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ARCHIVAL REPORT: NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY'S NEGLECTED SOURCES ON PARTNERSHIP ORGANISATIONS IN “BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA”

ABSTRACT

This archival report tracks two collections at Northwestern University (USA) which contain significant, albeit underutilised material on two organisations (the Capricorn Africa Society and the Inter-racial Association of Southern Rhodesia) which played a notable role in attempts to implement the “Partnership” philosophy that ostensibly underpinned the governing credo of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the 1950s. A unique and notable component of the material are the significant first-hand observations and field notes by a contemporaneous American academic, Vernon McKay, with a scholarly interest in both organisations. Additionally, while the academic literature on the Society and the Association typically emphasises the role of white liberals, material at Northwestern also delineates both the role of those who would shortly play a leading role in the anti-colonial liberation struggle (such as Herbert Chitepo) as well as that of their reactionary white opponents. The report also provides a brief historiographical review of extant work on the organisations and other archival repositories that have traditionally informed this scholarship.

Keywords: *Capricorn Africa Society, Inter-racial Association of Southern Rhodesia, Central African Federation, Vernon McKay, Gwendolen Carter*

This report illuminates inter-related components of two collections located in two distinct repositories at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois (USA). The personal papers of Vernon McKay (1912-1988) and Gwendolen Carter (1906-1991), US-based academics, provide unexpected insights on the Capricorn Africa Society (CAS) and the Inter-racial Association of Southern Rhodesia (IASR). Both collections document these organisations' efforts to promote modest political and cultural reforms around the issue of race relations in the 1950s and the public's reactions to their activities. These holdings primarily focus on Southern Rhodesia (colonial Zimbabwe), which was the political and economic nerve centre of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (hereafter 'the Federation') from 1953 to 1963.¹ The Federation was ostensibly animated by the vague principle of multi-racial 'partnership'. The CAS and IASR were two of the most prominent civic organisations that attempted to find a concrete way to implement this abstract philosophy; each enjoyed varying levels of support from major political actors in both Southern Rhodesia and the Federation.

This archival report first provides an overview of the CAS and IASR, tracing their position in the historiography and the archival sources that have informed extant work on the two groups. It then turns to a substantive analysis of the insights on the organisations in the holdings at Northwestern, initially focusing on the McKay Papers, which contain the larger proportion of relevant material. Attention then shifts to the Carter records. Vernon McKay was a political scientist who held positions with the US State Department and directed the Program of African Studies at Johns Hopkins University. His research was pan-African in scope. The Canadian-born Gwendolen Carter, another political scientist, directed Northwestern's Program of African Studies. She also held positions at Smith College, Indiana University, and the University of Florida. Her scholarship primarily focused on South Africa, which she first visited in 1948.²

1 However, the existence of this conglomerate ensures that insights from Southern Rhodesia's "junior" partners in this federation, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, also feature in some detail. This grouping of territories was also variously known as "British Central Africa".

2 Select South African focused works by Carter include: G Carter, *The politics of inequality: South Africa since 1948* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958); G Carter, *Which way is South Africa going?* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980).

1. BACKGROUND ON THE TWO PARTNERSHIP ORGANISATIONS

The preamble to the constitution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland pledged that the new governing entity, established in 1953, would promote multi-racial “partnership and co-operation”.³ While this philosophy was never clearly defined and was poorly implemented, it did coincide with an uptick in efforts to foster new forms of collaboration between the Federation’s inhabitants, who were rigidly segregated by race.

The CAS fitfully emerged between 1949 and 1952, alongside the rising debates that culminated in the creation of the Federation. Within a few years it attracted several thousand members across southern and east Africa.⁴ It played a significant role in lobbying for the establishment of the Federation alongside the region’s major white political leaders.⁵ A co-founder of the IASR, distinguished between that organisation and the CAS by calling the latter, “a more exotic affair, with more high-flown objectives and more money”.⁶ The Society also had a much larger scope than the IASR, although the Association did maintain an affiliate branch in Nyasaland (colonial Malawi).⁷ In addition to the three constituents of the Federation, the CAS also operated in Kenya and Tanganyika.⁸ Its wider range, scope, and resources are reflected in the archival record. Disparate repositories in both the United Kingdom and Africa have traditionally informed scholarship on the Society. The most extensive collection of CAS records is found at the Borthwick Institute at the University of York, which holds material generated by the Society’s London office. A modest collection of ephemera on both the Society and the Association is available at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies (ICS) in London. Additionally, records of the CAS office in Salisbury (the capital of both the Federation and Southern Rhodesia, today’s Harare) are preserved at the National Archives of Zimbabwe.⁹

3 TRM Creighton, *The anatomy of partnership* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), p. 101.

4 R Rotberg, “The ‘partnership’ hoax: How the British government deprived Central Africans of their rights”, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 45 (1), 2019, p. 99.

5 Rotberg, “The ‘partnership’ hoax”, p. 99.

6 H Holderness, *Lost chance: Southern Rhodesia, 1945-58* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985), p. 170.

7 “The Inter-racial Association of Nyasaland”, *Concord*, July-September 1954, p. 25.

8 Capricorn Africa Society, *Handbook for speakers* (Salisbury: Rhodesian Printing and Publishing, 1955), no page. The CAS initially aspired to operate even more widely throughout central, eastern, and southern Africa.

9 The records are housed in the Historical Manuscripts collection, CA9.

The most significant collections on the IASR are found in the personal papers of its members. Hardwicke Holderness, a Southern Rhodesian lawyer and parliamentarian (1954-1958) served as the Association's initial Chair and was instrumental in its establishment. Two boxes in his manuscript collection at the University of Oxford's Weston Library cover the IASR. This material was processed around 2020 and has not yet been widely consulted by scholars. Additional material on the IASR is found in the records of Eileen Haddon, the Chair of the Association who succeeded Holderness and whose papers were microfilmed as part of the Cooperative Africana Microform Project. The aggregated material on the IASR at Northwestern makes it another leading resource on the Association. The IASR was formally launched in July 1953 and maintained a smaller membership roster numbering in the hundreds.¹⁰ As a result of these financial and enrolment imbalances, the CAS has received more scholarly attention than the IASR.

Both the CAS and IASR were well-connected, if relatively powerless entities in the mid-1950s. The latter evaporated around the time that Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister Garfield Todd, a key IASR backer (and close friend of Holderness), was overthrown in a cabinet revolt in early 1958.¹¹ The CAS gradually faded away in the early 1960s as anti-colonial resistance surged, white settler attitudes hardened, and the Society's finances weakened. The CAS was unable to successfully pivot as the "Wind of Change" gusted southward down the continent. The Kenya branch closed shop in 1963, shortly before independence. In June 1965, with most of Africa now free from colonial rule, the CAS' branch in Southern Rhodesia dissolved, marking the end of the Society's existence.¹²

As Julius Nyerere, a one-time executive committee member wrote, the CAS' professed liberalism appealed to a "large number of liberal-minded people", but the Society's proposals supported gradual change and were "disproportionately in favour" of the white minority in Africa.¹³ In Nyasaland, the word "Capricorn" became an epithet used by nationalists to refer to someone who collaborated with the colonial system.¹⁴ At least in Southern Rhodesia however, the CAS attracted notable interest among black intellectuals and educators. Leopold Takawira, the founding Vice-President of the Zimbabwe

10 "The Interracial Association", *Concord*, April-June 1954, p. 43.

11 Holderness, *Lost chance*, p. 196-197.

12 R Hughes, *Capricorn: David Stirling's second African campaign* (London: Radcliffe Press, 2003), pp. 281-282.

13 JK Nyerere, "The entrenchment of privilege", *Africa South* 2 (2), 1958, p. 86; Anon., *What is the Capricorn Africa Society?* (London: Capricorn Africa Society, undated), back cover page.

14 N Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia* (New York: Transatlantic Arts, 1966), p. 20.

African National Union (ZANU), was an employee; other leading ZANU members, like Herbert Chitepo, Ndabaningi Sithole, and Robert Mugabe reportedly engaged with the Society as well.¹⁵ Within ZANU's long-running adversary, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), Josiah Chinamano and Willie Musarurwa were active in the CAS. ZAPU's Robert Chikerema and George Nyandoro were linked to the IASR.¹⁶

2. REPOSITORIES CONSULTED IN THE EXTANT SCHOLARSHIP

The historiography on the two organisations has been informed by a range of sources. CAS' president, David Stirling, a war hero who founded the Special Air Service, was of sufficient renown that transcripts of his speeches on Capricorn were contemporaneously published in leading African area studies journals.¹⁷ The Society's comparatively strong financial position allowed it to publish several pamphlets. At least two executive members of the CAS published their own book length accounts of the organisation's work. JH Oldham's contemporaneous ruminations on the Society are more philosophical than data driven.¹⁸ Scholars are better served by a retrospective account from Richard Hughes, a Kenya-based official.¹⁹ Hughes draws on some material from the National Archives of Zimbabwe and several privately held collections, including that of an Australian academic, Ian Hancock. He makes more generous use of the UK National Archives, the CAS material at York, contemporaneous periodicals and his own personal archive. Hughes passed away in 2020 and the state of his records, focusing on CAS' east African activities, is unclear.²⁰ Meanwhile, Holderness dedicated a chapter to the IASR's formation in his unreferenced book on Rhodesian politics in the 1940s and 1950s.²¹

While there is no dedicated study of the IASR, CAS began to receive serious scholarly attention in the 1970s. The historiography initially developed on a colony-by-colony basis, with journal articles focusing on activities of

15 Hughes, *Capricorn*, p. 152; ES Munger, *Touched by Africa* (Pasadena: Castle Press, 1983), p. 147.

16 E Dumbutshena, *Zimbabwe tragedy* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1975), p. 52.

17 For example: D Stirling, "The Capricorn contract", *African Affairs* 56 (224), 1957, pp. 191-199.

18 JH Oldham, *New hope in Africa* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955).

19 Hughes, *Capricorn*.

20 R Cass, "Richard Hughes obituary", *The Guardian*, 26 May 2020, <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2020/may/26/richard-hughes-obituary>>, accessed 14 August 2024.

21 Holderness, *Lost Chance*, chapter 9, passim.

specific Society offices in the Rhodesias, Tanganyika, and Kenya.²² Hancock's account of Capricorn activities in Southern Rhodesia is one of the more richly sourced explorations of the Society.²³ It draws on numerous interviews, privately held material, press accounts, CAS' papers at the University of York, its records at the National Archives of Zimbabwe, and a collection of material on the Society at Ranche House College, an adult education school in Harare.²⁴ It may be the only published work to make use of the latter resource. Bizeck Phiri's investigation of the CAS in Northern Rhodesia (colonial Zambia) draws on some local media sources and a smattering of material held at the National Archives of Zambia. However, it is largely informed by the CAS collection at York.²⁵ Alistair Ross' examination of the Society in Tanganyika follows a similar template. While some Africa-based interviews, media accounts, and material from the National Archives of Tanzania are cited, the paper primarily draws on the records at York.²⁶

While CAS' paternalistic attempts at white-dominated "multi-racialism" have remained a vibrant field of study, more recent scholarship situates the Society in a broader rubric encompassing questions of class, race, gender, and decolonisation. These newer book treatments consider both the CAS and the IASR, although the latter typically receives more abbreviated consideration. Michael West primarily draws on published sources in his examination of both organisations, including the IASR's journal, *Concord*. He also leverages some relevant archival material from the records of the Federation (held at the National Archives of Zimbabwe) to outline the Association's views.²⁷ Clive Gabay makes strong use of the ICS material, supplementing it with documents from the UK National Archives. He also utilises Kenyan material, drawing on that country's national archives as well as the personal papers of two of its white settlers at the University of Oxford,

22 TMJ Kanogo, "Politics of collaboration or domination? Case study of the Capricorn Africa Society", *Kenya Historical Review* 2 (2), 1974, pp. 127-142. The Kenya-focused paper is inadequately cited, and it is not possible to trace its sources. A collection entitled "CAS Papers" appears in the notes with no elaboration.

23 I Hancock, "The Capricorn Africa Society in Southern Rhodesia", *Rhodesian History: Journal of the Central Africa Historical Association* 9, 1978, pp. 41-62.

24 Ken Mew, the Ranche House principal, was active in the CAS' Salisbury Branch.

25 BJ Phiri, "The Capricorn Africa Society revisited: The impact of liberalism in Zambia's colonial history, 1949-1963", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 24 (1), 1991, pp. 65-83.

26 A Ross, "The Capricorn Africa Society and European reactions to African nationalism in Tanganyika, 1949-60", *African Affairs* 76 (305), 1977, pp. 519-535.

27 MO West, *The rise of an African middle class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

Michael Blundell and Clarence Buxton.²⁸ Both Gabay and Kate Law draw on the microfilmed records of Eileen Haddon, an IASR Chairwoman, to assess the activities of both that Association and Capricorn.²⁹

Undoubtedly, both the CAS and the IASR will continue to attract interest as scholars grapple with the consequences of the shortcomings of “multi-racial” initiatives in southern and eastern Africa. Beyond explicating the material at Northwestern, it is hoped that this report helps to synthesise the disparate collections available to interested researchers. This author’s own previous work on the two groups was primarily informed by published sources and the CAS archival material at ICS and York.³⁰ The following sections sketch out how the two collections at Northwestern might inform subsequent scholarship on politics and race in “British Central Africa”.³¹

3. THE MCKAY PAPERS

Vernon McKay’s Papers, housed at the Herskovits Library of African Studies at Northwestern reveal an academic personally engrossed by the CAS’ mission. In 1954-55, McKay spent over a year travelling across Africa. His primary aim was to study, “the problems of the multi-racial societies in South, Central and East Africa”.³² This research theme intrinsically directed McKay’s interest toward the CAS. The Society planned to hold a major convention in Tanganyika and McKay looked forward to attending, “what promise[d] to be an important and interesting occasion”.³³ It is not clear how well they knew each other, but McKay wrote that he considered the CAS President, David Stirling, a “friend”.³⁴ McKay was to have lodged at Stirling’s residence in Salisbury when he visited Southern Rhodesia on this trip, but the war hero was struck by polio.³⁵

28 C Gabay, *Imagining Africa: Whiteness and the Western gaze* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

29 K Law, *Gendering the settler state: White women, race, liberalism and empire in Rhodesia, 1950-1980* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

30 B Marmon, *Pan-Africanism versus partnership: African decolonisation in Southern Rhodesian politics, 1950-63* (Cham: Springer, 2023).

31 To the author’s knowledge, no published material on the CAS or the IASR has utilised either the McKay or Carter Papers.

32 Northwestern University (Evanston), Herskovits Library (HL), McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 15 December 1953 (letter).

33 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 15 December 1953 (letter). However, the Convention was delayed until June 1956.

34 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – “Compatriots”, 31 December 1954.

35 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – “Compatriots”, 31 December 1954.

However, McKay's esteem for Stirling was so profound that he visited Stirling three times in hospital as he convalesced.³⁶ McKay's letters describing his travels contain rich and detailed insights on the CAS, while the IASR appears more marginally.³⁷ These dispatches focus on a range of issues: the wider perception of the CAS and IASR in white Rhodesian society, the CAS' varying position in Southern Rhodesia's two main cities: Salisbury and Bulawayo, the CAS' membership and recruitment strategies, McKay's personal assessment of Stirling's leadership qualities, his estimation of the CAS' impact, and reflections on the CAS from direct interviews.

McKay's interlocutors spanned white political elites and the black intelligentsia. He documents that both the prime minister of the Federation and its Governor-General privately expressed scepticism about Capricorn.³⁸ McKay also records perspectives on Capricorn from white farmers and journalists. A brief description of an interview with Neil Housman Wilson, a prominent conservative theorist in Southern Rhodesia and one-time Stirling supporter, explains the origins of Wilson's break from the CAS.³⁹ This commentary will be especially illuminating for scholars interested in tracking the realignments and shifts in political opinion as the "Wind of Change" reached southern Africa.⁴⁰ As historians seek to further refine comparative analyses of the CAS and the IASR, they may also be interested in McKay's records of two conversations with Holderness about Stirling's Society.⁴¹ Detailed accounts of McKay's conversations with Stirling and Peter Mackay, a white employee of the Society, provide unique insights on the CAS from two of the individuals most responsible for its early work.⁴²

While McKay's contacts were disproportionately with whites, he did engage with members of other racial communities as well. He met with a group of Indian businessmen in Salisbury and reported that while they were adverse to the CAS' professed Christian orientation, they were willing to join.⁴³

36 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 25 January 1955.

37 Most of these letters are addressed to Lansdell Christie, an American mining magnate with interests in Liberia who funded much of McKay's travels. McKay spent about a total of two months in the Federation over the course of two visits in 1955. These missives are all found in Box 111 of the collection.

38 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 25 January 1955.

39 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 25 January 1955.

40 Some recent examples focusing on colonial Zimbabwe include: R Pulossof and G Rivett, "Imagining change, imaginary futures: 'Conditions of possibility' in pre-independence Southern Rhodesia, 1959-1963", *Social Science History* 43 (2), 2019, pp. 243-267; B Marmon, "From dreams of dominion to aspirations for a new Africa: Ahn Palley's political re-invention in Southern Rhodesia, 1959-1961", 45 (3), 2019, pp. 485-501.

41 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 25 January and 15 August 1955.

42 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 15 August 1955.

43 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 30 January 1955.

McKay found the High Commissioner of India to the Federation much more hostile to Capricorn. McKay's account of a discussion with Herbert Chitepo at a cocktail party hosted by this High Commissioner provides intriguing insights on Chitepo's journey from multi-racial ideologue to anti-colonial revolutionary.⁴⁴ Luise White has devoted notable attention to Chitepo's ties to David Stirling but has recurrently struggled to pinpoint the extent to which Southern Rhodesia's first black lawyer was formally connected to Capricorn.⁴⁵ The material in this collection helps to clarify the position. McKay writes that in early 1955, Chitepo informed him that he would, "put all his efforts into making the multi-racial program of the Capricorn Africa Society succeed".⁴⁶ The collection also contains an internal CAS directory which confirms that Chitepo belonged to the CAS' "Citizenship Collating Sub-Committee".⁴⁷ McKay's letter also records his conversation with Chad Chipunza, one of the Society's black employees who subsequently served in both the Federal and Southern Rhodesian parliaments.⁴⁸ Also of interest is McKay's account of an exchange with Elias Mtepuka, a Salisbury-based journalist from Nyasaland, about the limitations of the Society.⁴⁹

McKay does not limit his reflections on Capricorn to Southern Rhodesia. A letter focuses on the position of Capricorn in Northern Rhodesia, despite his finding that there was "general ignorance" about Capricorn in that colony.⁵⁰ McKay relates his discussions about Capricorn in Northern Rhodesia with colonial servants and European mineworkers. McKay's treatment of Capricorn in Northern Rhodesia is more abstract, but he does relate the views of some specific figures regarding the Society, such as John Moffat, a Federal Parliamentarian. This leading representative of moderate white politics in the colony was sympathetic to Stirling's initiative.⁵¹ In a stark departure from the situation in Salisbury, McKay was only able to find one black person in Northern Rhodesia who enthusiastically supported the CAS.⁵²

44 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 30 January 1955.

45 L White, *The assassination of Herbert Chitepo: Text and politics in Zimbabwe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp. 69-71; L White, *Unpopular sovereignty: Rhodesian independence and African decolonization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 88.

46 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 30 January 1955. McKay's wording.

47 HL, McKay Papers: Box 13, Capricorn Africa Society, "Organisation in Central Africa as at January 1st, 1956", Undated.

48 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 30 January 1955.

49 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 15 August 1955.

50 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 5 and 19 February 1955.

51 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 5 and 19 February 1955.

52 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 5 and 19 February 1955. The individual was Godwin Lewanika, member of a conservative royal family in Barotseland, a quasi-autonomous region within the colony.

As McKay ventured northwards throughout the continent, he continued to document the presence of Capricorn, although as the distance from Salisbury increased, it became increasingly peripheral. In Nyasaland, McKay records the perceptions of a white civil servant and a white businessman who expressed sympathy for the CAS' aims but thought it would be unable to exert any substantive impact as black Nyasas inherently distrusted any entity based in Southern Rhodesia. Rather, McKay's ruminations focus on efforts to establish an inter-racial association in Nyasaland.⁵³ The collection also contains a clipping of a letter to the editor of the *Tanganyika Standard* in which Kanyama Chiume, who became independent Malawi's first minister of foreign affairs, resoundingly condemns the CAS.⁵⁴ Outside of the Federation, McKay's dispatches from the Congo (colonial Democratic Republic of the Congo), Uganda, and Tanganyika, cover the position of the CAS and "multi-racialism" in those territories. The missive on Tanganyika discusses Capricorn in significant detail and includes substantial reflections from the colony's governor and the mayor of Dar es Salaam about the Society.⁵⁵

The collection also contains some prosaic correspondence between McKay and Stirling and a range of printed matter produced by CAS, some of which will be duplicated in holdings on the Society in Europe and southern Africa.⁵⁶ This material primarily consists of promotional appeals to draw in new members and organisational updates circulated among existing members. Scholars will probably be most interested in the Capricorn newsletters. There are two issues of *The Zebra*, produced by the CAS' Southern Rhodesia branch, which cover the Society's activities throughout the Federation.⁵⁷ There are also two editions of the *Capricorn Chronicle*, which report more widely on the CAS' work throughout Africa and the UK.⁵⁸ A rare issue of *African Home News*, a bulletin produced from Bulawayo by a South African-born grocer and journalist, Charlton Ngcebetsha, contains an enthusiastic editorial about the Society.⁵⁹ IASR ephemera is poorly represented in McKay's Papers. However, scholars will be interested in a letter from Peter Mackay (formerly of the CAS) to McKay, which provides statistical data on the IASR's membership, the circulation figures of its official magazine, *Concord*, and the rationale behind the decision to cease its production.⁶⁰

53 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 15 August 1955.

54 HL, McKay Papers: Box 13, "Capricorn Society", 19 April 1954.

55 HL, McKay Papers: Box 111, McKay – Christie, 27 September 1955.

56 These documents are mostly in Box 13 of the McKay papers.

57 HL, McKay Papers: Box 13, *The Zebra*, October and December 1956. The Zebra was of symbolic significance to the Society because the animal's coat was both black and white.

58 HL, McKay Papers: Box 13, *Capricorn Chronicle*, October 1955 and April 1956.

59 HL, McKay Papers: Box 16, *African Home News*, 13 August 1955.

60 HL, McKay Papers: Box 14, Mackay – McKay, 27 January 1958.

4. THE CARTER PAPERS

Conversely, the Carter Papers at Northwestern's McCormick Library of Special Collections emphasise the IASR rather than the CAS. Here, the insights derive less from first-hand encounters or printed matter but private correspondence pertaining to the IASR.⁶¹ Carter obtained copies of dozens of responses to a questionnaire that was circulated on the eve of the IASR's formal launch. The prompts, concerning a draft constitution of the IASR and a preliminary Declaration on African Affairs, were sent to a wide swathe of Rhodesian society representing varying racial and ideological backgrounds, including politicians, businesspeople, civil servants, and missionaries. The timing is particularly interesting as the survey was distributed in early 1953, about half a year prior to the establishment of the Federation.⁶²

Scholars of race relations and politics of Southern Rhodesia and the Federation from a variety of perspectives will be intrigued by the survey answers, which in many cases prompted the respondent to compose extended reflections on race relations in Southern Rhodesia, often going well beyond the immediate scope of the draft constitution and declaration. Particularly illuminating responses from noted personalities include a four-page rumination from George Hartley, then the Director of Native Administration for Salisbury. Hartley later became Speaker of the Rhodesian legislature during the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) era. Unsurprisingly, he was critical of the initiative.⁶³ This sentiment was shared, albeit more dismissively, in a shorter note from Mark Partridge, who became a member of Prime Minister Ian Smith's cabinet during UDI.⁶⁴ White survey respondents who played a significant role in the Federation's partnership politics include James Watson Swan and TIF Wilson, who served in the Federal Parliament. A supportive note is even found from the desk of David Stirling himself, who wished Holderness, "the very best of luck with the forming of your Association".⁶⁵ Several exchanges of correspondence between the two reveal a seemingly cordial relationship between two of Southern Rhodesia's

61 This material may be duplicated at Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Hardwicke Holderness Papers, MS. 5474/5/1.

62 There are also some responses to a second survey in early 1954 concerning a draft "Declaration on Industrial Relations" prepared by the IASR.

63 Northwestern University, McCormick Library (ML), Gwendolen Carter Papers: Box 75, Hartley – Holderness, 7 April 1953.

64 ML, Carter Papers: Box 75, Partridge – Holderness, 10 June 1953.

65 ML, Carter Papers: Box 75, Stirling – Holderness, 30 April 1953.

competing promoters of multi-racial partnership.⁶⁶ Relatively conciliatory comments on the IASR were also returned by John F. Bowles, a Rhodesian diplomat who subsequently helmed several Federal missions at overseas posts in Africa.⁶⁷

As with McKay's material on Capricorn, black opinion is captured, but much less significantly. A particularly notable respondent is Gideon Mhlanga, President of the African Teachers Association of Southern Rhodesia (ATA).⁶⁸ With his response, Mhlanga enclosed an ATA press statement that expressed opposition to the Federation. In addition to Mhlanga, signatories of this document included Chipunza and Takawira (amongst others), who, as shown above, were both active in the CAS but subsequently took divergent political positions.⁶⁹ That the IASR's impact was felt beyond Southern Rhodesia is evident in a letter from Wellington Chirwa, a black Nyasa, requesting information on the Association.⁷⁰ Chirwa was then a leading member of the Nyasaland African Congress and served in the Federal Parliament.

Aside from material generated by the survey, there is a small amount of correspondence directed to or produced by the IASR Secretary (Hardwicke's wife, Elspeth) concerning operational matters of the Association itself. Carter's papers also contain a limited amount of printed material on the IASR, such as the draft Constitution and Declaration on African Affairs, and some news clippings on the IASR from the Southern Rhodesian press.

5. CONCLUSION

The material on the CAS and IASR in the McKay and Carter papers will interest scholars approaching the politics of the Federation or white settler liberalism in British Central Africa from an array of perspectives. As the Federation's brand of multi-racial partnership continues to generate historical treatment, the collections will resonate for what they say about the two organisations in particular as well as colonial society at large. Perhaps some of the most notable insights from these records are apparent in the sense of insularity, (dis)connections, and rapid change that they convey regarding Southern Rhodesian society.

66 ML, Carter Papers: Box 75, Stirling – Holderness, 27 April 1953; ML, Gwendolen Carter Papers: Box 75, Holderness – Stirling, 29 April 1953.

67 ML, Carter Papers: Box 75, Bowles – Holderness, 26 May 1953.

68 ML, Carter Papers: Box 75, Mhlanga – Holderness, 26 April 1953.

69 ML, Carter Papers: Box 75, "The African Teachers Association of Southern Rhodesia: Statement on Federation", undated.

70 ML, Carter Papers: Box 75, Chirwa – Holderness, 2 July 1953.

In the CAS, white “liberals” rubbed shoulders with figures like Chitepo and Takawira who were at the vanguard of anti-colonial resistance a decade later. Furthermore, the highly visible Society rapidly lost influence. McKay never published a targeted academic study on Capricorn. As a result of the rapid change Africa experienced at this time, the partnership organisations overwhelmingly became a subject of historical rather than contemporaneous academic study. Meanwhile, the liberals in the IASR, who were more genuinely willing to challenge convention, attempted outreach to individuals like Partridge and Hartley, who were at the forefront of efforts to maintain a system of racial segregation and oppression after UDI. The collapse of the two organisations and their inability to garner interest among more right-wing whites was a prelude to the tragedy of UDI. However, as a British civil servant at the 1979 Lancaster House conference that ended UDI and led to Zimbabwean independence observed, even at their worst, the endurance of personal relations between blacks and whites in Rhodesia remained a factor that aided negotiations.⁷¹ As evinced by the orbit of the CAS and IASR, the limited degrees of separation between white racists, white liberals, and black elites in the 1950s testify to that enduring link.

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⁷¹ R. Renwick, *Unconventional diplomacy in Southern Africa* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), pp. 35-36.