

BUILDING A WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY: ASPECTS OF WHITE IMMIGRATION INTO RHODESIA UP TO WORLD WAR II

ALOIS S. MLAMBO

Department of Economic History, University of Zimbabwe

Abstract

Following the occupation of Zimbabwe by the British in 1890, the British South Africa Company Government, and subsequently, the various self-government administrations, cherished the dream of developing Rhodesia as a White man's country. To this end, they canvassed for European settlers, offered assisted passages to, organized various settlement schemes for immigrants and maintained a discriminatory political and economic system which ensured that Whites enjoyed all the best that the country could offer. Despite these efforts, however, the dream of developing Rhodesia as a White man's colony was not realized as fewer European emigrants came to Rhodesia than had been envisaged. This article analyses major trends in White immigration into Rhodesia between 1890 and 1940 and seeks to investigate why it proved difficult for the Rhodesian Administrations to turn their dream into a reality.

INTRODUCTION

THE COLONIAL HISTORY of Zimbabwe (hereafter, Rhodesia) is characterised by political, social, economic and cultural domination over the majority African population by the Rhodesian White settler minority. It is in many ways a story of how a small immigrant White minority arrogated to themselves the right to determine the pace and the direction of the nation's development at the expense of the majority and how the African majority struggled to assert their rights. The Rhodesians used their political and economic power to enforce a segregationist and discriminatory system that promoted and defended their interests and ensured that members of their group enjoyed all the best that the country could offer. As R. Palmer and I. Birch noted:

The Colony of settlers in Rhodesia aimed to ensure and perpetuate white privilege and control. They dominated access to all resources, such as land, education, health, training, the road and rail networks and loans for farming. Inequality was enforced by the settler-controlled parliament and reinforced by social segregation.¹

¹ R. Palmer and I. Birch, *Zimbabwe: A Land Divided* (Oxford, Oxfam, 1992), 8.

While much is now known about the economic, political, social and cultural activities of this small but dominant White Rhodesian society which had an all-pervasive impact on the lives of the African majority and the history of the country that was to become Zimbabwe, there is little information about the demographic profile and history of this society over time.² Yet, without understanding the nature of the colonial White society, there can be no full understanding of the role it played and the factors which influenced that role in the recent history of the country. There is, thus, a need to document the nature, extent, composition and character of White Rhodesian society in order to fully understand the historical forces that shaped the trajectory of Zimbabwe's twentieth century experience.

One intriguing issue relating to White demography in Rhodesia, for instance, is the extent to which Rhodesians were really a society of immigrants and transients, most of whom did not stay long enough to establish roots in the country. Indirect evidence does indicate that there was a high turnover of population in Rhodesia throughout the colonial period. In a suggestive statement about the high turnover and transient nature of the Rhodesian White population, R. S. Roberts observed that 'by and large, the Whites who have come to this country have not, in fact, been settlers at all'. He argued,

The most striking and persistent feature of 'settlement' in Southern Rhodesia is that, for every hundred migrants arriving, between sixty and eighty were always leaving . . . As a 'settlement', white Rhodesia has been a sort of select suburban-cum-gentleman-farming frontier outpost of Britain and English-speaking South Africa, to which many 'settlers' always intended to return.³

Roberts's observations are borne out by the results of the 1969 census which documented the fact that, at 1969, approximately 59.5% of the White population, half of whom were under 15 years of age, had been born outside the country and that the Rhodesian born contingent composed only 25.5% of the adult White population. Over half (55.1%) of those born outside the country had come to Rhodesia as recently as after the Second World War. Only 16.3% had been in Rhodesia for longer than 10-24 years.⁴

² Some literature related to White demography and social history exists. Among these are Dane Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia 1890-1939* (Durham, NC, 1987); R. S. Roberts, 'The settlers', in *Rhodesiana* (1979), XXIX, 55-61; and Donal Lowry, 'White woman's country: Ethel Tawse Jollie and the making of White Rhodesia', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (June 1997), XXIII, (ii), 259-282. While the above studies discuss aspects of Rhodesian White immigration and identity, they do not provide comprehensive analyses of trends in White demography in general and White immigration, in particular.

³ Roberts, 'The settlers', 55-61.

⁴ George Kay, 'Population', in G. M. E. Leistner, *Rhodesia: Economic Structure and Change* (Pretoria, Africa Institute, 1976), 43.

What the above evidence suggests is that, because of the high turnover of population alluded to by Roberts, immigration played a very crucial role in the growth of Rhodesia's White population during the colonial years and that any understanding of the nature, character and size of the White population over time requires a full grasp of the extent and volume of White immigration into Rhodesia. Yet, as already noted, little or no scholarly analyses exist on the demographic history of Rhodesian Whites in general and the history of White immigration into the country in particular.

This study seeks to begin to fill this glaring gap in Zimbabwe's social and economic history by analysing White immigration between 1890 and 1940 in the hope that this will stimulate scholarly interest in the demographic history of the country. It argues that, while Cecil John Rhodes and the early administrators of the colony cherished the dream of building a White man's country and made every effort to entice White, particularly British, settlers, the dream was never entirely fulfilled as European emigrants generally shied away from Rhodesia, preferring to emigrate to other parts of the world instead. Accounting for the sluggish response to Rhodesian efforts to attract White settlers, it is contended, were the policies and attitudes of the early Rhodesian settlers and administrators, among other factors, which militated against large-scale immigration.

Among the questions which will be addressed are the following: How important was immigration to the growth of the Rhodesian White population during this period? Which countries did Rhodesian settlers originally come from and what role did the state play in facilitating their translocation from their original countries? Answers to these and other questions will, hopefully, shed light on this important topic which has hitherto been neglected by scholars of Zimbabwe's historical past.

WHITE POPULATION GROWTH AND IMMIGRATION TRENDS, 1890 TO 1940

In order to fully appreciate the importance of immigration to White population growth in colonial Rhodesia, it is first necessary to trace the White population's growth patterns in the period under investigation. Available data shows that the Rhodesian White population grew slowly but steadily in the first 50 years of colonisation. In 1891, a year after the arrival of Cecil John Rhodes' Pioneer Column, there were approximately 1 500 Whites permanently resident in the country. By 1904, the population had risen to 12 596, while in 1941, the Rhodesian White population stood at 68 954. White population increases between 1891 and 1941 are documented in Table 1.

Table 1
WHITE POPULATION GROWTH, 1891-1941

Year	Total	% Increase
1891 (Estimate)	1 500	—
1904 (Census)	12 596	14.0
1911 "	23 606	87.0
1921 "	33 620	42.0
1931 "	49 910	48.0
1941 "	68 954	38.0

Source: Southern Rhodesia, *Census of Population* (1904-1969), 62.

While the percentages of population increases between censuses documented in the Table above suggest that population increased rapidly, particularly between 1904 and 1911, when spread over the entire 50 years from 1891 to 1941, it becomes very clear that the Rhodesian White population growth was very modest, averaging a mere 1 372 more people per year. Further analysis of the country's demographic data during the period also reveals that White population growth was fuelled mainly by immigration as documented in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that immigration was responsible for White population growth at the rates of 88% between 1901 and 1911; 28%, 1911 to 1921; 62%, 1921 to 1931; and 58% from 1931 to 1941. As is evident from the above statistics, throughout this period, immigration flows were not consistent but fluctuated from period to period.

Fluctuations in immigration patterns were largely the result of the operation of various factors, including the international and local conditions prevailing at the times.

Table 2
SOURCES OF WHITE POPULATION INCREASE, 1901-1941

Period	Net Immigration	Natural Increase	Total Increase	Average Annual Growth Rate (%)
1901-1911	11 083	1 491	12 574	7.9
1911-1921	5 835	4 179	10 014	3.6
1921-1931	10 145	6 145	16 290	4.0
1931-1941	11 025	8 019	19 044	3.3

Source: Rhodesia, *Census of Population, 1969* (Salisbury, CSO, 1969), 3.

For instance, European immigrants arrived in large numbers in the early years following the colonisation of the country but immigration levels declined during the First World War because of the unsettled international conditions and the disruption of international transportation by the war, among other factors.

With the end of the war in November 1918, European immigration increased once more, resulting in the total number of immigrants entering the country rising from 1 828 in 1918 to 2 542 in 1919 and 4 093 in 1920; the last representing the highest number recorded in any one year to that date. With the onset of the post-war economic depression in 1921, immigration levels declined once again so that in 1923 the number of immigrants admitted into the country was only 1 446; the smallest number since immigration statistics were first compiled.⁵

Following the attainment of Responsible government status and the subsequent British Government's offer of development assistance, which included a three-year land settlement scheme, Rhodesia witnessed another large wave of immigration between 1924 and 1928. The most notable increase occurred in 1927 when 5 082 immigrants entered the country. This high immigration flow was partly the result of the attractions of Rhodesia's agricultural prosperity in the 1927-1929 period when the country experienced a tobacco and cotton boom and farming prospects appeared very bright for would-be settlers.⁶ Commenting on the character of immigrants entering the country in the 1920s, the 1930 *Southern Rhodesia Official Yearbook* noted that one of the occupations strongly represented among the immigrants was agriculture and that

the number of farmers, land settlers and skilled agricultural workers and farm assistants admitted in 1924 numbered 194. [But] under the influence of the cotton boom of 1925-26, the tobacco boom of 1926-27 and the Empire Settlement Scheme . . . the number of such immigrants increased to 320 in 1925, to 514 in 1926, to a maximum of 792 in 1927 and to 565 in 1928.⁷

Significantly, the worldwide economic depression, which began with the Wall Street Crash of 1929 and which was marked by a sharp decline in Rhodesia's commodity prices and a rise in White unemployment, resulted in a notable reduction in the number of immigrants entering the country, with the White population increasing by only 11% between 1931 and 1936.⁸

⁵ Southern Rhodesia, *Official Yearbook No. 2, 1930* (Salisbury, Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company, 1930), 670.

⁶ Southern Rhodesia, *Report of the Director of Census on the Census of Population 1936* (Salisbury, Government Printer, 1943), 3.

⁷ Southern Rhodesia, *Official Yearbook, No. 2, 1930*, 672.

⁸ Southern Rhodesia, *Census of Population* (6 May, 1941), 3.

The second half of the Depression decade, however, recorded very high levels of European immigration which produced a remarkably high rate of White population growth, described by one source as among the highest in the world 'proportional to the size of the existing European population'.⁹ This spurt of immigration was fuelled in part by political upheavals and the generally unsettled conditions in Europe which produced many refugees from the affected countries, some of whom headed for Rhodesia. It was also partly the result of the fact that the country's economy, particularly gold mining, was experiencing a period of relative prosperity in this period.

GENDER IMBALANCE

An interesting characteristic of White immigration throughout this period was the sexual imbalance between male and female which was very pronounced in the first quarter century after occupation as documented in Table 3.

Table 3

NUMBER OF FEMALES TO EVERY 1 000 MALES IN RHODESIA, 1904-1926

Year	Females per 1 000 Males
1904	406
1907	482
1911	515
1921	771
1926	796

Source: *Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Director of Census, May 1926, Part 1* (Salisbury, Government Printer, 1926), 13.

The above figures show that the proportion of females to males increased slowly between 1904 and 1911, made substantial advance in the ten years from 1911 to 1921 and continued to increase thereafter. The rise in the number of females after 1911 was partly due to the increasing number of female immigrants willing to enter Rhodesia and who were admitted into the country as the economic and political situation stabilised following the upheavals of the 1890s associated with the First *Chimurenga/Umvukela* wars and also partly due to losses among the males during the First World War.

Explaining the discrepancy between male and female numbers in the early years, the Director of Census stated that this was due to

⁹ *Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Chief Immigration Officer* (1936), 31.

the unsettled state of the country and to a certain extent to the prevalent belief that residence in the country exposed women and children to grave risks to health and life, in consequence of which many married men kept their wives and families in what is now the Union of South Africa or overseas . . . As the fear of Native troubles decreased, as a higher standard of home comfort grew and as experience began to prove that the hygiene risks had been greatly exaggerated, the number of absentee wives decreased, very slowly at first, but with notable rapidity since 1911.¹⁰

The male-female ratio of the early Rhodesian White population differed significantly from patterns obtaining in the 'older' and more settled countries of Europe and elsewhere where there was generally an excess of females over males. Accounting for this pattern in such countries, according to one source, was the normally higher rate of mortality among males, the losses of males from war casualties and the preponderance of males among emigrants.¹¹

The excess of males over females remained the dominant pattern of Rhodesian White demography throughout this period, prompting various measures designed to bring White women into the country. The shortage of White women of marriageable age in the country was of such concern to one Elizabeth Jane, based in South Africa, that she was moved to write to the Rhodesian Prime Minister

Will you please use your influence at Home in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland to bring out young women as wives for these young British men in Southern Rhodesia. You fill these places with men of British nationality, but they must come to the Union to get wives; the majority with Dutch blood in their veins. They can never be British stock. There are thousands of women today in England who would be only too glad to come out to Southern Rhodesia with assisted passages . . . to get husbands and men are only human, they must have wives.¹²

The shortage of women in the colony was serious enough to lead the Rhodesian Immigration Committee, whose origins and role will be discussed later, to issue a circular to members in October 1938 stating:

It will be noted that the proportion of males to females selected to come out to the Colony under the [Assisted Passage Settlement] scheme has up till now been roughly two to one. The Executive Committee is now

¹⁰ Southern Rhodesia, *Report of the Director of Census, 1926. Pt. 1*, Presented to the Legislative Assembly, 1927 (Salisbury, Government Printer, 1927), 21. It could also be argued that another reason for the gender imbalance in the early years of colonisation was the fact that there were very few jobs for professional women which, at this time, were mainly in the nursing, teaching and secretarial occupations, among others.

¹¹ Southern Rhodesia, *Official Yearbook, 1930*, 646.

¹² National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) S246/4401/76-87, Immigration, 1933-1940, Letter signed Elizabeth Jane, 19 July, 1938.

anxious to bring as many trained women of marriageable age to the country in future as possible in order more evenly to balance the ratio of sex (sic.)¹³

At the centre of efforts to redress this gender imbalance in the Rhodesian White population was an organisation calling itself the Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women which had established a Rhodesian Branch, known as the Rhodesian Committee, as early as 1901. The Society provided assisted passages to selected single women and widows proceeding directly to approved employment or who were to be placed on arrival in approved employment as domestic helps, children's nurses, school matrons, hospital nurses and governesses, among other occupations. It also provided assisted passages to fiancées, wives and children of men already in the country. The Society also operated a Rhodesia Loan Fund from which women and children from Britain who wanted to raise fares in order to join their husbands and fathers in Rhodesia could borrow. Interest-free repayments were to be on a monthly basis once they had arrived in Rhodesia.¹⁴

Among the duties of the Rhodesia Committee of the Society was to assist women and girls 'of good character, health and capacity' to settle in Rhodesia, to make suitable arrangements for their voyage and for their reception upon arrival, to assist women and families obtain work and homes in the country and to help fiancées to be married in Rhodesia and wives to join their husbands. In addition, the committee was to obtain an assisted passage grant to cover the cost of ocean and rail fare for single women taking up a position in Southern Rhodesia approved by the Society, to select women workers of all kinds for suitable posts in Rhodesia, and to establish hostels, maternity homes and other institutions for the benefit of the settlers. Indeed, by 1938, the Rhodesia Committee was running hostels at SACS House in Salisbury, the New Rhodes Hostel in Bulawayo, the Umtali Maternity and Nursing Home and the Donaldson Nursing Home in Selukwe.¹⁵

In 1939, the Society reported that it had assisted 28 women to emigrate to Rhodesia in 1933 and 1934. This was the highest figure sent to Rhodesia as compared to earlier years when in 1928, 1929-1930, and 1931-1932, only 14, 20, and 18 were sent to the country, respectively. It was also reported that a total of 2 000 women and children had received assisted passages since the Rhodesia Committee started operating in 1901. Under this scheme,

¹³ NAZ MS 698/5, Immigration Committee, Rhodesia National Farmers Union Papers, 1938-1939, Southern Rhodesia Government Immigration Committee, Second Circular to Members, October, 1938.

¹⁴ NAZ S246/76-87, Overseas Women Settlers Club, 1933 — Extensions of Agreement up to 31st December, 1938.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

all women accepting the Society's assistance had to sign an undertaking to remain in Southern Rhodesia for a period of three years, on pain of repaying the passage money for leaving the country before the stipulated time had elapsed. They were also to remain with the original employer for at least six months.¹⁶

WHITENING RHODESIA: THE ROLE OF THE STATE

Immigration into Rhodesia in the period under study was largely facilitated by both the Rhodesian state and the British Imperial Government as well as by private volunteer organisations. Rhodesian Governments, both under the BSAC Administration and after, were particularly keen to ensure that the Colony developed as a White man's country. To this end, they deliberately and consistently promoted various economic, social and political conditions meant to attract European immigrants as settlers rather than as temporary expatriate workers in order to encourage the development of a permanent White population.¹⁷

The sentiments behind this policy were succinctly summarised by a Rhodesian settler in an article in the *New Rhodesia* in which he stated:

Don't regard the country (Rhodesia) as a Black Man's country, where the white man is an intruder, an exploiter of Black labour, a superior; look on it as an empty country (which it practically is for what are 1 3/4 millions in a country three times the size of England?) to be settled with a white population where the few natives who care to come out of the Reserves are a useful adventitious contribution to the economy.¹⁸

Motivated by similar sentiments, an organisation calling itself the White Rhodesia Association, whose leadership included at least four Rhodesian Legislative Assembly members, agitated for the creation of a White Rhodesia. Realising that a completely White Rhodesia could not be achieved given the presence in the country of large numbers of indigenous people, the Association explained that,

white Rhodesia does not mean making all Rhodesian white . . . It means . . . gradually making at least a large part of the colony a white man's colony . . . so that all types, classes and grades of white men can find a place in the economy of society which they can fill usefully.¹⁹

Advocating a system of segregation based on the principle of 'a European Reserve and Native Reserves, enabling each race to develop on

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Kay, 'Population', 43-54.

¹⁸ 'New place in Africa: Southern Rhodesia 1939-1949', in *The New Rhodesia* (September 2, 1949), 22-23.

¹⁹ NAZ S1232, White Rhodesia Association, P. S. Inskip to Malcolm, 18 June, 1929.

its own lines', the Association wanted a situation in which 'the European population can grow rapidly, with Europeans doing work of every kind' because, under the current system, 'Europeans are practically excluded from many occupations . . . so that, in effect, the European population is limited by the total number of Bantu labourers available'. The Association concluded emphatically that, 'the only satisfactory final solution . . . is that the Europeans should outnumber the Bantu'.²⁰

While the views of the White Rhodesia Association may have been extreme for some of the Colony's administrators, as evidenced by Inskipp's dismissal of the proposed scheme as being 'crazy' and 'specious' and unrealistic,²¹ the Colony's authorities did make every effort to encourage White immigration in order to develop Rhodesia as a White man's colony. Indeed, from the very beginning, colonial authorities encouraged White immigration by publicising the opportunities available in the country, offering assisted passages to immigrants, providing land for settlement and keeping in place discriminatory laws that ensured that Africans were effectively shut out from the economy except as providers of cheap manual labour and consumers of manufactured goods.

To publicise opportunities available in the country, the Southern Rhodesia authorities established a Rhodesian Emigration and Information Office in London in 1906 and another in Glasgow in 1908. Agents were also stationed in the South African centres of Cape Town, East London, Durban and Johannesburg, while in 1908, an Estates Department was set up to deal with applications for land and to promote colonisation.²²

Administrators of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) made no secret of their determination and desire to attract White settlers to the country. For instance, the Company Administrator in 1905 clearly spelt out the Company's objectives in this respect in a speech to the Legislative Council when he stated:

The Company is desirous of assisting, as far as may be expedient, the settlement of suitable immigrants upon its unalienated lands . . . (and) is preparing a scheme under which considerable funds will be provided for the purpose. The main objects will be to obtain settlers of the agricultural class with sufficient capital to ensure the beneficial occupation of the

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ NAZ S1232, White Rhodesian Association, P. S. Inskipp to Malcolm, 18 June, 1929. Inskipp wrote:

It (the Association) is just the kind of crazy specious idea to which Frank Johnson might be expected to devote time and attention. He believes, or says he believes, that White men can and will do every kind of work which is now done by natives. I don't believe this. They might have done it had there never been a black population in Africa . . .

²² Southern Rhodesia, *Official Yearbook No. 2, 1930*, 292.

land and to assist them by some preparations of their holdings prior to arrival and by skilled advice while they are gaining experience of the conditions under which farming is carried on in the country.²³

To attract settlers, the company offered very generous terms to would-be immigrants. As D. Hartridge recalled in an interview in 1969,

In the Chartered Company's time, they advertised for settlers in Rhodesia and my father applied to them. The conditions were: if he bought land for a farm, he had 20 years to pay and free medical and hospital fees for ten years, and free arms and a Rhodes Pioneer pension or early settler pension after the age of 60 years. So with that information, we came to Rhodesia (in 1890).²⁴

Similarly, in 1916, the BSAC offered a total of 500 000 acres free land, to be divided into 3 000 acres farms each, to approved retired and discharged servicemen from overseas who had a minimum of \$1 000 for investment. Only physically fit British subjects of European descent who had served in either the British Army or Navy during the First World War and who were not based in South Africa at the outbreak of the war could apply for land. The Company's desire to populate Rhodesia with White settlers was thus clearly demonstrated by its determined efforts to promote immigration into the country.²⁵

Not everybody in the Colony was convinced that the Company was doing all it could to bring in European immigrants, however, for as Cripps of Bulawayo complained in the Rhodesian Legislative Council on May 12, 1920, it was disappointing that 'only 4 settlers had been induced to come from England to settle on the land' in the preceding 12 months. He proceeded to criticise the Company's organisation in England and Scotland for not doing enough to secure settlers for Rhodesia. His view seemed to be that 'the Company is, for some ulterior object, hampering instead of promoting settlement in Rhodesia'.²⁶

In its defence, the Company pointed out that the reason there had been such a disappointing response to its efforts to recruit settlers had nothing to do with any reluctance on its part to promote emigration to Rhodesia but had everything to do with the attitudes of and conditions set by the Rhodesian settlers themselves. The Company insisted that the reasons for the low immigration rates into the country were:

²³ Southern Rhodesia, *Debates in the Legislative Council*, 1st Session, 3rd Council, 26 April-11 May, 1905.

²⁴ NAZ ORAL/FO 1 — Immigration 1897-1914, Motives. Fredrick Albertus Fouche (b.1898), interviewed by D. Hartridge, Bulawayo, 22 May, 1969.

²⁵ NAZ A3/15/19 Vol. 1, Settlement Schemes 1915-1917, E. Ross Townsend to Major R. C. Tronsdale, 2nd July, 1917.

²⁶ NAZ A3/14/5/2-3, Legislation 1920-1940, BSAC Memorandum, signed by E. Ross Townsend, 17 June 1920.

The large amount of capital represented by people in the country as being necessary to enable a man to take up farming with reasonable prospects of success; the difficulty in getting established farmers to give new comers employment or facilities for gaining local experience before embarking their capital in a farming proposition; [and] the high prices being asked by land owning companies and private individuals for land suitable for mixed farming accessible to the railway or centres of population.²⁷

Emphasising the point even further, a Company official in England, E. Ross Townsend, highlighted the fact that,

during the last six months, a large number of would be settlers, desirable in every respect, have had to be turned down because they could not provide the amount of capital regarded in Rhodesia as being necessary for a man to take up farming . . . In my opinion, the present capital requirements are too high.²⁸

The Company also came under attack from a Mr. Gilchrist who accused the Company in general and the Glasgow Immigrant Recruitment Office, in particular, of not doing enough to attract immigrants to Rhodesia in the previous three years. Forced to defend itself once again, the Company responded:

Mr. Gilchrist overlooks the fact that the war has only comparatively recently terminated and that the three years period he mentions (May 1917 to May 1920) includes 18 months while the war was still on . . . (during this time) it was impossible to secure shipping accommodation for more than a very few . . . (In any case) the authorities in Rhodesia have advised us that the number of settlers who can be accommodated is strictly limited and it is now most difficult to place settlers with established farmers in order that they may gain the necessary local information.²⁹

In response to growing criticism on the way it was handling the issue of immigration to Rhodesia, the Company helped set up an organisation known as the Southern Rhodesia Settlers Board in 1920. It was envisaged that the Board would boost immigration by supplying prospective immigrants with information necessary to enable them to decide whether they would settle on the land and what type of farming they would adopt and by collecting and disseminating information on the extent, situation, character and value of farming and ranching land available. It was also expected to assist prospective settlers view and locate land likely to suit their requirements, and, in collaboration with established farmers, to

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

obtain suitable tuition for settlers prior to their occupation of land, among other responsibilities. The efforts of the Board appear to have borne some fruit as it was reported in 1921 that it had already facilitated the immigration of 179 men and their families who, together, had brought into the country an estimated amount of £150 000.³⁰

Also in 1920, the company announced its willingness to sell land at the price of 15s per morgen to approved applicants who possessed £2 000. In addition, the Company made arrangements for successful applicants from overseas and the Union of South Africa and their servants, up to a maximum of two for each family, to be guaranteed the following concessions by the Rhodesia Railways and the Beira-Mashonaland Railways:

free second-class tickets to Europeans and white servants; free third-class tickets to coloured or native servants, free second-class tickets for children over 3 and under 12 years of age; free luggage carriage up to 200 lbs for second-class and 100 lbs for third-class passengers.³¹

The above measures notwithstanding, the inflow of immigrants in the country remained low, prompting one official to comment:

The practical possibilities of a large English immigration into Rhodesia within the next few years are very limited. Immigrants intending to settle on the land must have adequate capital. £2 000 is about the minimum. This in itself must prevent immigration being very rapid.³²

From 1922, Rhodesia benefited from intensified British efforts to encourage British emigration to the colonies in the immediate post-World War I era. To this end, the British Government set up the Overseas Settlement Department in the Dominions Office in 1919 in order to promote emigration to the Dominions. Explaining why it was necessary to actively promote emigration at this time, the British Secretary of State stated:

The object of a policy of Empire migration is first and foremost to build up the strength and wealth of the Empire as a whole by the better distribution of its population . . . It also creates more employment at home for those who remain, because those who go out help build up our best markets, which are those of the Empire . . . Incidentally, the actual movement of migration may help to relieve the labour market in times of industrial depression.

Consequently, in line with these sentiments, the British Government started in 1919 to offer free passages for ex-servicemen and women who

³⁰ NAZ A3/28/1-3, Southern Rhodesia Settlers Board, Government Notice No. 471 of 17/10/1920.

³¹ NAZ MS 698/5, Immigration Committee, Rhodesia National Farmers Union Papers, 1938-1939.

³² NAZ CH82/2/11, Folios 656-659, Immigration: Letters from Malcolm to Sir Lewis Mitchell, 1921, 1952-1955.

wished to settle in other parts of the Empire. Eight hundred thousand people were assisted to emigrate from Britain in that year alone.³³

In a bid to accelerate the emigration of its people to the Empire, the British Government called a meeting of representatives from Canada, Australia and New Zealand to consult on the 'possibility of initiating, on a large scale, policy of state-aided settlement within the Empire, based on mutual cooperation'. The Consultative meeting formed the basis for the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 which provided that the British Government would assist the migration of suitable people who intended to settle in any part of the Empire. Assistance schemes were to be of two types: development or land settlement or assisting settlement through providing help in the form of passages, initial allowances, training or otherwise. The British Government undertook to contribute financially to the settlement scheme to the tune of £3 000 000 on the understanding that its contribution would not exceed half the expenses of any scheme. As a direct result of this scheme, Rhodesia received some 300 settlers in the next three years.³⁴

In August 1925, the Southern Rhodesia Government introduced a new land settlement scheme which, by November of the same year, was reported to have succeeded in bringing in 40 settlers. The terms of this new scheme were that only those with capital to the amount of £500 to £1 500 would be eligible, while the Rhodesian Government would provide a grant of approximately one half of the cost of transportation from Britain to Rhodesia. In addition, the Rhodesia Railways would provide free second class railway fares, while immigrants would also enjoy free board and lodging during the preliminary period of tuition in the country. Furthermore, £600 would be provided for the purpose of permanent improvements on the immigrant's farm. This amount was to be repaid in 40 half-yearly instalments; the first instalment falling due after three years.³⁵

In November 1925, the Rhodesian Land Settlement Officer stationed in London reported that there was a great deal of interest in Rhodesia among the British people and that he had, to that date, conducted approximately 2 000 interviews of prospective immigrants. Of these, only 80 had qualified for the scheme mainly because 'the capital required seems to be a

³³ NAZ S881/522/1483, Overseas Settlement Committee, Annual Reports, *Report of the Overseas Settlement Committee for the Year Ended 31st December, 1928*, Presented by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to Parliament, April 1929 (London, HMSO, 1929).

³⁴ NAZ S881/522/1483, Overseas Settlement Committee, Annual Reports, *Report of the Overseas Settlement Committee for the Year Ended 31st December 1928*, Presented by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to Parliament, April 1929 (London, HMSO, 1929); R. G. S. Douglas, 'Development of the Department of Immigration' (Unpub., National Archives of Zimbabwe), 17-31.

³⁵ NAZ S881/1482/1, Southern Rhodesia Settlement Schemes: Correspondence, Director, Department of Land to Secretary, Department of Agriculture, November 9, 1925.

considerable bar to applicants of the most desirable type'. Part of the reason for the growing interest in emigration, it was contended, was that, among other things, there was considerable congestion in England then and, because of that, the British Government was anxious to 'get men out of the country' as the 'the best hopes for the mitigation of unemployment appears to be greater production of raw materials in the colonies for the British market'.³⁶

In 1928, a nomination scheme under which established Rhodesian farmers could choose persons in Britain to enter as agricultural employees was launched by the Rhodesian Government. Sea passages and rail fares for such persons were to be heavily subsidised. The new land settlement scheme and the nomination scheme, together, boosted immigration figures between 1924 and 1928.³⁷

Still anxious to encourage more European immigration, the Rhodesian Government entered into an agreement with the Dominions Office and the 1820 Memorial Settlers Association of England in June 1938. Known as the Tripartite Agreement of 1938, this agreement provided for the cooperation of the three signatories in promoting immigration to Rhodesia from the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland. Under the terms of this agreement, the Rhodesian Government was to establish a Central Committee, consisting of representatives of the government and of organisations in a position to furnish information on opportunities for employment and settlement in the colony to intending immigrants from the United Kingdom. This Committee would also receive immigrants on their arrival in the colony.³⁸

In its turn, the 1820 Memorial Settlers Association would, in consultation with the Dominions Office and the High Commissioner in London, select suitable migrants for Rhodesia, conduct the necessary medical examinations and make arrangements for their transportation to the colony. The 1820 Memorial Association was to receive an annual grant of £250 from the Rhodesian Government for the two years of the Agreement as payment for its services. As for the Dominions Office, it was expected to share the costs of passage of migrants from the United Kingdom, part of which was to be paid by the Rhodesian Government while each migrant was expected to contribute £5 towards his passage. In addition, the Rhodesian Government was also to provide a free grant of £4 to the migrant, £4 to his spouse and £1 to each child to cover the incidental expenses of every migrant who arrived in the country and secured

³⁶ NAZ S881/1482/1, Southern Rhodesia Settlement Schemes: Correspondence, Land Settlement Officer, London, 16 December, 1925.

³⁷ Douglas, 'Department of Immigration', 17-31.

³⁸ NAZ S881/1482/5748/1, Settlement Work for Southern Rhodesia: Tripartite Agreement.

employment. According to the February 1939 report of the Central Committee, a total of 188 persons had benefited from the arrangement.³⁹

What is striking about the various efforts by both the Rhodesian and British authorities to encourage immigration into Rhodesia is that they yielded very unimpressive results in terms of the number of immigrants who were actually recruited under the schemes. Indeed, it is evident from the statistics of British emigrants to the colonies provided by the Overseas Settlement Committee over the years of its operations that South Africa (which in emigration statistical terms also embraced Southern Rhodesia) received the smallest number of British emigrants in any given year.

The total number of British emigrants and their destinations between 1922 and 1935 are documented in Table 4.

Table 4

SAILINGS UNDER ASSISTED PASSAGE OF THE EMPIRE SETTLEMENT ACT, 1922-1935

Year	Canada	Australia	New Zealand	S. Africa (including Rhodesia)	Other	Total
1922	180	5 611	688	—	—	6 479
1923	5 835	24 221	6 086	41	2	36 185
1924	9 609	23 645	7 750	39	1	41 044
1925	8 779	22 527	8 097	127	—	39 530
1926	20 862	32 689	11 795	198	—	65 544
1927	27 114	29 136	4 446	221	—	60 917
1928	24 890	20 603	2 175	181	7	47 856
1929	21 012	11 528	1 849	87	—	71 750
1930	8 327	1 978	1 312	74	—	29 098
1931	1 239	211	421	60	1	5 499
1932	298	188	106	39	—	631
1933	26	117	11	41	1	196
1934	42	192	9	60	—	303
1935	63	89	—	58	—	210
Total	128 276	172 735	44 745	1 226	12	495 242

Source: Report of the Overseas Settlement Committee for the Period 1st April, 1935 to 31st March, 1936, Presented to Parliament, June 1936 (London, HMSO, 1936).

³⁹ *Ibid.* In August 1939, the Southern Rhodesia Immigration Committee reported that it had facilitated passages for 131 people, including workers, their wives and children. Among these were farm pupils, motor mechanics, bricklayers, learner miners, salesmen, carpenters, engineers and electricians. See NAZ S881/1482/5748/2, Settlement Work for Southern Rhodesia: Tripartite Agreement.

Statistics of the Overseas Settlement Committee for the years 1922 to 1935 show that, out of the 495 242 British emigrants who left for the British colonial territories in that period, 25% went to Canada, 34% to Australia, 9% to New Zealand and only 0.2% to South Africa, including Rhodesia. This demonstrates clearly that the efforts of the Rhodesian and British authorities notwithstanding, Southern Africa in general and Rhodesia, in particular, were not popular destinations for British emigrants.

Given the above facts, the question arises: why were the efforts of the Rhodesian and British authorities to encourage people to emigrate to Rhodesia not more successful? Possible reasons for this situation are analysed below.

CAUSES OF LOW IMMIGRATION FLOWS INTO RHODESIA

The reasons why immigration flows to Rhodesia remained low throughout this period, despite numerous efforts by both the Colonial and Imperial governments to attract and assist settlers, lie in a combination of local and global factors which tended to discourage European emigration to Rhodesia. Among the local factors was the determined effort by the Rhodesian authorities to ensure that only a certain type of immigrant was allowed in.

The Rhodesian authorities did want to make Rhodesia a White man's country but they were very particular about the type of White settler they wanted in their country. From the various pronouncements by and policies of the successive Rhodesian Administrations, it appears that the ideal immigrant, as far as they were concerned, was one who was a British citizen, was prepared to work on the land and had some capital with which to establish himself but one who was neither a wealthy gentleman of leisure nor an ordinary labourer. Evidence of this official position abounds.

For instance, the BSAC authorities reacted negatively to a suggestion by one Owen Thomas in 1904 that Rhodesia should be developed as a British stock farming colony in which monied settler ranchers would form the basis of the colony's society. The BSAC spokesperson summarily rejected this suggestion, stating: 'we are not instantly concerned with the evolution of a high class of stock, nor even with the introduction of a few score of cattle owners with £1 000 to £2 000 a-piece'. Instead,

We are convinced that the shortest road to these objects is to establish on Rhodesian land the largest possible number of working cultivators i.e. the small laborious owners who do not leave Europe to make their fortunes, but who, finding themselves crowded out of cultivable land in their own country, wish to make a living and a home of their own . . . such

a class will not make their way into Rhodesia unless they are encouraged by a carefully developed policy.⁴⁰

Similarly, in 1916, when the BSAC announced its offer of land to demobilised British soldiers, it made a point of stressing that, 'in a country in which the whole of the unskilled labour . . . is performed by aboriginal natives of low wages from 10s to 30s per mensem, there is no scope for the immigration of European agricultural labourers' and that it was necessary for any immigrant to have some capital with which to 'support himself until he is in a position to market his [agricultural] produce'.⁴¹

Again, in 1925, Downie found it necessary to stress to the Rhodesian High Commissioner in London that the country was not looking for just any settler but only those with a pioneering spirit. He wrote:

The pioneering period is far from finished. They [settlers] have got to come out here and live on frugal fare, do hard work and make their money out of the land. They cannot afford to come here and live at Meikles, wear dress suits every other night, and go to bioscopes or dances every Wednesday and/or Saturday night. In other words, people who have the pioneering temperament, who are prepared to do hard work and live on frugal fare, are the people we feel we can welcome most . . . In his selection, he [the London Immigration Representative] should pay particular attention to the social status of the people he is interviewing . . . If he will cast his mind back to some of the Scotch farmers we have here . . . these fellows were taken from the hills so to speak. They came out here as uncouth and clumsy as any Scotchman could be, but they are amongst the most promising of all the settlers who have come here during the last few years . . . *But I am afraid that these people are not to be found in Aldwych* [emphasis added].⁴²

Not surprising, therefore, all settlement schemes in which the Rhodesian authorities participated in throughout this period required would-be immigrants to be in possession of some stipulated amount of capital, which meant that the many hordes of interested potential immigrants including agricultural and other labourers, the unemployed in search of job opportunities and other groups which did not fit the bill as defined by the Rhodesian authorities were excluded from the country. This obviously reduced Rhodesia's catchment pool for immigrants and helps explain why immigration flows were so low throughout this period.

Had the Rhodesian authorities been willing to take all Whites who met their strict eligibility requirements, regardless of their nationality, they

⁴⁰ NAZ A11/2/9/9, Settlers from Orange River Colony and India; Lord Gifford and P. Lyttelton Gell, Report on Colonel Owen Thomas's Memo Re: Land Settlement and Farming in Rhodesia, 27 April, 1904.

⁴¹ NAZ A3/15/19 Vol.1, Settlement Schemes, 1915-1917.

⁴² NAZ S881/1482/1, Southern Rhodesia Settlement Schemes: Correspondence, Downie to High Commissioner for Southern Rhodesia, London, 9/11/1925.

might have been able to increase the level of immigration into the country and come much nearer to creating the White man's country of their dreams. On the contrary, however, the Rhodesian authorities wanted Rhodesia to develop not just as a White man's country but, specifically, as a British White man's country.

The thinking behind this policy was clearly articulated by E. Tawse Jollie who noted in the 1920s that:

The average British-born Rhodesian feels that this is essentially a British country, pioneered, bought and developed by British people, and he wants to keep it so.⁴³

The official position was expressed by C. H. Harding of the Department of Internal Affairs in 1939 when he wrote:

The policy of the government in regard to immigration is to maintain a preponderance of British subjects in about the same proportions as last year when the total number of immigrants was about 3 500, of whom 3 000 were British subjects and 500 aliens i.e. 6 to 1. On this basis, the number of aliens of all races should be restricted to about 40 a month.⁴⁴

Similarly, announcing yet another scheme to attract immigrants, the *Rhodesia Herald* of March 16, 1939 reported:

A scheme to attract British immigrants to Southern Rhodesia is to be launched by the Government of the colony . . . The main reason which has activated the government in making these arrangements is that the immigration returns show that a substantial proportion of immigrants to the Colony are aliens. 'It is the definite policy of the Government to maintain a British population in the colony and it is with this object in view that the new scheme has been started', states an official memorandum issued to the *Rhodesia Herald* yesterday.

What this policy meant, therefore, was that, while Rhodesians could easily have whitened the colony more by opening their doors to the hundreds of thousands of potential non-British immigrants, particularly refugees from Europe, their preference for people of British stock only meant that the increases in the local White population would be small as most British emigrants preferred to settle in the old dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand rather than Rhodesia.

That the Rhodesian authorities were very reluctant to admit European refugees to Rhodesia was made clear time and time again, especially in the 1930s. For instance, in 1939, one George Bacher wrote the Rhodesian

⁴³ E. Tawse Jollie, 'Southern Rhodesia', in *South African Quarterly* (1921), III, 10-12, cited in D. Lowry, 'White woman's country: Ethel Tawse Jollie and the making of White Rhodesia', in *Journal of Southern African Studies* (June 1997), XXIII, (ii), 270.

⁴⁴ NAZ S1801/5450, Immigration 1935-1939, C. H. Harding, Acting Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs to Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 6th April, 1939.

Prime Minister informing him that he had been approached by the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs to help his government resettle thousands of refugees displaced by the German annexation of the Sudetenland. Bacher wrote:

By virtue of authority received from the Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Social Welfare, I beg to submit for your kind consideration the following problem: The international events of September 1938 have resulted in the loss of about 30% of the territory of our Republic and the influx of hundreds of thousands of people from the lost districts into the remaining part of Czechoslovakia. It is obvious that our state is unable to supply the means of maintenance and living to the added population . . . As a consequence, our Government is making organised efforts to facilitate the systematic emigration of these people from our country . . . Among this large number of potential emigrants, we have a large proportion of peasants who have been engaged in agricultural occupations for many generations and a further number of people who have owned large estates on which they have been engaged in farming and cattle raising on a large scale. In addition, we have a certain proportion of skilled miners and mechanics. We have also available a number of people of intellectual occupations, such as physicians [and] engineers.⁴⁵

Given the fact that Rhodesians always claimed that they wanted people who could be productive on the land, one would have expected that they would jump at the chance of bringing in the type of agricultural and professional refugees who were being offered by Czechoslovakia, yet the response of the Rhodesian authorities was terse and almost rude. The Rhodesian Department of Internal Affairs wrote back to Bacher:

In the present state of the development of this colony, the number of alien immigrants who could be absorbed here is definitely limited . . . mass migration is out of the question.⁴⁶

A similar response was given to O. D. Philips of the Rhodesia Travel Bureau in London who, in January 1939, drew the Rhodesian authorities' attention to the growing interest in emigrating to Rhodesia by a large number of

Germans, Hungarians, Czechs and Austrians (not necessarily all Jews) . . . all people of means [with] funds varying between £1 000 and £8 000 per person . . . Between them, it would be possible for them to raise as much as £200 000.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ NAZ S246/4401, Immigration 1933-1940, Letter from George Bacher to PM, Southern Rhodesia, 14/2/39.

⁴⁶ NAZ S246/4401, Immigration 1933-1940, Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs to George Bacher, 24/2/1939.

⁴⁷ NAZ S246/4401, Immigration 1933-1940, O. D. Philips, Rhodesia Travel Bureau, London, to E. C. Anderson, Director of Publicity, Salisbury, 27/1/1939.

Predictably, the response was that 'mass migration is out of the question'.⁴⁸

Anxious to forestall any efforts to send refugees to settle in Rhodesia, the Rhodesian Department of Internal Affairs instructed the Rhodesian High Commissioner in London to request the British Foreign Office to

circularise Consul in Yugo Slavia (sic), Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, Latvia, Lithuania, Holland and Italy . . . that group refugee immigration cannot be entertained.⁴⁹

In response to yet another enquiry as to whether some 5 000 Hungarian Jewish refugees and their families could be allowed to emigrate to Rhodesia, the Department of Internal Affairs instructed its official in London to 'send the usual reply that it is not possible to consider such a proposal'.⁵⁰

The Rhodesian reluctance to allow large numbers of non-British Whites to immigrate into the country was neatly captured by one of the biographers of Rhodesian Prime Minister Godfrey Huggins who wrote:

In the thirties, immigrants had trickled in. Malvern had been satisfied to take those with capital and a British background. Jews from Europe . . . were, on the whole, kept out. They would have altered the social structure and weakened the British character of the country . . . The country had no use for white peasants.⁵¹

As the above examples show, however, it was not the peasant character of the would-be-immigrants that mattered most as some of them were reputed to have \$8 000. It was their non-British nationality which disqualified them from Rhodesian citizenship. As the already cited memorandum to the *Rhodesia Herald* of March 16, 1938 clearly spelt out, it was the definite policy of the Rhodesian Government 'to maintain a British population in the colony'.

If the Rhodesian authorities found the idea of non-British White immigration abhorrent, they found the possibility of non-White, especially Indian, immigration even more so. Rhodesia's antipathy to Indian immigration was given expression early in the colonial history of the country when the authorities enacted the 1903 Immigration Restriction Ordinance which barred anyone who was unable 'by reason of deficient education to write out and sign, in the character of any European language,

⁴⁸ NAZ S246/4401, Immigration 1933-1940, Minister of Internal Affairs to R. D. Gitchrist on 28/3/39.

⁴⁹ NAZ A1801/5450, Immigration 1935-1939, J. Blackwell, Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, Salisbury, to High Commissioner, London, 8/2/39.

⁵⁰ NAZ S246/440, Immigration 1933-1940, C. H. Harding, Acting Secretary of the Department of Internal Affairs, on behalf of the Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 4 May, 1939.

⁵¹ M. Gelfand (ed.), *Godfrey Martin Huggins, Viscount Malvern, 1883-1971: His Life and Work* (Salisbury, Central African Journal of Medicine, n.d.), 39.

an application'. The same clause was made part of the Immigrants Regulation Ordinance 1914.⁵²

This clause was designed specifically to exclude Indian immigrants who were considered to be undesirable partly because of their race but also partly because, according to the British South Africa Company Administrator, the Indian trader was 'year by year, obtaining a further foothold in the country and . . . his presence tends to the possibility of the eventual exclusion of the European' from the market.⁵³ Similarly, when in 1907, an Engineer from India, W. N. Gordon, visited Rhodesia and suggested that land which was unsuitable for White settlement should be allocated to 'Indian immigrants settling in village communities', Sir William Milton responded that such a scheme 'would meet with great hostility from the European population'.⁵⁴

Given the staunchly pro-British preference of the Rhodesian authorities, it is not surprising that the majority of immigrants entering the country in the period under review were of British stock. Apart from a few exceptional years, the entire period was characterised by the continued dominance of immigrants of British extraction. According to one source, for instance, 95.3% of all immigrants into Rhodesia between 1930 and 1950 were of British nationality; 45.6% and 42.0% of whom came from the British Isles and the Union of South Africa, respectively.⁵⁵

Non-British immigrants, including Greeks, Italians, Russians, Americans, Germans, Swiss, French and Poles remained very few throughout this period. In 1921, for instance, they accounted for less than 5% of the White population.⁵⁶ However, the number of non-British immigrants increased slightly between 1923, when 35 out of every 1 000 persons were non-British, and 1941, when the ratio had risen to 58 per 1 000.⁵⁷ The 1941 increase can be explained partly as a result of the establishment of an Italian internment camp in Salisbury during the Second World War.

The strict criteria applied by Rhodesians in the selection of immigrants and the clearly pro-British and anti-foreigner bias combined with other factors from time to time to reduce White immigration to a trickle. As Table 4 above clearly shows, because of the effects of the Great Depression in the early 1930s, British emigration almost stopped, with emigration under the auspices of the Overseas Settlement Committee plummeting

⁵² Immigrant Regulation Ordinance 1914 (Ordinance No. 7), 1914, 9th October, 194.

⁵³ Douglas, 'Department of Immigration', 6.

⁵⁴ NAZ A11/2/9/9, Settlers From Orange River Colony and India, Milton's Secretary to Secretary, BSAC, London, 25 May, 1907.

⁵⁵ Kay, 'Population', 43.

⁵⁶ Southern Rhodesia, *Official Yearbook* 1924, 56.

⁵⁷ Southern Rhodesia, *Official Yearbook*, 1952, 156.

from 29 098 in 1930 to a mere 196 in 1933. Of these, only 41 emigrated to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

Within Rhodesia in the early 1930s, it was reported that, because of the economic hardships, there had been a drastic decline in railway traffic, while the poor economic conditions had led to a rise in unemployment. Because of these conditions, the Government had amended the regulation laws in 1930 to enable it to restrict immigration from neighbouring territories and other countries and to enforce immigration controls more strictly.⁵⁸

While economic hardships in the early thirties discouraged British emigration to the colonies, it appears that even prosperous times could achieve the same result. Reporting on the decline in British emigration in the late 1920s, the Overseas Settlement Committee blamed the sluggish British emigration trends in 1927 on, among other reasons, the 'upward tendency of the standard of living and comfort in Great Britain'. Other causes were given as: the high cost of travel, the industrial habits of the British population which were not suited to the agricultural industries of the colonies and 'the increasing insistence that Dominion governments carefully scrutinise all who wish to enter their territories'. The last reason was particularly applicable to Southern Rhodesia, as has already been noted.⁵⁹

As is evident from the above, various factors inhibited large-scale White immigration into Rhodesia, among which the most influential were the highly selective immigration policies and anti-foreign biases of the Rhodesian Government authorities.

CONCLUSION

The article has traced Rhodesian White population growth trends from 1890 to 1941, showing that the White population grew slowly but steadily in that period and that the major source of population growth was immigration. It has argued that immigration flows were not consistent but fluctuated from time to time according to the influences of both local and global circumstances which either impeded or facilitated immigration.

It has also been the contention of the article that, while the original colonisers and their governments cherished the dream of building Rhodesia as a British White man's country, the dream was never fully realised because of Rhodesia's failure to attract large numbers of British immigrants as many emigrants from Britain preferred to emigrate to the longer-

⁵⁸ NAZ S246/122, Rhodesia Party Congress, Immigration and Repatriation of Undesirables.

⁵⁹ NAZ S881/522/1483, Overseas Settlement Committee, Annual Reports. *Report of the Overseas Settlement Committee for the Year Ended 31st December 1928*.

established Dominions such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand and not to Rhodesia. It has also been suggested that, contributing to the failure to populate Rhodesia with White settlers to the extent the Rhodesian authorities may have wanted was the fact that the Rhodesian authorities themselves were very particular about who they would admit and tended to be hostile to immigration by non-British Whites.