Chapter 6: White railway labour in South Africa, 1873–1924


2 Sessional papers of the Natal Legislative Council, 1890. Report and evidence to the Select Committee on Railway Matters, LC 20, items 795–798. In the 1880s whites replaced Indians as ticket-collectors and there was also pressure for substitution of clerks and gatekeepers. D. H. Heydennych, 'Indian railway labour in Natal, 1876–1895', Historia, XXXI, 1986, p. 18.


6 ‘Most declined, stating that they were not kaffirs, although a few went into the locomotive works to learn locomotive cleaning.’ C. Hassard, ‘Orange River Colony relief works’, p. 2 (unpublished manuscript, document accession no. 416, Orange Free State Archives, Bloemfontein — hereafter, OFSA).

7 Cape Archives (Cape Town) (hereafter, CA), CGR 2/1/4/6 (A12/28238): Mayor and Chairman of the Port Elizabeth Relief Committee to Commissioner of Public Works, 31 October 1899; General Manager to Engineer-in-Chief, 10 November 1899; Engineer-in-Chief to General Manager, 15 January 1900.

8 Ibid.: Commissioner of Public Works to General Manager, CGR, 12 May 1899.

9 Ibid.: Replies to Engineer-in-Chief from District Engineers at Queenstown, East London, Kimberley and ‘Midland System’, 25 May, 3 and 9 June 1899.

10 Ibid.: Acting Resident Engineer to Engineer-in-Chief, CGR, 23 May 1899.

11 South African Mines, Commerce and Industries (23 May 1903), 245: Acting Secretary, Transvaal Chamber of Mines and Chamber of Trade and Commerce, Johannes burg, to Commissioner of Railways, 12 May 1903; South African Transport Services Library, Johannesburg (hereafter, SATSL), Railway Board Minutes, no. 84, 26 May 1903; ICC 26/03: General Manager to Commissioner of Railways, 19 August 1903; Member of Railway Committee to Committee Secretary, 21 September 1903; Orange River Colony Representative, Railway Committee, to Committee Secretary, 22 September 1903.


13 Mining Industry Commission (hereafter, Mining Commission), Minutes of Evidence, TG 2–1908, p. 334.
14 OFSA, CO 237 (1759/03): Lyell to Colonial Secretary, Orange River Colony, 7 March 1903.

15 Labour Commission, items 7434, 7501, 7654. The General Manager also noted (item 7448) that some of the navvies ‘did not seem to be desirable white men from the point of view of making this a white man’s country’.


18 Ibid., p. 116.

19 Ibid., pp. 159, 161; Mining Commission, p. 335.


22 ‘If the [NGR] is forced on account of men being out of employment to engage them to do work which would otherwise be done by Natives, then this House must take the responsibility on its own shoulders of that work having to be done at five or six times the cost.’ Minister of Railways, Natal (Colony), Legislative Assembly Debates, 1904, p. 472.

23 Select Committee, Appendix E, p. xxv; Supplement to Annual Report of SAR General Manager, UG 46–1914, p. 66.


26 CA, CGR 2/1/4/6 (A12/28238): Berrange to Robb, 22 March 1910; Locomotive Superintendent to Chief Locomotive Superintendent, Salt River, 6 April 1910; Chief Locomotive Superintendent to General Manager, 26 April 1910.

27 Ibid.: Locomotive Superintendent to Chief Locomotive Superintendent, 23 March 1910.

28 Ibid.: Steynsburg Petitioners to Commissioner of Public Works, 6 April 1909; Chief Traffic Manager to General Manager, 13 April 1909; General Manager to Commissioner of Public Works, 27 April 1909.
Ibid.: Engineer-in-Chief to General Manager, 30 June 1909; Cape (Colony), Legislative Assembly Debates, 2 November 1909.


32 OFSA, PWD 139 (C 8/09): Traffic Manager, Bloemfontein, to Minister of Public Works, Bloemfontein, 9 February 1909.

33 Select Committee, item 4696; SATSL, Annual reports of departmental officers (hereafter, ARDO), 1911–1913: Annual reports by the White Labour Superintendent. His 1911 report observed (p. 4) that there was 'a considerable number of men living in mud huts, old kaffir and indian huts, tents etc., married men with three or four children living in two rooms 9 feet by 9 feet, unlined, unceiled, unfloored, with one small window or none at all, and-as a rule no kitchen accommodation. The occupants are frozen in winter and grilled in summer.'

34 OFSA, PWD 140 (2031/1): Poelakerto Legislative Assembly, Orange River Colony, 22 October 1909.


36 Hansard, 29 March 1911, col. 2138.

37 Hansard, 29 November 1910, cols 711 and 717. In 1909 the NGR had been granted permission to enlist mechanics from the Orange River Colony. OFSA, CO 992 (1987), Colonial Secretary to Harding and Freeman (Labour Agents), 5 May 1909.

38 SATSL, SAR General Manager’s Special Notice no. 539, 23 November 1911.


40 UG 45–1937, p. 272.

41 SATSL, ARDO, 1911: Annual report of the White Labour Superintendent, including annexure 11: CSAR Special Notice no. 539, 23 November 1911; Select Committee, appendix D, and items 4630, 4631.

42 SATSL, ARDO, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1915: Annual reports of the White Labour Superintendent.

43 SATSL, ARDO, 1913: Annual report of the White Labour Superintendent.

44 The estimated annual cost of replacing 1 600 black workshop labourers by 1 000 whites was £43 000, some 2 per cent of the workshop budget. South Africa, Report of a Committee to Enquire into and Report on Certain Matters Concerning the Railway Workshops, UG 33–1912, p. 36.

45 Hansard, 11 February 1913, col. 204; UG 33–1912, p. 37. As in mining, so on the railways, fraternisation between black and white may have been regarded as undermining the coercion and racist ideology which underpinned control of black

46 Select Committee, appendix E; *Hansard*, 11 February 1913, col. 204.

47 SATSL, ARDO, 1911–1915: Annual reports of the White Labour Superintendent. December employment figures are not necessarily representative of totals in other months. In 1912, for example, the December figure was below the mean monthly total for the year, the highest monthly employment figure being 5 100.

48 White labourers received identical war bonuses to other railway servants, viz. 52s monthly. The bonus meant an increase in pay of some 40 per cent. *Hansard (Cape Times)*, 22 February 1918.

49 SATSL, ARDO, 1911: Annual report of the White Labour Superintendent.

50 Central Archives Depot, Pretoria (hereafter, CAD), SAS 1770 (RG 735/10): SAR General Manager’s memorandum, 30 June 1914.

51 CAD, MNW 254 (2971/14): letters to Provincial Secretary (Pretoria), 10 and 26 June 1914; *Transvaal Chronicle* (26 June 1914).

52 Select Committee, item 4636, and pp. 637–638. Between 1909 and 1916 the majority of white railway labourers were engaged as track maintenance crews, station and workshop assistants — in 1910, 59 per cent; by 1916, 99 per cent.

53 SATSL, ARDO, 1911–1915: Annual reports of the White Labour Superintendent.

54 CAD, MNW 432 (2383/18): Notice of NURAHS mass meeting, 13 July 1918; White Labour Superintendent to Private Secretary, Department of Mines and Industries, 3 October 1918; *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 September 1918; SATSL, SAR General Manager’s Special Notice no. 1059, 26 September 1918.

55 *Hansard (Cape Times)*, 19 February 1919; 21 May 1919, p. 331; 30 June 1921, p. 284; CAD, MNW 543 (3197/20): Secretary for Mines and Industries to General Manager, 2 October 1920; SATSL, SAR General Manager’s Special Notice no. 1173, 27 February 1920.

56 *Hansard (Cape Times)*, 22 February 1918, p. 91.


60 *Hansard (Cape Times)*, 30 June 1921, p. 284; 9 February 1923, p. 61; *South African Railway Review*, September, October, November 1922. Government was also accused of foregoing the opportunity eventually to have a South African as Railway General Manager. A future Railway Minister did in fact emerge from the ranks of the poor white labourers. Starting in 1921 as a sixteen year old, B. J. Schoeman’s first three railway jobs were messenger, locomotive cleaner and stoker.
61 Davies, *Capital, state and white labour*, p. 75.

62 *Supplement to the annual report of SAR General Manager*, UG 46–1914, p. 68; *Report of the Railway Commission of Inquiry*, UG 14–1917, p. 17 (cf. Zeerust magistrate's report that the SAR's white labour policy had been 'gratifyingly successful' (cited in *Annual report of the SAR General Manager*, UG 43–1918, p. 114)).


64 *Minutes of Proceedings, South African Society of Civil Engineers*, XV, 1917, pp. 43–44. The district engineer's statement that 'the principal point to consider ... in dealing with white labour is not its cost but its colour' (p. 217) accords with the 1910 opinion of the Chief Engineer that the cost per mile of maintenance by blacks and whites was 'an extinct comparison in a white man's country' (cited by Davies, *Capital, state and white labour*, p. 106).


Chapter 7: Slums, segregation and poor whites in Johannesburg, 1920–1934

1 University of the Witwatersrand, Church of the Province of South Africa Records Library, Race Relations Collection, Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, Report of the Housing Committee, no date (approximately 1930).
3 J. P. R. Maud, City government, the Johannesburg experiment, Oxford, 1938, p. 61.
7 J. Wentzel, A view from the ridge, Johannesburg retrospect, Cape Town, 1975.
9 City of Johannesburg, City Health Department Archive (henceforth: CoJ, CHDA), Box 27, File 9608: Report of the Medical Officer of Health on the shortage of dwelling houses, 5 December 1919.
10 CoJ, CHDA, Unsorted Box, File 9608: Evidence given by Dr Porter (Medical Officer of Health) before the Housing Commission, 9 December 1919.
13 Ibid., p. 8.
16 CoJ, CHDA, Box 27, File 9608: Report of the General Purposes Committee, 1 September 1919; Municipal Magazine (July 1921).
17 Maud, *City government, the Johannesburg experiment; Municipal Magazine*, November 1919.

18 Under the Housing Act of 1920 money was made available to assist in construction of homes for whites, coloureds and Indians. Africans were excluded from the legislation on the grounds that their residential requirements would be catered for in the proposed Natives Urban Areas Bill.

19 CoJ, CHDA, Box 27, File 9608: Letter from the Medical Officer of Health to Mr Gow, 14 November 1919; *Municipal Magazine*, July 1921.

20 *Municipal Magazine*, July 1921.

21 *Municipal Magazine*, August 1922.


24 *Hansard*, 1927, col. 2156.

25 CoJ, CHDA, Unsorted Box, File 9608: Special Report by Medical Officer of Health to the Parks and Estates and Public Health Committees on Housing for Europeans (Housing Act (No. 35) 1920), 3 August 1923.


29 City of Johannesburg, 'Minute of the Mayor, Report of the Director of the Non-European Affairs Department for the year ending 31 June 1929', p. 105.

30 E. Brink, "'Maar 'n klomp 'factory' meide": Afrikaner family and community on the Witwatersrand during the 1920s", In B. Bozzoli (ed.), *Class, community and conflict, Johannesburg*, 1978; University of the Witwatersrand, Church of the Province of South Africa Archives, Records of the Garment Worker's Union, Box AH 1092, File Bch1, Wage Board report into the clothing industry, 1926.


33 City of Johannesburg, *Minutes of the Mayor: Report of the Director of the Native Affairs Department for the year ending 31 June 1927*.

34 *Hansard*, 1930, col. 1755.

35 This figure represents almost one fifth of the 153 000 African population of Johannesburg as reported by the Director of the Native Affairs Department in his report for the year ending 31 June 1927, in City of Johannesburg, *Minutes of the Mayor*; E. Koch, 'Doornfontein and its African working class, 1914–1935, a study of popular culture in Johannesburg', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1983, points out that before the Court's decision the Johannesburg Council had already moved 5 000 people from the slums.
By the mid-1930s the council controlled some 50,000 accommodation units in the form of hostels: see G. H. Pirie and M. Da Silva, 'Hostels for African migrants in greater Johannesburg', GeoJournal, XI, 1987. The following figures of housing stock owned by the council in 1934 gives some sense of the extent of official accommodation available for Africans in Johannesburg: Western Native Township (2,308 houses) – Eastern Native Township (616 houses) – Orlando (6,641 houses) – Pimville (180 houses and 2,076 stands) – Wemmer Native Men’s Hostel (2,750 beds) – Mai Mai Hostel (300 beds) – Wolhuter Native Men’s Hostel (3,520 beds) – Wolhuter Native Women’s Hostel (120 beds). Source: CoJ, CHDA, Unsorted Box, File 9608: Draft Joint Report by Town Clerk, City Engineer, Medical Officer of Health, City Treasurer, Manager, Non-European Affairs Department, Director of Social Welfare re housing, Appendix A: existing housing schemes (1934), 13 August 1943.

See The Star, 8 November 1930. A slum register was opened to monitor the re-influx of Africans to Doornfontein, City and Suburban and Jeppestown; see also City of Johannesburg, Minute of the Mayor, Report of the Director of the Native Affairs Department for the year ending 31 June 1933.


The council’s suggestion was for a 50 per cent subsidy on all housing provided by the local authority.

In addition, 84 married men from the SAR had access to their own accommodation, while the council paid no attention to the requirements of unmarried men or women of any marital status.

50 Ibid.

51 The Star, 25 April 1934.


53 City of Johannesburg, Report of the Manager of the Non European Affairs Department, 1934; Municipal Magazine, September 1933; see also Johannesburg Housing Utility Company, To hell with slums, Johannesburg, 1933.

54 CoJ, CHDA, Box 17, File 4574A: Supplementary Report of the Town Clerk to the General Purposes Committee, 28 November 1933.

55 The Star, 8 December 1932.

56 CoJ, CHDA, Unsorted Box, File 4574A: Slums Act 1934: Properties returned by District Inspectors requiring attention.

57 Ibid.

58 CoJ, CHDA, Unsorted Box, File 4574A: Special Report of Medical Officer of Health to Special Committee on Slums and Housing, 13 February 1934.

59 Johannesburg Housing Utility Company, To hell with slums.

60 The Star, 18 July 1932. Ethelreda Lewis defined the 'new poor' in this way: 'The latest group of New Poor in Johannesburg is that of the ex-officer of the army and navy, now an ex-settler too, who, after going swiftly bankrupt on the alleged farm sold to him in London, finds Johannesburg the best place in which to become a taxi-driver, a peddler of sewing-machines or an agent for some coal merchant, going from door to door in the slums.' E. Lewis, 'Johannesburg', Geographical Magazine, III, 1936, pp. 293-310.


62 The Star, 23 April 1932.

63 City of Johannesburg, Minute of the Mayor, Report of the Director of the Native Affairs Department for the year ending 31 June 1932, p. 108.

64 The Star, 14 December 1932. Similar profits were reported in coloured and African slum areas: see S. Parnell, 'Johannesburg's backyards: the slums of New Doornfontein, Bertrams and Prospect, 1934-1939,' South African Geographical Journal, 1988, p. 70.

65 The Star, 14 November 1933.

66 The Star, 8 September 1931.

67 In February 1937 the first tenants moved into the Jan Hofmeyr housing scheme which had been built to provide alternative accommodation for the white slum-dweller.

69 CoJ, CHDA, Unsorted Box, File 9608: Special Report by the Medical Officer of Health to the Parks and Estates and Public Health Committees on Housing for Europeans (Housing Act (No. 35) 1920), 3 August 1923.

70 CoJ, CHDA, Unsorted Box, File 9608: Special Report by Medical Officer of Health to the Parks and Estates and Public Health Committees on Housing for Europeans (Housing Act (No. 35) of 1935), 3 August 1923.


72 *Municipal Magazine*, August 1935; Johannesburg Housing Utility Company, *To hell with slums*.

73 Octavia Hill, a philanthropist in post-World War I Britain, established a system of housing management which was adopted by the Johannesburg Council. Her approach, aimed at rehabilitation of the previously slum resident, was based on the regular collection of the rent, cleanliness, and the presence of a female housing manager to liaise with wives at home.

74 *Hansard*, 1930, col. 1757; 1934, col. 3317. Significantly, section 29, sub-section 2 of the Slums Act included specific provision that the residents could not refuse to move from a slum clearance area on the grounds that no alternative accommodation existed. This clause was invoked in the Bertrams case; see Parnell, "Johannesburg's backyards", p. 70.

75 CoJ, CHDA, Box 43, File 9828: Papers in a file marked Bertram–Maurice Freeman Housing Scheme, no date.

76 University of the Witwatersrand, Church of the Province of South Africa Archive, South African Institute of Race Relations Collection, Box AD 843, File B43.2, Letter from A. L. Barrett of the Department of Native Affairs, 8 June 1934.
Chapter 8: Minute substance versus substantial fear: white destitution and the shaping of policy in Rhodesia in the 1890s


3 A census was taken in Rhodesia but not South Africa in 1931, so that the figures of 2,004,000 whites in South Africa and 55,408 whites in Rhodesia are taken from the census held in each territory in 1936. Malcolm, Lord Hailey, An African survey — revised 1956, London, Oxford University Press, 1957, p. 126; Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Census of Population 1956, Salisbury, Central Statistical Office, 1960, p. 3.

4 Hailey, op. cit., p. 1281.

5 The view that colonial Rhodesia and South Africa were one has been expressed or implied from the 1890s onwards by contemporary commentators, by participants, and by historians. James Bryce devoted four chapters to the territory in his Impressions of South Africa, London, Macmillan, 1897. W. H. Brown was a participant who commented on developments exclusively within Rhodesia in his On the South African frontier, London, Sampson Low, Marston, 1899 / Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1970. H. Marshall Hole, a participant turned historian, consistently upheld the view in his books that Rhodesia was an outpost of Cape civilisation. The making of Rhodesia, London, Macmillan, 1926 / London: Frank Cass, 1967, p. 16 ff. More recently, D. M. Schreuder (The scramble for Southern Africa, 1877–1895, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980) has joined others in integrating Rhodesian colonial history into that of South Africa. The most notable opponent of what might legitimately be described as the standard viewpoint has been the late Sir George Schuster who argued against regarding Rhodesia as a part of the ‘white’ South in 1928 as a member of the Hilton Young Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in East and Central Africa, and was still wrestling with the implications fifty years later, as he reveals in Private work and public causes: a personal record 1881–1978, Cowbridge, D. Brown & Sons, 1979, p. 80.


11 Marks & Atmore, *loc. cit.*, pp. 6, 8.

12 Gann, *op. cit.*, provides but one among a number of available alternative sources for further details.

13 [National Archives of Zimbabwe], BO 11/1/1. H. J. Borrow to his mother, Hanyane River, 10 September 1890. An embodied member of the Pioneer Column had signed attestation papers in contradistinction to the prospecting parties who accompanied the column. Frank Johnson, *Great days*, London, G. Bell & Sons, 1940 / Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1972, p. 126. A Cape morgen equals 2,11654 acres.


15 Eight pioneer farms were awarded on 19 September 1893 to the Paarl delegates, who had stimulated settlement by Afrikaners from the Cape, and two more names were associated with the other eight on 5 October 1894, for M. M. Venter and D. C. de Waal were political associates of Rhodes: S 1107, folio 508. For further detail on De Waal's association with Rhodes, see D. C. de Waal, *With Rhodes in Mashonaland*, Cape Town: Juta, 1896 / Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1974.


17 The time period in respect of the right of A. J. F. Sandeman was extended to 30 June 1895, which permitted the right to be sold to James Dickenson in order to secure the farm Springfield, JG 3/3/35, DR 2/264, James Dickenson, Certificate of Right No. 845. Similarly, C. H. Tilney's time-period was twice extended in 1895 before his right was sold to H. H. Ruping, who used it to secure his farm: S 1107, folio 606. Occupation by the ex-policemen involved was clearly waived in both these instances, while farms were known to have been transferred without the
occupation clause having been fulfilled before August 1892 (The Rhodesia Chronicle, 20 August 1892). In 1899, the Chartered Company still recognised the validity of fifteen unlocated police farm rights: BSAC, Report on the Administration of Rhodesia 1898–1900, p. 175.

18 CT 1/24/5, No. 50, Ag. Secretary, Cape Town, to W. J. Parker, P.O. Nelspoort, 15 July 1891; CT 1/24/2, No. 6, BSAC printed notice. Conditions of land grants selected subject to the approval of the Administrator in the British South Africa Company’s sphere of operations during the year 1892; The Rhodesia Herald, 19 October 1894.

19 F. C. Selous received the 9 449-morgen estate Little England as a reward (BSAC Government Gazette, 10 February 1899). The Clare Estate Syndicate failed to respond to twenty-two farms offered to it as an inducement to enter Mashonaland (The Matabeleland News and Mining Record, 2 June 1894). M. Martin, a member of the Free State Raad, did respond to the inducement of eight 3 000-morgen farms in Gazaland (S 1107, folios 396-397; S. P. Olivier, Many treks made Rhodesia (Cape Town, Howard B. Timmins, 1957 / Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1975), pp. 69–79).

20 The terms of the original agreement were negotiated at Fort Victoria, so that the rights are known as ‘Victoria Agreement’ rights. W14/1/1, L. S. Jameson to Captain Allan Wilson, Victoria, 14 August 1893, refers.

21 BSAC, Reports ... 1898–1900, p. 176. An example of a special grant is provided by the farm Shiloh consisting of 6 000 morgen of land covering the pre-colonial mission station of Thomas Morgan Thomas, ‘granted’ to his widow in 1893 on occupation. C. C. Thomas, ‘Thomas Morgan Thomas Pioneer Missionary 1828–1884’, p. 79 — unpublished typescript, a copy is held in the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

22 The Matabeleland News and Mining Record, 2 June 1894.

23 L 1/2/1, Surveyor General, Salisbury, to Civil Commissioner, Umtali, 17 August 1894; ibid., Surveyor General, Salisbury, to J. W. Barry, 6 October 1894.

24 Ibid., Surveyor General, Salisbury, to Civil Commissioner, Victoria, 19 September 1894, referring to the ‘alleged’ Charlestown trek; S 1104, folio 103, referring to authorisation of the grants by the Surveyor General on 7 August 1894.


26 T 1/2/105, folio 312, debit in respect of costs and counsel’s fees, 24 October 1894; L 1/2/1, Surveyor General, Salisbury, to L. V. Lyle, Lesapi Post Office, Umtali, 11 September 1894.

27 S 1107, folio 394, 16 December 1896.

28 Such confirmation was contained in a minute of the Administrator-in-Council dated 27 October 1897: S 1107, folios 394, 418.

29 M1 1/1/1, telegram, Rhodes, Umtali, to Milton, Salisbury, 29 November 1897.

30 BSAC, Directors’ report and accounts, 31 March 1896 and 31 March 1897, p. 18.

31 BSAC, Directors’ report and accounts, 31 March 1899 and 31 March 1900, pp. 17–18.
32 H. G. Knox had worked his passage up from Natal to Melsetter with F. E. Markham, with whom he boarded for four months before attempting to occupy the farm Woodford for the nine days preceding his death as a pauper on 9 May 1894: JG 3/3/10, DR 1/154. Two trekker families at Melsetter in February 1895 had been dependent upon communal charity from the moment of their arrival. P. A. Strasheim, *In the land of Cecil Rhodes*, Cape Town: Juta, 1896, p. 121.

33 The pioneer William Harvey Brown refers to this activity in 1894 and 1895; he secured his own fourth farm right on 7 January 1895 through a verbal award from the Surveyor General (Brown, op. cit., pp. 304–307, 318; S 1107, folios 42, 60). The interest in acquiring rights in 1894 and 1895 is confirmed by the action taken to confirm R. C. W. Clowes’s entitlement to a police farm, which was due to expire on 23 September 1894. L 1/2/1, Surveyor General, Salisbury, to L. H. Gabriel, 13 September 1894.

34 The only safe assumption that can be made about the landholding tables published in 1901 is that they were drawn up at some stage prior to the date of publication and not necessarily in 1899: BSAC, *Reports ... 1898–1900*, pp. 175–176. The Chartered Company’s tendency to adjust dates to suit its own convenience is illustrated in detail in P. Stigger, ‘The emergence of the Native Department in Matabeleland, 1893–1899’, *Rhodesian History*, 7, 1976, pp. 59–60.


36 Four hundred and fifty individuals who had forfeited their entitlement were named in Government Notice No. 19/1898, BSAC *Government Gazette*, 26 January 1898. There is thus some conflict with the published table: BSAC, *Reports ... 1898–1900*, p. 175.


38 Only seven final titles were issued in respect of a sample 91 entries made in the Grant Register before the end of 1896 (S 1107, folios 394, 400). This implies that most grants which are known to have lapsed probably did so by the end of 1896. BSAC, *Reports ... 1898–1900*, p. 175.


40 Sufficient is known about 135 men to establish that 65 were born in the British Isles and 59 in South Africa, while 11 others hailed from elsewhere. The biographical details which Cary provides on the South Africans suggests that they originated in about even proportions from town and countryside. Cary, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

41 P. R. Warhurst, ‘Extracts from the South African letters and diaries of Victor Morier, 1890–91’, *Rhodesiana*, 13, December 1965, p. 14. The pioneer W. H. Brown started out as a collector and prospector and, although he took up his pioneer grant in October 1891, he did not turn to the land until 1894, first selling firewood in Salisbury and producing foodstuffs only in 1896 (Brown, *op cit.*, pp. 122–123, 142, 304–307; S 1107, folio 42; T 1/2/4, folios 75 and 218, 11 July 1895 and 12 December 1895; T 1/2/5, folio 136, 31 July 1896). Peter Forrestall was a military policeman who joined the civil police in 1892. He first attempted to farm outside Victoria at some date between February and July 1893. In 1894 he became a Native Commissioner and acquired a pioneer farm in the Chibi district in December 1896. He developed this into a ranch and ran more than 4 000 cattle. Forrestall succeeded because he
was employed while he built up his ranch. Most policemen subsisted on 5s a day, one shilling of which was withheld until their discharge, when their deferred pay was likely to be their only asset. A year's deferred pay (£18 5s) would not go far when regular board and lodging cost at least £3 a week. Hickman, op. cit., pp. 277–278; The Mashonaland Times, 11 February 1893; [British Parliamentary Papers] 1894, LVII 545, p. 30; Hickman, op. cit., p. 178; BSAC Government Gazette, 1 December 1897; T1/2/103, folio 189, June 1892; CT 4/1/3, folios 104, 111, 29 November 1892 and 19 December 1892; The Mashonaland Herald, 27 June 1891.


43 Some men who could shoot and ride were recruited around Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal to take horses to Fort Victoria (The Press, 7 August 1893). The Fort Victoria column also contained a body of men brought up by wagon from Johannesburg itself: Captain C. H. W. Donovan's printed address 'With the Victoria Column in Matabeleland' to the Aldershot Military Society, 20 March 1894, p. 17. Raaff, the Resident Magistrate at Tuli, was sent to Johannesburg to recruit 250 men and eventually led 225 of them into Matabeleland: Keppel-Jones op. cit., pp. 245–246, 266–267.

44 The members of the Van der Byl Agricultural Syndicate or Expedition formed a group of twenty-five trekkers who were predominantly townsmen and enthusiastic farmers until faced by the realities of rural Rhodesia. Two men obtained farms. One, P. W. de Vos, was killed in action in Matabeleland in 1893 and, while his heirs received his pioneer farm, they received only £1 14s after his debts were paid through the sale of his Victoria Agreement farm, mining, and loot rights. R. Hodder-Williams, White farmers in Rhodesia 1890–1965, London, Macmillan, 1983, p. 24; JG 3/3/35, DR 2/262.

45 J. N. Norton, killed outside Salisbury on 16 June 1896, had £2 008 16s 8d in the bank and owned five farms, for damage to which his estate received £4 970 19s 5d, in compensation from the Chartered Company. Walter Tapsell, killed on 20 June 1896, had developed his two farms by borrowing £200 from Colonel Frank Rhodes on 17 March 1893 and had done well enough for his estate to receive £767 12s 10d in compensation from the Chartered Company. JG 3/3/35, DR 2/262.


47 The exceptions were not all that numerous. Borrow on behalf of his company ploughed fifty acres in October 1890. He did so again in the following season. His activity may have been rivalled by that of E. Kermode, of Spring Valley, who called for tenders by 1 October 1891 to plough fifty acres. At the end of the 1892/93 season, it was said that 'there are not more than half-a-dozen [farmers] in the country who are doing any good work'. Thereafter, some men were active around Salisbury until the crisis in mid-1896 checked development. John Dixon Briscoe was as active as Tapsell until he was killed on his farms nine miles from Salisbury on 19 June 1896. Hy had by then supplied forage and mealies worth £269 4s 6d to
the Chartered Company, which paid an additional £2 075 in compensation for losses to his estate. The most notable effort early in 1896 in Matabeleland was F. C. Selous’s breaking of about forty acres, largely planted to trees, on the enormous Essexvale estate belonging to the Matabeleland Gold Reefs and Estate Company. More serious activities resumed in the Salisbury magisterial district in the 1898/99 season, when some work was done on forty farms, with the usual fifty acres ploughed at Borrowdale by the end of the third quarter of 1898 being especially remarked upon. On the eastern frontier, the efforts of Mrs Moodie at Kenilworth stood out at the end of the 1900/01 season in comparison only to what other Afrikaners were not doing. Thus, even the most energetic farmers were not achieving all that much in the 1890s. BO 11/1/1, Borrow to his Mother, The Ranch, 27 October 1890; The Mashonaland Herald, 9 April 1892; ibid., 25 July 1891 and 5 September 1891; The Mashonaland Times, 1 April 1893; JG 3/3/35, DR 2/261; fn. 45 above; F. C. Selous, Sunshine and storm in Rhodesia, London, Rowland Ward, 1896 / New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969, pp. 10–11; BSAC, Reports on the Administration of Rhodesia, 1897–1898, London, BSAC, 1899, p. 253; Carl Peters, The Eldorado of the ancients, London, C. Arthur Pearson, 1902 / New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969, p. 249;
estimated 25 per cent of whites to leave on war service. *Year book* ... 1924, pp. 37, 295.

65 Gann, *op. cit.*, p. 301.


68 Ibid., 20 April 1938; Gann, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

69 The Maize Control Amendment Act 1933, No. 24/1933, was published in the *Government Gazette*, 23 June 1933. The next potentially repressive measure was the Bill for an Industrial Conciliation Act, published in the *Government Gazette*, 9 March 1934. The Maize Control Amendment Act 1934, No. 17/1934, was published in the *Government Gazette*, 25 May 1934. There was then pause until a broad range of economic controls was introduced in 1937, the sequence commencing with the Dairy Act 1937, No. 28/1937, published in the *Government Gazette*, 19 November 1937.


71 By October 1892, the Surveyor General estimated that 300 men were occupying farms. A year earlier, there were between 230 and 250 whites in Salisbury alone, while about 100 were mining at Fort Victoria, apart from those so engaged around Hartley Hills, in Lomagundi, or near Umtali. The number and percentage of economically active whites engaged in agriculture rose between 1904 and 1921, when they numbered 3,626 and formed 18.38 per cent respectively. Subsequently, the number increased but the percentage fell, e.g. in 1956 to 7,036 economically active males or 12.42 per cent. BSAC, *Report on the company’s proceedings ... 1889–1892*, p. 25; *The Mashonaland Herald*, 7 and 21 November 1891; fns 60, 62 refer; Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *Census of Population 1956*, pp. 69–70.

72 The firm of Johnson, Heany and Borrow was buying up all the pioneer farm rights it could get within a month of the Pioneer Corps standing down. The company scramble for land in Matabeleland began as soon as the Chartered Company started to disband its forces in December 1896. BO 11/1/1, Borrow to his mother, 27 October 1890; Hans Sauer, *Ex Africa*, London, Geoffrey Bles, 1927 / Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1973, pp. 232–233; fn. 37 refers.


74 CT 1/24/5, C. J. Rhodes, Cape Town to Messrs Van Heerden and Bisset, Ladybrand, 15 June 1891; CT 1/24/1, printed notice: *Conditions of land grants selected subject to the approval of the Administrator in the British South African Company’s sphere of operations during the year 1892*.

76 *The Rhodesia Chronicle*, 17 September 1892. When the Pioneer Column was disbanded, its members had been similarly assisted. Gann, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

77 CA 4/4/7, Undated manuscript account by Jack Carruthers.


87 CT 1/24/1, Schedules, 31 December 1891, *Administration: civil establishment: Europeans.*


89 BSAC, *Directors’ report ... 1892*, p. 3. The report was signed on 24 November 1892.

90 *The Mashonaland Herald*, 15 August 1891 and 3 October 1891.

91 Fns 48, 49 and 50 refer.


95 McDonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–165.

96 *The Mashonaland Herald*, 7 November 1891 and 21 November 1891.

97 WI 9/2/1, Sir John Willoughby to Captain Wemyss, Intelligence Department, [War Office, London], 6 May 1891.

98 BSAC, *Directors’ report and accounts 31 March 1898*, pp. 10–11, 19. The white population of Matabeleland was said to have doubled within six months as the railway approached Bulawayo. At Umtali, the white population rose from 300 to 1,000 over twelve months for similar reasons. BSAC, *Report on the company’s proceedings ... 1896–1897*, p. 128. T 2/17/2, H. Scott Turner, Umtali, to T. Berry, Salisbury, 4 February 1898.
99 Hole, *Old Rhodesian days*, pp. 74, 77–78, details the position at Salisbury. Umtali was 'a sort of deserted city' where, for most whites it 'will be a hard job for the greater portion to keep their heads above water till better times come'. T 2/17/1, M. D. Graham, Umtali, to J. H. Kennedy, Salisbury, 15 July 1892.

100 BSAC, *Report on the company's proceedings ... 1889–1892*, p. 5 and fn. 97 above.

101 Men discharged at Tuli were entitled to an additional thirty days' pay and ration allowance to enable them to reach Taung in British Bechuanaland. Most men were discharged at the end of December 1891, supposedly so that they might have 'time ... to go down country'; those who did not go were promised food or work, including civil appointments. Rations were provided until 30 April 1892, being terminated in terms of a BSAC Notice, dated 21 April 1892. Frank Rand, a humane doctor, took an interest in those who remained, and stressed that most had been discharged 'at the most inclement season'. Hickman, *op. cit.*, p. 101; *The Mashonaland Herald*, 2 January 1892; *ibid.*, 23 April 1892; *The Rhodesia Chronicle*, 20 August 1892.


103 *Rhodesia*, 12 March 1898.

104 T 2/17/9, Chief Accountant to Harbord, minute, 14 November 1898; Harbord to Berry, minute, 15 November 1898; Chief Accountant, Salisbury, to Civil Commissioner, Umtali, telegram, 16 November 1898. Some fourteen out of twenty four indigents had come from Johannesburg.

105 BSAC, *Directors’ report ... 1899 and ... 1900*, pp. 18, 20; Saward, ‘Bomber’ Harris, p. 7.


107 *ibid.*, 19 September 1891 and 3 October 1891.

108 Thus, the price of sugar fell from 2s 11d a pound to 1s 6d: *ibid.*, 26 September 1891 and 31 October 1891.

109 *ibid.*, 5 December 1891 and 16 January 1892.

110 *ibid.*, 12 September 1891, which drew attention to the arrival of Colonel Pennefather, commanding officer of the BSAC's police, and to an intention not to reduce the strength of the force below 400 men.

111 The rate of attrition within the military police force is unknown, but the Directors in London maintained in mid-December that 300 men had been discharged: BSAC, *Directors’ report ... 1889 ... 1891*, p. 6. This report was signed on 18 December 1891.

112 T 1/2/1, payment to William Mbenya; *The Mashonaland Herald*, 31 October 1891 and 7 November 1891.

113 *ibid.*, 5 December 1891.

114 *ibid.*, 21 November 1891 and 23 January 1892.

115 *ibid.*, 27 February 1892; 12 March 1892; 26 March 1892; and 9 April 1892.
116 T 1/2/1, 11 August 1892.

117 The Mashonaland Herald, 13 August 1892.

118 The Rhodesian Herald, 7 January 1893 and 14 January 1893.

119 Ibid., 26 January 1894.

120 The Matabeleland News and Mining Record, 28 April 1894 and 12 May 1894.

121 Ibid., 19 May 1894.

122 The Bulawayo Chronicle, 15 February 1895.

123 The Rhodesia Herald, 15 March 1895.

124 Ibid., 25 January 1895; 22 February 1895; and 8 March 1895.

125 The Bulawayo Chronicle, 23 October 1895.

126 The Bulawayo Sketch, 10 April 1897.


128 One method adopted by the Chartered Company in 1904, and discussed at length in correspondence in T 2/2/18, was to deny leases to Asians in order to justify subsequently denying licenses to them, for they could not trade without premises. Another was to decline to sell stands to Asians, which reinforced a general white willingness to apply restrictive title deed conditions to Asians and other 'non-whites': L 2/2/81/2, Acting Commercial Representative, Bulawayo, to the Director of Land Settlement, Salisbury, 18 August 1910; Claire Palley, The constitutional history and law of Southern Rhodesia 1888-1965, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966, pp. 640-641.


130 Some fifteen withdrew as early as February 1892. The Mashonaland Herald, 6 February 1892.

131 The Matabele Times and Mining Journal, 30 March 1894.

132 The Rhodesia Herald, 26 November 1892; 10 December 1892; and 25 September 1895.

133 Ordinance 10/1903, operative from 3 June 1904. Section 2 inter alia defined a prohibited immigrant as one who was ‘unable by reason of deficient education to write out and sign with his own hand in the characters of any European language’.

134 L 2/2/81/1, endorsement by F. J. Newton on Civil Commissioner, Victoria, to Assistant Treasurer, telegram, 5 March 1904.


137 Palley, op. cit., pp. 8. 89.

138 Hence, ‘The sale of liquor to Natives and Indians regulations’, BSAC Government Gazette, 2 December 1896, Government Notice No. 134/1896, and ‘The possess-
139 Article 23, The Matabeleland Order in Council 1894, ibid., 5 October 894.

140 Bulawayo Sanitary Board location regulations, ibid., 25 January 1895, Government Notice No. 12/1895. The regulations applied to 'Native races such as Kafirs, Zulus, Shangaans, Mashonas, Matabeles, Bechuanas, Mamangwatos, Fingoes, Basutos, Hottentots, Bushmen and the like ...'.

141 BPP, C 8773 [HC 1898 LX 157], (I), Charter of the British South Africa Company, October 29, 1889 ..., p. 5, clauses 13, 14 and 15.

142 Thus Africans were specifically entitled to 'acquire, hold, encumber, and dispose of land in the same conditions as a person who is not a native' in terms of Article 24, The Matabeleland Order in Council 1894. An African holding title to an urban stand might therefore reside upon it.

143 Policemen were paid four shillings a day, rising to five shillings, of which one shilling was withheld as deferred pay until their discharge or death, so that 408 days service would give a man £20 8s, an amount sufficient to provide him with room and board for thirty-seven days: Cary, op. cit., 119; CT 4/1/3, folio 104, 29 November 1892; T 1/2/103, folio 189, June 1892; The Mashonaland Herald, 27 June 1891.

144 W. E. Thomas and T. M. Thomas, both members of the Native Department in Matabeleland, were born at Inyati in 1865 and 1875 and were probably the only white adults who had been born within the territory who lived there in the 1890s. In the census taken on 8 May 1956, 32.33 per cent of 177,124 whites in Rhodesia had been born there, while 28.16 per cent had been born in Great Britain and Ireland, 28.73 per cent in South Africa, and 10.78 per cent elsewhere. C. C. Thomas, loc. cit., p. 80; Census ... 1956, p. 64.

145 That limited interest was sufficient to allow William Mbenya to survive as a brickmaker in Salisbury in 1892/93 and even later, for in 1894 he built a stable for the Resident Magistrate in Bulawayo, where some blacks were self-employed and licensed brickmakers in October 1895. Brickfields generally appear to have been a sanctuary for some blacks, even after World War II. JG 3/3/20, DR 1/342 death notice of Watweka, dated 19 March 1892, petition of William Benya of 18 February 1893, indemnity note of W. H. M. Benya dated 25 February 1893; T 1/2/105, folio 185, November 1894; The Bulawayo Chronicle, 9 October 1895; Lawrence Vambe, From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, London, Heinemann, 1976, p. 170.

146 As late as 1958, some indigents were returned to Britain from Tanganyika as distressed British subjects. Personal observation.

147 The Johannesburg unemployed exported as policemen through Kimberley in 1890 were returned through Taung in 1891/92. Cary, op. cit., pp. 118–119, and fn. 101 above.

148 Macloutsie was approximately 320 miles and Tuli 370 miles from Mafeking, while Salisbury was about 800 miles distant and Bulawayo 525 miles away. The gap between the South African zone of white settlement ending at Mafeking and that in Rhodesia did not begin to be bridged until after 1895. J. P. FitzPatrick, Through Mashonaland with Pick and Pen, Johannesburg, Ad. Donker, 1973, a revision of


150 *The Mashonaland Herald*, 12 September 1891.

151 The Chartered Company’s action probably prevented a fifth crisis developing, for free rations to the unemployed meant that those in work were not forced to compete against starving out-of-work men in order to preserve their employment. It is doubtful if the Chartered Company acted out of charity. It needed to ensure that superfluous whites were exported. By providing rations to the unemployed, the Chartered Company ensured that those in employment had no ground to attack the company on behalf of the unemployed, while those in employment had cause to encourage those who were not employed to leave the territory. In effect, the provision of free rations divided the incipient white working class against itself and mobilised those in employment against the unemployed in support of the Chartered Company’s campaign to create an illusion of prosperity and progress in the minds of potential investors outside the territory.

152 Ordinance No. 4 of 1893, published on 17 October 1893.


155 Ordinance No. 16 of 1901, published on 19 November 1902.

156 Ordinance No. 10 of 1902, published on 3 June 1904.

157 Act No. 14 of 1936, which became effective from 1 June 1937 in terms of Proclamation 38 of 1936, published in the Southern Rhodesia Government Gazette, 31 December 1936, also repealed the Natives Registration Amendment Ordinance 1902 and the Amendment Ordinance 1918. The Native Pass Consolidation Ordinance Amendment Act 1936, Act No. 11 of 1936, which became effective on 1 September 1936 in terms of Proclamation 14 of 1936, *ibid.*, 24 July 1936, further amended the Consolidation Ordinance 1913.

158 For example, by the Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act 1946, Act No. 6 of 1946, operative from 14 June 1946 in terms of Proclamation No. 23 of 1946, *ibid.*, 14 June 1956.


161 See fn. 69 above.

162 Gann, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–303, illustrates this tendency.
Chapter 9: Education and Southern Rhodesia's poor whites, 1890–1930


2 Compulsory Education Act, No. 7 of 1930.

3 The Education Ordinance, No. 18 of 1899; The Education Ordinance, No. 1 of 1903.

4 National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), Department of Education (NAZE), 1, Out Letters, 1, General, 2, 26 August, 1901 – 21 April 1902, G. Duthie, Superintending Inspector of Schools, to the Rev. F. W. Bates, Mount Selinda Mission, 16 October and 20 November 1901.


6 G. Duthie, 'Education in Southern Rhodesia,' in *Addresses and papers read at a joint meeting of the British and South African Association for the Advancement of Science: Report, 1905*, Johannesburg, 1905, IV, pp. 321–324.


11 NAZE 1/1/4/ 2 January 1903 – 5 September 1904, Duthie to Chief Secretary, Department of the Administrator, 12 July 1904.

12 NAZE 1/1/3/ 5 January – 16 April 1903, Duthie to Chief Secretary, Department Administration, 29 May 1903; Rev. A. F. Louw, personal communication, 31 March 1978.


21 NAZE, 2, Correspondence, 15, Miscellaneous, 1 (23 May 1900 – 25 November 1923), Duthie to Secretary Department Administration, 19 April 1913.


24 Southern Rhodesia, *Debates, Fourth Session of the Seventh Council*, 25 to 31 May, 11 to 14 June, 20 to 28 June, 23 to 27 July, and during the Special Session of the Seventh Council, 3 to 11 October 1923, p. 537.


28 *Debates*, 1915, p. 190, 5 May.
29 NAZE, 1/1/22, 23 October 1912 – 29 January 1913, Duthie to Secretary Department Administration, 14 January 1913 – 16 December 1918, Rev. C. R. Kotze to Milton, 28 July 1913; Het Volksblad, 6 February 1917; NAZ, A/3/9/7, F. P. D. (later Sir Drummond) Chaplin, Administrator of Rhodesia, to Secretary, BSAC, London, 10 April 1917; E/1/1/38, 9 August – 3 October 1916, Foggin to R. Le S. Fischer, 21 August 1916; E/1/1/26, 11 March – 5 June 1914. J. S. Blackwell, Secretary, Department of Education, to Secretary, Department Administration, 23 May 1914.


31 Ibid., p. 1.

32 Ibid., pp. 5–10.

33 Het Volksblad, 6 February 1917; Rep. Educ. Comm. 1916, p. 3; NAZA, 3/9/7, Chaplin to Secretary, BSAC, 10 April 1917; E/1/1/41, 16 January – 5 March 1917, Foggin to Sir Lewis Michell, 27 February 1917.

34 Het Vaderland (Evening Edition), 15 April 1921; NAZE, 1/1/54, 12 December 1918 – 30 January 1919, Foggin to Secretary Department Administration, 15 January 1919; E/1/1/95, 8 June – 3 July 1922, Foggin to Secretary Department Administration, 20 June 1922.

35 Challiss, The European educational system, p. 25; NAZLO, Board of Director’s Papers, 1, Agenda with annexures, 170, 6 June – 19 December 1918, Agenda for 3 October 1918, Chaplin to Lord Buxton, 30 July 1918; E/1/1/58, 6 May – 7 July 1919, Foggin to Secretary, Department Administration, 30 June 1918; NAZE, 1/1/58, 30 December 1921 – 25 January 1922, Foggin to J. Condy, Inspector of Schools, 2 June 1921.

36 NAZLO, 1/1/178, 6 January – 26 May 1921, Agenda for 26 May 1921, G. C. Candler, Secretary BSAC, to Chaplin, 19 May 1921.


38 Challiss, The European educational system, pp. 35–40; NAZRC, 3, Resident Commissioner: Correspondence, 1, Administrator, Salisbury, Main Series, General, 65, 1919 No. 262–369, C. D. Jones, Resident Commissioner to Viscount Buxton, 10 March 1919; Government Gazette, 11 May 1921, Government Notice No. 244 of 11 May, Report of the Rhodesia Committee, Appendix 11, Lord Milner’s Memorandum of 22 December 1920; Historical Manuscripts Collection, CH, Papers of Sir Francis Percy Drummond Chaplin, 2, Correspondence and Other Papers, 2, By Correspondent, 6, P. L. Gell, 24 October 1918 – 6 January 1923, Gell to Chaplin, 7 June 1921.


40 Debates, Third Session of the Sixth Council, 1 to 13 May, 1916, p. 328, 10 May; Debates, 1915, p. 253, 6 May.

41 Debates, 1916, p. 328, 10 May; Debates, 1915, p. 264, 6 May.


44 The Gwelo Times, 29 April 1921; see also The Rhodesia Herald, 13 May 1921.

45 Debates, 1915, p. 254, 5 May.

46 Debates, First Session of the Sixth Council, 15 to 17 April, 4 to 26 May, 8 to 10 June and 5 to 22 October 1914, p. 460, 20 May. Apparently the famous Rhodesian Rhodes Scholar Kingsley Fairbridge originally suggested that the government should establish such a school in 1908. Of course, with so many poor and ill-educated white settler children already in Southern Rhodesia, Fairbridge’s ‘child emigration’ scheme for underprivileged children from Great Britain was hardly feasible. Consequently, the first Fairbridge farm school for slum children was to be founded instead at Pinjarra in western Australia (The autobiography of Kingsley Fairbridge, London, 1927, pp. 170–171, 179).


49 Debates, 1915, p. 800, 26 May.


54 Debates, First Session of the Seventh Council, 10 June to 19 May and 31 May to 29 June 1920, p. 497, 7 June.

55 Challiss, ‘The foundation of the racially segregated educational system’, chapters 1–3.


57 NAZA, 3/18, Correspondence: Native Affairs, 9, 7 September 1917 – 10 June 1920, H. J. Taylor, Chief Native Commissioner to Secretary, Department Administration, 4 June 1918; NAZE, 1/1/78, 3–30 March 1921, Foggin to Secretary, Department Administration, 12 March 1921.


60 Phelps-Stokes Fund, *Education in Africa*, 1922, pp. 199–220; NAZLO, 1/1/178, 6 January – 6 May 1921, Agenda for 26 May 1921, Dr Thomas Jesse Jones to Administrator of Rhodesia, 31 March 1921; Challiss, 'The foundation of the racially segregated educational system', chapter 5.


NOT all whites in southern Africa were idle, rich slave-drivers living off the exploited labour of blacks, as some stereotypes would have it. During the early twentieth century, a class of poor whites emerged. They resisted the forces which impoverished them, and searched for allies which could save them from the fate of proletarianisation. Yet many thousands of whites lost their grip on the land and were forced into the cities. This process was both tragic and ugly: on the one hand, people were subjected to the experiences of dispossession and poverty, and on the other there developed racist and aggressively nationalist attitudes which were to scar South African history, and there was also violent resistance, most notably in the outbreak of the Rebellion in 1914.

In *WHITE BUT POOR* the processes which rendered white people poor are described and analysed. In a number of regionally specific studies, the contributors bring to light the lives and fortunes of less-privileged, mostly Afrikaans-speaking southern Africans who came to be known derogatorily as 'poor whites'.