonial Office and an appeal from King Lobengula to the Queen, the Royal Charter was given and the British South

Also, contemporary newspaper reports occasionally referred to Mashonaland as the area of King Solomon's Mines, often in reference to the Great Zimbabwe ruins, see 'Roman Coins found in Mashonaland', *New York Times* (1857-1922); New York, N.Y. [New York, N.Y.]24 June 1894: 4

⁴² Ranger, T.O. (1967). *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97: A Study in African Resistance*, Evanstown; Northwestern University Press, p.2.

Headlam, C., *The Race for the Interior*, p.543.

We can see another contemporary expression of this *cassius belli* in 'The defeat of Lobengula', *New York Times* (1857-1922); New York, N.Y. [New York, N.Y.]26 Nov 1893: 4

⁴³Ranger, T.O, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*, p.3.

⁴⁴ Vambe, L., (1972). *An ill-fated people: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*. London: Heinemann, p.60.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p.58.

Africa Company (BSAC) was established in 1889.⁴⁶ The fact that Rhodesia was established through a company rather than an extension of the Cape Colony state was to prove important in the development of the settler community, as it allowed them to argue that they had never been under the direct control of the British government or the Cape Colony. It would also have immediate implications once the poor financial prospects of the BSAC became clear in the coming years.

In June of the following year, F.C. Selous formed and led the 'Pioneer Column' that would become the foundational myth of the Rhodesian state. With two hundred armed settlers recruited from the Cape and five hundred BSAC police officers, he successfully invaded the Shona territory and established a camp at the base of Harare hill, which would become Fort Salisbury.⁴⁷ The column encountered no resistance and experienced few problems crossing a territory that Selous knew well. As Lawrence Vambe tells it, the Shona considered these arrivals to be a curiosity, and did not perceive any immediate threat. As he put it, 'a more friendly welcome to any occupying power it would be difficult to find in the annals of history!'⁴⁸ Nonetheless, this endeavour would become foundational to Rhodesian nationalism, with figures like Selous, Rhodes and Dr Leander Jameson held up as semi-mythical, pioneer founding fathers. In South Africa, the collective memory of the migrations and the Great Trek had separated the Afrikaner settlers from the British, but now the Rhodesians would begin to develop an analogous narrative around their own creation.

Perhaps realising Lobengula's miscalculation, the Ndebele rose up in rebellion in 1893.⁴⁹ This gave Rhodes the opportunity to complete his annexation of their territory, which was proving urgent as the gold deposits in the Shona land had already proven disappointing and the BSAC needed to revive investor confidence.⁵⁰ Lobengula was defeated and killed, and a Royal Sanction in 1894 confirmed the company's authority over the entirety of the territory. The massacre of the Ndebele armies and the destruction of their political institutions now enabled mass settlement across the territory and the

⁴⁶ Headlam, C., *The Race for the Interior*, p.544.

Msindo, E., (2016) 'Settler Rule in Southern Rhodesia', in Cavanagh, E., & Veracini, L. ed. (2016). *The Routledge handbook of the history of settler colonialism* (Routledge handbooks) p.248.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.545.

And Msindo, E., 'Settler Rule in Southern Rhodesia, p.248.

⁴⁸ Vambe, *An Ill-Fated People*, p.92-93.

⁴⁹ Ranger, T.O, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*, p.127.

⁵⁰ Headlam, C., *The Race for the Interior*, p.548.

beginnings of the development of a racialized land distribution system.⁵¹ The MaShona, defying their classification as a ‘whipped cur’ people, rose up in organised resistance in 1896. Their eventual defeat opened the way for further colonisation of their territory, but it also had an appreciable effect on the settlers’ perception of the Shona, and for a while at least prompted a note of caution in London over policies that might inflame the ‘attitude of the natives’.⁵²

It soon became clear that the hypothetical gold deposits that had drawn huge amounts of men and capital into the dispossession of the Shona and Ndebele did not exist, and this frustration would prove to be immensely important to the development of the Rhodesian national identity. In the coming years, the weakened and failing BSAC would struggle to retain its power in the face of a growing class of settler farmers and small concession miners, setting in place a formula of international corporate interests opposing a powerful regional agrarian bourgeoisie, a recurring drama in which the self-consciously British Rhodesians would come to play a role similar to that of the Afrikaner farmers who had resisted the British establishment in the 19th century. In the 1890s, however, hopes remained high that the mining concessions would pay off, and the settlement of the region was reported widely and positively in the British press. In a strangely prophetic remark, the Ipswich Journal commented that ‘even if the mineral resources of the land should not prove as successful as anticipated, as an agricultural country she would hold her own.’⁵³ She would have to.

iii. Early Development of Southern Rhodesia

The first three decades of the Rhodesian colony were characterised by a power struggle between the increasingly insolvent BSAC and the increasingly numerous and assertive population of settler farmers. An Imperial Order in Council of 1894 had given the Company the right to govern legislatively and judicially within the territory under the authority of High Commissioner in Cape Town, which included the right to maintain a police force, enact laws, dispense and acquire land, and to regulate

⁵¹ Headlam, C., *The Race for the Interior*, 549-550. A Royal Sanction in 1894 confirmed the BSAC’s area of authority.

⁵² Ranger, T.O, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*, p.327-329.

⁵³ *The Ipswich Journal* (Ipswich, England), Saturday, October 24, 1891; Issue 9311.

mining interests.⁵⁴ Tensions began to rise after the death of Cecil Rhodes in 1902, but whereas in other British imperial settlements it could be safely assumed that corporate mining interests would win out over small-hold farmers, Southern Rhodesia's specific conditions led to a different outcome.⁵⁵ As it became increasingly obvious that the territory's mineral deposits were disappointing, the farmers grew to resent the BSAC's political power.⁵⁶ They did not want to be responsible for the company's debts, and they opposed the restrictive mining laws that were weighted against small scale miners. In 1907 the BSAC issued a 'Declaration of Policy' that outlined a new approach to the settlement of Southern Rhodesia that would promote farming and the granting of small mining concessions. This entailed the promotion of white immigration, and by 1911 the European population had doubled to 24,000.⁵⁷ Interestingly, most of these immigrants originated in South Africa rather than Britain, implying that the identity formed in this early period would be informed more by the specifically South African Britishness of first or second generation settlers than the contemporary culture of the metropole.⁵⁸ While the BSAC retained formal power, they were forced to accept a settler majority on the semi-elected Legislative Council by 1914, and increasingly their power was contingent on negotiation with the settlers.⁵⁹ A 1918 ruling by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council delivered the final blow to the company's prospects when it found that the land within the territory was legally the property of the Crown rather than the BSAC. This did not prevent the company's board from administering loans and sales of that land, but it did prevent them from carrying out a major sell-off which was seen as their last serious chance to turn a profit. From this point the BSAC largely prepared to abandon control with as little loss as possible.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Msindo, E., 'Settler Rule in Southern Rhodesia', p.248 and 251-252.

⁵⁵ Arrighi, G. (1973). 'The Political Economy of Rhodesia', in *Essays on the political economy of Africa* / by G. Arrighi and J.S. Saul, pp. 336-337.

⁵⁶ Kirkwood, K. Southern Rhodesia, in Rose, Newton, Benians, Rose, John Holland, Newton, A.P., & Benians, E.A. (1929). *The Cambridge history of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.685.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p.685.

⁵⁸ Donal Lowry, 'Rhodesian:1890-1980' in Bickers, & Bickers, Robert A. (2010). *Settlers and expatriates Britons over the seas* (The Oxford history of the British Empire. Companion series). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.120.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p.686.

⁶⁰ Leys, C. (1959). *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*. Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, p13.

Resistance to amalgamation with larger polities became another characteristic feature of the Southern Rhodesians. While they attended the 1908 National Convention that created the Union of South Africa, they chose to remain apart even as the ZAR was absorbed. During the First World War the idea of a union with Northern Rhodesia was floated, but the settlers resisted this too. In both cases they essentially feared dominance by some form of other. In the case of the Union, the same anti-Boer sentiment that had led to the creation of the state now weighted them against entry into an Afrikaner majority electorate. In Northern Rhodesia the mining concessions had proved more successful, leading to large scale African inward migration. The Southern Rhodesians perceived their neighbour as being more of a company colony, in which British political dominance was not ensured and a white majority an impossibility (it should be noted that they were then and would remain a tiny minority in their own country, so this was largely a matter of the two settlement's respective 'characters' and the aforementioned maintenance of 'standards').⁶¹

The same anxieties came in to play as the settlers pushed for Responsible Government status after World War I.⁶² Charles Coghlan, a descendant of Irish Catholics born and raised in South Africa, led the campaign through the Legislative Council. Then Secretary of State for the Colonies Alfred Milner resisted, citing the relatively tiny European population of the region, but his successor Winston Churchill consented to a referendum in 1922. Offered the choice between Union with South Africa (which offered clear economic and security benefits) and Responsible Government as an independent dominion, the electorate of just over fourteen thousand white men voted with a clear majority for Responsible Government.⁶³ Coghlan had run a campaign under the banner 'Rhodesia for the Rhodesians, Rhodesia for the Empire', pointing towards a form of Imperial Loyalty that was in many ways the mirror image of the Afrikaner nationalism then on the rise in the Union. For the white Rhodesians at this time, their British identity and their position within the Empire was best preserved outside of any larger union, even if this entailed a precarious position as a tiny minority in a country

⁶¹ Kirkwood, K. Southern Rhodesia, p.686.

⁶² 'Responsible Government' in this context literally meant to be self-governing, but for the Rhodesians at the time it had specific implications of a similar status to the dominion territories. Even though Rhodesia was never formally a Dominion along the lines of Canada, the association between this status and Responsible Government would gain cultural significance for the Rhodesians.

⁶³ Ibid, p.691.

with an agrarian economy and seemingly few prospects for major development. Already, internal and external observers of Southern Rhodesia were commenting on the colony's specifically British character, which was already viewed as a trait under threat within the colonies and even within Britain itself. As Ethel Tawse Jollie, a key figure in the Responsible Government movement and a veteran of British far-right politics, reflected in 1930, Rhodesia 'conveyed a sort of super-British Imperialism, a loyalty to Flag and Empire which appears to be old fashioned in Britain today.'⁶⁴ This was a radical, militant Loyalism that, as King George V and many others observed, mirrored the rise of Ulster Unionism in the previous decade.⁶⁵ In both cases the Loyalists saw their position in the empire as a force to secure their British identity and their economic and political dominance in the face of a nationalistic majority. The interplay of demographic anxiety and colonial identity politics contributed to the development of this complex Rhodesian identity, but none of this would have mattered if the BSAC mining concessions had been successful and the political ascendancy of the farmer-settlers prevented.

⁶⁴ Donal Lowry, 'Rhodesian: 1890-1980', p.130.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.135.

Conclusion: Colonial Identity Formation.

In a 1987 paper on Barbados, Jack P. Green formulated the following model for the development of identity among colonial settlers in British possessions.⁶⁶ While it was originally designed for the Caribbean, I feel that it has enough relevance to be worth applying to Rhodesia. First, it is important to assert that settlers never arrived into a blank state; the 'virgin territory' of colonial propaganda did not exist in Africa any more than in the Caribbean. Settlers entered into a 'social landscape' formed and defined by the original inhabitants, and this inevitably had an impact on the nature of the colonial settlement. As we have seen in Rhodesia, the creation of a good native/bad native dichotomy between the Ndebele and the MaShona was essential to the initial occupation of the region, and this view of the two peoples would continue to affect the character of the white communities in the country and their relationship to the African majority. The western town of Bulawayo, Lobengula's former capital, retained its pre-colonial name and romanticised the Ndebele history to a certain extent, viewing them as a 'warrior race' and seeking to attribute some of their city's more frontier, less snobbish character to this heritage.⁶⁷ The capital of Salisbury, in Mashona territory, conversely rejected any connection to Shona history and largely viewed the Shona people with paternalistic disdain. The Great Zimbabwe ruins, built by the Shona speaking Rozwi kings, were attributed to some form of lost civilisation, and the MaShona were viewed as recently emigrated nomads without a sense of history or place.⁶⁸ In a more general sense, the view of pre-colonial history as one of endless Shona/Ndebele conflict reinforced the idea that majority rule would inevitably lead to the resurrection of sectarian violence and contributed to the sense of a 'Great Civilising Mission'.⁶⁹

Green goes on to identify the following further factors that must be accounted for;

1. The socio-economic reasons for arrival in the territory and the socio-economic reasons for continued immigration and inhabitation.

⁶⁶ Green, J.P., 'Changing identity in the British Caribbean', in Canny, Pagden, Canny, Nicholas, & Pagden, Anthony. (1987). *Colonial identity in the Atlantic world, 1500-1800*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, p.214.

⁶⁷ Donal Lowry, 'Rhodesian:1890-1980', p.139.

⁶⁸ Ranger, T.O.(1967). *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*, pp.10-11.

⁶⁹ White, L. (2015). *Unpopular sovereignty*, p.172. This would overtime develop into a discourse that presented the country as one of three 'races'; White, Shona and Ndebele, and argued for the perennial separation of the three under white control ('provincialisation').

2. The cultural standards of the residents, defined in relation to the metropole and to their immediate neighbours.
3. The collective experience of the settlers since arrival (i.e. history).

We have already seen how the initial hope of a successful and wealthy mining colony, which soon gave way to a more realistic goal of a farming country, informed the patterns and nature of immigration into Southern Rhodesia. The lack of a mining boom meant that most of the initial settlers did not become fabulously wealthy, and ensured that for most of the early years white immigration barely outpaced white emigration, and remained lower than African net immigration until the late 1950s.⁷⁰ This resulted in a small population of conservative, small scale farmers, who remained out of a sense of attachment to place and culture as much as a dream of wealth, although this was to become complicated by the post-WWII tobacco boom, in which the farmers did begin to get wealthy and an industrialist capitalist class began to develop⁷¹. Likewise, we have already discussed the central importance of 'British Standards' to the identity of British South Africans and how this was carried over into Rhodesia. The colonial narrative of the beleaguered European holding up these standards in a harsh, 'frontier' environment surrounded by 'uncivilised' natives was a key element of Rhodesian identity into the UDI period.⁷² As time went on, the Rhodesians also began to view themselves as having superior, or at least more intensely British standards than the metropole, a factor that carried great importance in the lead up to UDI. On the subject of collective history, we can see how the Pioneer Column narrative formed the basis for a specifically Rhodesian sense of history, which was further informed by the two rebellions of the 1890s and the struggle for autonomy and self-governance in the early 20th century.

⁷⁰ Donal Lowry, 'Rhodesian:1890-1980', p.124.

Population figures derived from; Passmore, Mitchell, Willson, Young, Mitchell, Margaret T, Willson, Jean, . . . University College of Rhodesia Nyassaland, Salisbury. (1963). *Source book of parliamentary elections and referenda in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1962*. Salisbury, pp.92-94.

⁷¹ Rowe, D. (2001). *Manipulating the market : Understanding economic sanctions, institutional change, and the political unity of white Rhodesia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p.41.

⁷² Ethel Tawse Jollie's 1916 article 'Some Humours of Housekeeping in Rhodesia' provides a cogent example, especially as it was written with the aim of attracting settlers from Britain and as it points to the often highly gendered nature of this narrative construct – Jollie, E.T., in *Blackwoods Magazine*, July-December 1916, pp.641-651.

It may also be valuable to consider the campaign for Responsible Government with reference to Benedict Anderson's theory of Creole or Settler Nationalism. He argued that in the Americas a distinct and compelling form of nationalism developed at an early stage partially because of the rise of consciousness among European settlers (particularly in the Spanish Empire) of their second class status relative to those born in the Metropole. Within the colonial empires the highest levels of administration were restricted to those born in Europe, and over time the creole settlers began to rebel against this perceived subjugation by their 'Kith and Kin' in the metropole. This also entailed the resistance to profits or taxes generated in the colony leaving the territory and the widespread feeling that the metropolitan government did not understand the specific conditions in the settler state so were therefore ill-prepared to legislate for them.⁷³ We can see traces of a similar nationalist feeling beginning to develop in Southern Rhodesia as the settlers began to resist the technocratic administration of the BSAC, resenting their restrictive mining laws and their transnational priorities (i.e., their responsibility to their shareholders in London).⁷⁴ Although they were not separatist at that point, the phenomenon of settler anxiety over the perceived condescending attitudes towards them in the metropole, as well as the deep conviction that London did not understand the conditions of their society, would prove very important in the coming decades.

⁷³ Anderson, Benedict (1991). *Imagined Communities; Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Verso), p.50-57.

⁷⁴ For some early examples of conflict between the settlers and the company, see; Ian Henderson (1972) White Populism in Southern Rhodesia, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 387-399.

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Chapter Two: Rhodesia Up to Federation.

- i. Introduction.
- ii. The Land Apportionment Act
- iii. The Industrial Conciliation Act.
- iv. The Post-War Boom.

i. Introduction.

The immediate history of Southern Rhodesia after the attainment of ‘Responsible Government’ is one of economic stagnation and the slow growth of a highly transitory, unstable European population. The state’s tax revenues, derived largely from the white farmers, remained extremely low, peaking at around £4 million in 1938, compared to an estimated £10 million in debt accumulated by farmers and a public debt liability of £13.4 million by the same year (about half of which was owed to London).⁷⁵ Many farmers were struggling to break even and were increasingly reliant on loans to stay afloat.⁷⁶ The years from 1921 to 1926 saw a gross European inward migration of 9,855, but the total net immigration for this period was only 2,724. The net immigration fluctuated, but did not reach over 9,000 for any five-year period until after the Second World War.⁷⁷ Gold remained a key export, but the quality of the ore was causing problems and during the 1930s asbestos mining was beginning to eclipse it in importance.⁷⁸ The continued, albeit slow, European population growth along with the ballooning public debt must be understood in the context of the far-reaching, extensive state intervention that sought to ensure the success of the white settlers. More than just providing utilities like electricity and railways, the Rhodesian government took it upon itself to establish meat refrigeration facilities, cotton mills, iron and steel foundries, and most importantly of all a state Tobacco Board (established in 1936) to organise collective export bargaining for what was to become a key driver of economic growth during and after the Second World War.⁷⁹ The state in turn endeavoured to cut off the access of African farmers to the internal food market and to create an artificial scarcity to keep white-run farms profitable (which had the added effect of forcing more Africans into the low-wage farm labour economy to pay their taxes).⁸⁰ Colin Leys has described the Rhodesian settler state as a government that measured success based on the economy’s ability to absorb new white immigrants at roughly the same standard of living as those

⁷⁵ Leys, C. (1959). *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*. Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, p.15 and 18-19.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.15.

⁷⁷ Figures from the Central Statistics Office of Southern Rhodesia, quoted in Passmore, Mitchell, Willson, Young, Mitchell, Margaret T, Willson, Jean, University College of Rhodesia Nyassaland, Salisbury. (1963). *Source book of parliamentary elections and referenda in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1962*. Salisbury, pp.92-94.

⁷⁸ Phimister, I. (1988). *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948 : Capital accumulation and class struggle*. London [etc.]: Longman,p.222.

⁷⁹ Leys, *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*, pp.16-19.

⁸⁰ Utete, C. (1979). *The road to Zimbabwe : The political economy of settler colonialism, national liberation and foreign intervention*. Washington: University press of America, p. 17.

already in the country (rather than on the standard of living provided to the majority of the actual residents of the country), and we can see the effect of this limited metric of success on the state's heavy handed approach from here right up through the UDI period.⁸¹ It has especially strong echoes in the immediate post-UDI state-organised response to the UN sanctions, which Luise White has typified as essentially a planned economy, in which the primary concern was the maintenance of a standard of living that would satisfy European immigrants and attract more of them.⁸² McGregor, a Ph.D. researcher in 1939, reported that government ministers justified the clearly favourable and protectionist approach towards white farmers (which was essentially a system that privileged only the largest landowners against the smaller ones) on the basis that white settlers had a 'higher standard of living', a circular argument in which standards of living are not a matter of material conditions but instead something innate, something that white settlers carry with them into the country and which it is the state's responsibility to maintain.⁸³ In this view, high 'standards' become something inherent to the white population, and it becomes the state's responsibility to structure the economy to maintain people in these standards. Discussion of the state's achievements with regard to standard of living in the post-war and UDI eras must be understood in the context of how the state articulated its objectives and how it measured success.

Standards, as we have already mentioned, implied a whole range of cultural signifiers and mores in the context of late-British Imperialism, ranging from parliamentary democracy to marmite.⁸⁴ The idea that signifiers of British/European standards (Christianity, the Monarchy, Rugby) were in some way connected to the ability to practice the successful running of a state (i.e., Responsible Government) was key to a national discourse in which words like 'responsible' and 'experienced' would rapidly become part of a non-racial way of talking about race, in which citizenship, democracy and modernity all became

⁸¹ Ibid, p.27

⁸² White, L. (2015). *Unpopular Sovereignty : Rhodesian independence and African decolonization*. Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, p.135.

⁸³ MacGregor, R., (1940) *Native Segregation in Southern Rhodesia; A Study in Social Policy* (Ph.D thesis, London), p.338-9.

⁸⁴ The mythical connection of 'Anglo-Saxons' to some kind of unique democratic tradition, and the implication that this entailed a unique attachment to and ability to practice things like parliamentary democracy and the rule of law, is elaborated on in Belich, J. (2009). *Replenishing the earth the settler revolution and the rise of the Anglo-world, 1783-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.5

The attention giving to securing Marmite under the post-UDI sanctions is discussed in White, *Unpopular Sovereignty*, p.132.

skills - something that could be learned and acquired but was inherent to certain groups.⁸⁵ The state had to take an active role in ensuring that the country did not run out of cosmetics or Angusturo Bitters because the concept of what made a person civilized, or responsible, was intimately tied to the maintenance of material conditions and a comparable way of life to that of Britain. But behind this lay a more basic anxiety; the fear that people would simply leave.

Throughout Rhodesia's history recent migrants were stigmatised for a variety of reasons. They were at different times seen as 'good time Charlies', likely to leave at the first sign of trouble, or as the worst racists, unwilling to buy into partnership if it threatened their own material advantage.⁸⁶ During the worst years of the war in the 1970s, Rhodesian-born Angus Shaw reversed the formula to claim that the recent arrivals were the most dangerous and brutal soldiers, willing to 'burn down the odd village' to preserve a privileged position.⁸⁷ In general, the simple phenomenon of moving from a council house in east London to a country farm with servants and acres of cheap land was seen as essential to holding on to migrants and drawing in more, without whom the minority state had no chance. This alluded to something of a British ideal, a 'Rhodesian Dream', in which the beleaguered middle class of a post-war Britain could live their own version of the country squire fantasy, complete with domestic servants and big game hunting. The fact that the economy was rapidly coming to rely on secondary industry and that the majority of the new migrants were needed in the suburbs for managerial positions not altogether very different from the type they might have in Britain was of little importance to the ideal.⁸⁸

The reality was that citizenship in Rhodesia and the Empire at large was a remarkably fluid status. It was possible for a man with Irish parents to be born in South Africa, live most of his life in Kenya, migrate to Rhodesia as an adult and simultaneously consider himself to be British and Rhodesian

⁸⁵ White, *Unpopular Sovereignty*, p.54-55.

⁸⁶ Lessing, D., & Somers, J. (1957). *Going home*. London: Michael Joseph, p.95-96. Donal Lowry, 'Rhodesian:1890-1980' in Bickers, & Bickers, Robert A. (2010). *Settlers and expatriates Britons over the seas* (The Oxford history of the British Empire. Companion series). Oxford: Oxford University Press p.124.

⁸⁷ White, 193.

⁸⁸ Manufacturing overtook European Farming in its contribution to the percentage of GNP as early as 1954 and continued to grow, Utete, C. (1979). *The road to Zimbabwe*, p.30.

The character of Tony in Doris Lessing's novel 'The Grass is Singing' epitomises the often dispiriting reality that greeted British immigrants in the pre-tobacco boom 1930s. After witnessing the murder in the novel's opening pages he finds he can no longer bare farm work, and ends up in an office job in a mine in Northern Rhodesia, which was 'exactly what he had come to Africa to avoid', Lessing, D., (1964) *The Grass is Singing*, New York:Ballantine Books,p.29.

after only a few years. On the positive side, this created an idea of belonging that could easily stretch to include even the most recent arrivals as long as they fit certain criteria (such as being white), but it also facilitated highly mobile populations. A cartoon from a 1978 collection that lampooned 'Whenwes' (i.e. those who had left Rhodesia but could talk only of 'when we were in...') gets at some of this complexity and the anxiety it produced. A man in khaki shorts and a broad-brimmed hat stands at an immigration desk and tells the perplexed officer;

'Well, I grew up in Kenya, then I farmed in Zambia. During Federation I was a British citizen, and I have had a vote in Rhodesia...but I was actually born at sea, to Irish parents'⁸⁹

This points to the complex and contingent nature of late-Empire identity. How could a person for whom questions of nationality were so complicated and contingent be expected to become a loyal and settled Rhodesian? If the Rhodesians were to define themselves as the 'Last True Britons', or more British than the contemporary Brits, then they would have to provide their neo-Britain citizens with a standard of living that at least compared to if not surpassed that which they were leaving (keeping in mind of course that they were not all coming from Britain, or even from Europe). To ensure this it was necessary at this stage to essentially rig the economy, structuring land ownership, land usage rights, government quotas, and access to credit in such a way that not only were white farmers structurally advantaged, but that competition between them and African farmers within the market was all but eliminated. Going forward, the same process would be applied to the industrial workplace with the Industrial Conciliation Act and the crackdown on African Unions. The maintenance of standards would remain a priority right into the UDI period and the response to sanctions.

⁸⁹ Bolze, Louis W.; Martin, Rose (1978). *The Whenwes of Rhodesia*. Books of Rhodesia, p.17.

ii. The Land Apportionment Act

The Privy Council Judicial Committee decision of 1918 had declared the lands taken by the BSAC to be crown properties, reducing the company to the role of an administrator as it wound down its operations and distributed its holdings to the settlers. Before the First World War, the BSAC had controlled 52% of Southern Rhodesia's farmland, with a further 14% in the hands of white settlers and 23% remaining in the possession of African farmers.⁹⁰ These neat divisions did not reflect the reality on the ground, where a great deal of the land technically held by the company (or leased to missionaries) was occupied and farmed by Africans, who during this period responded to the taxes introduced in the 1890s (including Hut taxes and dog licenses, among others) by supplying food to the numerous small mines dotted around the country.⁹¹ During this period Lawrence Vambe's family began accommodating migrant workers in their village, supplementing their income by selling food and beer to workers trekking overland from Nyasaland and South Africa. Soon his family had diverted the majority of their crop towards beer production and for the first time bought most of their food, as well as new consumer goods such as bicycles and sewing machines. Vambe stated that in this early period his family viewed it as a mark of shame to work on someone else's farm as a wage labourer.⁹²

The Land Apportionment Act (1930) can be understood as a response to multiple concerns on the part of the settler government. On the one hand, in the absence of major mineral deposits the main resource that Southern Rhodesia possessed was good farm land and cheap labour. To sell the idea of a 'Rhodesian Dream' to potential settlers, they needed to ensure that new arrivals from Europe would be able to access the country's best farmland easily and to have a supply of dependant labour. The LAA promised a racialized land distribution system that essentially ensured that the African majority would be permanently locked out of the country's most profitable land, or tenantized where they did remain. We can relate this to the creation of the conceptual 'White Africa', in which land that was *occupied* by Africans is now *possessed/cultivated* by Europeans, thus granting them property rights to it.⁹³ Colin

⁹⁰ Utete, C. (1979). *The road to Zimbabwe*, p.14.

⁹¹ Ibid, p.17.

⁹² Vambe, Lessing, Somers, Lessing, Doris, & Somers, Jane. (1972). *An ill-fated people : Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*. London: Heinemann. P.219, 224-225.

⁹³ We can trace this concept of occupied vs possessed/cultivated land as far back as Locke and the earliest ear of colonization, as discussed in Braun, S. (2014). *Rescuing Indigenous Land Ownership: Revising Locke's Account of Original Appropriation through Cultivation*. *Theoria (Pietermaritzburg)*, 61(139), 68-89.

Leys goes as far as to argue that the LAA can be seen as a way to compensate the white settlers who had arrived for the failure of the mining colony, replacing the vision of a wealthy, mineral rich colony of prospectors with assurances of permanent control over the state's agriculture.⁹⁴ But for farmers to prosper in the midst of the Great Depression they would also need access to cheap labour, and to accomplish this the LAA also sought to drive Africans into the wage economy by forcing them into unsustainably overcrowded areas where their traditional shifting agriculture became impossible. The newly demarcated Native Reserves (which had existed since the 1890s but were revised and systematised by the LAA), to which many people were forcibly relocated, were of poor quality and their distribution was administered directly by the state, preventing individuals or tribes from acquiring larger farms or selling their land to enable migration.⁹⁵ This ensured a steady stream of young migrant workers from the reserves to cities, mines and white farms looking for work, without whom the economy would have ceased to function. This was supplemented by contractual agreements with chiefs and the 'squatter' system, in which people could remain on their land in the white areas in exchange for unpaid labour (i.e., a form of serfdom).⁹⁶ The LAA also essentially prevented African farmers from producing a surplus that could be sold for profit or converted into beer for the mineworkers, creating an artificial scarcity in the domestic food market that enabled the success of the white farmers. In essence, we can see this as the rigging of the economy in the favour of the white settlers, and the manipulation of the African farmers to ensure that they gave the desired response to the market conditions (i.e., became wage labourers).⁹⁷

The LAA itself emerged from the Morris Carter Commission (1925) which specifically sought to distribute the areas recently requalified as Crown Lands and put under the control of the local government.⁹⁸ In 1906 it had been estimated that less than half of the colony's African population lived

⁹⁴ Leys, *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*, p.33.

⁹⁵ Arrighi, G. (1973). 'International corporations, labor aristocracies, and economic development in tropical Africa', in *Essays on the political economy of Africa* / by G. Arrighi and J.S. Saul. P.347.

It is an interesting irony of history that today one of the world's most famous advocates of shifting agriculture (also known as Holistic Grazing) is Allan Savory, who at the time of UDI was a captain in the Rhodesian army and later became a prominent liberal politician (famous for stating that had he been born an African he would have been the Rhodesian Front's 'greatest terrorist').

⁹⁶ Utete, C. (1979). *The road to Zimbabwe*, p.19.

⁹⁷ Msindo, E, *Settler rule in southern Rhodesia, 1890-1979*, Cavanagh, E., & Veracini, L. (2016). *The Routledge handbook of the history of settler colonialism* (Routledge handbooks) p.256.

⁹⁸ Leys, *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*, p.28.

in the Reserves first established after the rebellions in the 1890s, but this was still a cause of concern for the BSAC, who feared the concentration of Africans in small areas.⁹⁹ Their policy from then was to encourage small hold farmers to remain where they were, often on lands administered by missionaries and in the area of mines that they could supply with food.¹⁰⁰ But in the Responsible Government era, the newly empowered settlers initiated the systemic racialisation of land ownership. After 1930, the land was distributed as follows:

- Native Reserves – 22.4%
- Native Purchase Areas – 7.7%
- European Areas – 50.8%
- Undetermined – 0.1%
- Forest Area – 0.6%
- Unassigned – 18.6%¹⁰¹

Of course, the mirror image of the overcrowded Native Reserves were the underutilised European Areas. As late as 1957, a Rhodesian government report found that of approx. 31.7 million acres that were studied, 30% were arable but only 4% were actually being used.¹⁰² All the same, Rhodesian farmers remained largely poor and saddled with a growing debt burden right through the 1920s and 30s.¹⁰³ The state made extensive interventions to try and keep the agricultural sector afloat, indicative of the disproportionate political power wielded by the Rhodesian settler class when compared to the relatively successful farmers in places like Kenya.¹⁰⁴ This was sometimes expressed in the terms of ‘parallel development’, which would become a dominant idea in Rhodesian racial discourse.¹⁰⁵ This sought the prevention of competition between the races at all costs, expressed in a language of ‘separate but equal’ formulations in which the races had to be kept apart alternatively for their mutual protection,

⁹⁹ Msindo, E, *Settler rule in southern Rhodesia*, p.256.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p.257.

¹⁰¹ Utete, C. (1979). *The road to Zimbabwe*, p.15.

¹⁰² By this time, the divisions had been slightly revised and the European areas at that point stood at 48 million acres, Leys, C. (1959). *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*, pp.28-29.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, p.15.

¹⁰⁴ Brendon, P. (2008). *The decline and fall of the British Empire, 1781-1997*. London: Vintage, p.575.

¹⁰⁵ The equivalent to South Africa’s ‘separate development’.

or for reasons of ‘hygiene’.¹⁰⁶ In practice, this led to huge state investment into providing services, transportation and amenities across the areas of European habitation, while the Native Reserves were starved of development and largely remained without adequate roads, postal networks, or access to credit or state funding.¹⁰⁷ We can refer back to McGregor’s comments that the higher standards seen as innate to Europeans demanded better provision of services, while in the view of the state the lower standards, or ‘traditional way of life’ of Africans required essentially none. Other state interventions sought to give white farmers an advantageous position in the market in other ways. The Cattle Levy Act of 1931 introduced a 2s 6d (increased to 2s 9d in 1934) charge on every cattle slaughtered for domestic use. This tax could be easily avoided by white farmers, while the Treasury automatically deducted it from the Native Development account effectively making it almost impossible for farmers in the Native Reserves to avoid.¹⁰⁸

As the language of parallel development evolved into terms like partnership, provincilization, and two-pyramids, the racial theories of the state were increasingly expressed in the language of material realities; Africans were ‘uncivilised’ because they had such a low standard of living, so they could not be enfranchised until they had attained a higher standard of life and the presumed ability to practice democracy that came with it. In this context it is important to note that the low living standards experienced by that vast majority of Africans up to the end of UDI were the result of a social engineering process begun in the 1920s that ultimately created a form of rigged economy, run for the benefit of the minority.

iii. Industrial Conciliation Act

Shortly after the racialisation of land ownership was codified in Rhodesian law, the same was done for the colour bar in the industrial workplace. The Industrial Conciliation Act (ICA) of 1934 created Industrial Boards by which recognised trade unions would negotiate directly with employer’s

¹⁰⁶ Arrighi, The political economy of Rhodesia, p.348. Leys, *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*, p.271-272.

¹⁰⁷ Utete, C. (1979). *The road to Zimbabwe*, p.137-138.

¹⁰⁸ Mlambo, A. (2014). *A history of Zimbabwe*. New York : Cambridge University Press, p.108.

organisations over issues relating to wages, hiring and workplace standards.¹⁰⁹ It also excluded Africans, who in 1936 made up 91% of those in paid employment, from the legal definition of an employee, excluding them from organising legal unions and effectively cutting off their access to skilled employment.¹¹⁰ We can arguably see this as a form of corporatism, in which organised labour is co-opted by capital into a form of alliance whereby the workers lose their autonomy and effectively become part of the state-capital alliance in return for protection of their privileged position with regard to African workers.¹¹¹ Just as the LAA had created an artificial scarcity in the domestic food market, the ICA now created an artificial scarcity of skilled labour, effectively meaning that future skilled labour positions would have to be filled from outside the country through immigration, which in turn meant that wages for skilled positions would have to be artificially high to attract new immigrants.¹¹² The ICA also mandated uniform wages for all races in a particular job, which prevented Africans (who typically had less experience, less access to education, and had to work against presumptions that they were 'less productive' than white workers) from working for lower wages to increase their competitiveness.¹¹³ Again, we can see that the focus is on preventing competition between whites and Africans at all costs, in this case creating labour supply problems that would continue to trouble the state's economy as inward white migration remained low, and especially as emigration rose and the war diverted manpower in the later period of UDI.¹¹⁴

The two acts are inextricably linked; the LAA sought to drive Africans from agriculture into the wage economy, and the ICA sought to ensure that their success within that economy would be essentially limited. It also created an unresolvable contradiction between the rhetoric of citizenship and the reality of the African experience in the economy. While the state talked about raising standards and creating an

¹⁰⁹ Rowe, D. (2001). *Manipulating the market : Understanding economic sanctions, institutional change, and the political unity of white Rhodesia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, p.102.

¹¹⁰ Figures for total workforce taken from Rhodesian censuses, quoted in Leys, (1959). *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*, p.17. More detail on the ICA can also be found in Leys, p.30-31.

¹¹¹ Phimister, I. (1988). *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948 : Capital accumulation and class struggle*. London [etc.]: Longman.192

¹¹² Leys, (1959). *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*, p.31.

¹¹³ Rowe, D. (2001). *Manipulating the market*, p.103.

Leys, (1959). *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*, p.30.

¹¹⁴ Godwin, Hancock, and Hancock, Ian. (1993). 'Rhodesians Never Die' : The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia C. 1970-1980. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford UP, p.138-139.

African middle class that would satisfy the voter registration requirements (which focused mostly on literacy, property and wages), the ICA essentially prevented the urban African population from attaining the workplace promotions that would allow them to satisfy the requirements. The basic goal, as described by one tobacco company executive in 1945, was to create the conditions for a stable workforce where one male worker could support a family within an urban centre, ending the manufacturing sector's reliance on what he called 'bachelors and prostitutes.'¹¹⁵ But as cost of living rose and wages largely stagnated, it was clear from the 1930s that the state was largely failing to accomplish this.¹¹⁶ In 1953, the average European income per head was £487.2, while the corresponding figures for Africans was £10.7 (which included the large population of migrant workers who would send a substantial amount of earning out of the country).¹¹⁷ Wages for Africans were to remain largely stagnant relative to cost of living throughout the state's existence, while African farmers saw their relative position worsen from the end of World War II right through UDI.¹¹⁸

iv. The Post-War Boom

Arrighi has observed that the Second World War did more to increase African participation in the formal economy than any of the state's social engineering projects after 1923, with the number of Africans employed in the formal economy almost tripling between 1936 and 1953.¹¹⁹ The war experience and the economic boom that followed it had a transformative impact on Rhodesia's society and economy. At the outbreak of war, the allies' loss of access to Chinese minerals fuelled a minor boom in Rhodesia's mining sector, primarily in asbestos and chrome. But even as overall output grew, the nature of the industry changed as large international mining conglomerates entered into alliance with the dominant United Party and wrought changes that disadvantaged small scale works that were already struggling to meet rising overhead costs. Over eight hundred mines closed between 1940 and 1948.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Hancock, I. (1984). *White liberals, moderates and radicals in Rhodesia, 1953-1980*. London : New York: Croom Helm ; St. Martin's Press, p.48.

¹¹⁶ Stoneman, C. (1978). Foreign Capital and the Reconstruction of Zimbabwe. *Review of African Political Economy*, (11), p.68.

¹¹⁷ Leys, (1959). *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*, p.17.

¹¹⁸ Utete, C. (1979). *The road to Zimbabwe*, p.20.

¹¹⁹ Arrighi, The political economy of Rhodesia, p.351.

¹²⁰ Phimister, I. (1988). *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, 220-224.

Overall, the mining sectors contribution to GDP peaked in 1945, but would afterwards fall well behind the farming and manufacturing sectors.¹²¹

In the agricultural sector the great change came with the beginning of the tobacco boom. Initially, wartime demand in Britain fuelled immediate growth and expansion, which continued after the war due to the relative weakness of sterling and the British dollar shortage. The centralised Tobacco Board established in the 1930s negotiated a long term purchase deal with British importers, and overall production increased by 200% in the 1940s.¹²² However, this created new problems with food supply as huge tracts of land were turned over to the highly profitable export crop and years of erosive farming practices began to catch up with the Rhodesians. The maize harvest of 1942 was the worst in sixteen years, and the result was food rationing and increased importation of basic foodstuffs in a country that still saw itself as primarily agricultural.¹²³ By 1950 the annual value of Rhodesia's tobacco exports had reached over £11 million, but the state was importing over £750,000 worth of maize annually, which was the traditional basic food of the African workers.¹²⁴ All of this contributed to rising food costs that wage increases could not keep up with.¹²⁵

Tobacco farming, with its high short term profits and corrosive effect on soil fertility, reignited old anxieties in the settler state. As early as 1938, concerns were raised in the legislative assembly that many tobacco farmers did not intend to stay in the country long term, and only wanted to make their money and leave behind ruined soil and wasted farmland.¹²⁶ Despite this, the profits were simply too attractive and the need for foreign currency too great for the legislature to take serious action on the issue of erosion in the white farming areas, so instead they turned their attention ever more sharply to the reserves. A secondary effect of the LAA had been to empower Native Commissioners to dictate the division of arable and grazing land, and to relocate farmers and entire settlements based on their perception of the most efficient way to make use of the land in a process known as 'centralisation'.¹²⁷

¹²¹ Stoneman, C. (1976). Foreign capital and the prospects for Zimbabwe. *World Development*, 4(1), p.3.

¹²² Phimister, I. (1988). *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, p.226-227.

¹²³ Ibid, p.227 and 229.

¹²⁴ Ibid, p.225.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p.261.

¹²⁶ South Rhodesian Legislative Assembly, 1 June 1938, col.1534.

¹²⁷ Phimister, I. (1988). *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, p.235.

This entailed forced relocations, and in several cases violence, all based on the argument that the overpopulation in the reserves (which, it must be noted, was a direct result of the LAA and the eviction of 'squatters' in European areas to make way for new immigrants) was creating an ecological disaster and would lead to the collapse of native agriculture.¹²⁸ In this we can see a general pattern, in which any interaction between the African majority and the state tended to be characterised by authoritarianism, bureaucratic ineptitude, and a generally heavy handed and coercive approach.¹²⁹ The phenomenon was repeated with the introduction of destocking after 1945, where the state forced African farmers to 'sell' their cattle at an arbitrary price established by the state owned meat refrigeration conglomerate or have them seized and destroyed. Over a million head of cattle were destroyed in the space of two years.¹³⁰ The problem of overpopulation, which the state had created in the 1930s and continued to aggravate in the 40s and 50s, was combatted with a similarly arbitrary and draconian approach. This can be compared with the approach taken to European farmers, for whom all ecological preservation measures were fundamentally optional.¹³¹

The war experience also stimulated major growth in the secondary sector, which for the first time overtook mining as a percentage of GDP in 1946.¹³² War time import shortages boosted local manufacturing (much of it based on food processing), and the state became more active in the economy just as foreign capital (much of it South African) began to increase its presence.¹³³ It was during the war that the Southern Rhodesian government first experimented with subsidisation and central management of imports, in many ways foreshadowing the UDI experience.¹³⁴ Small firms proliferated in the immediate post-war boom (up from 294 factories in 1939 to 473 in 1948) as capital inflow rose, matched

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.236.

¹²⁹ Msindo, E, *Settler rule in southern Rhodesia*, p.247. Msindo argues that the organisational machinery of the settler state was loose and amateurish in such a way that it was able to provide reasonable governance for the European settlers but in its dealings with the African majority tended to be 'violent, reactive and paranoid' more often than not.

¹³⁰ Phimister, I. (1988). *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, p.236-237.

¹³¹ Ibid, p.236.

We can also see this in Doris Lessing's novel, where the tobacco farmer Slatter destroys his own land knowingly, in the knowledge that the poorer farmers around him will soon fail allowing him to expand.

¹³² Stoneman, C. (1976). *Foreign capital and the prospects for Zimbabwe*. p.30.

¹³³ Stoneman, C. (1978). *Foreign Capital and the Reconstruction of Zimbabwe*. p.65.

¹³⁴ Mlambo, A. (2014). *A history of Zimbabwe*. New York : Cambridge University Press, p.95-96

by extensive state borrowing and investment in infrastructure and state companies, all of it made possible by the presence of cheap labour as Africans, fleeing the reserves, were proletarianised on an unprecedented scale (supplemented by large scale immigration of migrant workers from Nyasaland and Mozambique).¹³⁵ The average annual growth rate from 1944 to '48 was a remarkable 24%, but it should be noted that the fastest growing sectors were building, carpentry and furniture making, which we can tie directly to the other major change connected to the war; the largest short term influx of European immigrants that Southern Rhodesia would ever experience.¹³⁶ This influx of post-war migrants had a transformative effect on the European population, and essentially created the demographic conditions that made UDI (and the propagation of a minority state for fifteen years) possible. The analysis of printed advertising material in the following chapter must be considered in the context of this particular market, a population comprised primarily of recent immigrants or their children for whom the British or European motherland was not a distant memory, and whose arrival and continued presence in the state was intrinsically related to the relative conditions of life that they were offered in Rhodesia.

¹³⁵ Phimister, I. (1988). *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, p.253.

Stoneman, C. (1978). *Foreign Capital and the Reconstruction of Zimbabwe*, p.65 and 68.

Arrighi, The political economy of Rhodesia, p.353.

¹³⁶ Phimister, I. (1988). *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe*, p.254.

Immigration data from the Central Statistics Office of Southern Rhodesia, quoted in Passmore, Mitchell, Willson, Young, et al, *Source book of parliamentary elections and referenda in Southern Rhodesia*, pp.92-94.

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Chapter 3: Illustrated Life Rhodesia.

- i. Introduction.
- ii. Overview of and Content Editorial Positions.
- iii. Advertisements and Imagery in Illustrated Life Rhodesia

i. Introduction.

'Illustrated Life Rhodesia' (ILR) was a fortnightly magazine published in colour by the Graham Publishing Company of Salisbury between 1968 and 1979. The magazine was aimed at a unisex, white audience and combined articles about local history and culture with features picked up from the international press on everything from urban poverty in Mexico to the interior decorating preferences of Ringo Starr.¹³⁷ The magazine generally had a very international outlook, with one editorial response to a reader's letter describing it as their policy to devote '40 per cent (sic) or so' of the magazine to non-Rhodesian content.¹³⁸ When the magazine did cover local material, its editorial viewpoint has been described as 'liberal', with this being understood in the Rhodesian context as a viewpoint within the white population associated with the idea that some form of advancement and political engagement with the African majority was necessary in the long term, though this should not be taken to imply support for majority rule or complete opposition to the Rhodesian Front.¹³⁹ In fact, in the issues under examination (which were published between 1968-1970 and in 1976) the magazine did not publish any articles that were directly critical of the state or the Rhodesian Front, and during that same period they published a highly positive profile of Ian Smith, wrote an approving retrospective on UDI, and carried an election advertisement for the RF.¹⁴⁰ The description of the magazine as 'liberal' may derive largely from the reputation of Heidi Holland, who worked on the magazine as an editor in the mid to late '70s. A self-described radical, Holland was highly critical of the Smith government and would become an election agent for the Centre Party (which articulated the Liberal viewpoint at the time) during the 1974 election, as well as defying censorship laws to publish a picture of Robert Mugabe in 1978.¹⁴¹ In the period under study, the magazine did not appear to articulate a particularly anti-government position or

¹³⁷ Graham, G., pub., (1968, December) *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, 1 (27), (Salisbury : The Graham Publishing Company Pvt Ltd), p.22-24.

- (1970, April), 3(6), p.22.

¹³⁸ Graham, G., pub., (1968, November) *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, 1 (25), p.5.

¹³⁹ Hancock, I. (1984). *White liberals, moderates and radicals in Rhodesia, 1953-1980*. London : New York: Croom Helm ; St. Martin's Press, pp. 42-44.

¹⁴⁰ Graham, G., pub., (1968, November) *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, 1(25), pp.10-13 and p.14.

- (1970, April) 3(6), p.26.

Holland, H. (2008). *Dinner with Mugabe : The untold story of a freedom fighter who became a tyrant*. Johannesburg [etc.]: Penguin Books, p. x-xi.

¹⁴¹ Anon, (2012, August 16) 'Heidi Holland; Obituary', *Daily Telegraph*, Retrieved from; <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/9481012/Heidi-Holland.html>

to support any form of opposition party or association, though this must also be considered in light of the general disarray and weakness of the opposition at that time.¹⁴²

The magazine itself aimed for a unisex readership, with articles reflecting an interest in politics, human interest stories, international travel, the history of Rhodesia as a colony and social issues such as divorce or drug addiction. Though the magazine was aimed primarily at a domestic audience, at several times the writers and editors expressed a desire to present Rhodesia favourably to the outside world and chose to highlight letters received from international readers. Each issue between 1968-70 was fifty two pages long (decreasing to twenty four pages by 1976) and included regular features such as columns on legal and financial advice, usually followed by a letters section, a 'world in pictures' segment (featuring photos and short pieces of news or trivia from around the world), and then a feature interview/profile followed by an international article or a historical one. After the main features, there would be a horoscope/advice column, a page of film and book reviews, a quiz or contest of some kind (for which the prize was always an international holiday), a feature on either home decorating or local arts and crafts, and finally a recipe feature. The content generally seemed to be aimed at either married couples or single young professionals, with feature articles reflecting general interests while most of the regular columns were distinctly gendered. The financial and legal advice columns, for example, spoke to an assumed male audience, referring to the readers' wives, while the horoscope and cooking segments appeared to speak to an assumed female readership, with the horoscopes often discussing the readers future fortunes with men while the recipes were often aimed at women seeking to cook for children or extended families. Advertisements were typically even more strongly gendered, with a clear divide in imagery and language used to address either a male or female reader. Ads relating to financial matters almost always addressed a man (an ad for a savings club referred specifically to having money to take your 'bird' out on the town), while shops specifically advertised gifts for wives and girlfriends.¹⁴³ Conversely, ads for home appliances like stoves and refrigerators would feature female protagonists (such as an ad for Radio Store Ltd, in which a cartoon woman in an apron asks if she can really afford modern appliances), while the Salisbury based Institute of Languages advertised a secretarial training

¹⁴² Hancock, I. (1984). White liberals, moderates and radicals, p.122-123.

¹⁴³ Graham, G., pub., (1968, October) Illustrated Life Rhodesia, 1 (22), p.6.

course that would impart 'deportment, personal projection, grooming, interior décor, floral arrangement and allied arts', with the assumption that these would be necessary skills for a women seeking a secretarial career.¹⁴⁴

More generally, advertisements in the magazine combined several regular ads taken out issue after issue (such as one listing several restaurants in Salisbury, and another ad for the military that appeared in several issues using the same text over difference photos) with irregular advertisements for local products (almost every issue would have at least one ad for Castle or Lion Beer and one for some cigarette brand) and usually several ads for international, primarily British, products, including ads for Barclays Bank, Dunlop tyres, and Schweppes tonic water.¹⁴⁵ Every issue would feature large, full colour ads on the inside covers front and back, and on the back cover, as well as three to four full page colour advertisements inside, with these usually going to a brand of beer, a cigarette company, or an international brand.

ii. Overview of Content and Editorial Position

Illustrated Life Rhodesia (ILR) had a notably international outlook, with many articles discussing news or human interest stories from around the world. In the previously mentioned response to a letter questioning this, the magazine's editor described it as their belief that Rhodesians are 'basically an outward looking breed' and that the magazine aimed for a domestic readership, not an international one hoping to learn about the country.¹⁴⁶ The magazine did evidently have at least some international circulation, however, and the editors took some pride in this. On two separate occasions they published letters from readers overseas (one in Northern Ireland, another in Wales) who described themselves as supporters of the state for various reasons, and credited the magazine with countering

¹⁴⁴ Graham, G., pub., (1968, October) Illustrated Life Rhodesia, 1 (22), p.3, 32.

¹⁴⁵ Graham, G., pub., (1968, December) 'Dining in Salisbury', Rhodesian Army ad, Castle Beer ad, Illustrated Life Rhodesia, 1 (27), p.32, 13, 16.

- (1970, June) Castle Beer ad, Bensons and Hedges ad, 3(1), p.7, 8.
- (1968, October) Barclays Ad, 1(22) p.48.
- (1970, June) Dunlop Hose Pipe ad, 3(1), p.32.
- (1970, April) Schweppes Tonic ad, 3(6), p.3.

¹⁴⁶ Gordon, G., pub. (1968, November) 1 (25), p.5.

negative portrayals of it.¹⁴⁷ This points towards an escalating fixation on Rhodesia's international reputation that became evident over the period of study, culminating in the May 1976 issue which was devoted almost entirely to the state supported idea of 'psychological warfare'. In this context this phrase was used to describe an international media conspiracy which the Rhodesian Front claimed was working to spread disinformation about the country and weaken their resolve.¹⁴⁸ This issue also advertised a special book of photography about the country that it urged readers to send to their friends overseas.¹⁴⁹ This chimes with what Ian Hancock and Peter Godwin described as a widespread desire for 'approbation' and reassurance among white Rhodesians in the mid-1960s that their situation was hopeful, that there was support for UDI abroad, and that the resolve of the state's enemies was weakening.¹⁵⁰ The magazine therefore positioned itself as primarily a domestic paper for a domestic audience seeking to learn about the world, but also clearly felt some level of nationalistic duty to provide information on Rhodesia to the world. For this reason, it is reasonable to analyse the manner in which it presents Rhodesia as a way of exploring the self-image of the white Rhodesian population, and how they wished to be perceived by others.

Although it covered news from many countries, the magazine focused disproportionately on Britain. In covering news and political developments in the United Kingdom, ILR presented a consistently right-wing perspective on developments while simultaneously focusing on potential ramifications for Rhodesia specifically. At times, they covered news or voiced opinions on matters that had nothing to do with their readership, such as articles criticising the welfare state or Labour party Prime Minister Harold Wilson personally (detested in Rhodesia as the perceived architect of the Five Principles position with regard to independence).¹⁵¹ Most of the coverage, however, focused on how developments would affect Rhodesia directly. The magazine expressed a strong belief in 1970 that a Conservative victory in that year's election would lead to the end of sanctions and the normalising of

¹⁴⁷ Gordon, G., pub. (1969, February) 1 (32), p.6
- (1970, August) 3(10) p.4

¹⁴⁸ Gordon, G., pub. (1976, May) 9(5), pp.5-16.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p.16.

¹⁵⁰ Godwin, Hancock, and Hancock, Ian. (1993). *'Rhodesians Never Die': The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia C. 1970-1980*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford UP, Print, p.288.

¹⁵¹ Gordon, G., (November, 1968), 1(25), p.8-9.

relations, reflecting a long-standing belief that British demands for majority rule were down to some kind of 'socialist extremism' on the part of the Labour party.¹⁵² When the Conservative victory did not result in successful negotiations, they switched their support to the far-right politician Enoch Powell, who they presented as a near certain future Prime Minister and a potential ally.¹⁵³ In a broader sense, ILR's writers and editors often sought to present Rhodesia as a component in a global struggle against 'communism', used in a very broad sense to refer not to an actual ideology but rather a whole spectrum of positions and perceived threats. Within ILR, 'communism' was basically a catch-all term for any left-wing political position, as well as the wider process of decolonisation in Africa. 'Communism' could therefore in this context refer just as easily to Harold Wilson as to Kwame Nkrumah or Julius Nyerere. The Commonwealth was often represented as a malignant, dangerous organisation in the thrall of some kind of international communist conspiracy, placing this anti-communist position into a continuum that develops logically from a rebellion against the end of the British Empire.¹⁵⁴ In this continuum, the collapse of the British Empire (against which Rhodesia sees itself as rebelling) leads directly to a flourishing of 'international communism', and the fight against this is tied directly to the ever-important maintenance of 'British Standards', in this case in opposition to Britain itself.

The focus on communism also provided a language with which to attack or criticise post-colonial states that did not refer to race. In general, the magazine did not publish explicitly racist articles, or for that matter articles or content related to race at all. Superficially, race was absent from the discussion about the global and domestic situation. In all of the issues under study, only a handful of black politicians were mentioned by name, and not a single black person from Rhodesia was discussed by name. Only two published pieces specifically discussed the state's African majority, one being an article about interactions between black soldiers and civilians from a pro-military stance, while the other was a short story about members of the 'Batonka' tribe fighting a Zulu invasion in the pre-colonial era.¹⁵⁵ Otherwise, the state's African citizens were almost totally absent from the publication, and a

¹⁵² Gordon, G., (1970, June), 3(1), pp.14-20.

¹⁵³ Gordon, G., (April, 1970), 3(6), pp. 14-21.

It is unfortunate that issues from 1974 have not yet been located, as it would be interesting to see how they reacted to Powell's dramatic (if brief) switching of allegiance to the Labour party in that years election.

¹⁵⁴ Gordon, G., (February, 1969), 1(32), p.10.

¹⁵⁵ Gordon, G., pub. (1968, November), 1(25), pp. 16-17.

reader could easily have been under the impression that Rhodesia was an almost totally white country. In the issues that were studied, only one non-white person was given an extended interview, the then president of Malawi Hastings Banda (with the interview focusing on his falling out with the Commonwealth states and apparent willingness to work with Rhodesia and South Africa).¹⁵⁶ This will be discussed in further detail, but it is also interesting to note that in advertisements there were virtually no depictions of African people, either as models or caricatures. Within the pages of the magazine, race was seemingly absent from Rhodesian national life and virtually nothing of note occurred in Rhodesia that involved non-white people.

The magazine often reflected an apparent popular anxiety over Rhodesia's cultural life, and in particular the perception of Rhodesian culture as somewhat provincial or overly conservative. In the issue dated July 1st, 1970, the magazine's film column criticised Rhodesian audiences for ignoring recent challenging films like 'Bonnie and Clyde' and 'Rosemary's Baby' in favour of more conservative fair like 'The Sound of Music' (which had been re-released in Rhodesia as recently as 1968).¹⁵⁷ The critic argued that even when such films made it past the censors, if people did not attend them they would stop coming to the country. The same critic, however, in August of the same year revealed his own limits, admitting in a review of the film 'Love Secrets of the Kama Sutra' that he disagreed with such explicit sex on screen and implying that it was perhaps for the best that such a risqué film not make it to central Africa.¹⁵⁸ This coincides with what Ian Hancock and Peter Godwin had to say about Rhodesian cultural life, which they described as largely reliant on older, conservative American television and films, with foreign material as likely to be banned on grounds of morality or 'pornography' as for political content.¹⁵⁹ Censorship itself was not a common topic of discussion in ILR. In the October 9th 1968 issue, the news review section mentioned that the BSAP's magazine had recently given positive reviews to two novels by the American author J.P. Donleavy which had previously been banned by the censorship

- (1968, October), 1(22), p.35.

¹⁵⁶ Gordon, G., pub. (1970, July), 3(5), pp.14-20.

¹⁵⁷ Gordon, G., pub. (1970, July), 3(5), p.46.

- (1968, December) 1(27), p.21.

¹⁵⁸ Gordon, G., pub. (1970, August), 3(10), p.39.

¹⁵⁹ Godwin, Hancock, and Hancock, Ian. (1993). '*Rhodesians Never Die*', p.39-41.

board.¹⁶⁰ In this context, censorship is treated as a somewhat absurd inconvenience, with the board producing such immense lists of banned literature that even the police cannot keep up. In February of 1969, two letters responded to an article that had criticised the censorship policies in the previous issue. One writer, who identified as a 'University Student', heavily criticised the country's censorship regime and the general conservatism of society, saying that;

'Everywhere else in the "civilised" world... moral censorship is regarded as a primitive form of reactionism...The world outside Rhodesia is growing up and we in this country are being left behind, clinging to outdated concepts and trying to convince ourselves that we can still live the way our blimpish, authoritarian and remarkably bigoted grandfathers did.'¹⁶¹

On the other hand, a writer identifying as 'a mother', defended censorship on the grounds that the people of Rhodesia ('the majority of whom are parents') would be 'horrified if pornography were freely available to their children.'¹⁶² Here we can see a form of generational and identity based conflict about the nature of Rhodesia and Rhodesians. The student gives their location as Salisbury, implying that they were likely a student at the city's university college, a multi-racial institution set-up during the Federation period which the Rhodesian Front often portrayed as a dangerous centre of permissiveness and liberalism.¹⁶³ While we do not know the gender or race of the writer, their reference to 'our' grandfathers implies that they were most likely a white Rhodesian. Their placement of the word civilised in inverted commas implies that they were taking a critical or sceptical stance towards the Rhodesian state's rhetoric of civilisation and standards, and in the same letter they refer to communism as a 'bogey' that the majority 'don't come near to understanding.' The writer does, however, seem to feel that it is possible for Rhodesia to catch up with the rest of the world, and seems to see a possibility for change in society. The writer's letter does not criticise the state itself, nor does it offer an opinion on racism or on UDI. The writer who identifies as 'Mother', on the other hand, is formulating a specific vision of who Rhodesians are. In her view, the 'majority' of Rhodesians are parents, and while opponents of censorship

¹⁶⁰ Gordon, G., pub. (1968, October) 1(22) p.10.

¹⁶¹ Gordon, G., pub. (1969, February) 1(32) p.6.

¹⁶² Ibid, p.6.

¹⁶³ Godwin, Hancock, and Hancock, Ian. (1993). *'Rhodesians Never Die'*, p.49.

may make good 'intellectual points', these people ('parents') who she implicitly identifies as the *real* Rhodesians will be more motivated by the 'practical dangers' of allowing 'obscene literature' into the country. This implies a vision of the real Rhodesian as someone who is a parent, who is conservative in their tastes, who is not anti-intellectual but who will ultimately be more receptive to 'practical' considerations, and who does not mind being out of step with other countries in sticking to some kind of unspoken moral standard against 'pornography.' This self-imposed culture isolation can be related to a sense of 'little England' culture, a form of conservative identity that would become if anything more pronounced over the course of the UDI period. Censorship of everything from the Beatles to Olivia Newton John records would continue into the 1970s, and the sense that a comparative backwardness was something to be proud of would only intensify as the state became more of an international pariah.¹⁶⁴ In this particular issue the editorial staff did not make a comment of their own on the censorship issue, but they did award 'Mother' a 'Guinea Prize' for the best letter of the week.¹⁶⁵ Again, we can see that for the Rhodesians their national identity was expressed in terms of a wider conservative project that went beyond a rebellion against decolonisation. The 'mother' in the above quoted letter does not, after all, explicitly tie censorship to the maintenance of minority rule or the exclusion of politically subversive material; for her, pornography is a threat in and of itself.

The general representation of Rhodesia as a traditional, largely conservative society was not totally unchallenged. The issue of divorce was discussed in the issue from the 1st of July 1970, which claimed that the white population of Rhodesia had the highest divorce rate in the world.¹⁶⁶ This apparent contradiction between a conservative society and an incredibly high rate of marital breakdown certainly appeared to trouble the article's writer, who considered many possible causes including economic stresses and a tendency to marry too young. The August 13th 1970 issue tackled the issue of drug use among young people, describing 'dagga' (cannabis) as a problem amongst younger people but also raising the issue of alcohol and prescription amphetamine abuse, claiming that as many as one in fourteen white Rhodesians were alcoholics.¹⁶⁷ In this way the magazine was at least occasionally willing

¹⁶⁴ Godwin, Hancock, and Hancock, Ian. (1993). *Rhodesians Never Die*, p.139.

¹⁶⁵ Gordon, G., pub. (1969, February) 1(32) p.6.

¹⁶⁶ Gordon, G., pub. (1970, July) 3(5), pp.33-35.

¹⁶⁷ Gordon, G., pub. (1970, August) 3(10), p.12-16.

to challenge the Rhodesian self-image and to discuss uncomfortable issues. Issues like censorship, divorce and drug use can be seen as internal contradictions and tensions that existed beneath the surface of Rhodesian society, problematizing the state's self-representation as being defined by communal solidarity in the face of external pressures.

iii. Advertisements and Imagery in Illustrated Life Rhodesia

In the following sections, we will examine specific advertisements that appeared in Illustrated Life Rhodesia during the period under study, examining them on a semiotic basis in the context of Rhodesian nationalist identity formation and in general how they reflect on the self-image and identity of the magazine's readers. A selection of pictures of certain advertisements can be found in the appendix, as will be referenced in the text.

1. Gender in advertising

As has been mentioned, much of ILR's content was heavily gendered, and this often extended to the advertising the magazine carried. In general, women were advertised to as consumers of domestic appliances, jewellery, fashion and cosmetics. In particular, the ubiquitous advertisements for home appliances like fridge freezers, ovens and washing machines would depict woman as the primary users and beneficiaries of the objects (see appendix, fig.1.1 and 1.2). Conversely, advertisements related to financial matters and investments typically spoke to a presumed male audience or featured male protagonists (Fig 1.3). In this, we can observe a conceptualisation of the typical home imagined by the advertisers within Rhodesia as one in which financial matters were part of the masculine sphere, but in which the spending of money on the home was handled more commonly by women. This can be related to research done by Timothy Burke on advertising aimed at African people in Rhodesia during this same period, in which he described a general vision of the ideal African consumer as being a two parent household in which money was earned by the man but spent by his wife, who was perceived as being more open to western products and practices and more likely to introduce them to the home.¹⁶⁸ As was discussed in chapter two, this highly suburban, conservative vision of the ideal home was at the centre

¹⁶⁸ Burke, T. (1996). 'Fork up and smile': Marketing, colonial knowledge and the female subject in Zimbabwe. *Gender and History*, 8(3), 440-447.

of the Rhodesian image of 'standards', and it was seen as the essential basis on which the 'advancement' (or we could say, westernisation) of African people would be built, with the implication that this westernisation process was a fundamental precondition to their being granted legal and/or political equality. Based on the imagery relating to gender in the advertisements in this magazine, we can say that this attachment to strictly delineated gender roles extended into the white population of the country, or at least into how patterns of consumption were perceived.

Many other products were advertised on a gendered basis. Different brand of cigarettes, for instance, were usually aimed at either men or women. When advertising cigarettes to men it was common to employ sexualised imagery of women, or of idealised masculine figures. One ad for Saxon King brand cigarettes (see fig. 1.4) featured a man in a tuxedo drinking what appears to be champagne with a woman in a flowing evening gown while standing next to a luxury car. The tagline tells the reader that these cigarettes are for those who 'have a taste in luxury'. On a basic level, the cigarette maker clearly wants the reader to associate their brand with luxurious, expensive living, and with the idea of a man living an exciting or glamorous life. It may be worth considering the specific connotations of the name 'Saxon Kings', however. These cigarettes were produced by the East African Tobacco Company based in Nairobi, so the use of a brand name with such specific connotations for a British audience is notable.¹⁶⁹ More than just luxury, the maker wants the reader to associate their brand quite specifically with Englishness, with English history, which implies that these cigarettes are aimed at an audience for whom those connotations are positive. When we look at this imagery through a specifically British lens, it is notable that the protagonist bears a striking similarity to James Bond as then depicted by the actor Sean Connery. Specifically the character's hairstyle, suit and the glass he is holding (which may be a champagne coupe but could also be interpreted as the typically Bondian martini glass) all point the reader towards the famous fictional MI6 agent. Given the oft-repeated comparison of the Rhodesian response to sanctions with the activities of James Bond, this could be said to have a specific resonance in the context, but on a basic level the ad clearly points towards a specifically aspirational masculine and British identity. Were the advertisement to be viewed in isolation, it would be impossible to tell that

¹⁶⁹ 'The Trademarks Ordinance' (29th January, 1963), *The Kenya Gazette* (Nairobi, Kenya), p.108.

this was an ad for a cigarette company founded and based in Africa that was published in a magazine only available in Africa and aimed at an audience resident in same.

Cigarettes were also advertised directly to women. One advertisement for Cameo Cigarettes (fig. 1.5) depicts a woman in what seems to be, based on her dress, a glamorous setting, in which a bottle of some kind of alcohol and a display of fruit is visible while the protagonist partly hides her face behind a furry blue scarf. She addresses her male companion, telling him that the evening would have been 'splendid' if only he had not forgotten to bring her Cameo cigarettes. 'I simply can't smoke your *man's* cigarettes,' she continues, 'and why should I, when there's Cameo – a cigarette specially made for women?' Again, we can see that gender roles are considered to be important and products see it as useful to specify what gender they are intended for. The narrative presented in this advertisement is in some ways highly gendered and traditionalist; it is presumed, for instance, that the protagonist must rely on her male companion to provide for her (to buy her cigarettes) and in a more general sense it presents a narrative of what is presumably a date as being a largely one-sided interaction in which the onus is on the male companion to seduce the protagonist (he has made dinner, he is the host, he must get her Cameo) and in which she is largely passive. Her only role is to pronounce whether he has succeeded or failed in his objective. The narrative also coincides with what was observed earlier about the buying of domestic appliances; that the male is expected to spend the money, to take action, while the woman's role is to evaluate his decisions and serve as an arbiter of taste and fashion. On the other hand, it could be seen as a concession to late-1960s ideas of modernity that the male companion has cooked for her, and that she is placed in a position of power to evaluate his actions quite harshly. The positioning of the protagonist's eyes is interesting, as she is looking away from the camera (which we can take to represent her companion's perspective) and slightly down, as if to avoid his gaze, an action that could be taken as an act of rejection or as a more teasing gesture, implying that there is an element of flirtatious teasing in her reproach of him. Either way, while the advertisement clearly reinforces and endorses fairly traditional gender roles, and is predicated on the notion that there is something incorrect, unfeminine even, about a woman smoking a 'man's cigarettes', it is still interesting that it places the protagonist in a position of apparent power over her companion.

One of the few advertisements aimed at a unisex audience was a two page, colour promotion for Lion Beer (fig.1.6), which presented an image of a mixed gender party in which the attendants are enjoying the beer together along with a barbecue. The party is occurring outside on a warm evening, with the sun setting in the background. The characters are dressed in contemporary fashions and are of various ages, implying that this may be some kind of family event. The characters are all standing and talking in couples, with the implication of romance sitting alongside the domestic idea of a family barbecue, indicating a modern sensibility in which young and older couples are comfortable together (with the implication, even, that some of the couples may be unmarried). All the characters are smiling, and two of the men and one of the women are drinking the beer. Lion lager appear to be presenting itself as a product for all, to be enjoyed as easily with one's sweetheart as with one's parents. The outdoors setting is also reminiscent of the idea of the idealised Rhodesian life, which was so often taken to imply an outdoors, rugged but also suburban setting (they are in a rugged, natural environment, but they are enjoying a barbecue with sausages and potato salad that could just as easily be consumed in a suburban garden).

2. Domestic Environments and Suburbia.

ILR carried many advertisements for domestic furnishings and included a regular column on interior decorating. The products advertised to the readers reflected high status, Euro-American tastes and included such goods as wood flooring, carpets, and decorative metal objects. One typical advertisement promoted Grant wooden furniture, promising well-finished objects of Mukwa wood with 'Danish all-wool material' (see fig. 2.1). The image shows a brightly lit dining room with contemporary style furniture, an image that could easily have been taken in any dining room in Europe or North America. It mentions that the products are made of the native Mukwa wood, but gives just as much emphasis to the fact that the wool in the upholstery is Danish. An advertisement for Cobra wax polish (see fig. 2.2) depicts a similarly suburban setting but with a somewhat more settler-colonial touch; on the right we see a gun mounted on the wall, and opposite it the skull of what appears to be an antelope of some kind is mounted above the fireplace. The setting is reminiscent of the homes described from his childhood by Peter Godwin, in which westernised furnishing sat alongside hunting trophies and the

collection of such trophies formed an important part of social status.¹⁷⁰ The lack of specifically African decorations or artwork is notable, and was reflected in advertisements for decorative objects and gift shops, which focused largely on western style silver cutlery and decorative metals. There were, however, regular advertisements taken out for a shop in Salisbury called 'Mambo's Curio Centre', (see fig.2.3) which promised 'unusual gifts that are unique to the continent of Africa' that would be of special interest to 'relatives or friends overseas.' Mambo's advertisements stand out in a magazine otherwise largely devoid of specifically African imagery or artwork, an absence which points towards a colonial vision of the Rhodesian domestic space in which the 'frontier' surroundings were symbolically excluded, except in the form of hunting trophies and 'curios'.¹⁷¹ This coincides with the account of Kevin, a participant in a sociological study of the ex-Rhodesian diaspora conducted by Katja Uusihakala in 2008. Kevin, who came from a privileged background, repeatedly emphasised that the home he grew up in had the trappings that he identified with western high-class life, such as wall-to-wall carpeting and brass and silver objects. As he put it (emphasis my own);

'No Africanization. All right, there were trees...the msasa trees. We'd leave the indigenous trees but we'd incorporate them with beautiful carnations... No soapstone. Nothing. Nothing at all. **And if you ask me what are my pet hates, if somebody gives me a curio from Africa, I will hit them over their head with it.** But absolutely, definitely **no curios.** No, no, no, no, no ...Certainly no curio would tie up with that.'¹⁷²

In many of his statements Kevin emphasised his wealthy and upper class background, and it appears that to him a lack of 'africanization' in his home was an element of this. The natural flora can grow in the garden only once they are symbolically incorporated with carnations, while 'curios' like

¹⁷⁰ Godwin, P. (1996). *Mukiwa : A white boy in Africa*. London [etc.]: Picador.

¹⁷¹ This is reminiscent of the cultural outlook described in early Rhodesian novels in, Anthony Chennells (2003) Imagining and living the exotic: A context for early Rhodesian novels, *Journal of Literary Studies*, 19:2, 152-153.

¹⁷² Uusihakala, K. (2008). *Memory meanders : Place, home and commemoration in an ex-Rhodesian diaspora community* (Research series in anthropology ; 13. (NL-LeOCL)341550116). Helsinki: University of Helsinki, p.118.

those sold at Mambo's are unwelcome and undesirable. Even within Mambo's advertisement, the text appears to imply that these sorts of objects will be largely of interest to people from abroad or visitors. The African environment in which the Rhodesians lived is only welcome within the domestic sphere in the form of natural objects (wood, plants, hunting trophies) while created objects and elements of the traditional cultures of the maShona and Matebele people are something that is unwelcome, that must be symbolically excluded. And while this was certainly not a universal trait (other respondents to Uusihakala spoke with nostalgia of living in traditionally made homes, as did Doris Lessing) we can see it as an element of a middle class suburban aesthetic here interacting with a settler colonial environment.¹⁷³

Other advertisements promised to help keep out the exterior environment in a more literal sense. There were several advertisements in the issues under study for fencing, but one for Bain fencing from November 1968 (see fig. 2.4) may be particularly worth examining. The image depicts a typically suburban scene, as the viewer looks through a chain link fence into the sunny garden, where two young girls are playing in the foreground with a medium sized house and a new looking car behind them. The text, displayed as a sign on the fence, promises that 'this is no ordinary fence', and that no other fence will 'keep out as effectively' as this one. On one level, this is a relaxing, comfortably domestic scene, in which we can imagine ourselves as a parent watching their children play in a secure environment. But there is also a certain sense of danger; we are viewing from outside the fence, so we could be anyone, we could be a potential intruder. Within the image, the only thing actually keeping us from the children is the fence itself, the fence is acting as a bulwark against any potential threat represented by the our position relative to it. Although Rhodesia presented itself as an extremely safe society in which the white minority were confident and secure in their position, this often masked a deep seated anxiety. Frances Strauss, an American who lived in an affluent suburb of Salisbury for a period in the mid-1960s, wrote that almost every house in her neighbourhood had installed fencing, heavy gates, or even iron bars over windows because of their fear of being robbed.¹⁷⁴ We can see here some of the parallels between settler

¹⁷³ Lessing, D., & Somers, J. (1957). *Going home*. London: Michael Joseph, pp. 33-52.

¹⁷⁴ Strass, F., (1969). *My Rhodesia*, Boston: Gambit Inc., p.12.

colonialism and suburbia that were explored previously by Lorenzo Veracini.¹⁷⁵ The essential promise of the middle class suburban home whether in Rhodesia or the USA is one of security; a security underwritten by social differentiation and physical distancing from others, whether the working class of western urban environments or the urban African majority who were increasingly segregated and isolated during this period in Rhodesia. Here, social differentiation is accomplished by the expulsion of all that is non-western from the interior space, while the exterior world is held back by literal fencing. Just as the early settler Ethel Tawse Jollie promised her readers in 1916 that the alien environment of Central Africa could still allow for an essentially British style domestic life if subjugated and domesticised, so ILR's advertisements promised its readers that they could essentially live an aesthetically western domestic life regardless of their environment.¹⁷⁶

3. Nationalism and Identity.

It was not uncommon for advertisements in ILR to appeal to the readers sense of national identity, often emphasising that their products were made in Rhodesia or from Rhodesian materials. An ad for India Tyres, for instance, described them as being made in Rhodesia, and an advertisement for Broughton's Jewellers promised Rhodesian copper and gemstones.¹⁷⁷ The magazine also carried ads for the Rhodesian military and police on several occasions, including a repeated advertisement containing what are presented as testimonies from serving police officers (see fig.3.1). 'It's not like some countries' a 'patrol officer' tells us, 'here in Rhodesia I'm proud to be a police officer.' The speaker goes on to tell us that he is proud of the BSAP's 'excellent reputation' and 'high standards', comparing the force to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. In the accompanying image, we see a police officer (presumably the one speaking) from behind, as he leans down to speak to a young girl holding a briefcase of some kind (a school bag perhaps?). The child looks up at the police officer, her expression ambiguous but given the text we can read it as an expression of pride, of looking up to the officer as a role model, a protective figure. Unlike the police forces in 'some countries' we are to accept that the BSAP are the kind of police

¹⁷⁵ Lorenzo Veracini (2012) Suburbia, Settler Colonialism and the World Turned Inside Out, *Housing, Theory and Society*, 29:4, p.350.

¹⁷⁶ Jollie, E.T., (1916) 'Some Humours on Housekeeping in Rhodesia' in Blackwood's Magazine, Vol.200, New York, Leonard Scott Pub. Co., p.641.

¹⁷⁷ Gordon, G., pub. (1968, October) Illustrated Life Rhodesia, 1(22), p.36 and 32.

men that children look up to, who they approach without fear. The advertisement's tag line describes the BSAP as 'a force in the great tradition', perhaps in reference to the fact that they were significantly older than that state itself, still bearing the name of the British South African Company that created them. In this context, the comparison with the Royal Mounted Police is also informative, as the author of the ad has specifically chosen another police force created during the time of the British Empire, one associated with an Imperial Dominion. The idea of Rhodesia becoming like Canada and gaining Dominion Status was one that remained current in the country right up to the UDI period, with the Dominion Party contesting elections in the late 1950s specifically on that basis.¹⁷⁸ Even after UDI, many still looked towards states like Canada and Australia as models for Rhodesia's future relationship to the former Empire. The comparison of the BSAP to the Royal Mounted Police is therefore a culturally loaded one, and the use of the phrase 'the great tradition' can be read as a reference to the Imperial legacy, to the foundational settler myth.

This points towards an element of transnationalism in Rhodesian identity, the manner in which they defined themselves in relation to a wider imperial identity and its numerous cultural markers. While the lack of specifically African imagery in the magazines advertisements has been noted, it is also worth mentioning how comparatively common specifically British imagery was. From the cartoonish (an elephant wearing Scottish tartan dress) to the specific (a competition for a holiday in Europe features only images of London), imagery pointing towards a British identity of some kind went alongside the articles covering British politics in detail.¹⁷⁹ In a more banal sense, many advertisements with a nostalgic atmosphere contained markers of British identity. One ad for Oak Churn Butter (see fig.3.2) invites us to remember the taste of 'Granny's tea time treats' as a hand butters a slice of bread placed on an inviting tea time spread. We see white bread, a bowl of jam, and a typical china teapot, with what appear to be scones in the background. The image aims for a nostalgic effect, to bring the viewer back to some idealised childhood meal at a grandmother's home, with the cultural markers indicating that this grandmother was either in Britain or lived in a British cultural environment. Given that the majority of

¹⁷⁸ Hancock, I. (1984). *White liberals, moderates and radicals*, pp.73-75.

¹⁷⁹ Graham, G., pub., (1968, December), 1(27), p.42 and 52.

white Rhodesians had emigrated to the country after the Second World War, it would be reasonable to say that the majority of them would have grown up in, or at least had grandparents in another country, most likely Britain. The nostalgia here is not simply about reclaiming a personal memory of childhood, but about reclaiming a specific cultural memory, a space represented by the ritual of afternoon tea and available to the reader through the aforementioned butter. Just as the interior decorating can allow the suburban household to recreate an alien space in a new environment, so the basic tastes of the life left behind are also available. In a more literal sense, in the April 1970 issue a tea brand advertised a contest to win a trip abroad with the question; ‘Have you a loved one or close friend outside Rhodesia who you long to see?’¹⁸⁰ The opportunity to travel abroad is not merely a holiday in this context, it also offers the opportunity to recover what was lost through the dislocation of emigration.

4. Language

It is notable that very few advertisements used colloquial or regional language to appeal to local readers. Only one advertisement, for a saving club, was written in a more casual language register, referring to the reader as ‘man’ and referencing him taking his ‘bird’ on the town.¹⁸¹ Otherwise, few local words were used and there was no obvious use of loan words from any Shona or Ndebele languages. This contrasts with observations of some people who grew up in the country, including Peter Godwin who learned Shona as a child and described a commonly used version of English with at least some simple loan words and a generally somewhat colloquial register.¹⁸² In one letter written to ILR, a person who identifies as an older person born in Rhodesia used the Shona term ‘muti’ to refer to western medicine in a pejorative sense.¹⁸³ While this cannot be taken as evidence that most people used this or other loan words commonly, it can at least be taken that the letter writer assumed readers would understand its meaning. We see the same phenomena in video material produced by the Rhodesian government during the UDI period, which continued to employ a very formal form of high register English public school accent for spoken narration (commonly called the BBC accent). In a news piece

¹⁸⁰ Graham, G., pub., (1970 April), 3(6), p.7.

¹⁸¹ Graham, G., pub., (1968, October), 1(22), p6.

¹⁸² Godwin, P. (1996). *Mukiwa : A white boy in Africa*, p.31.

¹⁸³ Graham, G., pub.,(1970 August), 3(10), p.4.

released to mark the 1967 anniversary of UDI, Ian Smith provides the only specifically Rhodesian accent in the piece. It has been commented that many Rhodesians (including Smith) were to some extent anxious about their rural/provincial accents relative to representatives of the British government, and while this may or may not be true it is interesting that on some level they continued to view it as more appropriate to write and produce video content in a very high register, 'Queen's English' style. A blog written up until 2017 by a former Rhodesian living in New Zealand is of some interest in this as its writer set out to write in a specifically Rhodesian dialect, and the wide reaching use of Shona loanwords is striking.¹⁸⁴ This could certainly be a topic for further research.

5. Race.

As has previously been mentioned, there were no advertisements in the issues under study that employed caricatures of African people and very few in which they featured at all. There were, however, some advertisements that caricatured other races and nationalities. A recurring ad for Asafen (a drug for treating colds and flus) featured caricatures of Chinese and Native American people performing various forms of traditional medicine with the tagline 'but modern people take Asafen' (see fig.5.1). In both cases the cartoons featured exaggerated features and archaic dress, with the essential implication being that while those who live in the past (or in some form of culture defined by the author as backward, or un-modern) used ineffective traditional medicines, the viewer, as a 'modern' person, uses effective, western drugs. This does contrast somewhat with the letter writer previously mentioned who took a critical stance towards 'muti', and was not reflective of an overall pro-science bias in the magazine, which on one occasion also ran advertisements for creationist literature.¹⁸⁵ The magazine also featured an advertisement for Brazilian coffee that featured an exaggerated depiction of a South American person, including an exaggerated accent (see fig. 5.2). Conversely, the only advertisements to feature black people in any way were one for restaurants in Salisbury featuring an African waiter (see fig. 5.3) and one for Parker's pens in which a black person's hand is visible along with three white people's

¹⁸⁴ Author Unknown, 'When I was a When-We', blog, accessed at <https://wheniwasawhenwe.wordpress.com>

¹⁸⁵ Graham, G., pub.,(1970 April), 3(6), p.5.

hands.¹⁸⁶ That advertisement for dining options in Salisbury itself featured eight restaurants, three of which advertised a continental European theme, two a British theme, one a Chinese theme, one a tropical island theme, and only one (Kaya Nyama Steak House) used imagery that could be described as specific to Africa as a place.¹⁸⁷ Despite the common practice in Rhodesia of middle class families employing African domestic workers, advertisements for ovens other appliances normally depicted white housewives as the primary users of the devices. This can be related to the general absence of African people and discussion of Africa from the magazine as a whole, which implies at the very least that the magazine's editors assumed their readers to be white Rhodesians, and saw this readership as one that was arguably more interested in British subject matter than anything related to the continent on which they lived.

In terms of identity formation, we must keep in mind that the majority of the population this magazine was attempting to reach would have emigrated to the country within the last thirty years. Their sense of identity was therefore partly defined by where they had come from, and their relationship to their new location was filtered through that lens. We can also see this in terms of the basic level of self-deception that was necessary for Rhodesians to believe that it was possible to resist change forever, the fantasy presented to them by Smith and the Rhodesian Front that promised the demographic problem was surmountable, that most Africans were 'happy' and 'not interested in politics', that decisive military victory in the guerrilla war was attainable, and that the world would soon turn around and their pariah status would end (in 1969 it's a matter of waiting for the Conservatives to win the election, in 1970 its waiting for Enoch Powell to become Prime Minister, or perhaps until the other post-colonial African leaders come around to Bandu's *realpolitik*). In the realm of a popular magazine like ILR, the reader was presented with a version of Rhodesian cultural and political life from which the African majority were absent, or where present were only so in specifically acceptable roles (a soldier, a 'tribesman', a waiter). In these banal expressions of national and cultural identity, it was possible to truly believe that Rhodesia was 'white man's country'.

¹⁸⁶ Graham, G., pub.,(1970, July), 3(5), p.42.

¹⁸⁷ Graham, G., pub.,(December, 1968), 1(27), p.32.

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Anon, (2012, August 16) 'Heidi Holland; Obituary', *Daily Telegraph*, Retrieved from;
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/9481012/Heidi-Holland.html>

Illustrated Life Rhodesia

Graham, G., pub., (1968, October) *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, 1 (22), (Salisbury : The Graham Publishing Company Pvt Ltd).

- (1968, November), 1(25).
- (1968, December), 1(27).
- (1969, February), 1(32).
- (1970, June), 3(1).
- (1970, July), 3(5).
- (1970, April), 3(6).
- (1970, August), 3(10).
- (1976, May), 9(5).

Conclusion.

In this exploration of national identity formation amongst Rhodesia's white minority population, we have seen how this group's self-conceptualisation was more complicated than simply defining themselves as 'white', and that for the Rhodesians 'whiteness' was a component of a complex spectrum of cultural markers related to ideas of Britishness, conservatism and imperial identity. At the core of this discourse of identity was the concept of 'standards', often specifically defined as 'British standards', meaning both standards of living in a material sense, but also standards of behaviour, morals and culture. To the Rhodesians, 'standards' implied everything from the tradition of parliamentary democracy, to protecting children from 'pornographers', to maintaining a modern telephone system.¹⁸⁸ But it also implied standards in a more literal sense; a suburban ideal, with picket fences, cheap land, houses with servants and opportunities to acquire the latest household appliances. This points towards the unspoken truth that the majority of the white population in Rhodesia at the time of UDI were not the descendants of settlers or 'pioneers'. As we saw in chapter two, most of this European population arrived in the midst of the post-war boom, taking advantage of the cheap land that had been appropriated for colonization as a result of the Land Apportionment Act. As discussed in chapter one, the unusual circumstances surrounding the creation of Rhodesia (specifically the huge over valuation of the gold deposits, the decision to create the colony through a chartered company and the 1918 decision of the Privy Council Judicial Committee that effectively handed power over to the settler population) created a situation in which a very small group of Anglophone settlers were able to take control of Zimbabwe's land and resources at just the right time to accept and encourage a huge influx of European immigrants during and after the Second World War.¹⁸⁹ Without this influx, UDI would not have been possible, but the Rhodesian state was acutely aware that the continued presence of these new arrivals in the country was contingent on their ability to maintain themselves in a standard of living at least comparable to if not to some degree better than would be possible in Europe. As a Rhodesian soldier wrote in relation to the 1978 settlement that created the short-lived state of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, 'I'm fighting for a way of life;

¹⁸⁸ White, L. (2015). *Unpopular sovereignty : Rhodesian independence and African decolonization*. Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, p.152.

¹⁸⁹ Leys, C. (1959). *European politics in Southern Rhodesia*. Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, p13.

if the government starts wrecking those standards, I'll fight the government instead. Or go to Spain.'¹⁹⁰ Even for someone fighting for the state, anxiety about the post-Rhodesian future is expressed in terms of maintaining standards; loyalty is contingent on the continuation of life to a similar standard as before, and if the new dispensation does not accomplish that, the writer can always 'go to Spain'. In colonial South Africa, Afrikaners pejoratively referred to British settlers as 'soutpiele', implying that they stood with one foot in Africa and the other in Europe, with their 'piele' dangling the ocean.¹⁹¹ The more long term Rhodesian settlers had similar concerns about the more recent arrivals; the state was plagued by the constant anxiety that if the standard of living provided were to drop, a great deal of the white population would simply return to Europe or move on somewhere else. And of course, this is essentially what happened. In a symbolic coincidence, the net European emigration in 1979 almost exactly mirrored the net European immigration thirty years earlier.¹⁹² In a sense, things were reverting to their pre-war norm.

But the Rhodesian state also demonstrated on several occasions that it was not just interested in any white immigrants. Even during the Second World War, the state resisted the arrival of Polish refugees, isolating them in fortified camps and seeking to repatriate them after the war.¹⁹³ Although this relaxed over the course of the UDI period, the state continued to favour British or at least Anglophone settlers over other Europeans. In chapter three, we have highlighted the preponderance of specifically British nostalgic imagery in Rhodesian advertising and the extensive coverage of British domestic politics in ILR. This again points to the multi-dimensional nature of what it meant to be a white Rhodesian, a category that could certainly include Afrikaners and people of Jewish descent like Roy Welensky, but which put Britishness at the heart of its self-conceptualisation. In the context of British

¹⁹⁰ White, L. (2015). *Unpopular sovereignty*, p.204.

¹⁹¹ Lambert, J., (2000) South African British? Or Dominion South Africans? The Evolution of an Identity in the 1910s and 1920s, *South African Historical Journal*, 43:1, p.203.

¹⁹² Unknown, (1979) *Zimbabwe-Rhodesia: The Economic, Military and Demographic Situations in 1979*, CIA, National Foreign Assessment Center, p.21.

Passmore, Mitchell, Willson, Young, Mitchell, Margaret T, Willson, Jean, . . . University College of Rhodesia Nyassaland, Salisbury. (1963). *Source book of parliamentary elections and referenda in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1962*. Salisbury, p.94.

¹⁹³ Baxter Tavuyanago , Tasara Muguti & James Hlongwana (2012) Victims of the Rhodesian Immigration Policy: Polish Refugees from the Second World War, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 38:4, 958-963.

world studies, this can be related to an imperial British identity also evident in Canada, Australia and the other 'Old Dominion' territories.¹⁹⁴ And as we have seen in the Rhodesian case, in the context of the late British Empire this was an identity which would be turned against the imperial metropole to express a specifically conservative, pro-imperial loyalist ideology, in which rebellion against Britain itself could be carried out in the name of preserving British standards and the identity politics tied to them. We have also highlighted the way in which this identity was tied into 'anti-communism', in which communism became a catch-all term for decolonization, social liberalism, the welfare state, and African nationalism. In this formulation, it made perfect sense for American foreign fighters in the Rhodesian army to cite the American civil rights movement and the outcome of the American-Vietnam war as their reasons for travelling to Central Africa.¹⁹⁵ It has been argued that in the advertising and the articles carried by ILR we can observe the expression of the state's ideology, presenting itself as a conservative, somewhat culturally isolated nation that none the less felt itself to be a component in a global struggle against the end of Empire and the alleged decline of Western civilisation into 'permissiveness'. The material that we studied also illustrated the importance of material culture, of expensive European style furniture and modern domestic appliances, which as we have pointed out were another component of the ever-present 'standards'. We can therefore see how the Rhodesian discourse of identity was tied to both an ideological, nationalistic construction of culture (alternatively described as white, Christian or simply 'Western') on a political level, and also to the maintenance of material living standards that sought to attract and retain European immigrants. To understand this we must relate it to the aforementioned demographic concerns, and to understand that the state's legitimisation project was premised on creating citizens with some sort of cultural tie to the land, while also tacitly acknowledging that for many these ties were weak, and one foot was permanently in Europe and one eye on the South African border. In the realm of banal nationalism, as expressed through advertising in this case, the multifarious, complex and contingent nature of Rhodesian national identity formation can be observed.

¹⁹⁴ Belich, J. (2009). *Replenishing the earth the settler revolution and the rise of the Anglo-world, 1783-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 458-459.

¹⁹⁵ White, L. (2015). *Unpopular sovereignty*, p.198-199.

Opportunities for Further Study.

As can be seen from the bibliography, this paper took a relatively small sample of issues of ILR chosen primarily from the late 1960s. A further study could take a larger sample size and analyse the development of the magazine's content over time. It could be particularly interesting to explore how the magazine changed during the country's civil war in the latter half of the 1970s, in the context of a declining economy and a growing emigration rate. This period also saw something of revival in the internal liberal opposition to the Rhodesian Front, represented largely by the Centre Party, and the involvement with the magazine of Centre Party member Heidi Holland may have had some influence on the magazine's relationship with the state. As was mentioned in chapter three, under Holland ILR broke censorship laws to publish a picture of Robert Mugabe in 1978, and it could provide interesting material for a study to analyse the development of this editorial position over time and in the context of wider political developments. There were also, of course, many other publications aimed at the white Rhodesian market, and some form of comparative analysis could have great potential. If the material could be accessed, the magazine 'Rhodesian Property and Finance', published by the businessman Wilfred Brooks, could be an interesting comparison as it criticised the Rhodesian Front from a far-right perspective, describing Ian Smith as a fraud and a 'liberal'.¹⁹⁶ It could be highly informative to compare the two magazines in their relationship to the state and their construction of national identity.

While chapter one attempted to ground the Rhodesian narrative in its connections to Anglophone South African history and drew comparisons to British settlers in Barbados, further study could productively draw further comparisons with these or other post-Imperial states. The Rhodesians often sought to be counted alongside the so-called Old Dominions, and it could be an interesting approach to compare their history to that of Canada or Australia, within the context of British World studies. Furthermore, in the late 19th to early 20th centuries (at the height of Britain's crisis over the 'Irish Question') various figures ranging from King George V to the historian J.A. Froude drew explicit

¹⁹⁶ Andrew Cohen & Rory Pilosof (2017) Big Business and White Insecurities at the End of Empire in Southern Africa, c.1961–1977, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45:5.

comparisons between Southern Rhodesia and Northern Ireland.¹⁹⁷ Many Rhodesian figures like Ethel Tawse Jollie referenced the Ulster rebellion against Home Rule in Ireland in their writings, and the influence of Ulster loyalism on the Rhodesian Imperial Loyalist identity has been discussed elsewhere.¹⁹⁸ Given the roughly contemporary periods in question (with Northern Ireland and Rhodesia both coming into existence as self-governing entities in 1922, both experiencing a post-war boom and both descending into civil war in the early 1970s) some form of comparative study could throw light on the wider concept of loyalist identity in the late-imperial context. As was mentioned in chapter three, ILR at one point published a letter from a reader in Northern Ireland, and a comparative analysis could try to focus on examples of transnational links between the two countries during this period, either cultural or in terms of population movements (a small detail that could be noted is that a former Rhodesian soldier named Jake Harper Ronald would go on to leave the state and join the British army, where he was involved in the infamous massacre of civilians on Bloody Sunday in 1972).¹⁹⁹ Further comparative analysis could shed light on the development of post-Imperial identity in Rhodesia and the other countries mentioned while also putting the Rhodesian case into its wider context.

¹⁹⁷ Donal Lowry (1997) 'White woman's country': Ethel Tawse Jollie and the making of White Rhodesia, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23:2, p.268.

James Anthony Froude, (1886) *Oceana*. G., & Publisher: Longman, p.60.

¹⁹⁸ See, Donal Lowry, 'Ulster Resistance and Loyalist Rebellion in the Empire', in Keith Jeffery (ed), *'An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 191, 193-198, 201-209.

¹⁹⁹ Harper-Ronald Jake, Budd, Greg. (2009) *Sunday Bloody Sunday a Soldier's War in Northern Ireland, Rhodesia, Mozambique and Iraq*, Galago Books, Alberta

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White, L. (2015). *Unpopular sovereignty : Rhodesian independence and African decolonization*.
Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press.

Appendix

1: Gender in advertising.

Fig. 1.1: (October 9th, 1968), 1(22), p.3.

Televisions • Radio and Radiograms • Refrigerators

Lamps • Stoves • Washing Machines • Sewing and Knitting Machines • Freezers

Curtains • Rugs • Carpets • Furniture

CAN I REALLY AFFORD ALL THIS?



You can if you use our exclusive N.D.N.I

IT'S THE EASIEST WAY TO PLANNED COMFORT

RADIO LTD. No Deposit No Interest and 12 months to pay

Salisbury, Umtali, Bulawayo
ILR/103

Fig. 1.2: (November 20th, 1968), 1(25), p.19.

SENSATIONAL **Kelvinator**
NEW **Cookarama**



gets your cooking perfect from the word go!

(In an oven... that's large enough to roast a 30 lb. turkey)

Just look at these dream features!

AUTOMATIC OVEN TIMER STARTS THE DINNER WHILE YOU'RE OUT SHOPPING!
And switches off when it's done. Simply pre-set the clock, set the cooking time and temperature.

THE WORKING TOP IS RECESSED WITH ELEVATED SIDES.
No more spills and drips running down the sides into the cracks between built-in kitchen units.

'COOKARAMA'S' OVEN DOOR CLIPS OFF FOR EASY CLEANING.
Now you can reach in easily to clean properly and comfortably.

HUGE OVEN WINDOW GIVES YOU AN INSIDE VIEW OF YOUR BAKING.
Just switch on the light and look in. M-m-m-delicious

ALL CONTROLS ARE ON THE BACKSPASH—
Safety out of children's reach.

BUILT-IN CIRCUIT BREAKERS.
No fuses. At the flick of a switch, current is restored.

BACKSPASH NEON FLOWS AN EVEN LIGHT ON YOUR COOKING.

BOOMY WARMING DRAW, HAS STACKS AND STACKS OF ROOM FOR PLATES.

SPARKLING, DISPOSABLE-FOIL OVER INNER LINERS.
Get speedy 3 minute heating, cleaner cooking, more evenly dispersed heat.

NOW YOU CAN BROWN A DISH WHILE YOU BAKE IT!
Only the 'Cookarama' has two oven controls that work independently.

EACH SPIRAL PLATE HAS NINE DIFFERENT SIMMER-STAT POSITIONS.
At the turn of a switch you have instant heat control.

DIMENSIONS
Overall height—48½"; Height of cooking surface—30½"; Width—30"; Depth—20";
Oven dimensions—21½" x 16" x 16½" deep; Warming drawer dimensions—25" x 17½" x 8" deep.

Kelvinator

OTHER FAMOUS KELVINATOR MODELS YOU SHOULD SEE



51VOT 52 A 4R CUB "11" 52 "11" 52 52 CUB

DISTRIBUTORS: ELECTRICAL RADIO AND MUSICAL INDUSTRIES LTD.,
Salisbury: Box 947 Phone 661071 Bulawayo: Box 1449 Phone 62627 ILR/40

Fig.1.3: (October 9th, 1968), 1(22), p.9.

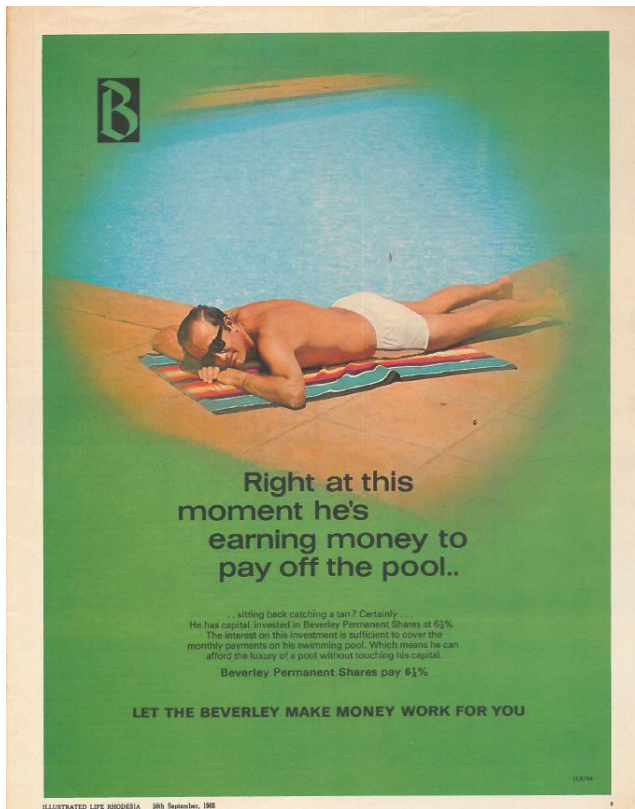


Fig. 1.4: (October 9th, 1968), 1(22), Inside Cover.



Fig. 1.5 (November 20th, 1968), 1(25), p.7.



“Darling, that was an absolutely *splendid* dinner. You really are a *splendid* cook, and you’d be a *splendid* host, if you hadn’t forgotten my Cameo...”

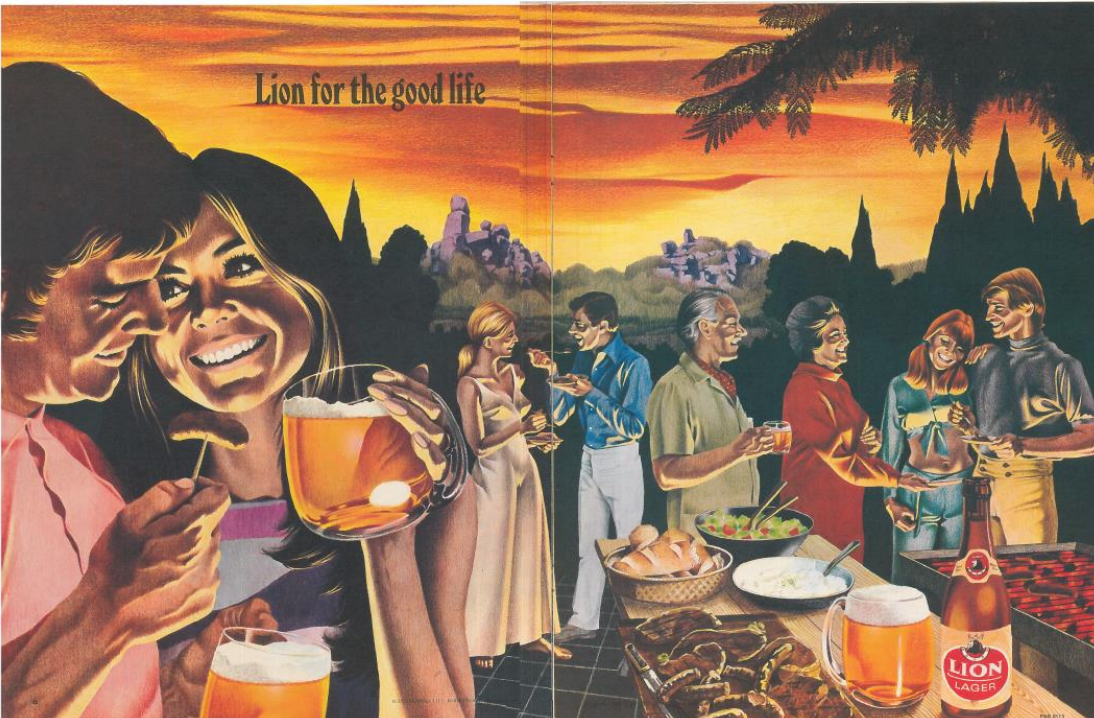
“Poor Christopher. You thought of everything. Well, *almost* everything. But I *assure* you, darling, your beautifully planned dinner will be *wasted* on me—without my Cameo! You should *know* by now, I simply can’t smoke your *man’s* cigarettes. And why should I, when there’s Cameo—a cigarette specially made for women?”



only the finest Rhodesian Virginia tobacco goes into light, smooth-smoking Cameo, the cigarette made specially for a woman’s taste.

ILLUSTRATED LIFE RHODESIA 7th November, 1968

Fig. 1.6: (June 17th, 1970) 3(1), p.22-23.



Lion for the good life

LION LAGER

2. Domestic Environments and Suburbia.

Fig. 2.1: (April 27th 1970), 3(6), p.35.



Fig. 2.2: (July 1st, 1970), 3(5), p.26.

The
'Natural Wood'
Look

See how Cobra's 'Natural Wood' shine adds new dimension to your home

One of your greatest interior decorating assets lies underfoot. Why hide it beneath carpets, stains or harsh unnatural glazes? Cobra White Wax Polish brings to life the natural beauty of your floors because Cobra doesn't darken . . . doesn't stain . . . brings out the beauty of the grain. Join the exciting swing to the 'Natural Wood' look — today's newest trend in home decoration for the woman with ideas — and keep in step with Cobra.

COBRA WHITE WAX POLISH SHINES SO NATURALLY, SO EASILY

11.5.70

ILLUSTRATED LIFE RHODESIA 1970, 3(5), 26

The advertisement shows a living room with a fireplace, a sofa, and a coffee table. The text promotes 'Cobra's Natural Wood' look and the benefits of Cobra White Wax Polish. It includes a small image of the product can and a headline: 'See how Cobra's 'Natural Wood' shine adds new dimension to your home'. The bottom of the ad features the slogan 'COBRA WHITE WAX POLISH SHINES SO NATURALLY, SO EASILY' and a date stamp '11.5.70'.

Fig. 2.3: (February 26th, 1969), 1(32), p.17.

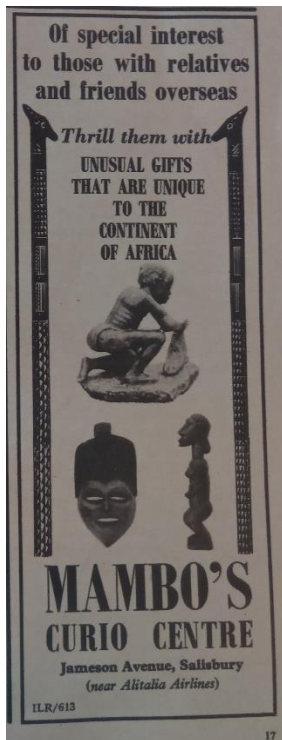


Fig. 2.4: (November 20th, 1968), 1(25), p.50.



3. Nationalism and Identity.

Fig. 3.1 (June 1970), 3(1), p.10.

The B.S.A.P.-a patrol officer talks



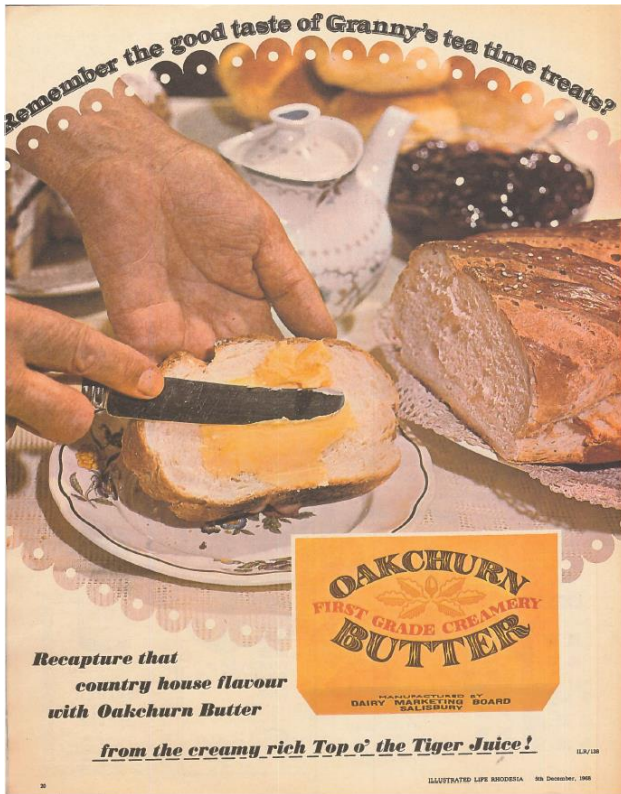
**“It’s not like some countries.
Here in Rhodesia
I’m proud to be a police officer.”**

“I know it sounds corny, but underneath it all I’m proud of my uniform, the fellows I work with, the force I belong to.
“I suppose basically it’s because the BSAP has such a terrific reputation and such high standards. Also, I think, because at heart Rhodesians are pretty proud of their police force. Like the famous Mounties in Canada.
“I know people complain when we stop them for speeding or they think we’ve been rude, but mostly I feel they trust us.
“In a small country like Rhodesia we’re so involved with the public. In the districts, you’ll find police officers organising charity concerts, captaining the local rugby side, helping old people with all kinds of personal problems. It helps build up this trust.
“Of course we make mistakes, but by and large I wouldn’t be happy in any other job. You make really good friends in the police that last all your life.”


JOIN THE B.S.A.P.—A FORCE IN THE GREAT TRADITION
For details write to—The Recruiting Officer, British South Africa Police General Headquarters, P.O. Box 8007, Causeway, Salisbury.

ILR/900 6240 600
10 ILLUSTRATED LIFE RHODESIA 6th June, 1970

Fig. 3.2 (December, 1968), 1(27), p.20.



5. Race.

Fig. 5.1 (June, 1970), 3(1), p.33.



Fig. 5.2 (July, 1970), 3(5), p.6.

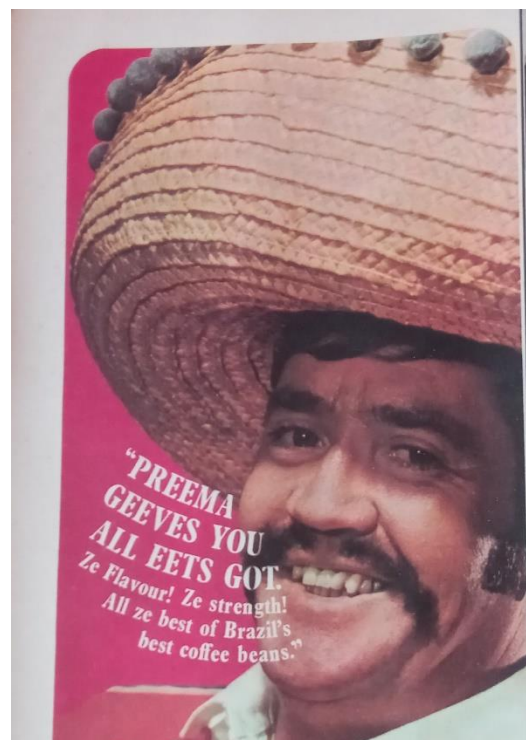
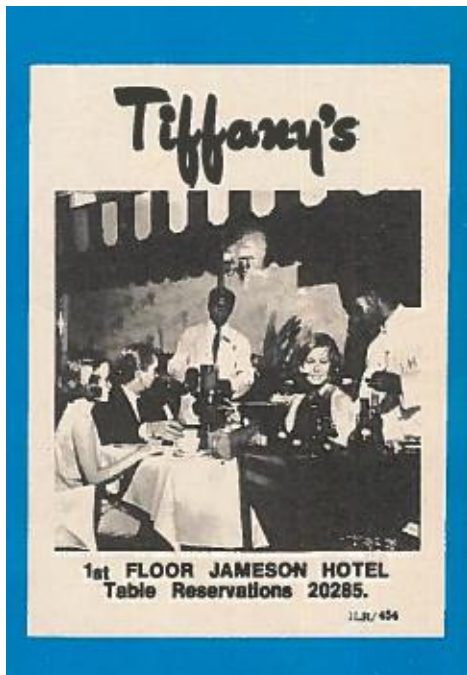


Fig. 5.3 (December, 1968), 1(27), p.32.



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