

**FLAGGING RHODESIA'S IDENTITY  
THROUGH THE SYMBOLS OF SETTLERS  
(1890 – 1980)**

**by**

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*If you take my flag, you take everything. You must think me either a knave or a fool. I should be a fool to give up my flag and my traditions, and I should be a knave because I should be despised by my own countrymen and distrusted by yours.*

Cecil John Rhodes

(In an interview with the Editor of the 'Free State Express' as quoted in G. Le Sueur, 1913).

*Show me the race or the nation without a flag, and I will show you a race of people without any pride.*

Marcus Garvey

(In an address to the Pythian Temple, Washington, D.C., 20 November 1921, as quoted in S.A. Knowlton, 2017).

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my fellow vexillologist and mentor, the late Dr Fred Brownell, former State Herald of South Africa and designer of the Namibian and South African flags, who said the thesis should be done and that I must be the one to do it.

Sadly he did not live to see its completion.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the symbolic changes in the expression of white Rhodesian identity from the arrival of the settlers in 1890 and subsequent establishment of the Colony until the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. It examines the concepts of ‘nation’ and ‘identity’. It is generally agreed that national symbols, such as flags, anthems, coats of arms, and the like, not only represent the ‘nation’ but also condense and express the values, history and memories associated with it. The thesis argues that initially Rhodesians considered and identified themselves to be quintessentially British and loyal members of the Empire which was demonstrated through the use of Imperial symbols such as the Crown and the Union Jack. However, following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in November 1965, the need for a more distinctive local identity became more acute as the country moved to sever its imperial links and became ostracised on the international stage. A new panoply of symbols was adopted to reflect this change, the most visible and long-lasting of which was the new Rhodesian flag. The flag continues to be the most emotional and contested symbol of post-UDI Rhodesian identity to this day.

**Keywords:** flag; identity; nation; nation-building; Rhodesia; Southern Rhodesia, symbolism; symbols; vexillology

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On Tuesday, 12 November 1968, the pupils at Fort Victoria Infants School in central Rhodesia (as the country was called then) were told to assemble in the quadrangle as the bell rang for lessons to commence. The Headmistress made a short speech before stepping into the flower-bed in the centre of the quad which housed two flagpoles. She tugged the rope of one and at the top of the pole the new Rhodesian flag was unfurled. The staff, and pupils somewhat belatedly, then clapped. The assembly was dismissed and everyone went to class and the school day began. As a 6 year old I had not been aware of flags up to that point in my life and I certainly was not aware of the significance of the event we had just witnessed. It is, however, my first “flag memory” and it was to be many years later before I would come to appreciate the significance flags, why we needed a new flag and why this flag would, in time, also need to be replaced.

Flags were not particularly prevalent in Rhodesia in my early childhood and it was only as the decade of the 1970s progressed that the heightened sense of nationalism began to be reflected in an exuberant display of the flag - not only in the traditional formal sense, but also on a wide variety of objects, curios, clothing, etc. So it is interesting that not much has been written about this flag and the central role which it came to assume in Rhodesian identity. It is this gap that this thesis seeks to fill.

It was the display of the Rhodesian, and old South African, flags on the jacket of Dylann Roof, the 21 year old American white-supremacist shooter of nine African-American parishioners in Charleston (South Carolina) in June 2015, that brought the display of the Rhodesian flag back into the international limelight. It was discussing this reaction to Roof’s display of the flag with the late Dr. Fred Brownell that became the major prompt for my critical examination of the flag, and other symbols, central to white Rhodesian identity. I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Fred for his encouragement and for arranging an introduction to Professor Karen Harris, who subsequently became my promoter, and who took over where Fred left off! Her guidance, encouragement and constructive comments, together with the constant reminder to remain focussed, ensured that the thesis was finally completed. I am extremely grateful for having had the opportunity to have undertaken this thesis journey under her guidance and direction.

In addition, I would especially like to thank Mrs. Alett Nel, of the Merensky Library at the University of Pretoria, who was able to introduce me to the world of ‘electronic’ research and be able to trace articles, theses and books which I needed with seeming ease. I would also like to acknowledge the University of Pretoria’s graduate financial assistance which was provided during the course of my research.

Special thanks go those fellow vexillologists who also provided encouragement and support. In particular to Martin Grieve who graciously entertained all my requests to prepare electronic images; to Theo Stylianides who shared his books and also provided invaluable comments on earlier drafts; to the late Michael Faul – a fellow ex-Rhodesian – who had the foresight many years ago to investigate and collate information on Rhodesian flags which he entrusted to me; to Jos Poels who accompanied me to The National Archives in Kew and arranged a visit to the William Crampton Library in Hull; to Clay Moss who accompanied me to the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History at the University of Texas in Austin in order to access the Whitney Smith Collection; and finally to the late Professor Hugh Smith whose research into civic symbols and Rhodesian medals was also given to me after his death. All these contributions proved to be invaluable in the preparation of this thesis and without which, it would not have been nearly as comprehensive.

I would also like to thank Janice and Trevor for kindly putting me up during my visits to London, and to Chris and Annette Whitehead in Phoenix (Arizona) for their hospitality and for allowing me to photograph Chris’s extensive flag collection and peruse their Rhodesian memorabilia. Much of this will be used in the larger project which the research for this thesis has begun. In a similar vein, the insight following the many discussions on the broader aspects of Rhodesian history with Phil Garbett will also be more fully utilised in future.

As always, last but not least, my sincere appreciation goes to my family and friends for their unwavering support. To many of them the subject might be obscure, and indeed irrelevant, but like Fred Brownell, they said “If you don’t do it, nobody will!” I hope I haven’t been too much of a ‘flag-bore’ in the process and that this thesis lives up to expectations.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
BSAC	British South Africa Company
BSAP	British South Africa Police
CL	Cory Library for Humanities Research (Rhodes University, Makhanda [formerly Grahamstown], South Africa)
CO	Commonwealth Office (successor to the Commonwealth Relations Office and Colonial Office) (London, UK)
CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office (previously the Dominions Office) (London, UK)
DO	Dominions Office (London, UK)
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office (successor to the Foreign Office and Commonwealth Office) (London, UK)
FIAV	<i>Fédération internationale des associations vexillologiques</i> (International Federation of Vexillological Associations)
FRELIMO	<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> (Liberation Front of Mozambique)
ICGHS	International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences
ICV	International Congress of Vexillology
IOC	International Olympic Committee
MINT	The Royal Mint (UK)
NA	The National Archives (Kew, UK)
NAZ	The National Archives of Zimbabwe (previously National Archives of Southern Rhodesia, Central African Archives and National Archives of Rhodesia) (Harare, Zimbabwe)
NDP	National Democratic Party
NPP	National People's Party
OAU	Organisation of African Unity (now the African Union)
RAF	(British) Royal Air Force
RAR	Rhodesian African Rifles
RATG	Rhodesia Air Training Group
RCA	Rhodesian Constitutional Association

RF	Rhodesian Front
RGA	Responsible Government Association
RhAF	Rhodesian Air Force
RLI	Rhodesian Light Infantry
RRAF	Royal Rhodesian Air Force
SAVA	Southern African Vexillological Association
SRAF	Southern Rhodesia Air Force
SRV	Southern Rhodesia Volunteers
UANC	United African National Council
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UFP	United Federal Party
UK	United Kingdom (aka Britain)
UN	United Nations
US/USA	United States of America (aka America)
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African Liberation Army
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Liberation Army

## GLOSSARY

Commonly used heraldic terms (see Annexure 1 for an illustration of the parts of a Coat of Arms):

- Blazon - To blazon Arms is to describe them in the correct armorial, or heraldic, terminology so that they can be correctly drawn from the description, which is itself called a blazon.
- Charge - Anything depicted on the shield.
- Crest - The heraldic device placed above the helmet.
- Mantling - The veil-like cloth draped from the top of the helmet.
- Motto - A word or phrase associated with, or alluding to, the subject of the Arms and usually written on a scroll beneath the Arms.
- Shield - The central part of the achievement and the principal vehicle for the display of the actual Arms.
- Supporters - Figures, be they animals, birds, beasts or human figures, that are placed on either side of the shield to support it.
- Wreath - The strands of material twisted and wreathed to the base of the crest, designed to keep the mantling attached to the helmet (also known as a Torse).

Commonly used vexillological terms (see Annexure 2 for an illustration of the parts of a flag):

- Canton - The upper hoist, or top left-hand corner (quarter), of a flag.
- Charge - As with heraldry, an emblem or object placed upon the field of a flag.
- Field - The background or predominant colour of a flag (also called the ground).
- Fimbriation - A narrow band or stripe, of contrasting colour, separating two areas or bands of the same or similar colours.
- Fly - That part or section of the flag opposite to, or furthest from, the flagpole or staff (also called the fly end).
- Hoist - That part or section of the flag which is closest to the flagpole or staff.

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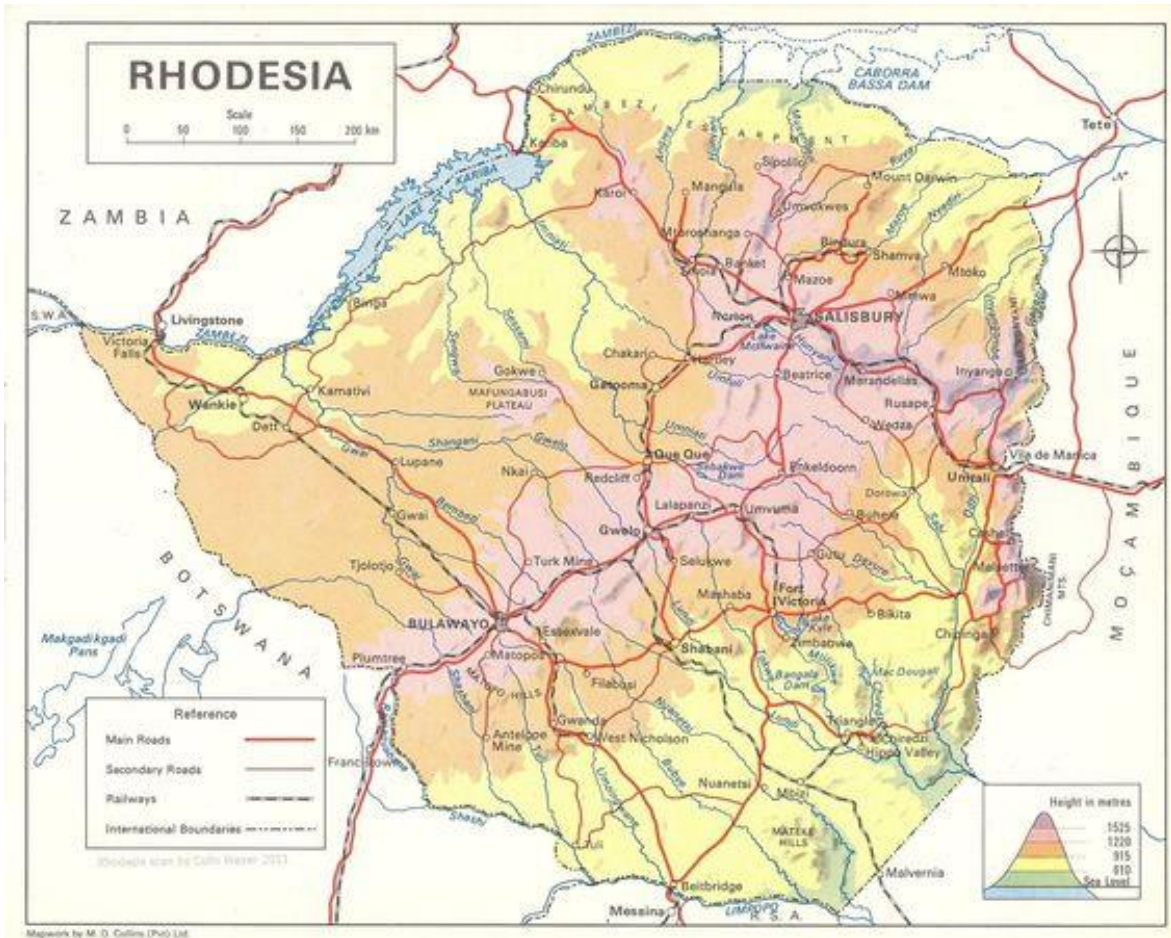
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**Figure 1:** Map of Rhodesia  
([www.za.pinterest.com](http://www.za.pinterest.com))

## CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

*Symbolism is one of the essential identifying characteristics of mankind, and its study is of ancient provenance ...*<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Human beings are sociable creatures that have for millennia congregated in families, groups, neighbourhoods and more recently into larger communities, tribes, towns and cities, to form what we now call ‘nations’ in the contemporary world. It has long been recognised that social life is an important repository of symbols - whether these are totems, vexilloids, flags, heroes, icons, statues, monuments, memorials or sports teams – these are, at the core, all symbolic markers of social groups.<sup>2</sup> Symbols thus act as vehicles to express and affirm the group or community they represent, leading the eminent British historian, Thomas Carlyle to comment that “it is in and through *symbols* that man, consciously or unconsciously, lives, works and has his being”.<sup>3</sup>

According to J.C. Cooper, we live in a world of symbols whose past holds meaning for the present.<sup>4</sup> To understand our symbols thus helps us to understand ourselves as they are not static and fixed, but grow and expand having a meaning in one culture and age and acquiring a different connotation in another.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, as P. Kolstø points out, national identity is not an innate human quality and has to be learnt. Important instruments in this learning process are various kinds of audio and visual aids which is why national symbols – flags, coats of arms, national anthems, etc. – play such a role in nation-building and nation-maintenance.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L. Dittmer, ‘Political Culture and Political Symbolism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis’, *World Politics*, 29(4), 1977, p. 558.

<sup>2</sup> G. Elgenius, ‘Expressions of Nationhood: National Symbols and Ceremonies in Contemporary Europe’, D.Phil. thesis, University of London, 2005, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> T. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus: The Life of Herr Teufelsdröckh*, 1848, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> J.C. Cooper, *Symbolism - The Universal Language* 1982, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> J.C. Cooper, *Symbolism - The Universal Language* 1982, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> P. Kolstø, ‘National Symbols as Signs of Unity and Division’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(4), 2006, p. 676.



In this context, this thesis examines the role national symbols played in the formation, changes to, and finally the maintenance of, a distinctive Rhodesian national identity during its existence following its conquest and settlement by Europeans in 1890. It will also consider its subsequent development as a British Colony with Responsible Government after 1923 and the redefining of its identity following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on 11 November 1965. In other words, this study shows how the adoption of Rhodesia's national symbols, and particularly its national flag, came to embody the expression of its white minority identity, initially as a British Colony and later as an "independent" state. It shows how these symbols were used to convey very specific messages about its national ideals, identity and self-image along with its changing patriotic sentiments.

It examines the evolution of a distinctive Rhodesian identity as seen through the adoption and use of a range of national symbols. Rhodesia and Rhodesians are not unique in this regard as the evolution and creation of nation states has resulted in numerous examples where a national identity has been created using symbols. "Symbolisation is a universal human process"<sup>7</sup> and the power of national symbols to rouse impassioned emotion and behaviour has been researched and written about by scholars from a variety of disciplines.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, there is wide recognition in the literature that national symbols are a potent source of political power and influence,<sup>9</sup> with symbols being a visual translation of ideology and the expression of national formations. It is generally agreed among scholars that national symbols (e.g., flags, anthems, emblems, and the like) are conceptual representations of group membership<sup>10</sup> and national symbols often not only represent the

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<sup>7</sup> R. Firth, *Symbols – public and private*, 1973, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life: A Study in Religious Sociology*, 1915; J.R. Royce (ed.), *Psychology and the Symbol*, 1965; M. Walzer, 'On the role of symbolism in political thought', *Political Science Quarterly*, 82(2), 1967, pp. 191-204; M. Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, 1982; M.J. Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, 1985; D. Handelman, *Models and Mirrors – Towards an Anthropology of Public Events*, 1998; A.D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*, 2009; N. Elias, *The Symbol Theory*, 2011.

<sup>9</sup> R.T. Schatz and H Lavine, 'Waving the Flag: National Symbolism, Social Identity, and Political Engagement', *Political Psychology*, 28(3), 2007, p. 330.

<sup>10</sup> D.A. Butz, 'National Symbols as Agents of Psychological and Social Change', *Political Psychology*, 30(5), 2009, p. 780.

general concept of “nation,” but also condense and express the knowledge, values, history and memories associated with the nation.

This first chapter provides an overview of these concepts so as to provide the context and background for the subsequent examination and analysis of the Rhodesian case study.

The primary symbols of a nation are its coat of arms or official emblem, its national flag, and its national anthem. Other symbols which contribute to the formation and maintenance of a national identity form part of what W. Crampton described in 1994 as the ‘National Panoply’ of national symbols, an adaption of which is presented in Annexure 1.

## 1.2 THE EVOLUTION OF NATIONS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

As expressions of nationhood, symbols thus constitute the essential building blocks in the creation and maintenance of nations and national identities. The importance of the nature of symbols and symbolism in this context, as well as what is meant by national identity, national symbolism and related terms such as a national flag, a national day, etc. has only recently come to be explored by various scholars.<sup>11</sup> Previously the academic debate focussed primarily on the concept of nation and nationalism which has led to a need to distinguish between the concepts of “nation”, “nationhood”, “nation-state”, “nationalism” and “national symbolism”.

According to H. Seton-Watson,<sup>12</sup> attempts at defining nations have been singularly unsuccessful and trying to establish a set of criteria through which to understand the complexity and changing conception of nations is difficult.<sup>13</sup> This is despite W. Zelinsky’s

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<sup>11</sup> See, for example, M. Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, 1964; G.L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, 1975; G. Elgenius, ‘Expressions of Nationhood: National Symbols and Ceremonies in Contemporary Europe’, D. Phil. thesis, University of London, 2005; S.J. Mock, *Symbols of Defeat in the Construction of National Identity*, 2012; A. Linklater, ‘Symbols and world politics: Towards a long-term perspective on historical trends and contemporary challenges’, *European Journal of International Relations*, 25(3), 2019, pp. 931-954.

<sup>12</sup> H. Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Inquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Political Nationalism*, 1977.

<sup>13</sup> G. Elgenius, *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism - Celebrating Nationhood*, 2011, p. 7.

contention that “Nationalism is the reigning passion of modern times”.<sup>14</sup> The concepts of nation, nationality and nationalism have all proved notoriously difficult to define let alone analyse.<sup>15</sup> E. Gellner,<sup>16</sup> E. Hobsbawm,<sup>17</sup> and B. Anderson<sup>18</sup> deliberately avoid a narrow definition and instead use a general notion of the term. Other authors highlight, what G. Elgenius refers to as a “self-definitional”, dimension of nationhood.<sup>19</sup> Thus, for Hobsbawm, any people who considers itself as a nation constitutes one.<sup>20</sup> In his seminal work, *Imagined Communities*, Anderson defines the nation not as an object of ideology, but as a form of “imagined political community”.<sup>21</sup> A.D. Smith is more specific and defines a nation as “a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members”.<sup>22</sup> It is important to bear in mind that while the terms “nation” and “state” are often treated as being synonymous, the idea of a “nation” as an “imagined community” can be contrasted with that of “state”, the means of institutional organisation which controls coercion within a given territory.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, according to C. Navari, a nation-state “is commonly defined as a polity of homogeneous peoples who share the same culture and the same language, and who are governed by some of their own number who serve their

<sup>14</sup> W. Zelinsky, ‘O Say, Can You See?: Nationalistic Emblems in the Landscape’, *Winterthur Portfolio*, 19(4), 1984, p. 277.

<sup>15</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities – Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1991, p. 3. For the history and the debate on the difficulty of defining these concepts see E. Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 1960; B. Akzin, *State and Nation*, 1964; E Kamenka (ed.), *Nationalism: The nature and evolution of an idea*, 1973; H. Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Inquiry into the Origins of Nations and Political Nationalism*, 1977; L. Tivey (ed.), *The Nation-State: The Formation of Modern Politics*, 1981; J. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism*, 1982; E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983; A.D. Smith, *National Identity*, 1991; E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, 1992; J. Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 1993; J. Hutchinson and A.D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, 1994; M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014; A. Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, 1997; and more recently the works of A.D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, 1998; A.D. Smith, *Nationalism: theory, ideology, history*, 2001 and A.D. Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations*, 2004.

<sup>16</sup> E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983.

<sup>17</sup> E. Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, 1992, pp. 1–14.

<sup>18</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities - Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1991.

<sup>19</sup> G. Elgenius, ‘Expressions of Nationhood: National Symbols and Ceremonies in Contemporary Europe’, D. Phil. thesis, University of London, 2005, p. 23.

<sup>20</sup> E. Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’ in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, 1992, pp. 1-14.

<sup>21</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities – Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1991, p. 6.

<sup>22</sup> A.D. Smith, *National Identity*, 1991, p. 14.

<sup>23</sup> See J. Hutchinson and A.D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, 1994.

interests”.<sup>24</sup> This is perhaps the most commonly held understanding of what is considered to be the modern nation-state. According to Elgenius then, “the nation is understood to be the bearer of identity and culture, usually provided by the state, which, in turn is justified by the nation”.<sup>25</sup>

Nationalism, as Gellner points out, is primarily a political principle which belongs to the era of nation-states and thus nationalism, as a way of depicting community, is a historically specific form of consciousness.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, he contends that nationalism emerges when the existence of the state is taken for granted and is the natural political unit.<sup>27</sup> Although exactly when the notion of the nation-state emerged is disputed, it is essentially a modern phenomenon,<sup>28</sup> with A. Giddens describing it as having “no precedent in history”,<sup>29</sup> the nation-state emerging when allegiances to royal dynasties began to decline and the worship of royalty was transformed into the worship of the nation.<sup>30</sup> Some historians, such as Seton-Watson and D. Johnson, claim that patriotic feelings and loyalties emerged in England and France during the seventeenth century,<sup>31</sup> while E. Kedourie claims that nation-states and national attachments cannot be found until a century later.<sup>32</sup> Nationalism, based upon the awakening of national consciousness and formalised by the idea of citizenship, thus became a secularised religion.<sup>33</sup> The emerging political order saw various symbols like values, traditions, language, emblems, and rituals become institutionalised practices<sup>34</sup> and anchored

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<sup>24</sup> C. Navari, The Origins of the Nation State, in L. Tivey, (ed.), *The Nation-State: The Formation of Modern Politics*, 1981, p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> G. Elgenius, *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism*, 2011, p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1993, pp. 1-7 and M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014, p. 19.

<sup>27</sup> As quoted in M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014, p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 1992, p. 14 and M.E. Geisler, Introduction: What Are National Symbols – and What Do They Do to Us, in M.E. Geisler (ed.), *National Symbols, Fractured Identities – Contesting the National Narrative*, 2005, p. XIV.

<sup>29</sup> A. Giddens, *Social Theory and Modern Sociology*, 1987, p. 166.

<sup>30</sup> G. Elgenius, *Expressions of Nationhood: National Symbols and Ceremonies in Contemporary Europe*, D. Phil. thesis, London School of Economics and Business, University of London, 2005, p. 25.

<sup>31</sup> See H. Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Inquiry into the Origins of Nations and Political Nationalism*, 1977; D. Johnson, ‘The Making of the French Nation’, in M. Teich and R. Porter (eds.), *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, 1993.

<sup>32</sup> E. Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 1960.

<sup>33</sup> G. Elgenius, ‘Expressions of Nationhood: National Symbols and Ceremonies in Contemporary Europe’, D. Phil. thesis, London School of Economics and Business, University of London, 2005, p. 25.

<sup>34</sup> A.D. Smith, *The Nation in History – Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 2000, p. 66.

in the consciousness of the people<sup>35</sup> - the “invented traditions” as conceptualised by Hobsbawm and T. Ranger.<sup>36</sup>

Hobsbawm describes invented traditions as “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past”.<sup>37</sup> A. Smith described this approach as a new departure in the study of nationalism which moved away from the previous interpretations which focused on ideology or political economy as described by J. Breuille,<sup>38</sup> Kedourie<sup>39</sup> and Gellner<sup>40</sup> and focuses instead upon culture alongside a more conventional modernist analysis of “the nation”.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, the concept of invented tradition seemed particularly useful for explaining how nation-building projects took place as many of the modern nation-states have, to a greater or lesser extent, had to be consciously “built” or created. Appropriate national symbols have been devised thereby laying the foundations for a national identity and projecting a veneer of national unity. Thus nationalism is primarily a cultural phenomenon although it often takes on a political form.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, in those territories, such as in post-colonial Africa, and more recently in the Balkans, the newness of the phenomenon of nationalism and the frequent changing of symbols, can thus be said to provide an indication of an “incomplete invention of tradition”.<sup>43</sup> Hence nations (as opposed to states), cannot simply be wished into existence without the support of all sectors of the population, and without the development of key social and symbolic processes.<sup>44</sup> In

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<sup>35</sup> G. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, 1975, p. 20.

<sup>36</sup> E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, 1983.

<sup>37</sup> E. Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, 1992, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> J. Breuille, *Nationalism and the State*, 1993.

<sup>39</sup> E. Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 1960.

<sup>40</sup> E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983.

<sup>41</sup> A.D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*, 1998, p. 117.

<sup>42</sup> J. Plamenatz, ‘Two Types of Nationalism’, in E. Kamenka (ed.), *Nationalism: The nature and evolution of an idea*, 1973, pp. 23-24; E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983, p. 1; A.D. Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations*, p. 15.

<sup>43</sup> J.A. Vincent, ‘Symbols of Nationalism in Bosnia and Hercegovina’, in K. Cameron (ed.), *National Identity*, 1999, p. 46.

<sup>44</sup> A.D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A cultural approach*, 2009, p. 59.

the modern era, contends C. Calhoun, nationalism is thus basic to collective identity<sup>45</sup> which supports Hobsbawm's assertion that the nation-state is "the basic characteristic of the modern nation and everything associated with it is its modernity".<sup>46</sup> M. Billig takes this idea even further and contends that in modern established nations, nationalism is the "endemic condition".<sup>47</sup>

The concept of "identity" - personal, social, group, political and national - has thus become the focus of considerable sociological, anthropological and psychological research.<sup>48</sup> Sociologists in the tradition of George Herbert Mead speak of "identity" with regard to the individual psychological process of identification, while the psychoanalytic tradition sees an individual's identity as being a well-integrated whole.<sup>49</sup> Thus, as Billig contends, there is something psychological about "identity" although theories of psychology are often unable to explain what this psychological element is. There is no psychological state which can be described as an "identity".<sup>50</sup> S. Moscovici argues that the so-called inner psychological states of individuals depend upon culturally shared depictions, or representations, of the social world. Therefore, individuals cannot claim to have patriotic feelings unless they have assumptions, or social representations, about a nation and indeed, what patriotism is.<sup>51</sup>

According to Z. Mach, in his 1993 book *Symbols, Conflict and Identity*, "identity" is a dynamic, processual and complex phenomenon which is constructed over time and the more complex the social system, the more identities a person or a group has.<sup>52</sup> He claims that:

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<sup>45</sup> C. Calhoun, *Nationalism*, 1997, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 1992, p. 14.

<sup>47</sup> M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014, p. 6.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 1915; E.H. Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle*, 1959; W.J.M. Mackenzie, *Political Identity*, 1978; A.D. Smith, *National Identity*, 1991; M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014; K. Cameron (ed.), *National Identity*, 1999; P.J. Burke and J.E. Stets, *Identity Theory*, 2009.

<sup>49</sup> Z. Mach, *Symbols, Conflict and Identity*, 1993, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014, p. 60.

<sup>51</sup> See S. Moscovici, 'The Phenomenon of Social Representations', in R. Farr and S. Moscovici (eds.), *Social Representations*, 1983.

<sup>52</sup> Z. Mach, *Symbols, Conflict and Identity*, 1993.

Identity thus appears as a dynamic characteristic of a group involved in the process of historical development. It implies changing relations to other groups, to the natural and social environment, and to the symbolic construction of images of the group's own past and present.<sup>53</sup>

Being the result of the conceptual classification of the world, S.K. Langer maintains in his work on philosophy, that identity is also expressed *symbolically*, with symbolic thinking being the fundamental function of human consciousness that forms the basis of language, mythology, religion, art and science.<sup>54</sup> These two scholars therefore agree that there is thus a relationship between symbols and what is being symbolised, what symbols stand for and how this relationship is established.

Billig argues that the rise of the nation-state thus brought about a transformation in the ways that people thought about themselves, the community and indeed, of identity.<sup>55</sup> Political units such as nation-states, must, it has been argued, by the likes of W. Crampton in his doctoral thesis of 1994, have an outward and visible identity in the same way social, religious and ethnic groupings, commercial enterprises and even individuals do.<sup>56</sup> Identity as a concept has been prominent in theories of political modernisation and development, with L. Binder<sup>57</sup> setting out the specific nature of these developmental phases, which are outlined in Table 1.<sup>58</sup>

The attempts to form or establish a “national identity” may not necessarily correspond to real political sentiments and Binder makes the distinction between the “formal” and “informal” political processes leading to the formation of a national identity.<sup>59</sup> In his 1978 volume, R. Grew took the concept of identity even further and distinguished between

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<sup>53</sup> Z. Mach, *Symbols, Conflict and Identity*, 1993, p. 15.

<sup>54</sup> S.K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key*, 1956, pp. 19-42.

<sup>55</sup> M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014, pp. 61-62.

<sup>56</sup> W.G. Crampton, ‘Flags as Non-Verbal Symbols in the Management of National Identity’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Manchester, 1994, p. 18.

<sup>57</sup> L. Binder, ‘Crises in Political Development’, in L. Binder *et al.* (eds.), *Crises and Sequences in Political Development*, 1971, p. 65.

<sup>58</sup> L. Binder, ‘Crises in Political Development’, in L. Binder *et al.* (eds.), *Crises and Sequences in Political Development*, 1971, p. 65.

<sup>59</sup> L. Binder, ‘Crises in Political Development’, in L. Binder *et al.* (eds.), *Crises and Sequences in Political Development*, 1971, p. 68.

“political identity” and “national identity”, arguing that there are a series of patterns of development called “sequences”, much like Binder’s phases, through which a nation-state must pass, each of which has a distinctive pattern.<sup>60</sup>

**Table 1:**  
Paradigm of the Modernisation Syndrome and the Crises of Political Development

<i>Crises</i>	<i>Equality</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Differentiation</i>
Identity	Politicisation of identity	Productive and administrative integration	Individual adjustment, specificity of interests
Legitimacy	Democracy, psychological legitimacy	Definition of goals and implementation	Spheres of political, administrative and judicial validity; divergent doctrines
Participation	Voting, deliberating, self-regulation	Information, access	Decision-making structures, representation, interest groups
Distribution	Equality of opportunity, achievement, standardisation, of welfare level	Resource base, education, capital accumulation, allocation to general and particular goals	Redistribution, equalisation, incentives
Penetration	Equalisation of obligation and duties, individualisation of citizenship	Mobilisation, rationalisation, scope, range	Technical, legal, intellectual, specialisation and co-ordination

(L. Binder, ‘Crises in Political Development’, in L. Binder *et al.* (eds.), *Crises and Sequences in Political Development*, 1971, p. 68).

This thesis shows that in the case of Rhodesia, particularly after UDI in November 1965, there was an attempt to develop and implement (in phases or sequences) a unique Rhodesian identity, which D. Kenrick posits in his 2016 doctoral study was part of a deliberate nation-building project.<sup>61</sup> Kenrick extends the analysis done by J. Francis in his thesis on the

<sup>60</sup> R. Grew (ed.), *Crises of Political Development in Europe and the United States*, 1978.

<sup>61</sup> D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress : White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 2016. The argument outlining the three phases of the post-UDI nation-building project is given on pp. 10-11.



formation and nature of Rhodesian settler colonial identity,<sup>62</sup> but neither focuses in detail on the symbolic attributes of that identity. The focus in this study is overwhelmingly on white Rhodesians as a result of their political and economic dominance following the conquest and colonisation of the country as outlined in Chapter 3. As Kenrick correctly observes, when white Rhodesians talked about “Rhodesia” they meant white Rhodesia and when they talked about “Rhodesians” they primarily meant people of European descent.<sup>63</sup>

It is important to understand that national identity is not fixed and a political crisis, or series of crises, can call such identity into question. This is evident in the work done by P. Merrington and H. Saker in the case of South Africa after the South African War (1899-1902)<sup>64</sup> leading up to, and immediately following, the establishment of the Union of South Africa;<sup>65</sup> L.W. Pye’s work on Weimar Germany following World War I;<sup>66</sup> and more recently by J.A. Vincent following the “creation” of Bosnia and Hercegovina with the break-up of Yugoslavia.<sup>67</sup> Not unlike these works, this thesis will demonstrate how identity can be manipulated through the creation and management of national symbols (flags, anthems, emblems, etc.) and how the entire “national panoply”<sup>68</sup> of symbols can be changed and internalised.

Thus, when political change challenges an existing order the question of building a new identity arises. In the above-mentioned doctoral study by Crampton, he makes the point that new national institutions may be required to provide for the expression of this new national identity, so that the sentiments of the people are catered to by formal arrangements.

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<sup>62</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, D. Phil. thesis, University of London, 2012.

<sup>63</sup> D.W. Kenrick, *Pioneers and Progress : White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979*, D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 17.

<sup>64</sup> Also known as the Second Anglo-Boer War.

<sup>65</sup> P. Merrington, ‘The 1910 Union of South Africa National Flag Competition’, Paper delivered at the XVII International Congress of Vexillology, Cape Town, 10-15 August 1997, in P. Martinez (ed.), *Flags in South Africa and the World*, pp. 91–98; H. Saker, *The South African Flag Controversy 1925-1928*, 1980, p. 1-2.

<sup>66</sup> L.W. Pye, *Identity and Political Culture*, in L. Binder *et al* (eds.), *Crises and Sequences in Political Development*, 1971.

<sup>67</sup> J.A. Vincent, ‘Symbols of Nationalism in Bosnia and Hercegovina’, in K. Cameron (ed.), *National Identity*, 1999, pp. 46-63.

<sup>68</sup> W.G. Crampton, ‘Flags as Non-Verbal Symbols in the Management of National Identity’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Manchester, 1994, pp. 11, 52-65.

These, in turn, can be used to mobilise support and assure legitimacy as well as to overcome the challenges to the development sequences.<sup>69</sup> W. Bloom wrote in 1990 that nation-building requires that the mass of individuals identify with the nation-state. The transfer of loyalty and identification with a new polity will not occur unless a clearly identifiable symbolic form evokes that identification.<sup>70</sup> He explains that this evocation will come about only if the national symbols present a mode of behaviour or set of attitudes that will enhance individual psychological security and benefit the wider group. He determines two symbolic representations of the state, one being the “formal” through individuals, institutions and ideas (e.g., monarchs, structured benefit systems and constitutions) and the other being the “informal” (such as patriots, folksongs, sports teams etc.). But he argues that it is crucial that the symbols are closely associated with the nation or state and this identification is then reinforced by social rituals (such as through national holidays, military parades, a pledge of allegiance, etc.). He concludes that:

National identity describes that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols - have internalised the symbols of the nation – so that they act as one psychological group ... For national identity to exist, people *en masse* must have gone through the actual psychological process of making that general identification with the nation.<sup>71</sup>

This is what Billig calls “banal nationalism”, where the “nation” is indicated or “flagged” daily in the lives of its citizenry through the ideological means by which nation-states are reproduced<sup>72</sup> (i.e., through the “unimaginative repetition”<sup>73</sup> of the flying of the flag, the observance of national holidays and other rituals, etc.), leading to his conclusion that:

... national identity is more than a psychological state or an individual self-definition: it is a form of life, which is daily lived in the world of nation-states.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> W.G. Crampton, ‘Flags as Non-Verbal Symbols in the Management of National Identity’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Manchester, 1994, p. 65.

<sup>70</sup> W. Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*, 1990, p. 151.

<sup>71</sup> W. Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*, 1990, p. 52. Lucien Pye describes this clearly in his analysis of nation-building in Burma. See L.W. Pye, *Personality and Nation-Building: Burma’s search for identity*, 1962.

<sup>72</sup> M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014, p. 6.

<sup>73</sup> M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014, p. 10.

<sup>74</sup> M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014, p. 69.

As T. Mee points out in her doctoral thesis on Australian national identity, Billig's application of the word "banal" should not be confused with meaning harmless or trite. On the contrary, banal nationalism in this context refers to an "insidious and pervasive practice"<sup>75</sup> which maintains and (re)produces national identity through widespread and commonplace rituals and habits. According to Billig, "In routine practices and everyday discourses, especially in the mass media, the idea of nationhood is regularly flagged. ... Through such flagging, established nations are reproduced as nations, with their citizenry being unmindfully reminded of their national identity".<sup>76</sup>

A.D. Smith argued in 2000 that all political programmes must realise national autonomy, national unity and national identity, with national symbols giving powerful and concrete meaning and visibility to the abstractions of nationalism.<sup>77</sup> A decade later he provides a working definition of "national identity" as being:

... the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation by the members of a national community of the pattern of symbols, values, myths, memories and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the variable identification of individual members of that community with that heritage and its cultural elements.<sup>78</sup>

Communities are therefore defined by shared memories and myths, and common values and symbols,<sup>79</sup> but as S. Hall and Billig both contend, it does not mean that everyone within the nation state therefore becomes identical,<sup>80</sup> particularly given the "complexity of the cultural landscape"<sup>81</sup> in most modern nation-states. While the concept of the nation may appear as a high-level abstraction of the imagination, its symbols, imagery and rituals convey a sense of community that are able to demand from its members the ultimate sacrifice.<sup>82</sup> National

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<sup>75</sup> T. Mee, 'Australian National Identity: Somewhere Between the Flags?', D.Phil thesis, University of Wollongong, 2018, p. 46.

<sup>76</sup> M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014, p. 154.

<sup>77</sup> A.D. Smith, *The Nation in History – Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 2000, p. 73.

<sup>78</sup> A.D. Smith, *Nationalism: theory, ideology, history*, 2010, p. 20.

<sup>79</sup> A.D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A cultural approach*, 2009, p. 25 and A.D. Smith, *Nationalism: theory, ideology, history*, 2010, p. 21.

<sup>80</sup> S. Hall, 'Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities', in A.D. King (ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*, 1991, p. 49; M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014, p. 60.

<sup>81</sup> M. Skey, 'The National in Everyday Life: A Critical Engagement with Michael Billig's Thesis of Banal Nationalism', *The Sociological Review*, 57(2), 2009, p. 336.

<sup>82</sup> A.D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A cultural approach*, 2009, p. 43.

symbols, contends M.E. Geisler, therefore perform an important function not only as a catalyst for the formation and maintenance of national identity, but crucially also in fusing a nation to a state.<sup>83</sup>

As M. Skey points out, it is also important to remember that nations are not, and never have been, stable, solid, coherent, fixed entities, but are subject to what A. Appadurai terms as “permanent crises”.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, as J. Hutchinson argues, we cannot presume that nationalism, once established, continues to exist, unremarked upon, in perpetuity. He remarks that “The nation is a process, and a non-linear one, that is reversible”<sup>85</sup> and which is subject to various conflicts and threats such as war, natural disasters, etc.

W.J.M. Mackenzie draws together the threads in the debate on identity to give meaning to the term “political identity”, with symbols being one medium through which ideology is manifested, along with ritual and mythology. He comes to the conclusion that myth, ritual, symbol and ideology are manifestations of a shared identity and shared values that set groups apart and contribute to their political identity.<sup>86</sup> One characteristic of such identity is that it persists and therefore has a memory of itself, or tradition.<sup>87</sup> These are elements which Hobsbawm and Ranger show are open to manipulation.<sup>88</sup> Thus when a political group gains power, its symbols join the symbolic structure of the state,<sup>89</sup> with W. Smith advocating that a political symbol is one that has consequences, actual or probable, for the political system.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> M.E. Geisler, Introduction - What Are National Symbols and What Do They Do to Us?, in M.E. Geisler (ed.), *National Symbols, Fractured Identities - Contesting the National Narrative*, 2005, p. xv.

<sup>84</sup> A. Appadurai, ‘Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy’, in J.E. Braziel and A. Mannur (eds.), *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*, 2003, p. 15.

<sup>85</sup> J. Hutchinson, ‘Hot and Banal Nationalism: The Nationalism of the Masses’, in G. Delanty and K. Kumar (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*, 2006, p. 300.

<sup>86</sup> As discussed by W.G. Crampton, ‘Flags as Non-Verbal Symbols in the Management of National Identity’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Manchester, 1994, p. 24.

<sup>87</sup> W.G. Crampton, ‘Flags as Non-Verbal Symbols in the Management of National Identity’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Manchester, 1994, p. 23.

<sup>88</sup> E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1983.

<sup>89</sup> Z. Mach, *Symbols, Conflict and Identity*, 1993, p. 106.

<sup>90</sup> W. Smith, ‘Prolegomena to the study of political symbolism’, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University Graduate School, 1969, p. 53.

Hobsbawn summarises modern invented traditions as being of three types: those intended to reinforce membership of a group or community; those which legitimise authority; and those which inculcate value systems<sup>91</sup> – all of which have been used to create a Rhodesian national identity, in three distinct phases, as will be shown in this thesis.

A symbol then, as defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* is:

Something that stands for, represents, or denotes something else (not by exact resemblance, but by vague suggestion, or by some accidental or conventional relation); *esp.* a material object representing or taken to represent something immaterial or abstract, as being, idea, quality, or condition; a representative or typical figure, sign or token ...<sup>92</sup>

A symbol can therefore be understood as a generic term for anything which conveys a meaning; in short, symbols are the media of communication<sup>93</sup> and symbolism is defined as “The practice of representing things by symbols, or of giving a symbolic character to objects and acts; the systematic use of symbols; hence, symbols collectively or generally”.<sup>94</sup> It is in the context of these broad concepts that this study sets out to analyse the symbols of the Rhodesian settlers.

### 1.3 THE EMERGENCE OF HERALDRY

Heraldry is described as a systematic hereditary use of an arrangement of charges or devices on a shield<sup>95</sup> and the practice now used for designing coats of arms, which has been in existence since the development of armour in early medieval times.<sup>96</sup> It is generally assumed that heraldry emerged during the Crusades following the invention of the helmet

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<sup>91</sup> As outlined in W.G. Crampton, ‘Flags as Non-Verbal Symbols in the Management of National Identity’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Manchester, 1994, p. 32.

<sup>92</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, XVII, 1989, p. 451.

<sup>93</sup> W. Smith, ‘Prolegomena to the study of political symbolism’, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University Graduate School, 1969, p. 15.

<sup>94</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, XVII, 1989, p. 453.

<sup>95</sup> T. Woodstock and J.M. Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, 1989, p. 1. For further details on the origins and evolution of heraldry, see for example, O. Neubecker, *Heraldry – sources, symbols and meaning*, 1977; J. Brooke-Little, *Boutell’s Heraldry*, 1978; T. Woodstock and J.M. Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, 1989; G.C. Rothery, *Concise Encyclopedia of Heraldry*, 1994; A.C. Fox-Davies, *The Wordsworth Complete Guide to Heraldry*, 1996.

<sup>96</sup> C. MacKinnon, *The Observer’s Book of Heraldry*, 1966, p. 9; O. Neubecker, *Heraldry – sources, symbols and meaning*, 1977, pp. 10-15.

to cover and protect the face of the warrior and thus hide his identity. Hence, it became necessary to develop a means of identification. So, nobles, knights and princes began to identify themselves and their equipment, particularly their shields, by decorating them with objects and figures, i.e., a symbol, in clear, contrasting colours.<sup>97</sup> As this was an era of general illiteracy, a simple pictorial system of identification was a practical necessity.

Feudal society was premised on the life-long unbreakable relationship of mutual loyalty in which the vassal served his lord in exchange for care and protection. This personal relationship explains why in the early centuries of heraldry it was considered important that a coat of arms should indicate a particular person and not a family. Personal devices, the basic origins of heraldic patterns, thus indicated not only the individual king or prince, but the area where they came from. The clothing which one wore and the degree to which it could be decorated served as an indication of status and rank. Arms were often modified to signify feudal or blood relationships and thus recorded the pedigree of the family to which they were attached.<sup>98</sup> Heraldry wore a coat decorated with a heraldic device (hence a ‘coat of arms’) to distinguish themselves from other combatants and acted as messengers amongst and between armies. The basic rules of heraldry were adopted during the Second Crusade (1147-1149) and the returning knights took them back to their respective countries.<sup>99</sup>

The rise of the tournament allowed knights, with their faces protected behind an iron helmet and wearing lavishly decorated coats with personal motifs, to showcase their prowess. The invention of heraldry not only helped to distinguish the knights, but also led to the growth of personal banners. As well as a coat of arms, each qualified person carried an armorial banner which bore the shield from his coat of arms and this became the principal kind of flag.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> C-A. von Volborth, *Heraldry of the World*, 1973, p. 7.

<sup>98</sup> J. Franklyn, *Shield and Crest - An Account of the Art and Science of Heraldry*, 1967, p. 1.

<sup>99</sup> O. Neubecker, *Heraldry - sources, symbols and meaning*, 1977, p. 10.

<sup>100</sup> A. Znamierowski, *The World Encyclopedia of Flags - the Definitive Guide to International Flags, Banners, Standards and Ensigns*, 2001, p. 14.

The next stage in the development of heraldry was to make the devices hereditary, a custom that became established in the thirteenth century and written down during the fourteenth century. The laws of heraldry that have evolved since then dictate that each coat of arms must be unique to its bearer and must only be used by him. The laws also included the “rules of tincture” which still applies today and governs the use of colours. Thus “never place a colour on a colour or a metal on a metal”.<sup>101</sup> Therefore no colour or metal should be used next to another colour or metal unless they are separated from a tincture from another category. This gave rise to the practice of “fimbriation”, also practised later in vexillology, whereby a thin border or stripe of another colour (usually white or black) is used to separate similar colours.

The combination of colour and symbolism meant that heraldry was adopted, and adapted, to suit other requirements within the nobility and in the Church, spreading throughout Europe. According to S. Slater and A. Znamierowski, “The desire to be identified by Arms filtered down through the classes so that many a new-made man, with the power of money behind him, attempted to gain both the shield and crest for himself and his heirs ...”.<sup>102</sup> Arms thus grew beyond their initial role of providing identification on the battlefield and became increasingly ornate with the addition of other symbols in the form of a crest, supporters, a wreath, mantling and a motto, to form a “complete heraldic achievement” as illustrated in Annexure 2. Distinctive heraldic styles, laws and customs thus evolved across Europe, and later across the world. By the middle of the thirteenth century, heraldry could be identified as a distinctive field of study.<sup>103</sup>

The wider use of Arms resulted in the need for regulation and saw the establishment of heraldic authorities, the longest surviving of which is the College of Arms in London which received its first Charter of Incorporation during the reign of Richard III in 1484. The College, to this day, issues a “Grant of Arms” which is the formal registration of an individual Coat of Arms for personal or corporate use and ensures that the appropriate laws

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<sup>101</sup> S. Slater and A. Znamierowski, *The World Encyclopedia of Flags and Heraldry*, 2007, p. 320.

<sup>102</sup> S. Slater and A. Znamierowski, *The World Encyclopedia of Flags and Heraldry*, 2007, p. 290.

<sup>103</sup> *Dictionary of Heraldry*, 1997, p. 12.

of heraldry are complied with.<sup>104</sup> The distinct and formal language used in the description of Arms is called “blazonry” and the formal description is called a “blazon”. The purpose of the blazon is to ensure that heraldry is internationally understood and that a logical sequence is followed when describing heraldic devices.<sup>105</sup>

Thus, as with the later development and evolution of a national flag, the need for a device to represent national unity has been recognised for centuries. From the late medieval period, heraldic writers gave Arms to nations and rulers as an indication of sovereignty. Some eight centuries after the birth of heraldry, almost every nation has adopted an Achievement of Arms of some sort. Coats of Arms have also increasingly been adopted by states and provinces, as well as by cities, towns and even corporations as a marker of identity.

To promote the increase in, and extend the knowledge of, heraldry, armory, chivalry, genealogy and allied subjects, The Society of Heraldic Antiquaries was founded in 1947 in Britain (and renamed as Heraldry Society in 1950). Its journal, the *Coat of Arms*, began as a quarterly publication in January 1950. It is currently published twice a year in colour.<sup>106</sup> Later, the International Academy of Heraldry was founded in Paris in 1949 to bring together experts in heraldry from around the world with the aim to centralise heraldic studies based on international co-operation. The Academy holds an International Heraldic Colloquium on a bi-yearly basis. The International Academy for Genealogy was founded in Turin (Italy) in 1998. Its goal is to encourage and co-ordinate genealogical studies at an international level as well as to promote colloquiums and meetings in order to raise the status of genealogy within the social sciences.<sup>107</sup>

The International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences (ICGHS) is held biennially where topics of heraldic and genealogical interest are discussed. Regular

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<sup>104</sup> S. Slater and A. Znamierowski, *The World Encyclopedia of Flags and Heraldry*, 2007, p. 286.

<sup>105</sup> For a detailed explanation of the heraldic terms see J. Franklyn and J. Tanner, *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Heraldry*, 1970, where the main rules of blazon are explained on pp. 41-43. The rules of blazon are also explained by C. MacKinnon, *The Observer's Book of Heraldry*, 1966, pp. 46-53.

<sup>106</sup> Further details about the Society, together with an overview of heraldry, can be found at [www.theheraldrysociety.com](http://www.theheraldrysociety.com). Accessed: 2021-05-06.

<sup>107</sup> The History of the International Congresses of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences, [www.congress2016.scot/en/history.htm](http://www.congress2016.scot/en/history.htm). Accessed: 2021-05-06.



Congresses have been held since the second meeting in 1953 which took place 24 years after the first meeting which was held in 1929. These are organised by institutions of the respective host country which have a reputation in the fields of genealogy and heraldry.<sup>108</sup>

During the colonial period, Rhodesian heraldic matters were initially dealt with by the College of Arms in London as this was the heraldic authority responsible for the co-ordination and control of heraldic matters within the British Empire (later Commonwealth of Nations). A local procedure for the granting and protection of heraldic material was provided for in The Protection of Names, Uniforms and Badges Act of 1951.<sup>109</sup> The national Coat of Arms was protected under the Armorial Bearings Protection Act. Both of these Acts were subsequently repealed and replaced by the Armorial Bearings, Names, Uniforms and Badges Act in 1971. This was modelled on the Heraldry Act of South Africa, in terms of which a Registrar of Names, Uniforms and Badges and a Heraldry Committee were established. The Act described and outlined the conditions under which the national Coat of Arms could be used other than for official purposes<sup>110</sup> and also provided for the registration of corporate, civic and personal Arms. The Act was amended in 1975 to cover military uniforms and insignia with the formation of a Uniforms Committee.<sup>111</sup> The Rhodesia Heraldry and Genealogy Society was formed in 1970 and produced an annual newsletter called *The Tabard*.<sup>112</sup>

This thesis describes and analyses the national, and some civic, Arms which were in use in Rhodesia between 1890 and 1980 and their role in the formation and maintenance of a national identity.

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<sup>108</sup> The History of the International Congresses of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences, [www.congress2016.scot/en/history.htm](http://www.congress2016.scot/en/history.htm). Accessed: 2021-05-06.

<sup>109</sup> The Council of the Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Zimbabwe, *An Armorial of Zimbabwe and Rhodesia*, 2001, p. iv.

<sup>110</sup> Cory Library (CL), Cabinet Papers, CL (S) (71) 12, 01 February 1971.

<sup>111</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, CL (S) (75) 90, 22 September 1975.

<sup>112</sup> The Council of the Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Zimbabwe, *An Armorial of Zimbabwe and Rhodesia*, 2001, p. iv, v.

#### 1.4 THE EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION OF FLAGS

Despite having a longer history, flags were previously considered to be a sub-discipline within heraldry. While it is not known when, or where, humankind's first flag was raised, groups in prehistoric times gathered around objects made from wood, horns, tails, hooves and animal skins as a demonstration of cohesion, kinship and loyalty. These objects, known as *vexilloids*, which later became decorated with ornaments and emblems, are considered to be the earliest type of flags and became associated with military and ceremonial signs. By the twelfth century they had begun to serve as a means of identifying rulers and nationality at sea.<sup>113</sup>

However, it is to the Chinese that we owe two key characteristics of flags which are now universal – their lateral attachment to a staff and being made of fabric. Following the invention of silk around 3000 B.C., records show fabric being dyed or painted for military and religious use. Such banners were easier to carry and being more distinctive from a distance made them more versatile. From China the use of fabric flags spread to the rest of Asia, India, Persia before arriving in Rome and the rest of Europe.<sup>114</sup> The Bayeux Tapestry made in 1077 depicts more than 70 scenes of the Norman Conquest of England with illustrations of cloth banners. Between the ninth and twelfth centuries merchant ships in the North Sea and the Baltic Sea carried a metal grid-cross, a symbol of the king's protection, at the top of the mast and from the twelfth century the same symbol was used on land. By the time of the Crusades, multi-coloured flags were in use throughout Western Europe and the short pennant and long narrow *gonfalons*,<sup>115</sup> illustrated on the Bayeux Tapestry, had been replaced by square or rectangular banners charged with the heraldic symbols of the

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<sup>113</sup> A. Znamierowski, *The World Encyclopedia of Flags - the Definitive Guide to International Flags, Banners, Standards and Ensigns*, 2001, pp. 8-9.

<sup>114</sup> W. Smith, *Flags through the Ages and across the World*, 1975, p. 41; A. Znamierowski, *The World Encyclopedia of Flags - the Definitive Guide to International Flags, Banners, Standards and Ensigns*, 2001, p. 10.

<sup>115</sup> A *gonfalon* is a long flag with a square or rectangular tail, displayed from a cross bar which originated in medieval Italy.

sovereign or nobility,<sup>116</sup> often with a religious symbolism (i.e., representations of saints or the Christian Cross, etc.) to denote their ‘divine’ provenance and protection.

A treaty between the King of England and the Count of Flanders in 1270 required the identification of flags and proof of the flags displayed, outlawing “false colours” thereby establishing three of the fundamental rules of naval flags which still exist today.<sup>117</sup> These early designs were not “national” flags in the modern sense and were used mainly at sea to symbolise the state rather than the citizenry. However, it was following the fundamental improvements in wind-powered vessels that resulted in the development and widespread use of naval flags roughly between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries during the Voyages of Exploration.

The concept of the “national” flag emerged in the eighteenth century. W. Smith contends that “the propagation of egalitarian and democratic philosophies and the mobilisation of the masses into politics beginning in the late eighteenth century were preconditions for the development of national flags”.<sup>118</sup> The American and French Revolutions of 1775 and 1789 introduced radical changes in how flags were viewed and treated – no longer primarily the preserve of the ruling elite, flags started to be used more often by private individuals and companies to express their aspirations – and spread across the world as the highest expression of nationality.<sup>119</sup>

Apart from their primary use as a means of communication and identification, flags can also be powerful instruments for social participation and control. The integral role flags play in society is emphasised by W. Smith who wrote:

So strong is the tradition of flags that it would not be far from the truth to surmise that there is law – not of nature but of human society – which impels man to make and use flags. There is perhaps no more striking demonstration of this than the fact that, despite the absence of any international regulation

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<sup>116</sup> W. Smith, *Flags through the Ages and across the World*, 1975, pp. 38-43; A. Znamierowski, *The World Encyclopedia of Flags - the Definitive Guide to International Flags, Banners, Standards and Ensigns*, 2001, pp. 9-12.

<sup>117</sup> W. Smith, *Flags through the Ages and across the World*, 1975, p. 46.

<sup>118</sup> W. Smith, *Flags through the Ages and across the World*, 1975, p. 52.

<sup>119</sup> W. Smith, *Flags through the Ages and across the World*, 1975, p. 56.

or treaty requiring the adoption of a national flag, *without exception* every country has adopted at least one.<sup>120</sup>

According to R. Firth, the national flag today performs a “symbolic function” and symbolises the sacred character of the nation; it is both revered by loyal citizens and ritually defiled by those who wish to make a protest.<sup>121</sup> Thus D.I. Kertzer concludes, “... a flag is not simply a decorated cloth, but the embodiment of a nation; indeed the nation is defined as much by the flag as the flag is defined by the nation”.<sup>122</sup>

Flags have now permeated popular culture and are embedded in the routines of life, being constant reminders of national identity and nationhood.

## 1.5 OTHER MARKERS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

The national anthem is defined as “a hymn or song expressing patriotic sentiment and either governmentally authorised as an official national hymn or holding that position in popular feeling”.<sup>123</sup> Like the flag and the coat of arms, the anthem is a national symbol whose purpose is to engender unity and has been described as an “archetypal form of invented tradition”.<sup>124</sup> National anthems started to be adopted in the nineteenth century during the period of nation building. The oldest anthem is thought to be that of the Netherlands, with the words written in 1568. The British *God Save the King/Queen* is thought to have originated in the seventeenth century with the first recorded performance in London in 1745. However, the oldest words still used in a national anthem are taken from a poem composed in 905 AD and used in *Kimigayo* (The Reign of Our Emperor), the Japanese national anthem, which was first performed in November 1880.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> W. Smith, *Flags through the Ages and across the World*, 1975, p. 32.

<sup>121</sup> *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1968, p. 308 as cited by R. Firth, *Symbols - public and private*, 1973, p. 345.

<sup>122</sup> D.I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, 1988, p. 7.

<sup>123</sup> *New Encyclopaedia Britannica (15<sup>th</sup> edition)*, 1987, VIII, p. 530.

<sup>124</sup> C. Brooke, ‘Changing Identities: The Russian and Soviet National Anthems’, *Slavonica*, 13(1), 2007, p. 27.

<sup>125</sup> I. Cusack, ‘African National Anthems: “Beat the Drums, the Red Lion Has Roared”’, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 17(2), 2005, pp. 237-238.

In other words, collective ceremonies or rituals are important for the formation of all national groups. Examples of such rituals and ceremonies are the various national day celebrations (such as Freedom Day in South Africa, Bastille Day in France, Independence Day in the United States, Constitution Day in Norway, Victory Day in Russia, etc.), and Remembrance Sunday in the United Kingdom and the wider Commonwealth. Here we see the key role that national ceremonies play in the making and maintenance of national identities. National monuments are also instruments reinforcing a permanent feeling of belonging. Since history is used as a mediator between the past, the present and the future, monuments can be important artefacts of a nation's history as they provide continuity with the past.<sup>126</sup> Hence we find national monuments are an integral part of national day celebrations, for example Red Square in Moscow, Tiananmen Square in Beijing, the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, the Piazza della Repubblica in Rome, the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Athens and the Cenotaph in London.

Symbols, especially the use of symbols in these types of ceremonies, are at the core of “invented traditions” according to Hobsbawm, who goes further to suggest that maintaining and controlling national symbolism and traditions is important to maintain social order.<sup>127</sup> Other national symbols, particularly the national flag and anthem, are important attributes in these ceremonies as they constitute visible and audible rallying points to highlight the nation in a manner designed to promote national pride.

Other symbols of the official discourse of national identity are carried by, and expressed through, the designs of coins, banknotes and stamps. As contributors to a nation's official iconography, bank notes, coins and stamps are prime tools for building the “imagined community” described by Anderson in the tradition of Billig's “banal nationalism” – the

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<sup>126</sup> G. Elgenius, ‘Expressions of Nationhood: National Symbols and Ceremonies in Contemporary Europe’, D.Phil. thesis, University of London, 2005, p. 283.

<sup>127</sup> See E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1992 for a discussion on 'invented tradition' which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

mundane promotion of national iconography and identity in the everyday landscape of ordinary citizens.<sup>128</sup>

One of the lesser known, but nevertheless traditional symbol of the authority of the state, is the parliamentary mace. Descended from the heavy-spiked or serrated club-like weapon used in medieval times, the earliest ceremonial maces were borne by the Serjeants-at-Arms, a royal bodyguard established in France by Philip II and later in England by Richard I, Coeur-de-Lion. During the thirteenth century maces became ornamented with precious metals and jewels.<sup>129</sup> The use of the mace in Parliament probably dates back from before the separation of the Houses of Lord and Commons in Britain in the fourteenth century. It is generally accepted that when the King first appointed one of his Serjeants-at-Arms to attend upon the Speaker, a mace went with him as the symbol of the authority vested in the Speaker. The maces of the various Parliaments of the British Empire, and now Commonwealth, are copies with minor local variations, of the Mace of the House of Commons,<sup>130</sup> including those used in Rhodesia between 1923 and 1980.

## 1.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the role and importance of symbols, and symbolism, in the emergence and development of the modern nation-state. Primary amongst these national symbols are the Coat of Arms, flag and anthem, with the panoply of national symbols including national holidays, rituals, monuments, stamps and banknotes, etc., providing the other markers of a distinctive identity. As a form of communication, national symbols thus represent the ideals of the state and serve as a representation of the nation – both to a wider international audience as well as through the emotional reactions which are felt by the citizens of the country that these symbols represent. The development of the various

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<sup>128</sup> See B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, 1983 and M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 1995. Billig's thesis suggests that national identity is flagged daily in a varied manner through national symbols and linguistic habits.

<sup>129</sup> Office of the Secretary of Parliament, *The Golden Jubilee of Parliament 1924-1974*, 1974, p. 31.

<sup>130</sup> Office of the Secretary of Parliament, *The Golden Jubilee of Parliament 1924-1974*, 1974, p. 31.

national symbols used in Rhodesia, and how these expressed a particular identity, is the focus of this thesis.

## CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

*Few people realize how totally their everyday lives are imbued with and controlled by symbols ...*<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1. INTRODUCTION

Having provided the background leading to the emergence of the nation state, and the rationale for the need to provide a means by which to demonstrate and communicate a national identity, this chapter will consider literature that deals with this field. As an historical analysis of the use and role of national symbols in Rhodesia, this study is multi-disciplinary. Thus, this chapter considers a selection of this diverse literature and presents the theoretical background to form the foundation for an examination of the Rhodesian situation which is the focus of this thesis.

### 2.2. SYMBOLS AND SYMBOLISM

The renowned French sociologist Émile Durkheim observed that collective ideals:

... can only become manifest and conscious by being concretely realised in objects that can be seen by all, understood by all and represented to all minds: figurative designs, emblems of all kinds, written or spoken formulas, animate or inanimate objects.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, he argued, once selected, objects serving as symbols acquire a unique prestige: “a rag of cloth becomes invested with sanctity and a tiny piece of paper can become a very precious thing”.<sup>3</sup> Thus he contends that the sign essentially becomes the object, and the emotions it arouses are attached to that sign. In other words, “We forget that the flag is only a sign, that it has no intrinsic value but serves only to recall the reality it represents”.<sup>4</sup> So

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<sup>1</sup> J.C. Cooper, *Symbolism - The Universal Language*, 1982, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in F. Bechhofer, and D. McCrone, *Imagining the nation: Symbols of national culture in England and Scotland*, *Ethnicities*, 13(5), 2013, p. 546.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in F. Bechhofer, F and D. McCrone, *Imagining the nation: Symbols of national culture in England and Scotland*, *Ethnicities*, 13(5), 2013, p. 546.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in F. Bechhofer, F and D. McCrone, *Imagining the nation: Symbols of national culture in England and Scotland*, *Ethnicities*, 13(5), 2013, p. 546.



in his view we see flags and anthems being deliberately created to evoke national identification in the nineteenth century. In their 2013 article, F. Bechhofer and D. McCrone concur, adding that other important cultural and national symbols, such as music and the arts, sport, language and the countryside, were deemed as “national values” which together come to evoke a distinctive national identity.<sup>5</sup>

In his 1993 book, Z. Mach analyses the contextual character of identity and its relationship with symbols. He describes human beings as *homines symbolicae*, in that we think and express our thoughts and feelings through symbols, and that culture is a “symbolic construction”.<sup>6</sup> He adds that symbolic thinking is the fundamental function of human consciousness that constitutes the basis of language, mythology, religion, art and science.<sup>7</sup> Two decades earlier, in his book *Symbols Public and Private*, R. Firth was of a similar view, in that he states symbols are an indispensable and essential element of culture - functioning as a means of expression (such as a flag, national anthem, religious text); facilitating communication (the Christian Cross, bank notes and coins, postage stamps, etc.); as well as providing instruments of knowledge and control.<sup>8</sup> Mach sees symbols providing a very quick and efficient means of communication,<sup>9</sup> while H. Wydra writes in his 2012 article “The Power of Symbols” that they give meaning to the ordinary, habitual and predictable.<sup>10</sup> According to the work of R.T. Schatz and H. Lavine, they represent the group across time with national symbols serving to represent the group as a “transcendent psychological entity” and connecting the individual to a larger meaning and purpose.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> F. Bechhofer and D. McCrone, “Imagining the Nation: Symbols of National Culture in England and Scotland”, *Ethnicities*, 13(5), 2013, pp. 544-564.

<sup>6</sup> Z. Mach, *Symbols, Conflict and Identity - Essays in Political Anthropology*, 1993, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> E. Cassirer, *An Essay on Man: An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture*, 1944 and S.K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key*, 1956 as quoted by Z. Mach, *Symbols, Conflict and Identity*, 1993, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> R. Firth, *Symbols Public and Private*, 1973, pp. 77-90.

<sup>9</sup> Z. Mach, *Symbols, Conflict and Identity*, 1993, p. 35.

<sup>10</sup> H. Wydra, ‘The Power of Symbols — Communism and Beyond’, *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 25(1-3), 2012, p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> R.T. Schatz and H. Lavine, ‘National Symbolism, Social Identity and Political Engagement’, *Political Psychology*, 28(3), 2007, p. 333.

In an article by K.A. Cerulo published in 1993, national symbols – in particular national anthems and national flags – provide the strongest and clearest statement of national identity. She writes:

In essence, they serve as modern totems ... signs that bear a special relationship to the nations they represent, distinguishing them from one another and reaffirming their identity boundaries. Since the inception of nations, national leaders have embraced and adopted national (symbols), using them to create bonds, motivate patriotic action, honour the efforts of citizens, and legitimate formal authority.<sup>12</sup>

She adds that “national symbols project a message”<sup>13</sup> and that message is purposively constructed, with national leaders consciously picking and choosing its elements.<sup>14</sup>

In their 2007 article on “National Symbolism”, R.T. Schatz and H. Lavine are of the view that:

A symbol derives its meaning from social consensus ... Different symbols may have the same meaning, or the same symbol may have different meanings in different contexts. Because the meanings of symbols are socially defined, those meanings are shared. ... Symbols thus evoke the same responses in different individuals. Importantly, symbols evoke the same meaning in the person who uses them as in the person to whom they are directed.<sup>15</sup>

A similar view is expressed by P.J. Burke and J.E. Stets in their work entitled *Identity Theory*, where they use the term “symbolic interaction” to denote “the unique character of human interaction that centres on the shared use of symbols”.<sup>16</sup>

Taking this even further in their abovementioned 2013 article, Bechhofer and McCrone state that symbols also help to “personalise” the nation<sup>17</sup> and assist to give it a unique identity.

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<sup>12</sup> K.A. Cerulo, ‘Symbols and the World System: National Anthems and Flags’, *Sociological Forum*, 8(2), 1993, p. 244.

<sup>13</sup> K.A. Cerulo, ‘Symbols and the World System: National Anthems and Flags’, *Sociological Forum*, 8(2), 1993, p. 245.

<sup>14</sup> K.A. Cerulo, ‘Symbols and the World System: National Anthems and Flags’, *Sociological Forum*, 8(2), 1993, p. 250.

<sup>15</sup> P.J. Burke and J.E. Stets, *Identity Theory*, 2009, p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> P.J. Burke and J.E. Stets, *Identity Theory*, 2009, p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> F. Bechhofer, and D. McCrone, ‘Imagining the nation: Symbols of national culture in England and Scotland’, *Ethnicities*, 13(5), 2013, p. 550.

They explain that this also helps to explain why national symbols are often endowed with a near mystical significance and why their desecration arouses such outrage.

In a doctoral thesis completed in 2005 by G. Elgenius entitled “Expressions of Nationhood: National Symbols and Ceremonies in Contemporary Europe”, she points out that it has long been recognised that social life is an important repository of symbols, whether in the form of totems, golden ages, heroes, icons, capitals, statutes, war memorials or football teams, which are – at the core – symbolic markers of social groups.<sup>18</sup> She contends that “Symbols of a community provide short cuts to the collectivity it represents, and symbolism is by nature self-referential, subjective and boundary-creating”.<sup>19</sup> Elgenius concludes that in modern societies the affirmation of national values and identity takes place through national ceremonies and rituals which include the use of national symbols.<sup>20</sup> In his book entitled *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, E. Durkheim made a related point that a “society’s symbols are determinants of its conduct”.<sup>21</sup> Thus it is agreed among many scholars that national symbols are an expression of identity and nationhood and as such are fundamental to the creation and maintenance of nations and national identity<sup>22</sup> which is the basic premise of this thesis.

While it is generally agreed that symbols express meaning, Firth defines a symbol as being a “concrete indication of abstract values”.<sup>23</sup> A. Cohen writes in his 1985 monograph entitled *Symbolic Construction of Community* that they also give members of a community or group, the possibility to create meaning.<sup>24</sup> Cohen further states that symbols can be regarded as categories of a kinship system, express societal ideas and values in a way which allows for a common form to be retained and shared whilst the individual understanding can be, and is, more flexible. For him, symbols are therefore effective because they are subjective,

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<sup>18</sup> G. Elgenius, ‘Expressions of Nationhood: National Symbols and Ceremonies in Contemporary Europe’, D.Phil. thesis, London School of Economics and Business, University of London, 2005, p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> G. Elgenius, ‘Expressions of Nationhood: National Symbols and Ceremonies in Contemporary Europe’, D. Phil. thesis, London School of Economics and Business, University of London, 2005, p. 16.

<sup>20</sup> G. Elgenius, *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism*, 2011, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 1976, p. 274.

<sup>22</sup> G. Elgenius, ‘Expressions of Nationhood: National Symbols and Ceremonies in Contemporary Europe’, D.Phil. thesis, London School of Economics and Business, University of London, 2005, p. 18.

<sup>23</sup> R. Firth, *Symbols – public and private*, 1973, p. 54.

<sup>24</sup> A.P. Cohen, *Symbolic Construction of Community*, 1985, p. 15.

being mental constructs which provide the means for people to make meanings and ultimately express the particular meanings which the community has for them.<sup>25</sup> This corroborates what C. Castoriadis concluded in his 1987 book *The Imaginary Institution of Society* that symbolism can therefore be neither neutral nor totally adequate.<sup>26</sup> In his work on the power of symbols, Wydra also believes that symbols give meaning to the ordinary, habitual and predictable,<sup>27</sup> and argues in this 2012 article that this is why the iconic and ritual power of symbolic imagery have been used to strengthen people's compliance with political authority since antiquity.<sup>28</sup> More recently, W. Issacs-Martin argues in a 2010 article that while symbols are essentially neutral objects, it is leaders, the elite and society that provide them with meaning and in so doing, these objects take on a manufactured meaning.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, as Cerulo puts it in an earlier 1989 article, since the inception of the nation state, political leaders have created and used national symbols (flags, anthems, mottos, currencies, constitutions, holidays, etc.) to direct and focus public attention, integrate and mobilise citizens and motivate public action.<sup>30</sup> In an earlier journal article in 1977, L. Dittmer had already come to the conclusion that "Symbolism is one of the essential identifying characteristics of mankind; and its study is of ancient provenance"<sup>31</sup> such that we live in a world of symbols, the chief function of which is to reveal an inner meaning.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, as Whitney Smith makes apparent in his 1969 seminal thesis, every nation creates and adopts national symbols and these symbols are the primary means through which communities and citizens are reminded of their nationhood in everyday life<sup>33</sup> - what Billig,

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<sup>25</sup> A.P. Cohen, *Symbolic Construction of Community*, 1985, p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> C. Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, 1987, p. 121.

<sup>27</sup> H. Wydra, 'The Power of Symbols — Communism and Beyond', *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 25(1/2), 2012, p. 49.

<sup>28</sup> H. Wydra, 'The Power of Symbols — Communism and Beyond', *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 25 (1/2), 2012, p. 49.

<sup>29</sup> W. Isaacs-Martin, 'Strengthening National Identity through National Symbols and Historical Narrative – Do National Leaders have a Role to Play?', *Africa Insight*, 40(3), 2010, p. 81; C. Lane, *The Rites of Rulers: Rituals in Industrial Societies*, 1981, p.1.

<sup>30</sup> K.A. Cerulo, 'Sociopolitical Control and the Structure of National Symbols: An Empirical Analysis of National Anthems', *Social Forces*, 68(1), 1989, p. 77.

<sup>31</sup> L. Dittmer, 'Political Culture and Political Symbolism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis', *World Politics*, (28)4, 1977, p. 558.

<sup>32</sup> J.C. Cooper, *Symbolism – The Universal Language*, 1982, pp. 7, 9.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, W. Smith, 'Prolegomena to the study of political symbolism', Ph.D. thesis, Boston University Graduate School, 1969; R. Firth, *Symbols – public and private*, 1973; C. Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of*

some three decades later, posits is a continual “flagging” of nationhood.<sup>34</sup> In other words, the nation is visible through its symbols (flags, anthems, emblems, etc.), ceremonies (national days and sporting events), monuments (memorials, buildings, museums) as well as its landscape. Symbols are central to what P.J. Taylor in 1993 calls the “iconography” of an area, that set of symbols in which people believe.<sup>35</sup>

Therefore, to be accepted internationally, according to Elgenius, all nations must have at least six essential elements, viz., a name, a capital city, clearly defined borders, a national flag, a national anthem and a national day<sup>36</sup> - comprising part of what Crampton describes as the “national panoply” as outlined in Annexure 1.<sup>37</sup> All of these are analysed from a Rhodesian perspective in this thesis within the context of the development of a unique national identity.

### 2.3 HERALDIC LITERATURE

Heraldry has been considered a discipline in its own right for a number of centuries and many countries have established formal heraldic bodies, the oldest of which is the College of Arms in London as mentioned in Chapter 1. Subsequently, a number of authoritative heraldic works have been published, most notably by Alexander Nisbet. These include *An Essay on Additional Figures and Marks of Cadency* published in 1702, *An Essay on the Ancient and Modern Use of Armories*<sup>38</sup> published in 1718 and *A System of Heraldry, Speculative and Practical: With the True Art of Blazon, According to the Most Approved Heralds in Europe* published in 1722.<sup>39</sup>

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*Society*, 1987; M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014; G. Elgenius, *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism – Celebrating Nationhood*, 2011.

<sup>34</sup> M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 2014, p. 8.

<sup>35</sup> P.J. Taylor, *Political Geography: World-Economy, Nation-State and Locality*, 1993, p. 150.

<sup>36</sup> G. Elgenius, ‘Expressions of Nationhood: National Symbols and Ceremonies in Contemporary Europe’, D.Phil. thesis, London School of Economics and Business, University of London, 2005, p. 33.

<sup>37</sup> W.G. Crampton, ‘Flags as Non-Verbal Symbols in the Management of National Identity’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Manchester, 1994, pp. 52-58 and R. Firth, *Symbols – public and private*, 1973, pp. 341-342.

<sup>38</sup> Armorial lists family names alphabetically and then provide blazons (verbal descriptions) and illustrations of the Coats of Arms.

<sup>39</sup> A. Nisbet, *An Essay on Additional Figures and Marks of Cadency. Shewing The Ancient and Modern Practice of Differencing Descendents in This and Other Nations*, 1702; A. Nisbet, *An Essay on the Ancient and Modern Use of Armories; Shewing Their Origin, Definition, and Division of Them into Several Species*, 1718; A. Nisbet, *A*

A number of what are now considered as standard heraldic references were published a century later. These include Sir Bernard Burke's *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales*, first published in 1842, which comprised a registry of the Armorial Bearings registered in the British Isles, and which continues to be updated. This was followed in 1892 by *Fairbairn's Crests of the Leading Families in Great Britain and Ireland*<sup>40</sup> which was also continually revised and updated well into the twentieth century.

Similarly, the heraldic works of the Reverend Charles Boutell form the basis of the standard reference now known as *Boutell's Heraldry*. Boutell first published *The Manual of Heraldry* in 1863 and his revised and updated *English Heraldry*, first published in 1867, ran into ten editions. V. Wheeler-Holohan produced *Boutell's Manual of Heraldry* in 1931 which devoted more attention to the modern practice and use of heraldry, including many new illustrations. Subsequent revisions between 1963 to 1983, entitled simply *Boutell's Heraldry*, were compiled by J.P. Brooke-Little.<sup>41</sup> As the longest serving herald at the College of Arms, Brooke-Little was the author or editor of over ten books on British heraldry and was one of the founders of the Heraldry Society.

Other eminent heraldic scholars of the twentieth century include Dr. Hans Werner Otto Fredrich (Ottfried) Neubecker and Sir Anthony Richard Wagner. Neubecker originally published in German and his first work was on German flags. He later earned his doctorate for a thesis entitled *Das deutsche Wappen 1806-1871* (The German Coat of Arms 1806-1871) in 1931.<sup>42</sup> His work on the origin of heraldry and coats of arms was translated into five languages.<sup>43</sup> *Heraldry – Sources, Symbols and Meaning* and *A Guide to Heraldry* were published in 1977 and 1980 respectively, with the latter having also been reprinted in several editions.<sup>44</sup>

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*System of Heraldry Speculative and Practical: With the True Art of Blazon, According to the Most Approved Heralds in Europe*, 1722.

<sup>40</sup> J. Fairbairn, *Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1905.

<sup>41</sup> J.P. Brooke-Little, *Boutell's Heraldry*, 1978, p. v.

<sup>42</sup> Laureates of the Federation, Ottfried Neubecker, [www.fiav.org/laureates-of-the-fiav/](http://www.fiav.org/laureates-of-the-fiav/). Accessed: 2021-06-06.

<sup>43</sup> O. Neubecker, *Heraldik / Wappen - Ihr Ursprung, Sinn Und Wert*, 1977.

<sup>44</sup> Neubecker, *Heraldry - Sources, Symbols and Meaning* 1977; O. Neubecker, *A Guide to Heraldry* (London: Littlehampton Book Services, 1981).

Wagner was the Garter Principal King of Arms and is considered to be one of the most prolific authors on heraldry and genealogy in the twentieth century. His seminal *Heraldry in England*<sup>45</sup> was published in 23 editions between 1946 and 1953 and the *Historic Heraldry of Britain*,<sup>46</sup> an illustrated series of British historical arms, with notes, glossary and an introduction to heraldry was published in 25 editions between 1939 and 1972.

A comprehensive work on the blazons and coats of arms of over 130,000 European families was compiled by Johannes Rietstap. Initially published in 1861, his *Armorial général, contenant la description des armoiries des familles nobles et patriciennes de l'Europe, précédé d'un dictionnaire des termes du blazon* was expanded into two volumes which were published in 1884 and 1887 respectively. Black and white illustrations of the heraldic descriptions were later drawn by brothers Victor and Henri Rolland which appeared in subsequent revisions of the *Armorial général* between 1926 and 1954.<sup>47</sup> This work remains one of the most authoritative on family coats of arms in the world.

The earliest known investigation into the state of heraldry in South Africa is the nineteenth century Bell-Krynauw Collection whereby Charles Davidson Bell made drawings found on tombstones at the old Groote Kerk in Cape Town and on stained glass at the Moeder Kerk in Stellenbosch.<sup>48</sup> This was augmented by his brother-in-law, Daniel Krynauw, in the 1870s and the unpublished manuscript is now in the National Library in Cape Town.<sup>49</sup> In a 1999 article, R.A. Laing provides a critical overview of the research and publications of nine South African heraldists active during the last century.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> A.R. Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, 1946.

<sup>46</sup> A.R. Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain*, 1972.

<sup>47</sup> *General Armorial of Europe by Rietstap*, [www.coats-of-arms-heraldry.com/armoriaux/rietstap.html](http://www.coats-of-arms-heraldry.com/armoriaux/rietstap.html). Accessed: 2021-06-01.

<sup>48</sup> R.A. Laing, 'Our South African (Afrikaner) Heritage - a Mythical Creation', *Historia*, 49(1), 2004, pp. 119–120.

<sup>49</sup> R.A. Laing, 'South African Heraldic Writers of the 20th Century: Enthusiastic Amateurs', *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 13(2), 1999, p. 58.

<sup>50</sup> See R.A. Laing, 'South African Heraldic Writers of the 20th Century: Enthusiastic Amateurs', *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 13(2), 1999, pp. 59-81.

The most prolific writer on the Arms and crests of South African families has been Dr. Cornelius Pama. Pama was a founder member of the Genealogical Society of South Africa and was also Chairman of the Heraldry Society of Southern Africa between 1957 until his death in 1994. Pama's *Die Wapens van ou Afrikaanse families* and *Die Groot Afrikaanse Familienaamboek*, published in 1959 and 1983 respectively, dealt with the genealogy and heraldry of Afrikaans families.<sup>51</sup> This followed the *Afrikaner, Ken Usself* series by N.H. Theunissen, published in *Die Brandwag* magazine between 1944 and 1947,<sup>52</sup> in which the genealogy and crests of 89 Afrikaans surnames were described and illustrated. Unfortunately, as Laing points out, some of these arms "were devised" by Theunissen and as such cannot be described as "authentic" despite being adopted by many Afrikaners.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, many of Theunissen's designs are also reproduced in *Die Groot Afrikaanse Familienaamboek*.<sup>54</sup> Pama's publications in English include the *Heraldry of South African Families* and *Lions and Virgins*.<sup>55</sup> The latter dealt with all national symbols used in southern Africa in addition to coats of arms and crests. His last major work was *British families in South Africa* which described over 1,000 surnames of British origin and illustrated the coats of arms of 115 families.<sup>56</sup>

The Heraldry Society of Southern Africa was founded in Cape Town on 27 August 1953 and began publication of its quarterly Journal, *Arma*, in March 1958. Although concerned primarily with material of heraldic interest in South and southern Africa, it also addressed the wider discipline. Initially it also carried a number of articles of a genealogical nature prior to the establishment of The Genealogical Society of South Africa in May 1964. Likewise, in the absence of a local newsletter dedicated to flags, *Arma* also carried a succession of articles relating to the flags of southern Africa, including those in Rhodesia.

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<sup>51</sup> C. Pama, *Die Wapens van Die Ou Afrikaanse Families*, 1959; C. Pama, *Die Groot Afrikaanse Familienaamboek*, 1983.

<sup>52</sup> R.A. Laing, 'Our South African (Afrikaner) Heritage - a Mythical Creation', *Historia*, 49(1), 2004, pp. 115–117.

<sup>53</sup> R.A. Laing, 'South African Heraldic Writers of the 20th Century: Enthusiastic Amateurs', *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 13(2), 1999, p. 57; R.A. Laing, 'Our South African (Afrikaner) Heritage - a Mythical Creation', *Historia*, 49(1), 2004, p. 130.

<sup>54</sup> R.A. Laing, 'Our South African (Afrikaner) Heritage - a Mythical Creation', *Historia*, 49(1), 2004, p. 122.

<sup>55</sup> C. Pama, *Heraldry of South African Families*, 1972; C. Pama, *Lions and Virgins - Heraldic State Symbols, Coats-of-Arms, Flags, Seals and Other Symbols of Authority in South Africa, 1487-1962*, 1965.

<sup>56</sup> C. Pama, *British Families in South Africa: Their Surnames and Origins*, 1992.



The Rhodesia Heraldry and Genealogy Society was formed in 1970. It produced an annual newsletter called *The Tabard* which contained articles on local Arms and crests. *An Armorial of Zimbabwe and Rhodesia* was published by the Society in 2001 which described and illustrated nearly 400 Arms, including those of Cecil John Rhodes.<sup>57</sup> This remains the most comprehensive local heraldic work published to date.

## 2.4 VEXILLOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Scholars in the field of vexillological studies argue that of all the national symbols, it is the national flag that is the most portable and versatile, and the symbol which is the most visible both within and beyond national borders.<sup>58</sup> It is the one symbol, as V. Wheeler-Holohan proclaimed in 1933, "... that every man holds dear".<sup>59</sup> As such, flags have long attracted interest and research although it is only in the past half century that the multi-faceted discipline of vexillology has developed into an independent field of social inquiry.<sup>60</sup>

Although the first authoritative vexillological work was published in 1448 by the Polish historian Jan Dlugosz,<sup>61</sup> it was not until the late 1600s that flag books and charts began to appear regularly. It is important to note that some of the earliest flag plates (and the flag books and charts from which they were derived) published before the middle of the nineteenth century need to be treated with caution. As Timothy Wilson points out in the bibliography in his book *Flags at Sea* based on material held by the British Maritime

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<sup>57</sup> The Council of the Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Zimbabwe, *An Armorial of Zimbabwe and Rhodesia*, 2001.  
<sup>58</sup> See for example V. Wheeler-Holohan, *A Manual of Flags*, 1933; E.M.C. Barraclough, *Flags of the World*, 1971; M. Talocci, *Guide to the Flags of the World*, 1977; W. Smith, *Flags through the Ages and across the World*, 1975 and A. Znamierowski, *The World Encyclopedia of Flags - the Definitive Guide to International Flags, Banners, Standards and Ensigns*, 2001.

<sup>59</sup> V. Wheeler-Holohan, *A Manual of Flags*, 1933, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> For an overview of the evolution of vexillology as a social science and the debates therein, see W. Smith, 'Fundamental Theses of Vexillology', *The Flag Bulletin*, XXI(1), 1982, pp. 23-34; P.J. Orenski, 'Quo Vadimus? An Essay on the State and Future of Vexillology', *The Flag Bulletin*, XL(4), 2001, pp. 122-184; W. Smith, 'The Principles of Vexillology' in M. Takano and Z. Harden (eds.), *The 23<sup>rd</sup> International Congress of Vexillology Official Proceedings, Yokohama, 13<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> July 2009*, 2011, pp. 0717.5.1-0717.5.3 and Ž. Heimer, 'Vexillology as a Social Science', *The Flag Heritage Foundation Monograph and Translation Series*, 6, 2017, pp. 1-68.

<sup>61</sup> A. Znamierowski, *The World Encyclopedia of Flags - the Definitive Guide to International Flags, Banners, Standards and Ensigns*, 2001, p. 17.

Museum, “Most are derivative, slipshod and frequently out of date. Once engraved, a plate of flags was liable to be re-used for many years with only token updatings ...”.<sup>62</sup>

According to K. Sierksma in his 1966 *Flags of the World*, the first “real” flag book is a manuscript held by the United States Naval Academy dated 1667 and entitled *Bandiere usate in mare da diverse nazione sopra I legni da Guerra e mercantile*.<sup>63</sup> The increasing use and popularity of flags is reflected in the growth in the number of books and manuals devoted to flags, particularly by the maritime powers of the time. These included *Flags of Maritime Nations from the Most Authentic Sources* published in 1868 by the Bureau of Navigation by the United States Navy, the British Admiralty’s *Drawings of the flags in use at the present time* (which was later entitled *Flags of All Nations*) which was initially published in 1875 and *Flaggenbuch* published by the German Admiralty in 1893.<sup>64</sup>

During the twentieth century several dozen books on flags were published, one of the best known of which is the *Flags of the World*, initially written by W.J. Gordon.<sup>65</sup> This was revised and reprinted several times to incorporate the political changes following the two World Wars, decolonisation and finally the break-up of the Soviet Union.<sup>66</sup> Other publications which have made a significant contribution to vexillology are *Die Flagge* published in 1912<sup>67</sup> and Ottfried Neubecker’s *Historisches flahnen* and *Fahnen und flaggen* published in 1932 and 1939 respectively.<sup>68</sup> Neubecker is also attributed with compiling the *Flaggenbuch des Oberkommandos der Kriegsmarine* published by the Nazi regime in 1939<sup>69</sup> although he is not mentioned because of his wife being of Jewish descent. *The*

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<sup>62</sup> T. Wilson, *Flags at Sea: a guide to the flags flown at sea by the British and some foreign ships, from the 16th Century to the present day, illustrated in the collections of the National Maritime Museum*, 1986, p. 113.

<sup>63</sup> Kl. Sierksma, *Flags of the World 1669-1670*, 1966, p. 9.

<sup>64</sup> T. Wilson, *Flags at Sea: a guide to the flags flown at sea by the British and some foreign ships, from the 16th Century to the present day, illustrated in the collections of the National Maritime Museum*, 1986, pp. 115-116; A. Znamierowski, *The World Encyclopedia of Flags - the Definitive Guide to International Flags, Banners, Standards and Ensigns*, 2001, p. 20.

<sup>65</sup> W.J. Gordon, *Flags of the World, Past and Present: Their Story and Associations*, 1915.

<sup>66</sup> See, for example, V. Wheeler-Holohan, *Flags of the World - Past and Present*, 1939; H. Gresham Carr, *Flags of the World*, 1953; E.M.C. Barraclough, *Flags of the World*, 1971; E.M.C. Barraclough and W.G. Crampton, *Flags of the World*, 1981.

<sup>67</sup> R. Siegel, *Die Flagge*, 1912.

<sup>68</sup> O. Neubecker, *Historisches Fahnen*, 1932; O. Neubecker, *Fahnen Und Flaggen*, 1939.

<sup>69</sup> *Flaggenbuch - Bearbeitet und herausgegeben vom Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine*, 1939.

*International Flag Book in Color* by Christian Fogd Pedersen was published in 34 editions in seven languages between 1956 and 1981.<sup>70</sup> In addition there have been numerous flag charts produced by flag manufacturers and by organisations with an international membership, such as the United Nations. Indeed, it has become the norm for general reference works, such as encyclopaedias, to now include colour plates of national flags, and those of international organisations such as the UN and European Union etc., which are updated on a regular basis.

Whitney Smith is generally considered to be the “Father of Vexillology”, having coined the term in the early 1960s. *Vexillology* (vex-il-lol-o-gy) is derived from the Latin *vexillum* (plural *vexilla*), meaning a flag-like object used as a military standard by units in the Ancient Roman army, and the Greek *-ology* (the study of). Smith provided a variety of definitions for the term but it was in his seminal work *Flags through the Ages and across the World* that he formally defined vexillology as “the scientific study of the history, symbolism and usage of flags or by extension, any interest in flags in general”.<sup>71</sup> Together with Gerhard (Gerry) Grahl, Smith established the Flag Research Center in Winchester, Massachusetts (USA) on 01 February 1962 with the primary objective to “collect, preserve, organize, and disseminate information on all aspects of flags of every type, era and place as well as information on all forms of social symbolism”.<sup>72</sup> Its establishment saw the concurrent development of *The Flag Bulletin*, a journal devoted to the multidisciplinary field of flag studies. It was at the home of Klaes Sierksma that Smith, together with Otfried Neubecker and Louis Mühlemann, organised the first International Congress of Vexillology (ICV) in 1965 and established the International Federation of Vexillological Associations (FIAV).

The current membership of FIAV comprises over 50 vexillological associations and institutions from around the world. Most of the FIAV member associations, including the Southern African Vexillological Association (SAVA), publish their own newsletters and

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<sup>70</sup> See, for example, C.F. Pedersen, *The International Flag Book in Color*, 1971; C.F. Pedersen, *Verdens Flagg i Farger*, 1979; C.F. Pedersen, *Flaggor i Farg*, 1981.

<sup>71</sup> W. Smith, *Flags through the Ages and across the World*, 1975, p. 30.

<sup>72</sup> *The Flag Bulletin*, IX(1), 1970, p. 2.

journals resulting in a tremendous increase in vexillological knowledge and research in the past half century.<sup>73</sup>

Furthermore, this interest in flag studies has resulted in the further meaningful and scholarly study of various aspects relating to the role and use of flags. Complementing the earlier research by W. Smith has been the 1994 investigation by William Crampton on the role of flags and other non-verbal symbols in the formation and maintenance of national identity.<sup>74</sup> Focusing on country-specific issues are, for example, Scot Guenter's definitive 1990 study of the American flag as a key element in American civil religion in *The American Flag 1777-1924: Cultural Shifts from Creation to Codification*;<sup>75</sup> Željko Heimer's 2016 doctorate on vexillology as a social science in analysing military flags and identity in post-Yugoslavia Croatia;<sup>76</sup> Tracy Mee's 2018 investigation into the complexities surrounding Australian identity and the role of the Australian flag;<sup>77</sup> and the recently completed analysis by Annie Platoff of the role of flags and other symbols in the former Soviet Union (USSR) in 2020.<sup>78</sup>

In southern Africa there are J.A. van Zyl's 1943 Masters dissertation, "*Die Geskiedenis van Die Vlae van Suid-Afrika voor 1910*", on the history of the flags of South Africa before 1910;<sup>79</sup> and Harry Saker's detailed study in 1980 on the controversy leading to the adoption of the former South African flag.<sup>80</sup> Other academic studies dealing with the issues and attitudes surrounding the introduction of the former South African national flag include

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<sup>73</sup> A full list of current and former members of FIAV, together with details of the various ICVs, can be found on its website at [www.fiav.org](http://www.fiav.org).

<sup>74</sup> W. Crampton, 'Flags as non-verbal symbols in the management of national identity', Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1994.

<sup>75</sup> S.M. Guenter, *The American Flag 1777-1924: Cultural Shifts from Creation to Codification*, 1990.

<sup>76</sup> An English translation was published as Ž. Heimer, *Exploring Vexillology through Military Unit Flags with an Analysis of Croatian Armed Forces Flags during and after the 1991-1995 Homeland War*, 2016 with an adapted excerpt as Ž. Heimer, 'Vexillology as a Social Science', *The Flag Heritage Foundation Monograph and Translation Series*, 2017.

<sup>77</sup> T. Mee, 'Australian National Identity: Somewhere Between the Flags?', D.Phil. thesis, University of Wollongong, 2018.

<sup>78</sup> A.M. Platoff, 'Symbols in Service to the State: The Role of Flags and Other Symbols in the Civil Religion of the Soviet Union', D.Phil. thesis, University of Liechester, 2020.

<sup>79</sup> J.A. van Zyl, 'Die Geskiedenis van Die Vlae van Suid-Afrika voor 1910', MA dissertation, (University of South Africa, 1943. This was translated into English and published as J.A. van Zyl, 'The History of the Flags of South Africa before 1900', *SAVA Journal*, 4, 1995.

<sup>80</sup> H. Saker, *The South African Flag Controversy 1925-1928*, 1980.

those by Ferdinanda Human (1960)<sup>81</sup> and Maureen Williamson (1972).<sup>82</sup> Finally, there is the award-winning analysis by Frederick Brownell in his 2015 doctoral thesis on the process which led to the design and adoption of the current South African national flag in 1994.<sup>83</sup>

Brownell, as former State Herald of South Africa, also published *National and Provincial Symbols, and flora and fauna emblems of the Republic of South Africa* which not only dealt with the vexillological history of the country, but also included other national symbols which had been used in South Africa prior to 1994.<sup>84</sup> This was a comprehensive update to the earlier work by Pama which was published in 1965. The latter included a short chapter on South West Africa, Rhodesia and the Protectorates (Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland) which dealt primarily with their Coats of Arms. Brownell also prepared a series of articles on the evolution of Coats of Arms and flags of South West Africa, culminating in an overview of the events leading to the adoption of the new Namibian Coat of Arms, flag and anthem.<sup>85</sup> The most recent addition to the literature subsequent to the introduction of the new South African flag in 1994 is that by André Burgers published in 2008 and entitled *The South African Flag Book: the history of South African flags from Dias to Mandela*.<sup>86</sup> This also includes a short history of the flags of South Africa's neighbours, including Rhodesia and Zimbabwe.

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<sup>81</sup> F.J. Human, 'Die Totstandkoming van Die Unievlag', M.A. dissertation, University of Pretoria, 1960.

<sup>82</sup> M.J. Williamson, 'Natal and the Flag Issue, 1925-1928', M.A. dissertation, University of Natal (Durban), 1972.

<sup>83</sup> F.G. Brownell, 'Convergence and Unification: The National Flag of South Africa (1994) in Historical Perspective', D.Phil. thesis, University of Pretoria, 2015.

<sup>84</sup> F.G. Brownell, *National and Provincial Symbols, and flora and fauna emblems of the Republic of South Africa*, 1993 (Simultaneously published in Afrikaans as *Nasionale en Provinsiale Simbole, en flora en faunaemblem van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika*).

<sup>85</sup> F.G. Brownell, The evolution of the Coats of Arms and flags of South West Africa and Namibia, published in eight parts:

'Part I: Introduction (1485-1884)', *Archives News*, XXXII(11), 1990, pp. 4-11; 'Part II: Deutschsüdwestafrika (1884-1915)', *Archives News*, XXXII(12), 1990, pp. 6-13; 'Part III: The (Mandated) Territory of Southwest Africa (1915-1960)', *Archives News*, XXXIII(1), 1990, pp. 6-19; F.G. Brownell, 'Part IV: The Coat of Arms of the Territory of South West Africa (1961-1990)', *Archives News*, XXXIII(2), 1990, pp. 9-30; F.G. Brownell, 'Part V: The Arms and Flag of the "Homelands" in South West Africa', *Archives News*, XXXIII(3), 1990, pp. 4-32; 'Part VI: The Colours, Flags and Symbols of Non-Official Bodies in South West Africa', *Archives News*, XXXIII(4), 1990, pp. 6-22; 'Part VII: The National Flag of Namibia, 1990', *Archives News*, XXXIII(5), 1990, pp. 4-29; 'Part VIII: The National Arms, Great Seal and Presidential Flag of Namibia, 1990', *Archives News*, XXXIII(6), 1990, 9-31. These articles were later reprinted in *Arma* (Nos. 131-140, 1990-1992), the Journal of the Heraldry Society of Southern Africa, and collated into a monograph entitled *Coats of Arms and Flags in Namibia*, n.d.

<sup>86</sup> A.P. Burgers, *The South African Flag Book: the history of South African flags from Dias to Mandela*, 2008.

As was the case with Rhodesia until recently, there was very little published on the symbols of the other countries in southern Africa. In the 1980s James Croft spent a week in Mozambique just prior to the country's independence and produced a monograph on its civic arms, all of which followed the Portuguese heraldic pattern. He makes the point that all the fauna used on these Coats of Arms were native to the country while there was also a noticeable absence of any symbols representing the local Africans and their culture, with exception of the bust of a 'negro' on one example and three assegais found in a further three cases.<sup>87</sup> Similarly in the case of Botswana, apart from a short paragraph by George Winstanley about his role in the design of the country's new flag and Arms at independence<sup>88</sup> and two later articles by C.J. Makgala in 2008 and 2014 on the significance of the Botswana's new currency introduced in 1976,<sup>89</sup> and the symbols which were to appear on the banknotes, there has been little in the way of further academic study on the country's symbols.

Published material on Rhodesian symbols has also until recently been limited to a journal article on the design of the Coat of Arms in 1924<sup>90</sup> and an unpublished undated monograph by a former head of the National Archives on the history leading up to the adoption of the Southern Rhodesian light blue ensign in 1964.<sup>91</sup> A number of articles appeared following Zimbabwe's independence,<sup>92</sup> but it was not until 1996 that the *SAVA Journal* on Flags and Symbols of Rhodesia by Richard Allport that a comprehensive overview of Rhodesian flags was published.<sup>93</sup> This dealt with the history of the country's national flags and Coats of

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<sup>87</sup> J.A. Croft, *Civic Coats of Arms of Mozambique*, 1982, pp. iii-iv. A commemorative set of postage stamps depicting the country's civic Arms was issued by Mozambique in 1961.

<sup>88</sup> G. Winstanley, *Under Two Flags in Africa: Recollections of British Administrator in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Botswana, 1954 to 1972*, 2000, p. 236.

<sup>89</sup> C.J. Makgala, 'The Historical and Politico-Cultural Significance of Botswana's Pula Currency', *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 22(1), 2008, pp. 41–55; C.J. Makgala, 'Neil Parsons, National Coat of Arms, and the Introduction of the Pula Currency in Botswana, 1975-1976', *South African Historical Journal*, 66(3), 2014, pp. 504–520.

<sup>90</sup> J.G. Storry, 'Heraldry in Africa: II. Two Monsters', *The Coat of Arms*, 1(92), 1974-75, pp. 108–111.

<sup>91</sup> T.W. Baxter, *Flags & Arms of Rhodesia*, n.d.

<sup>92</sup> See, for example, B.B. Berry, 'Flying in the Winds of Change: Flags from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe', *The Flag Bulletin*, XXXIV(2), 1985, pp. 46–64; M.A. Faul, 'The Vexillology of U.D.I.', *Rhodesians Worldwide*, 11(2) 1995, pp. 23–24; M.A. Faul, 'Just What Is the Rhodesian Flag?', *Rhodesians Worldwide*, 11(4), 1996, pp. 25–26; M.A. Faul, 'The Genesis of a Colonial Flag: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1937', in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, pp. 105–108.

<sup>93</sup> R. Allport, 'Flags and Symbols of Rhodesia, 1890-1980', *SAVA Journal*, 5, 1996.

Arms together with the flags used by the various units in the country's armed forces. This has recently been updated and extensively revised to include colour illustrations and a new section on civic symbols.<sup>94</sup> Information on other symbolic aspects such as personal Arms, medals, banknotes and stamps are to be found in specialist publications and catalogues relating specifically to those interests.<sup>95</sup> The focus of this thesis is to comprehensively examine Rhodesian symbols, and in particular the Rhodesian flag, within the context of the evolution and maintenance of a Rhodesian identity.

While this literary evolution has encouraged the debate as to whether vexillology can now be considered a scientific discipline, it also demonstrates that the study of flags, together with other national symbols, is becoming more established.

## 2.5 NATIONAL ANTHEMS

K.J. Curtis, in her Masters dissertation, contends that national anthems are so much more potent than other symbols because they lie “at the intersection of music, propaganda and ritual”.<sup>96</sup> Despite this, national anthems are not popular subjects in musicology or ethnomusicology and it is only relatively recently that the reaction to changing or choosing an anthem, together with the political and cultural impacts, is now receiving academic attention.<sup>97</sup> In 2005 I. Cusack explores the themes and ideologies associated specifically

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<sup>94</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019.

<sup>95</sup> See, for example, R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs*, 1967; A.J. Arniel, *Badges and Insignia of the Rhodesian Security Forces 1890-1980*, 1987; The Council of the Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Zimbabwe, *An Armorial of Zimbabwe and Rhodesia*, 2001; D. Wall, *Insignia and History of the Rhodesian Armed Forces 1890-1980*, 2002.

<sup>96</sup> K.J. Curtis, ‘Mozambican National Anthems: Memory, Performance, and Nation-Building’, M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 2010, p. 7.

<sup>97</sup> See, for example, M.I. Mayo-Harp, ‘National Anthems and Identities: The Role of National Anthems in the Formation Process of National Identities’, M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2001; N. Guy, “‘Republic of China National Anthem’ on Taiwan: One Anthem, One Performance, Multiple Realities”, *Ethnomusicology*, 46(1), 2002, pp. 96-119; J. Martin Daughtry, ‘Russia’s New Anthem and the Negotiation of National Identity’, *Ethnomusicology*, 47(1), 2003, pp. 42-67; J. Gibbs, ‘The music of the state: Vietnam’s quest for a national anthem’, *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, 2(2), 2007, pp. 129-174; K.J. Curtis, ‘Mozambican National Anthems: Memory, Performance and Nation-Building’, M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 2010 and G.S. Gan, ‘The National Anthem: contested and volatile symbol of post-colonial Malaysia, 1957-1969’, *South East Asia Research*, 23(1), 2015, pp. 61-78.

with African national anthems.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, K.A. Cerulo has researched and published three articles (1989, 1993 and 1995) on the content of national anthems.<sup>99</sup> Most conform to five specific styles: namely hymns, marches, operatic anthems, folk anthems and fanfares.<sup>100</sup> In a 2001 thesis on the role of national anthems and identities by M.I. Mayo-Harp, she argues that it is commonly held that music can stir emotion in the human heart and mind, stimulating or increasing feelings of joy, sadness or anger, amongst many other emotions. She indicates that part of the power of an anthem to affect the masses comes from the emotional stirrings caused by the music of an anthem.<sup>101</sup> Just what it is about the music that causes these emotional stirrings is still debated, but many, if not most, musicologists believe that music affects our emotions, at least partially, because of memory and association.

The literature makes it apparent that the propagandistic nature of anthem lyrics conjures up the nation in its ideal form. As Cusack states, the lyrics “need to convince ‘the people’ that they belong to the nation, and a nation with some unique characteristics that distinguishes it from other nations”.<sup>102</sup> Thus it is argued that an effective national anthem does not merely allude to general patriotism, it focuses on patriotism specific to the nation to which it refers.

In 2007 J. Gibbs argued in an article on Vietnam that music is “an important vessel of nationalism, with musical forms and instruments serving as expressions of a national identity”<sup>103</sup> and, as such, anthems can be distinguished from other symbols such as flags and emblems in that they are performed, usually collectively, to generate a “collective

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<sup>98</sup> I. Cusack, ‘African National Anthems: “Beat the Drums, the Red Lion Has Roared”’, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 17(2), 2005, pp. 235-251.

<sup>99</sup> K.A. Cerulo, ‘Sociopolitical Control and the Structure of National Symbols : An Empirical Analysis of National Anthems’, *Social Forces*, 68(1), 1989, pp. 76–99; K.A. Cerulo, ‘Symbols and the World System: National Anthems and Flags’, *Sociological Forum*, 8(2), 1993, pp. 243-271; K.A. Cerulo, *Identity Designs: The Sights and Sounds of a Nation*, 1995.

<sup>100</sup> *National Anthems* in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <https://doi-org.uplib.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.19602>. Accessed: 2020-04-07.

<sup>101</sup> M.I. Mayo-Harp, ‘National Anthems and Identities: The Role of National Anthems in the Formation Process of National Identities’, M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2001, p. 19.

<sup>102</sup> I. Cusack, ‘African National Anthems: “Beat the Drums, the Red Lion Has Roared”’, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 17(2), 2005, p. 238.

<sup>103</sup> J. Gibbs, The music of the state: ‘Vietnam’s quest for a national anthem’, *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, 2(2), 2007, p. 129.



voice”.<sup>104</sup> This is what J. Porter calls an “ideological euphoria”.<sup>105</sup> This is supported by Mayo-Harp, in her study mentioned earlier, who contends that:

National anthems are very special collective symbols; they do not represent an abstract entity through images and colours as icons and flags do, but through audible stimulation. They are lyrical compositions that provoke the emergence of common feelings and attitudes among those who are listening and/or singing them.<sup>106</sup>

Therefore, we find anthems being sung prior to sporting events and international competitions or when the winner is called up. The anthem is played and a feeling of victory – a common national victory – is felt with people standing to attention, as in a religious ritual, facing towards the flag<sup>107</sup> and being imbued with an overall sense of pride. But as with all symbols, M. Edelman points out in his work on the symbolic uses of politics, the meaning of the anthem “carries a range of diverse, often conflicting, meanings that are integral aspects of specific materials and social situations”.<sup>108</sup>

Many scholars agree that, along with the flag and coat of arms, the suite of primary national symbols includes the anthem. As Cerulo points out, the anthem is thus the musical equivalent to the country’s motto, crest or flag and as such represents the nation’s identity or character.<sup>109</sup> Thus the anthem is used at official functions, to pay homage to heads of state and military heroes, is played at cultural and sporting events and in many countries, children are socialised or indoctrinated in school through learning and singing the anthem.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> F. Gunther Eyck, *The Voice of Nations: European National Anthems and Their Authors*, 1995, p. xx.

<sup>105</sup> J. Porter, ‘Music and Ideology’ in T. Rice, J. Porter and C. Goertzen (eds.), *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music (Vol. 80: Europe)*, 1998, p. 185 as cited in J. Martin Daughtry, ‘Russia’s New Anthem and the Negotiation of National Identity’, *Ethnomusicology*, 47(1), 2003, p. 45.

<sup>106</sup> M.I. Mayo-Harp, ‘National Anthems and Identities: The Role of National Anthems in the Formation Process of National Identities’, M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2001, p. 7.

<sup>107</sup> M.I. Mayo-Harp, ‘National Anthems and Identities: The Role of National Anthems in the Formation Process of National Identities’, M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2001, p. 8.

<sup>108</sup> M. Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, 1985, p. 8.

<sup>109</sup> K.A. Cerulo, ‘Sociopolitical Control and the Structure of National Symbols : An Empirical Analysis of National Anthems’, *Social Forces*, 68(1), 1989, p. 78.

<sup>110</sup> See, for example, R. Mead, ‘The National Anthem’, in S. Sadie (ed.), *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1980, pp. 46–75; K.A. Cerulo, ‘Symbols and the World System : National Anthems and Flags’, *Sociological Forum*, 1993, 8(2), p. 266; C.R. Abril, ‘Functions of a National Anthem in Society and Education: A Sociocultural Perspective’, *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, 172, 2007, pp. 69-87.

The national anthem has a clear purpose of propagating a particular nationalism and of assisting in the building of a national identity. This has been examined in the case of Mozambique by K.J. Curtis and M-B Basto,<sup>111</sup> in post-UDI Rhodesia in a 2009 article by A.R. Musvoto<sup>112</sup> and also by D.W. Kenrick in his 2016 thesis,<sup>113</sup> later published in 2019, the details of which will be explored later in this thesis.

## 2.6 ... AND THE NOT SO OBVIOUS MARKERS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

Among the not so obvious markers of national identity which have been written about are also included in the national panoply of symbols as outlined in Table 2, are statues and monuments, national holidays, currency, postage stamps and the parliamentary mace. P. Connerton (1989) and C. Tilley (2006) claim that even the myths and rituals employed by the state to inculcate a “social identity”<sup>114</sup> and “social memory” are considered a form of “symbolic representation” through which a community is reminded of its identity.<sup>115</sup>

In the above-mentioned work by Durkheim, he claimed that:

There can be no society, which does not feel the need of upholding and reaffirming at regular intervals the collective sentiments and the collective ideals, which make its unity and personality. Now this moral remaking cannot be achieved except by the means of reunions, assemblies and meetings where the individuals, being closely united to one another, reaffirm in common their common sentiments; hence come ceremonies which do not differ from regular religious ceremonies, either in their object, the results which they produce, or the processes employed to attain these results.<sup>116</sup>

While money has been the subject of research in terms of its practical financial and

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<sup>111</sup> K.J. Curtis, ‘Mozambican National Anthems: Memory, Performance and Nation-Building’, M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 2010; M-B. Basto, ‘The Writings of the National Anthem in Independent Mozambique: Fictions of the Subject-People’, *Kronos*, 39(1), 2013, pp. 185–203.

<sup>112</sup> A.R. Musvoto, ‘Filling the Void in Our National Life: The Search for a Song That Captures the Spirit of Rhodesian Nationalism and National Identity’, *Muziki*, 6(2), 2009, pp. 154–162.

<sup>113</sup> D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress: White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, pp. 151-160; D.W. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, pp. 175-187.

<sup>114</sup> C. Tilley, ‘Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage’, *Journal of Material Culture*, 11(1-2), 2006, p. 22.

<sup>115</sup> P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 1989, pp. 1, 45, 48, 102.

<sup>116</sup> E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 1976, p. 427.

economic function as a medium of exchange, it is only relatively recently that banknotes and coins have come to be studied for their symbolic function as part of the nation's iconography. Indeed, in their 1999 study of the linkages between currencies and nation-states two decades ago, E. Gilbert and E. Helleiner stress "that remarkably little academic literature has been devoted to the relationship between the historical origins of national currencies and the construction of nation-states".<sup>117</sup> However, attention has recently also been focussed on the national currency as a symbol of statehood together with its political, legal and financial authority as both banknotes, and to a lesser extent coins, have been shown to work unobtrusively as bearers and transmitters of the iconography of the nation-state in which they were issued and which they, in turn, come to represent and help to construct.<sup>118</sup> Helleiner identified five ways in which national currencies contribute to national identity and nation building:

- 1) They provide a vehicle for nationalist imagery that constructs a sense of collective memory and tradition;
- 2) They act as a common medium of social communication by which ... communal thought may be achieved by the people;
- 3) They provide collective monetary experience that may allow members of a nation to exhibit a sense of belonging with a common destiny;
- 4) Money contributes to notions of popular sovereignty; and
- 5) Money enhances the somewhat semi-religious nature of nationalism.<sup>119</sup>

In his 2002 study of currency design in colonial Kenya, W. Mwangi contends that the symbolic content of currency is intimately associated with the dominant preoccupations of the issuing authority.<sup>120</sup> L. Marten and N.C. Kula make a similar point in their 2008 study of Zambian and Tanzanian banknotes indicating that they are used to portray a particular

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<sup>117</sup> E. Gilbert and E. Helleiner, 'Introduction - Nation-States and Money: Historical Contexts, Interdisciplinary Perspectives', in E. Gilbert and E. Helleiner (eds.), *Nation-States and Money: The Past, Present and Future of National Currencies*, 1999, p. 3.

<sup>118</sup> J. Penrose, 'Designing the Nation. Banknotes, Banal Nationalism and Alternative Conceptions of the State', *Political Geography*, 30(8), 2011, pp. 429–40.

<sup>119</sup> E. Helleiner, 'National Currencies and National Identities', *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 41(10), 1998, p. 1409.

<sup>120</sup> W. Mwangi, 'The Lion, the Native and the Coffee Plant: Political Imagery and the Ambiguous Art of Currency Design in Colonial Kenya', *Geopolitics*, 7(1), 2002, p. 34.

interpretation of social and national realities.<sup>121</sup> Thus, “the imagery of money supports the production and maintenance of a national narrative, written by the national elite”.<sup>122</sup> In short, as V. Hewitt suggests in his 1994 book, a banknote is an advertisement for a country and, as with all national symbols, evokes an emotional response.<sup>123</sup>

The widespread use of money by virtually everyone within a nation makes it an important instrument of political symbolism which is used to foster national identity. It is for this reason that the currency iconographies of various countries are now being analysed<sup>124</sup> and this thesis will include an analysis of the banknotes and coins as part of the national iconography in Rhodesia.

In common with banknotes and coins, postage stamps have also come to be researched as socio-political statements and tools for nation-building and the moulding of a nation’s collective memory.<sup>125</sup> According to the work by P. Raento and S.D. Brunn in their study on the stamps of Finland, stamps can also be seen as part of the construction of the

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<sup>121</sup> L. Marten and N.C. Kula, ‘Meanings of Money: National Identity and the Semantics of Currency in Zambia and Tanzania’, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 20(2), 2008, p. 185.

<sup>122</sup> G. Papadopoulos, ‘Currency and the Collective Representations of Authority, Nationality, and Value’, *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 8(4), 2015, p. 522.

<sup>123</sup> V. Hewitt, *Beauty and the Banknote: Images of Women on Paper Money*, 1994, p. 41.

<sup>124</sup> See, for example, A. Müller-Peters, ‘The significance of national pride and national identity to the attitude toward the single European currency: A Europe-wide comparison’, *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 19, 1998, pp. 701-719; E. Gilbert, ‘Forging a National Currency: Money, State-Building and Nation-Making in Canada’, in E. Gilbert and E. Helleiner (eds.), *Nation-States and Money: The Past, Present and Future of National Currencies*, 1999; T. Unwin and V. Hewitt, ‘Banknotes and national identity in central and eastern Europe’, *Political Geography*, 20, 2001, pp. 1005-1028; W. Mwangi, ‘The Lion, the Native and the Coffee Plant: Political Imagery and the Ambiguous Art of Currency Design in Colonial Kenya’, *Geopolitics*, 7(1), 2002, pp. 31-62; P. Raento, A. Hämäläinen, H. Ikonen and N. Mikkonen, ‘Striking stories: a political geography of euro coinage’, *Political Geography*, 23, 2004, pp. 929-956; J. Lauer, ‘Money as Mass Communication: US Paper Money and the Iconography of Nationalism’, *The Communication Review*, 11(2), 2008, pp. 109-132; H. Fuller, ‘*Civitas Ghaniensis Conditior*: Kwame Nkrumah, symbolic nationalism and the iconography of Ghanaian money 1957 – the Golden Jubilee’, *Nations and Nationalism*, 14(3), 2008, pp. 520-541; L. Marten and N.C. Kula, ‘Meanings of Money: National Identity and the Semantics of Currency in Zambia and Tanzania’, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 20(2), 2008, pp. 183-198 and M. Veselkova and J. Horvath, ‘National identity and money: Czech and Slovak Lands 1918-2008’, *Nationalities Papers*, 39(2), 2011, pp. 237-255.

<sup>125</sup> See, for example, D.M. Reid, ‘The Symbolism of Postage Stamps: A Source for the Historian’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19(2), 1984, pp. 223-249; S.D. Brunn, ‘Stamps as iconography: Celebrating the independence of new European and Central Asian states’, *GeoJournal*, 52, 2000, pp. 315-323; I. Cusack, ‘Tiny transmitters of nationalist and colonial ideology: the postage stamps of Portugal and its Empire’, *Nations and Nationalism*, 11(4), 2005, pp. 591-612; P. Deans and H. Dobson (eds.), ‘Special Issue: The politics of East Asian postage stamps’, *East Asia*, 22(2), 2005, pp. 3-102 and S.D. Brunn, ‘Stamps as messengers of political transition’, *The Geographical Review*, 101(1), 2011, pp. 19-36.

“imagined community” and elements of the “banal nationalism” by guaranteeing the visibility of one’s homeland through a variety of events, places, landscapes and cultural objects that impinge on a nation’s consciousness.<sup>126</sup> However, unlike currency which is used and mainly seen within the country, stamps have (or had) a wider audience – one being those within the issuing country and also those outside the country to where mail is being sent. Thus, T. Pierce states in his 1996 article that “stamps express sovereignty”.<sup>127</sup>

In his 2013 *A History of Britain in Thirty-Six Postage Stamps*, C. West explains that the first postage stamp was issued in Britain on 01 May 1840 and featured the profile of a young Queen Victoria. The “Penny Black” as it is now called, introduced the concept of prepayment for a postal item, up to a given weight, for delivery to a specified address for a standard fee anywhere in Britain. The concept was an immediate success. Sixty-eight million Penny Blacks were printed in the next ten months and 350 million letters had been posted by 1850 and forty-four other countries had followed the British example and were issuing stamps by 1853.<sup>128</sup> The rapid increase in the senders and readers of mail continued to grow until the end of the twentieth century when newer methods of indicating the payment of postage based on the internet reduced the need and use of stamps.

As I. Cusack points out in his 2005 study of early Portuguese stamps, that given the importance of nation-formation and consolidation of power in Europe in the nineteenth century which was centred around an absolute monarch, it is not surprising that it was the monarch’s head that was initially portrayed on postage stamps to represent the nation.<sup>129</sup> In 2006 K. Covington and S.D. Brunn show that stamps are now issued for a variety of purposes in addition to the actual recovery of postal expenses. They indicate that stamps are issued to promote the accomplishments of national heroes and heroines and to celebrate

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<sup>126</sup> P. Raento and S.D. Brunn, ‘Picturing a Nation: Finland on Postage Stamps, 1917-2000’, *National Identities*, 10(1) 2008, pp. 49–75.

<sup>127</sup> T. Pierce, ‘Philatelic Propaganda: Stamps in Territorial Disputes’, *IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin*, 4(2), 1996, p. 62 as cited in S.D. Brunn, ‘Stamps as Iconography: Celebrating the Independence of New European and Central Asian States’, *GeoJournal*, 52, 2000, p. 316.

<sup>128</sup> C. West, *A History of Britain in Thirty-Six Postage Stamps*, 2013, pp. 1-8 and I. Cusack, ‘Tiny transmitters of nationalist and colonial ideology: the postage stamps of Portugal and its Empire’, *Nations and Nationalism*, 11(4), 2005, p. 592.

<sup>129</sup> I. Cusack, ‘Tiny Transmitters of Nationalist and Colonial Ideology: The Postage Stamps of Portugal and Its Empire’, *Nations and Nationalism*, 11(4), 2005, p. 592.

national events, anniversaries, festivals and traditions as well as to mark days of religious significance. They are a means to educate and inform. In short, they claim, that postage stamps are “windows” of the state as through its stamp issues the state can decide “what it wants to show to others about itself”.<sup>130</sup> While the majority of stamps are issued to represent significant events in their own history, economy and culture, there are some countries which produce stamps for collectors as a means to generate revenue and issue stamps with little or no meaning for their local citizens.

Stamp design is now considered an important element in national iconography that contains many overt and subtle messages. A decade and a half ago, P. Deans and H. Dobson argued in an article that “stamps can and should be read as texts, often with expressly political purposes or agendas which are conveyed through the images they depict”.<sup>131</sup> Furthermore, they continue, “postage stamps emerge as vehicles for identity creation and propagation, and as mechanisms for regime legitimation. They demonstrate changing concepts of the state over time and the changing aspirations of state elites”.<sup>132</sup>

Recent literature exploring the role of stamps in nation-building and as one of the reminders of national identity include the above-mentioned investigation by Raento and Brunn in respect of the visualisation of Finland between 1917 and 2000<sup>133</sup> and the argument by I. Cusack on the representation of Portugal, its “great discoveries” and its empire as depicted through its stamps.<sup>134</sup> The politics of East Asian stamps has been analysed by P. Deans and H. Dobson<sup>135</sup> and a 2011 journal article by Brunn considers the role of stamps during

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<sup>130</sup> K. Covington and S.D. Brunn, ‘Celebrating a Nation’s Heritage on Music Stamps: Constructing an International Community’, *GeoJournal*, 65(1), 2006, pp. 125–126.

<sup>131</sup> P. Deans and H. Dobson (eds.), “Special Issue: The Politics of East Asian Postage Stamps,” *East Asia*, 22(2), 2005, p. 3.

<sup>132</sup> P. Deans and H. Dobson (eds.), ‘Special Issue: The Politics of East Asian Postage Stamps’, *East Asia*, 22(2), 2005, p. 6.

<sup>133</sup> P. Raento and S.D. Brunn, ‘Visualizing Finland: Postage Stamps as Political Messengers’, *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 87(2), 2005, pp. 145–63; P. Raento and S.D. Brunn, ‘Picturing a Nation: Finland on Postage Stamps, 1917-2000’, *National Identities*, 10(1), 2008, pp. 49–75.

<sup>134</sup> I. Cusack, ‘Tiny Transmitters of Nationalist and Colonial Ideology: The Postage Stamps of Portugal and Its Empire’ *Nations and Nationalism*, 11(4), 2005, pp. 591-612.

<sup>135</sup> P. Deans and H. Dobson (eds.), ‘Special Issue: The politics of East Asian postage stamps’, *East Asia*, 22(2), 2005, pp. 3-102.

political transition, particularly in the former Soviet Union.<sup>136</sup> He has also explored the role of stamps in the iconography of the newly independent European and Central Asian states after the break-up of the Soviet Union.<sup>137</sup> The nature and role of stamps in the national iconography of Rhodesia has been examined by R.S. Roberts in 2006<sup>138</sup> and more recently by J. Brownell in 2018.<sup>139</sup>

As noted earlier, the literature on the flags of Rhodesia has been limited to an historical overview and description of the flags which have been flown in the country. There has only recently been a limited examination of some of the other national symbols on the formation and maintenance of Rhodesian identity<sup>140</sup> and it is this gap which this thesis seeks to fill.

## 2.7 CONCLUSION

As much of this literature shows, political units such as nation-states, must have an outward and visible identity. National identity, argues Hobsbawm, is the fundamental constitutive force of the modern state and the ultimate foundation of its authority.<sup>141</sup> For both Firth and Elgenius:

The national flag, the national anthem and the national emblem are the three symbols through which an independent country proclaims its identity and sovereignty, and as such they command instantaneous respect and loyalty. In themselves, they reflect the entire background, thought and culture of a nation.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> S.D. Brunn, 'Stamps as Messengers of Political Transition', *Geographical Review*, 101(1), 2011, pp. 19–36.

<sup>137</sup> S.D. Brunn, 'Stamps as Iconography: Celebrating the Independence of New European and Central Asian States' *GeoJournal*, 52, 2000, pp. 315-323.

<sup>138</sup> R.S. Roberts, 'Identity and the Nation: The Evidence of Postage Stamps', *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, 25, 2006, pp. 1–10.

<sup>139</sup> J. Brownell, 'The visual rhetoric of settler stamps: Rhodesia's rebellion and the projection of sovereignty' in Y. Huang and R. Weaver-Hightower (eds.), *Archiving Settler Colonialism*, 2018, pp. 150-170.

<sup>140</sup> See, for example, R.S. Roberts, 'Identity and the Nation: The Evidence of Postage Stamps', *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, 25, 2006, pp. 1–10; D.W. Kenrick, 'These Colours Don't Run: Changing the Rhodesian Flag, 1968', Paper delivered to the Southern African Historical Society, Biennial Conference, Stellenbosch, July 2015; B.B. Berry, "'The Beloved Green and White'" – (White) Rhodesia's Search for a Unique Symbol of Identity', Paper delivered at the 27<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Vexillology, London (England), 07-11 August 2017; J. Brownell, 'The visual rhetoric of settler stamps: Rhodesia's rebellion and the projection of sovereignty' in Y. Huang and R. Weaver-Hightower (eds.), *Archiving Settler Colonialism*, 2018, pp. 150-170;

<sup>141</sup> E Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 1992, p. 13.

<sup>142</sup> R. Firth, *Symbols – public and private*, 1973, p. 341 and G. Elgenius, *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism – Celebrating Nationhood*, 2011, p. 58.

Less obvious, but equally important, practices for managing, producing and reproducing national memories and identity are the choice of national holidays<sup>143</sup> and the erection of monuments and statues which will also be considered.

In view of the lacuna of literature and research on the national panoply of the symbols used in Rhodesia, this study will analyse the various symbols used in the country during its existence between 1890 and 1980. It will also show how the changing nature of national identity in Rhodesia was expressed through its national symbols following its conquest and settlement by Europeans in 1890 under the Royal Charter granted to the BSAC, its subsequent development as a colony with Responsible Government after 1923 and the redefining of its identity following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on 11 November 1965. But as is evident from most of the literature, ultimately it is the national flag which is the most prominent signifier of nation, nationalism and national identity and as such, it occupies a very specific place in the repository of everyday symbols. This will also be shown to be true in the case of Rhodesia.

## 2.8 THESIS CHAPTER OUTLINE

All modern nation states have adopted national symbols in one form or another. The primary focus of the introductory chapter and literature discussion is to illustrate how the emergence of the nation state coincided with the development and evolution of a suite of national symbols, most notably the Coat of Arms, flag and anthem. These symbols combine to define, and reinforce, a particular national identity.

Chapter 3 is historical and provides an overview of the political evolution of the territory on the central plateau between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers which was known as Rhodesia between 1890 and 1980. This chapter identifies and describes the four main phases of this political development, namely the pre-colonial period, developments leading up to and

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<sup>143</sup> See, for example, D. McCrone and G. McPherson (eds.), *National Days: Constructing and Mobilising National Identity*, 2009.



immediately after the arrival of the European settlers and the formation of the colonial state between 1890 and 1923, the establishment of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia under Responsible Government and its subsequent incorporation into the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. After the break-up of the Federation in 1963, (Southern) Rhodesia defied international opinion by unilaterally declaring itself independent and severing ties with Britain. This political stalemate was resolved with the independence of Zimbabwe on 18 April 1980 which marked the formal end of the white dominated colonial-era.

The panoply of national symbols initially adopted for use in Rhodesia are analysed and illustrated in Chapter 4. Specific attention is given to the somewhat unusual situation whereby the colonial authorities accepted the British Union Flag as the national flag of the Colony despite repeated requests for a distinctive colonial flag to be chosen. This provides the first clear indication of an emergent “proto-nationalism, linked to British patriotism, but based on an open-air ethos and an enduring faith in the white man’s mission in Africa”<sup>144</sup> in the territory.

This Rhodesian “Britishness” is explored in greater detail in Chapter 5 where both the tangible and non-tangible expressions of this colonial identity are discussed. In particular, the symbolism as reflected in the stamps, bank notes and coins, public holidays and some of the emblems adopted by the armed forces are analysed together with the evolution of the “Rhodesian way of life” in the Colony.

Following the declaration of UDI in November 1965 and the subsequent severing of political and economic ties with Britain, the need arose for a development of a more distinctive Rhodesian identity. Chapter 6 deals with the creation of new Rhodesian symbols, commencing with the adoption of the new flag, which gave expression to this new local, post-UDI identity.

The final chapter provides an assessment on how this new identity became internalised amongst white Rhodesians during the 1970s and its continued expression following the

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<sup>144</sup> L.H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934*, 1965, p. 315.

independence of Zimbabwe. The most visible symbol of post-UDI Rhodesia is the national flag adopted in 1968 which came to highlight Rhodesia's contested statehood. Today its display remains controversial as it is used as a rallying point for white Rhodesians scattered across the world while it has also found favour with some white supremacist groups in the United States.

## CHAPTER 3 - THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF RHODESIA

*Rhodesia has been known by many names over the centuries ... she was inhabited by many peoples ... But the people who put her together and raised her to her zenith were the British.*<sup>1</sup>

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to gain an understanding of the evolution of a distinctive Rhodesian identity, it is necessary to trace the political developments which form the backdrop against which this identity emerged. This chapter will provide an overview of the history of the country between 1890 and 1980. It is divided into four distinct periods which had a decisive impact on the country's political development and symbolic expression. The first gives a brief overview of the indigenous inhabitants prior to the territory becoming known as Rhodesia.<sup>2</sup> The second covers the first colonial intervention between 1890 and 1923. This was the time of the British South Africa Company Administration. It focuses on the initial European conquest and settlement, the first 'native' rebellions as well as the 1922 Referendum. The next section is concerned with the Colonial Period from 1923 to 1965. Here the attainment of Responsible Government in Southern Rhodesia, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland between 1953 and 1963 and the break-up of the Federation and events leading up to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) will be discussed. Section four is concerned with post-UDI Rhodesia between 1965 and 1980 and focuses on the "rebellion against the Crown" and efforts to resolve the political impasse finally leading to the independence of Zimbabwe in April 1980.

### 3.2 THE EARLY INDIGENOUS INHABITANTS

The earliest evidence of the original inhabitants occupying the central plateau lying between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers is to be found in the over two thousand rock art engravings

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<sup>1</sup> J. Edmond, *The Story of Troopiesongs and the Rhodesian Bush War*, 1982, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> For a chronology of this period see B. Raftopoulos and A.S. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, pp. x-xii; D. Clarke, *Rhodes' Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, pp. 741-745.

and paintings dating between 6000 and 5000 BC.<sup>3</sup> Further evidence in the form of stone implements and arrowheads suggests that the San were the first inhabitants in this region who were subsequently driven off their ancestral lands, or incorporated, by migrating Iron Age Bantu-speaking groups around the tenth and eleventh centuries AD.<sup>4</sup> The San were hunter-gatherers who lived in relatively small, independent, self-sufficient family groups with no sense of what A.S. Mlambo calls a “pan-San identity”.<sup>5</sup> The next inhabitants were groups of Bantu-speaking migrants from northern Africa who grew cereals such as millet and sorghum and kept cattle, sheep and goats, and who established farming villages south of the Zambezi River. According to Mlambo, the Iron Age prehistory of the region can be classified into four epochs. The first stage was characterised by farming communities scattered in small villages with no evidence of any form of hierarchical organization. The second stage dating from the seventh century saw the introduction of external trade, such as in gold and ivory. The increase in trade in the third stage from about the tenth century resulted in the emergence of social stratification and culminating in state structures such as Mapungubwe and further social stratification in the fourth stage. These developments reached a climax with the establishment of the Great Zimbabwe state which existed between 1270 and 1550.<sup>6</sup>

Great Zimbabwe was the largest precolonial state in southern Africa<sup>7</sup> with its capital having a population between 11,000 and 18,000 people at its peak.<sup>8</sup> Great Zimbabwe takes its name from the Shona term *dzimbahwe* or *dzimbabwe*, meaning houses of stone,<sup>9</sup> because many structures were built of granite. Great Zimbabwe, which covered an area of over 700

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<sup>3</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> A. S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> A. S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> For further background and detail on the Zimbabwe culture and early states see, for example, I. Pikirayi, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, 2001; G.C. Mazarirwe, ‘Reflections on Pre-colonial Zimbabwe, c.850-1880s’, in B. Raftopoulos and A.S. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, pp. 1-38; A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, pp. 15-24.

<sup>7</sup> A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, p. 17; C.C. Barney, “‘Not in a Thousand Years’: White Settlement, Rhodesian Nationalism, and the formation of a Rogue State”, M.A. dissertation, Murray State University, 2016, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> W. Ndoro, ‘Great Zimbabwe’, *Scientific American*, 277(5), 1997, p. 97; I. Pikirayi, ‘Great Zimbabwe in Historical Archaeology: Reconceptualizing Decline, Abandonment and Reoccupation of an Ancient Polity, AD 1450-1900’, *Historical Archaeology*, 47(1), 2013, p. 26; A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, pp. 17-18.

hectares,<sup>10</sup> was a considerable human achievement and is evidence of a flourishing society<sup>11</sup> based on the principle of sacred leadership.<sup>12</sup> There is evidence of a copper trade between Great Zimbabwe and other societies in south-central Africa during the fifteenth century, and contact with the Portuguese whose arrival on the Mozambican coast to the east disrupted commerce at the lower end of the trade routes. I. Pikirayi postulates that this, together with the rise of successor states in the north and west, and the commercial shift towards gold, undermined the city such that by 1500 it was no longer an important settlement.<sup>13</sup>

The Kingdom of Mutapa (Monomotapa) which emerged at the beginning of the fifteenth century was the successor state to Great Zimbabwe<sup>14</sup> and stretched across the plateau towards the Indian Ocean and traded in gold, copper, ivory and salt across central Africa. The Mutapa state was the largest political entity in the region at the time the Portuguese arrived in south-eastern Africa in the fifteenth century.<sup>15</sup> The diminishing of gold reserves and depletion of elephant on the plateau, together with infighting and the intervention of the Portuguese, resulted in its economic and social decline throughout most of the eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup> According to Mlambo, what remained of the Mutapa state collapsed in the 1820s and 1830s following attacks by Nguni groups from the south such that by the end of the 1880s it had ceased to exist.<sup>17</sup>

With its capital further south-west at Khami, the Togwa (Torwa) state existed between 1450 and 1685. Also built of stone like Great Zimbabwe, Khami is estimated to have been home to about 7,000 people at its height. The Togwa state split as a result of civil war in about

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<sup>10</sup> I. Pikirayi, 'Great Zimbabwe in Historical Archaeology: Reconceptualizing Decline, Abandonment and Reoccupation of an Ancient Polity, AD 1450-1900', *Historical Archaeology*, 47(1), 2013, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> P.S. Garlake, 'Prehistory and Ideology in Zimbabwe', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 52(3), 1982, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> T.N. Huffman, *Snakes and Crocodiles: Power and Symbolism in Ancient Zimbabwe*, pp. 10, 102.

<sup>13</sup> See I. Pikirayi, 'The Demise of Great Zimbabwe, AD 1420-1550: An Environmental Reappraisal', in A. Green and R. Leach (eds.), *Cities in the World, 1500-2000*, 2006, pp. 31-47; I. Pikirayi, 'Great Zimbabwe in Historical Archaeology: Reconceptualizing Decline, Abandonment and Reoccupation of an Ancient Polity, A.D. 1450-1900', *Historical Archaeology*, 47(1), 2013, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, p. 22.

<sup>15</sup> D. Chanaiwa, *The Zimbabwe Controversy: A Case of Colonial Historiography*, 1973, pp. 37-45.

<sup>16</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia - Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, pp. 18-25.

<sup>17</sup> A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, p. 23.

1644 and went into decline as a result of increasing attacks by Nguni groups from the south before finally collapsing in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

In analyzing the crafting of identity, E. MacGonagle points out that “ethnic identities” arise from collective historic experiences. As such, the Arab traders on the east African coast, and later the Portuguese who ventured further inland, referred to the local inhabitants collectively as “Karanga” from as early as 1506. The Portuguese used the term indiscriminately throughout the region for people who are collectively called Shona-speaking and who are associated with Great Zimbabwe and the Mutapa state.<sup>19</sup> Thus the term “Shona” refers to a collection of people, made up of a number of groups (Korekore, Zezuru, Karanga, Kalanga, Manyika, Ndau, Tonga, Birwa, Nyubi and Rozvi) who dominated the middle and highveld areas of the central plateau.<sup>20</sup> Drawing on the work of historians such as David Beach and Terence Ranger, Gerald Mazarire concludes that the “Shona” – a term signifying the linguistic, cultural and political characteristics of a people – did not know themselves by that name until late in the nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

The Shona were mainly agriculturalists and also kept some livestock such as cattle, goats, sheep, dogs and fowl.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, as S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni points out, the Ndebele state, which although clustered around the Khumalo clan from Nguniland, also comprised a broad spectrum of different ethnic and linguistic groups composed of Pedi, Hurutshe, Ngwaketse, Kwena, Kuudu and the Ndebele of Ndzudza and Magodonga,<sup>23</sup> which were brought together through a combination of conquest, assimilation and incorporation.<sup>24</sup> The Ndebele were

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<sup>18</sup> A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, pp. 23-24.

<sup>19</sup> E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, 2007, pp. 4-5.

<sup>20</sup> R. Pilosof, ‘Labor Relations in Zimbabwe from 1900 to 2000: Sources, Interpretations, and Understandings’, *History in Africa*, 2014, 41, p. 339; S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Ndebele Nation: Reflections on Hegemony, Memory and Historiography*, 2009, p. 64.

<sup>21</sup> See G.C. Mazarire, ‘Reflections on Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe, c.850-1880s’, in B. Raftopoulos and A.S. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, pp. 1–31.

<sup>22</sup> R. Pilosof, ‘Labor Relations in Zimbabwe from 1900 to 2000: Sources, Interpretations, and Understandings’, *History in Africa*, 2014, 41, pp. 340, 347.

<sup>23</sup> J.S. Bergh and A.P. Bergh, *Tribes and Kingdoms*, 1984, pp. 28-29; S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Ndebele Nation: Reflections on Hegemony, Memory and Historiography*, 2009, p. 62; A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, p. 28.

<sup>24</sup> S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Ndebele Nation: Reflections on Hegemony, Memory and Historiography*, 2009, p. 62; B. Raftopoulos and A.S. Mlambo, ‘Introduction: The Hard Road to Becoming National’, in B. Raftopoulos and

also agriculturalists, but had large herds of cattle and were heavily involved in regional trade.<sup>25</sup>

So turning further south, the disruptions in the Zulu Kingdom resulting in the *mfecane* (the crushing) or *difaqane* (forced migration)<sup>26</sup> also came to be felt on the central plateau when one of King Shaka's generals, Mzilikazi Khumalo, refused to relinquish captured cattle as required by protocol. Rather than face ritual execution, Mzilikazi and his clan fled northwards in 1823 and crossed the Vaal River. With a degree of ruthlessness and cruelty modelled on those of Shaka, he assimilated a number of rival tribes before becoming the dominant power in what is now the Mpumalanga Province in eastern South Africa. His people were called the AmaNdebele (or "Matabele") meaning "people of long shields" and fearful of continued Zulu reprisals, he moved westwards and clashed with the Voortrekkers in 1836 and 1837. Suffering heavy losses, the AmaNdebele were forced across the Limpopo River in 1838 and finally settled at Inyati, near what is modern-day Bulawayo, in 1840.<sup>27</sup> The AmaNdebele found the local Torwa kingdom seriously weakened from earlier Nguni attacks and proceeded to establish the Ndebele kingdom with its capital at Bulawayo.<sup>28</sup>

Between 1840 and 1853 Mzilikazi followed a policy of diplomatic isolation. Following the recognition of the independence of South African Republic (the Transvaal) in terms of the Sand River Convention (1852), a treaty was signed between the Boers and the Ndebele kingdom. Hereby Mzilikazi agreed to stop the traffic in arms and give protection to travellers, foreign traders and hunters from the Republic so long as they adhered to the

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A.S. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, p. xix. See also T.O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe*, 1985.

<sup>25</sup> R. Pilossof, 'Labour Relations in Zimbabwe from 1900 to 2000: Sources, Interpretations, and Understandings', *History in Africa*, 2014, 41, p. 340.

<sup>26</sup> For further insight into the causes and consequences of the *mfecane* see J.D. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa*, 1978; J. Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi: thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', *Journal of African History*, 29(3), 1988, pp. 497-519; C. Hamilton (ed.), *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History*, 1995; N. Etherington, *The Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815-1854*, 2001; H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, 2007, pp. 124-138.

<sup>27</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, pp 16-19; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia - Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, pp. 26-30. See also R. Kent Rasmussen, *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa*, 1978 and S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Ndebele Nation: Reflections on Hegemony, Memory and Historiography*, 2009.

<sup>28</sup> A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, p. 27.

“recognised and well-guarded” route via the Mangwe Pass. Later in 1854, Robert Moffat, the white missionary and explorer visited Mzilikazi. The two struck up a cordial relationship with Moffat returning three years later to request permission to set up a mission station at Inyati. Although a failure in terms of converts, the mission is considered to be the first white Christian settlement in the northern interior of the country.<sup>29</sup> Hunting and the trade in ivory was the other main manifestation of white interest at this time on the central plateau.<sup>30</sup>

Mzilikazi died in 1868 and was eventually succeeded by Lobengula in March 1870.<sup>31</sup> This was just after the re-discovery of gold in the nineteenth century, the first in the territory since the days of the Portuguese many centuries earlier. This resulted in an array of white prospectors, traders and adventurers entering the Ndebele kingdom. However, there was far less gold than what was expected and once again, it was events to the south which were to have a significant impact on the indigenous inhabitants living on the plateau between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers.

### 3.3 THE ARRIVAL OF THE ‘WHITE’ SETTLERS

The discovery of diamonds at the confluence of the Vaal and Gariep Rivers in 1867<sup>32</sup> triggered a diamond rush and the start of the first real revolutionary change in southern African society.<sup>33</sup> The diamond rush, in what was then Griqualand West in the Cape Colony, attracted many immigrant fortune-seekers and local speculators, among whom in 1871 was a young Englishman called Cecil John Rhodes.<sup>34</sup> Rhodes was born in Bishop’s Stortford in Hertfordshire, England, on 05 July 1853. Owing to ill-health, after finishing school he followed his elder brother to the Natal Colony where he tried to grow cotton for two years before joining the diamond rush in Kimberley. Rhodes accumulated some diamond claims

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<sup>29</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia. A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, pp. 21-22.

<sup>30</sup> J.S. Bergh and A.P. Bergh, *Tribes and Kingdoms*, 1984, p. 9.

<sup>31</sup> For further details on the accession of Lobengula see, for example, R. Brown, *The Ndebele Succession Crisis, 1868-77*, 1966; J.R.D. Cobbing, ‘The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820 - 1896’, D. Phil. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1976, pp. 273-281; N.M.B. Bhebe, *Lobengula of Zimbabwe*, 1977, pp. 14-28.

<sup>32</sup> R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, 2008, p. 54.

<sup>33</sup> T.R.H. Davenport and C. Saunders, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 2000, p. 607.

<sup>34</sup> R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*, 1988, p. 59.



and went into partnership with Charles Rudd, who remained in Kimberley while Rhodes returned to England to read for a degree at Oriel College, Oxford. R. Blake notes that Oxford's influence on him was lasting and profound.<sup>35</sup>

Rhodes was impressed with John Ruskin's famous inaugural lecture which had been delivered two years previously which propagated the idea of the superiority of "Anglo-Saxons" in a racial hierarchy and an imperial mission to colonise "fruitful waste ground" in the creation of a politically unified empire.<sup>36</sup> It was during his tenure at Oxford that Rhodes was introduced to the fraternity of the Freemasons and where he penned his "Confession of Faith" on 02 June 1877. It articulates his philosophy and life agenda<sup>37</sup> in which he contends "... we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race".<sup>38</sup> Rhodes was not unusual in absorbing these ideas but where he was unusual was being able to translate these visions into a measure of reality due to his political acumen and his accumulated wealth.

Rhodes amalgamated and consolidated his, and various other, diamond claims and established the De Beers Consolidated Mining Company Limited on 12 March 1888.<sup>39</sup> De Beers was essentially a monopoly cartel that eventually controlled up to 85 percent of the world's diamond output until the beginning of the twenty-first century.<sup>40</sup> Following the discovery of a gold-bearing reef on the Witwatersrand in the South African Republic (Transvaal) in 1886, Rhodes became part of a syndicate which established The Gold Fields of South Africa Limited<sup>41</sup> in February 1887, with the purpose to acquire, develop, or explore

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<sup>35</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 34.

<sup>36</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 35; R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*, 1988, p. 94. The relevant sections of Ruskin's speech are quoted in J.G. Lockhart and C.M. Woodhouse, *Rhodes: The Colossus of Southern Africa*, 1963, pp. 62-63.

<sup>37</sup> R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*, 1988, p. 99.

<sup>38</sup> 1877: Cecil Rhodes, "Confession of Faith", <https://pages.uoregon.edu/kimball/Rhodes-Confession.htm>. Accessed: 2020-04-18. For further background see also A. Thomas, *Rhodes – The Race for Africa*, 1996, pp. 102-116.

<sup>39</sup> H. Hensman, *Cecil Rhodes - A Study of a Career*, 1901, p. 41; R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*, 1988, pp. 208-211.

<sup>40</sup> S-Y. Chang, A. Heron, J. Kwon, G. Maxwell, L. Rocca and O. Tarajano, 'The Global Diamond Industry', *Chazen Web Journal of International Business*, Fall 2002, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> The company later changed its name to the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa in 1892 (see Gold Fields Reflects on 125 Years of History, p. 4, [http://www.overendstudio.co.za/websites/gold\\_fields\\_2012/pdf/publications/group/golden\\_age\\_sept\\_2012.pdf](http://www.overendstudio.co.za/websites/gold_fields_2012/pdf/publications/group/golden_age_sept_2012.pdf). Accessed: 2020-06-16.

for any kind of mineral, anywhere.<sup>42</sup> After six years, the capital of the Gold Fields company had been increased by a million and quarter pounds and by 1895 the dividend was 50 percent allowing Rhodes to draw an income of between £300,000 and £400,000 per annum from the Company.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to becoming extremely wealthy, Rhodes also had political ambitions. He was elected to the Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope Colony for Barkly West in 1881 at the early age of 28 and became Prime Minister of the Cape on 17 July 1890 at the age of 37.<sup>44</sup> He then looked northwards into the African interior as part of his imperialist dream to establish an “all red” ribbon of territory, being British possessions across the whole of Africa, from southern Africa to Egypt, through which he hoped he could build a railway from the “Cape to Cairo”.<sup>45</sup> Concerned by the westward expansion of Germany from Damaraland and the Portuguese claims to a land corridor between its colonies in Angola and Mozambique<sup>46</sup> north of the Boer Republics, Rhodes turned his attention to the central plateau, “Zambesia”<sup>47</sup> as the area was now referred to. This was of vital importance for two reasons: its alleged gold deposits and its geographical importance. There would be no Cape to Cairo railway, no broad band of British territory traversing the continent if the Boers moved north or if Portugal connected its colonies in the west (Angola) and the east (Mozambique).

On learning that the Boers under President Kruger had persuaded King Lobengula to sign a “treaty of friendship” on July 1887,<sup>48</sup> Rhodes urged Sir Hercules Robinson, the British High Commissioner for South Africa, to declare a protectorate over southern Zambesia.

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<sup>42</sup> R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*, 1988, pp. 199-200; A. Thomas, *Rhodes – The Race for Africa*, 1996, p. 166; H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa*, 2007, p. 198; R. Ross, *A Concise History of South Africa*, 2008, pp. 64-65.

<sup>43</sup> A. Thomas, *Rhodes - The Race for Africa*, 1996, p. 167.

<sup>44</sup> J.G. McDonald, *Rhodes – A Life*, 1971, pp. 49, 127; R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*, 1988, pp. 10, 339.

<sup>45</sup> H. Hensman, *Cecil Rhodes - A Study of a Career*, 1901, pp. 131-132.

<sup>46</sup> Details of Portuguese ambitions in Central Africa can be found in C.E. Nowell, *The Rose-Colored Map: Portugal's Attempt to Build an African Empire from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean*, 1982.

<sup>47</sup> Apparently this was Rhodes's preferred name for the area as mentioned in D. Clarke, *Rhodes' Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, p. 671.

<sup>48</sup> A. Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884-1902*, 1983, pp. 59-60; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 38; A. Thomas, *Rhodes – The Race for Africa*, 1996, p. 187.

Unconvinced by Rhodes' argument, Robinson instead accepted an alternative proposal and sent John Moffat, Assistant Commissioner in Bechuanaland, to negotiate with Lobengula. In terms of the "Moffat Treaty" agreed on 11 February 1888, Lobengula apparently agreed to refrain:

... from entering into any correspondence or treaty with any foreign State or Power to sell, alienate, or cede, or permit or countenance any sale, alienation or cession of the whole or any part of the said Amandabele country ... without the previous knowledge and sanction of Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa.<sup>49</sup>

This Treaty was significant in that it marked for the first time, despite the protestations of both the South African Republic and Portugal, that the whole of southern Zambesia to be "exclusively within the British sphere of influence".<sup>50</sup>

While the Treaty had given the British a hold over the area, and excluded the intervention of other foreign powers, its position remained precarious. The British Government was not amenable to declaring a protectorate over the area due to the envisaged financial burden that it would impose nor would the Cape Colony act on its own. It was left to Rhodes, who had earlier proposed the idea of a chartered company being empowered to administer the territory based on its mineral revenues, to obtain such a charter for the administration of the area. Chartered Companies had been successfully employed to control India, open up the Canadian West, and administer Borneo. In 1886 the Royal Niger Company had effectively secured British claims in West Africa and in 1888 a charter was granted to the Imperial East Africa Company for the exploitation of territories that would later become Kenya and Uganda.<sup>51</sup> As A. Thomas explains, the great advantage from Britain's point of view was that chartered companies offered "colonies on the cheap".<sup>52</sup> The companies had to bear the

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<sup>49</sup> The full text of the treaty can be found in H. Marshall Hole, *The Making of Rhodesia*, 1926, p. 54; *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, pp. 422-423; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia - Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 44. See also P.R. Warhurst, 'Concession-seekers and the Scramble for Matabeleland', *Rhodesiana*, 29, 1973, pp. 55-64.

<sup>50</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 39.

<sup>51</sup> S. Samkange, *The Origins of Rhodesia*, 1968, p. 143; R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power*, 1988, p. 254; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia - Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 47.

<sup>52</sup> A. Thomas, *Rhodes - The Race for Africa*, 1996, p. 189.

initial costs of administration and infrastructure. Only once the territory was profitable was the British Government then prepared to step in and exercise control.<sup>53</sup>

Rhodes dispatched his long-time friend and business partner, Charles Rudd, along with J. Rochfort Maguire and Francis Thompson, to Matabeleland to negotiate a mineral concession from Lobengula. As A. Keppel-Jones points out, Rudd was not merely asking for mineral rights, but for the *sole* right to prospect and mine in Lobengula's kingdom.<sup>54</sup> Following negotiations with Lobengula and his *indunas*,<sup>55</sup> Lobengula finally put his mark on what is now referred to as the "Rudd Concession" on 30 October 1888. In terms of the Concession, Lobengula was to be paid £100 every month, in addition to the Matabele being provided with 1,000 Martini-Henry breech loading rifles, 100,000 rounds of ammunition and a gun boat on the Zambezi River - although Lobengula could waive the latter in exchange for £500 if he so chose. In exchange, Lobengula signed the following with Rudd and company:

... the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in my kingdom's principalities and dominions together with the full power to do all things that they may deem necessary to win and procure the same and to hold and collect and enjoy the profits and revenues, if any, derived from the said metals and minerals ... I do hereby authorize the said grantees, their heirs and representatives and assigns to take all necessary and lawful steps to exclude from my kingdoms principalities and dominions all persons seeking land, metals, minerals or mining rights therein ...<sup>56</sup>

It has subsequently been questioned whether Lobengula completely understood the details of the Concession or whether the verbal assurances given by Rhodes' emissaries were misleading. Ndlovu-Gatsheni contends that Lobengula was under the impression he would receive British protection and that no more than ten white men would be mining in Matabeleland<sup>57</sup> and being under intense pressure from various concession-seekers, thought

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<sup>53</sup> A. Thomas, *Rhodes – The Race for Africa*, 1996, p. 189.

<sup>54</sup> A. Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884-1902*, 1983, pp. 46, 134.

<sup>55</sup> An *induna* is a tribal councillor or elder, usually a commander of a regiment.

<sup>56</sup> The full text of the Concession can be found in Sir L. Michell, *The Life of the Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes 1853-1902*, 1910, Vol. 1, pp. 244-245; *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, pp. 424-425.

<sup>57</sup> S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 'Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s - 1930s', in B. Raftopoulos and A.S. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, p. 45. This is dismissed as "mere hearsay" in D. Clarke, *Rhodes' Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, p. 254.

the British would be able to provide the best protection.<sup>58</sup> Beach, meanwhile, suggests that Lobengula agreed to the various treaties and concessions, in spite of the fact that most of those with whom he dealt with were trying to cheat him, because he wished to keep the capitalist influence, in and around his kingdom, to a minimum.<sup>59</sup>

However, what is certain is that the signed Concession formed the foundation of Rhodes's bid for a Royal Charter. On the realisation of the extent of the "concessions" he had provided, a document bearing Lobengula's seal dated 18 January 1889 suspending the Concession was published in *The Bechuanaland News* on 14 February 1889.<sup>60</sup> Further attempts to repudiate the agreement included sending two *indunas* to London for an audience with Queen Victoria and Lobengula refusing to accept the first consignment of guns and cartridges. He also had a letter drafted informing Queen Victoria that he had never intended to sign away any mineral rights.<sup>61</sup>

Despite this, on 30 April 1889 an application was submitted for a Charter for a company prepared to carry out the following objects:

- 1) To extend the railway and telegraph northwards towards the Zambezi
- 2) To encourage emigration and colonisation
- 3) To promote trade and commerce
- 4) To develop minerals and other concessions under one powerful organisation, so as to avoid conflicts between competing interests.<sup>62</sup>

Almost a year to the day after the signing of the Rudd Concession, despite various protestations by Lobengula, Letters Patent granting a Royal Charter to the British South Africa Company (BSAC)<sup>63</sup> was signed by Queen Victoria on 29 October 1889. This paved

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<sup>58</sup> S. Samkange, *The Origins of Rhodesia*, 1968, pp. 87-110.

<sup>59</sup> D.N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900-1850*, 1980, pp. 166-167.

<sup>60</sup> A. Davidson, *Cecil Rhodes and His Time*, 1988, pp. 141-142.

<sup>61</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, pp. 51-52; R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power*, 1988, p. 269. See also S. Samkange, *The Origins of Rhodesia*, 1968, pp. 111-136.

<sup>62</sup> B. Williams, *Cecil Rhodes*, 1921, p. 135.

<sup>63</sup> The full text of the BSAC's Charter of Incorporation can be found in Sir L. Michell, *The Life of the Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes 1853-1902*, 1910, Vol. 1, pp. 331-332; in A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to be Proud – The Struggle for Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia, 1890-1922*, pp. 215-222 and on-line at [www.rhodesia.me.uk/Charter.htm](http://www.rhodesia.me.uk/Charter.htm). Accessed: 2020-04-20. Further details about the Charter and its immediate implementation are discussed in R. Cary, *Charter Royal*, 1970.

the way for the formal colonisation of the territory that was soon to become known as Rhodesia.

The Royal Charter was a formidable document as its sphere of operations included “... that region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese Dominions”<sup>64</sup> with the northern extent being undefined. Furthermore, the Company was authorised and empowered with the:

... purposes of government ... to make treaties, promulgate laws, preserve the peace, maintain a police force and acquire new concessions. It could make roads, railways and harbours, or undertake other public works, own or charter ships, engage in mining or any other industry, establish banks, make land grants, and carry on any lawful commerce, trade, pursuit or business.<sup>65</sup>

It was obliged to abolish the slave trade, restrict the sale of liquor to ‘natives’ and respect the customs, laws and religions of the peoples who might fall under its jurisdiction. Furthermore, Clause 6 required that “The Company shall always be and remain British in character and domicile ...”.<sup>66</sup> The Charter was valid for twenty-five years and could be renewed for ten-year intervals thereafter. The initial share capital of the BSAC was £1 million in £1 shares.<sup>67</sup>

With the Charter secured and the Company established, it was imperative that Rhodes act as quickly as possible to occupy the territory. Rhodes sent his friend and long-time confidant, Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, to Bulawayo to mollify Lobengula and seek permission to enter Matabeleland. While waiting for Lobengula’s consent, the Company assembled a group of “pioneers”, and it was decided on the advice of the famous hunter, Frederick Courtney Selous, to rather avoid entering Matabeleland and instead build a road

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<sup>64</sup> A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to be Proud – The Struggle for Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia, 1890-1922*, 1978, p. 216.

<sup>65</sup> J.G. Lockhart and C.M. Woodhouse, *Cecil Rhodes: The Colossus of Southern Africa*, p.172; R. Cary, *Charter Royal*, 1970, p. 35.

<sup>66</sup> *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, p. 428.

<sup>67</sup> B. Williams, *Cecil Rhodes*, 1921, p. 136; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 55; R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power*, 1988, p. 287; D. Clarke, *Rhodes’ Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, pp. 257-258.

- the “Selous Road” - more to the east and concentrate on taking possession of Mashonaland to the north.<sup>68</sup>

The invasion of Mashonaland by the “Pioneer Column”, as it became known in white Rhodesian parlance, marked the beginning of the white settler occupation of the central plateau.<sup>69</sup> Recruited on Rhodes’s instructions from largely influential, mainly English-speaking families in the Cape and the rest of South Africa,<sup>70</sup> the pioneers were, as Blake calls them, “a mixed lot”.<sup>71</sup> They comprised 186 “...clergymen, doctors, lawyers ... farmers, miners, sailors, builders, tailors, butchers, etc. – in a word, the complete nucleus of a self-contained civil population”.<sup>72</sup> Or as Clarke puts it, “the foundation of Rhodesia’s future settler nexus and leadership”.<sup>73</sup> In addition to the pioneers, who were to be paid with 15 gold claims and rights to 1,500 morgen of land, were 350 Ngwato labourers, 2,000 oxen, 117 wagons and vast quantities of food, all accompanied by 500 policeman from the newly formed British South Africa Company Police.<sup>74</sup> The entire column stretched for two and a half miles.<sup>75</sup>

At dawn on 06 May 1890 the Column lumbered out of Kimberley for Macloutsie in Bechuanaland, from where it then headed north crossing the Tuli River and then proceeded north-east skirting Matabeleland. On 14 August 1890 the Column reached the highveld having ascended a narrow winding pass which Selous then named “Providential Pass”.<sup>76</sup> Now in comparatively open country the fear of attack from the Ndebele receded and less

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<sup>68</sup> S. Samkange, *The Origins of Rhodesia*, 1968, pp. 170-174, 191; R. Cary, *The Pioneer Corps*, 1975, pp. 24-25; D. Clarke, *Rhodes’ Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, p. 262.

<sup>69</sup> S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, ‘Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s - 1930s’ in B. Raftopoulos and A.S. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, p. 47.

<sup>70</sup> R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power*, 1988, p. 299; D. Clarke, *Rhodes’ Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, pp. 262-264.

<sup>71</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 68.

<sup>72</sup> F. Johnson, *Great Days: The Autobiography of an Empire Pioneer*, 1972, pp. 109-111. A. Thomas, *Rhodes – The Race for Africa*, 1996, p. 216 makes the point that the one oversight – the exclusion of women – does not seem to have occurred to Rhodes.

<sup>73</sup> D. Clarke, *Rhodes’ Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, p. 264.

<sup>74</sup> R. Cary, *The Pioneer Corps*, 1975, p. 119; R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power*, 1988, p. 299; D. Clarke, *Rhodes’ Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, pp. 264-265.

<sup>75</sup> A. Thomas, *Rhodes – The Race for Africa*, 1996, p. 219.

<sup>76</sup> R. Cary, *The Pioneer Corps*, 1975, p. 38; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, p. 74.

than a month later on 12 September 1890, the Column arrived at its final destination near Mount Hampden.<sup>77</sup>

At 10 o'clock on the following day, Saturday 13 September 1890, orders were given that the Pioneer Column and the BSAC Police who had accompanied them, should parade in full dress. In accordance with tradition the site was named Fort Salisbury, in honour of Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister. A makeshift flagstaff was erected and the British Union Flag was raised to a 21-gun salute marking the formal occupation of Mashonaland.<sup>78</sup>

After their arduous trek the Pioneer Column had succeeded in carrying out the first essential part of Rhodes' "great dream". In the words of W.D. Gale, "they had secured Mashonaland for the British Empire – and they had done it without losing a single life and without firing a single shot against an enemy ...".<sup>79</sup> As Samkange points out, "If the Mashona did not understand the significance of the Queen's flag fluttering in the African breeze they were soon to find out".<sup>80</sup> The settlers had arrived.

### 3.4 THE COMPANY ADMINISTRATION (1890 – 1923)

The BSAC was required to establish "effective occupation" and so following the ceremonial hoisting of the British Union flag,<sup>81</sup> the Pioneers were dismissed with three months rations, a rifle and 100 rounds of ammunition, and were now free to peg their promised fifteen gold claims and to "ride off" their 3,000 acre farms.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, as A. Thomas points out,

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<sup>77</sup> G.H. Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890-1900*, 1974, p. 26; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 68. Details of the latter part of the journey of the Pioneer Column can be found in E.E. Burke, 'Fort Victoria to Salisbury – The Latter Part of the Journey of the Pioneer Column in 1890', *Rhodesiana*, 28, 1973, pp. 1-15.

<sup>78</sup> F. Johnson, *Great Days: The Autobiography of an Empire Pioneer*, 1972, p. 152; G.H. Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890-1900*, 1974, p. 29.

<sup>79</sup> W.D. Gale, *The Heritage of Rhodes*, 1950, p. 25.

<sup>80</sup> S. Samkange, *The Origins of Rhodesia*, 1968, p. 240.

<sup>81</sup> Around 1674 the British flag became formally known as the *Union Jack* when flown on a ship while being referred to as the *Union Flag* when used on land. During the nineteenth century this rule was relaxed and the sailing term became more popular. Both terms are generally accepted as being correct and are in common usage. No definitive pronouncement or definition of a correct name has ever been made (see D. Lister, *Union Flag or Union Jack?*, 2014, p. 2) and thus both terms are used interchangeably in this thesis.

<sup>82</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 93; A. Thomas, *Rhodes – The Race for Africa*, 1996, p. 220.



“as soon as the flag was raised in Salisbury, Rhodes’s agents were all over the map, signing up chiefs and securing mineral and land ‘rights’”.<sup>83</sup>

Rhodes remained conscious of the need to settle the issue of the northern border and to deal with the Portuguese in the east to obtain a “road to the sea”.<sup>84</sup> Agents secured exclusive mineral rights to Barotseland, north of the Zambezi and concessions were negotiated as far north as the Cunene and Cubango Rivers. A treaty was signed by King Mutasa of Manicaland and negotiations began with King Gungunyana in Gazaland.<sup>85</sup> The latter territories were claimed by Portugal. This claim was later recognised by the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 03 July 1891 following the intervention of the British Government, thus denying Rhodes’s attempts to secure an eastern seaboard for the territory.<sup>86</sup>

A rudimentary, but nevertheless efficient, form of government was established by the Company, with A.P. Di Perna contending that the real power lay with Dr. Leander Starr Jameson and the newly-appointed Administrator of Mashonaland, A.R Colquhoun.<sup>87</sup> The then Company historian, H. Marshall Hole, describes the Company’s rule as “... a rough and ready system ...” and “... essentially a government of amateurs ...” but nevertheless it fulfilled its purpose and on the whole “... nothing was done inconsistent with substantial justice”.<sup>88</sup> After a particularly wet summer, Rhodes himself visited the territory at the end of 1891 during which he went to Great Zimbabwe. However, as the envisaged goldfields remained elusive and farming was yet to show any profitable returns, the Company’s financial position was becoming somewhat precarious. The cost of administration was over

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<sup>83</sup> A. Thomas, *Rhodes – The Race for Africa*, 1996, p. 221.

<sup>84</sup> A. Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884-1902*, 1983, p. 203.

<sup>85</sup> A. Thomas, *Rhodes – The Race for Africa*, 1996, p. 221.

<sup>86</sup> Background on Portuguese claims in east Africa and the Company’s dealings with the Portuguese in determining the eastern border can be found in A. Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884-1902*, 1983, Chapter 5, pp. 189-224; H. Marshall Hole, *The Making of Rhodesia*, 1926, Chapter XI, pp. 148-174.

<sup>87</sup> A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to Be Proud – The Struggle for Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia, 1890-1922*, 1978, p. 14.

<sup>88</sup> H. Marshall Hole, *The Making of Rhodesia*, 1926, p. 278.

£250,000 a year, the majority of which was spent on maintaining the police.<sup>89</sup> The South African Republic and Portugal were no longer considered a threat and even the Matabele were regarded as posing no danger. “We are on the most friendly terms ...” declared Rhodes late in 1892, “... I have not the least fear of any trouble in the future from Lobengula”.<sup>90</sup> So, in order to save on costs, the number of police was dramatically reduced from 600 to 40.<sup>91</sup> Ranger provides details of the efforts made by the Company to treat the local Shona as subjects and how, despite the absence of any immediate resistance, the Shona resisted this treatment throughout the 1890s.<sup>92</sup>

Nevertheless there was widespread African discontent and despite efforts by Jameson to negotiate a “boundary” with Lobengula, Ndebele *impi*<sup>93</sup> raiding parties began forays to collect tribute from Shona chiefs near Fort Victoria thereby further exacerbating tensions. Moreover, despite the Company Charter expressly limiting the jurisdiction and application of law to whites, the settlers increasingly took the law into their own hands with regard to African welfare. As Blake puts it, the rival claims between Lobengula and the Company upon Mashonaland were ultimately irreconcilable. The economy and structure of the Ndebele kingdom depended on Shona labour and cattle acquired during periodic raids, while the white settlers also depended on Shona labour.<sup>94</sup> The increased tensions between the settlers in Victoria seeking increased protection from the Ndebele *impis* finally resulted in open conflict.<sup>95</sup> Using the pretext of an Ndebele attack on a Shona-speaking community, Jameson raised a volunteer force to retaliate.<sup>96</sup> Despite their numerical superiority, the Ndebele succumbed to the devastating technological superiority of the Maxim machine gun. Two Company columns marched on Bulawayo destroying the Ndebele *impis* in two major

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<sup>89</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 98; R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power*, 1988, p. 429.

<sup>90</sup> Quoted in R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power*, 1988, p. 429.

<sup>91</sup> A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to Be Proud – The Struggle for Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia, 1890-1922*, 1978, p. 17.

<sup>92</sup> T.O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-1897: A Study in African Resistance*, 1967, Chapter 2, pp. 26-88.

<sup>93</sup> An *impi* is a group or regiment of Ndebele warriors.

<sup>94</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 103.

<sup>95</sup> A. Dorey, ‘The Victoria Incident and the Anglo-Matabele War of 1893’, *Central Africa Historical Association, Local Series Pamphlet*, 1966, p. 16.

<sup>96</sup> A.J. Hanna, *The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland*, 1960, p. 136; J.R.D. Cobbing, ‘The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820 - 1896’, D. Phil. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1976, pp. 363-370; A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014, p. 44.

battles.<sup>97</sup> The Company troops entered the deserted Ndebele capital on 04 November 1893 and hoisted the BSA Company flag in victory. Lobengula, along with what was left of his *impis*, had fled further north.

In an effort to capture Lobengula, a mounted force was dispatched by the Company to track him down. On 03 December at the Shangani River, thirty-six men under the command of Major Allan Wilson, crossed the river in an attempt to seize the King. Instead they were surrounded by a much larger Matabele force and fighting to the last cartridge, the entire expedition was killed.<sup>98</sup> The tragedy, notes Ndlovu-Gatsheni, was that the Matabele won the battle but lost the war.<sup>99</sup> The ‘heroic legend’ of the Shangani Patrol became revered in Rhodesian history, as described in Chapter 5, and it marked the end of the Matabele War. Lobengula is believed to have died shortly afterwards, either from smallpox or from taking poison.<sup>100</sup>

The BSAC now had effective control over Mashonaland, Matabeleland and Manicaland. The question arose of what name was to be used for the territory. “Zambesia” (Rhodes’s own preference) and “Charterland” (Jameson’s suggestion) were considered.<sup>101</sup> However, “Rhodesia” was used by Leander Starr Jameson in correspondence to his brother dated 01 December 1890. It was later included in the title of the *Rhodesia Chronicle* newspaper which was initially printed on 07 May 1892 in Tuli. It then appeared in the title of the *Rhodesia Herald* which appeared in Salisbury later that year on 01 October.<sup>102</sup> The first official use of the name was in a proclamation issued by the Administrator, Leander Starr Jameson, in May 1895, which opened with the words:

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<sup>97</sup> For a detailed study of the conflict, see S. Glass, *The Matabele War*, 1968.

<sup>98</sup> Further background and analysis of the Shangani Patrol can be found in J. O’Reilly, *Pursuit of the King - An Evaluation of the Shangani Patrol in the light of sources read by the author*, 1970.

<sup>99</sup> S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni ‘Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s - 1930s’, in B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, p. 49.

<sup>100</sup> An examination of the mystery of Lobengula’s death and burial drawing heavily on oral testimony from Ndebele tribesmen is presented in C.K. Cooke, ‘Lobengula: Second and Last King of the Amandabele’, *Rhodesiana*, 23, 1970, pp. 3-53. The latest study of the events leading to the death of Lobengula is by B. Lindgren, ‘Power, education, and identity in post-colonial Zimbabwe: Representations of the fate of King Lobengula of Matabeleland’, *African Sociological Review*, 6(1), 2002, pp. 46-67.

<sup>101</sup> J.A. Gray, ‘A Country in Search of a Name’, *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, III(1), 1956, p. 76; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 114.

<sup>102</sup> J.A. Gray, ‘A Country in Search of a Name’, *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, III(1), 1956, pp. 75-76.

The territories now or hereafter placed under the control of the British South Africa Company shall be named collectively 'Rhodesia'.<sup>103</sup>

However, the name was not recognised by the British Government until the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council of 20 October 1898 gave it official sanction. The Order in Council became the governing instrument of Rhodesia until the granting of Responsible Government in 1923.<sup>104</sup>

Following the occupation of Matabeleland, the pace of development quickened as the economic and social foundations of the settler state were laid. In 1895 a rinderpest epidemic swept through the region, a hut tax was imposed on Africans and a land commission set aside reserves for the Matabele. In contrast to the somewhat benign view of the Company administration as articulated by Marshall Hole, Tsomondo, Mlambo and Ranger assert that settler brutalities, including forced labour, rape, looting and the imposition of the 1894 hut tax, resulted in most of the country being under police rule by 1895.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, the treatment of land was, according to Blake, the least defensible feature of the new regime<sup>106</sup> and the issue continues to be contentious to this day.<sup>107</sup> Discontent over the official treatment of cattle and land alienation, coupled with the over-zealous use of the locally recruited black police to obtain labour, sparked an uprising in Matabeleland in March 1896 which later spread to Mashonaland.<sup>108</sup> This marked the first nation-wide war for

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<sup>103</sup> Quoted in J.A. Gray, 'A Country in Search of a Name', *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, III(1), 1956, p. 76. Gray also mentions that the name 'Rhodesia' had been used to describe a site on Lake Mweru in Northern Rhodesia in November 1891 and was shown on some maps as such. However, the site was abandoned after about a year (see J.A. Gray, 'First Records: 6 The name Rhodesia', *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, II(4), 1954, pp. 101-102).

<sup>104</sup> *Southern Rhodesia Order in Council*, Section 4, 20 October 1898, <https://www.rhodesia.me.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Southern-Rhodesia-Order-In-Council-1898.pdf>. Accessed: 2020-04-23.

<sup>105</sup> M. Tsomondo, 'Shona Reaction and Resistance to the European Colonisation of Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Affairs*, 2, 1977, pp. 11-31; T.O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97: A Study in African Resistance*, 1967, p. 114; S.H. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 'Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s - 1930s' in B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe - A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, pp. 48-61.

<sup>106</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 115.

<sup>107</sup> For an explanation of the complexity of the land issue see R.H. Palmer, *Land and Racial Discrimination in Rhodesia*, 1977; H. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, 1984; A.S. Mlambo, "'This is Our Land': Racialization of Land in the Context of the Current Zimbabwe Crisis', *Journal of Developing Societies*, 2010, 26, pp. 39-69. An overview of the current land reform programme in Zimbabwe can be found in A.S. Mlambo, "'Land Grab' or 'Taking Back Stolen Land': The Fast Track Land Reform Process in Zimbabwe in Historical Perspective, *History Compass*, 3, 2005, pp. 1-21.

<sup>108</sup> Known as the Matabele and Mashona Rebellions during the colonial period, the uprisings are now referred to as the *First Chimurenga* (First War of Independence) in Zimbabwe. S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) provides a detailed

independence in any of the new territories created during the European powers' "Scramble for Africa".<sup>109</sup> The rebellions resulted in nearly ten percent of the European population being murdered, damage to mines and farms, and armed reinforcements having to be used to crush the uprising. It was Rhodes who negotiated with the Matabele *indunas* at a series of *indabas*<sup>110</sup> in the Matopos outside Bulawayo to secure the peace in what has been called his "finest hour".<sup>111</sup>

Thus the "effective colonisation" of the Matabele and Shona can be said to have occurred after the Anglo-Ndebele War of 1893 and the Matabele-Shona rebellions of 1896-97,<sup>112</sup> following which the country entered a new era. The focus was on economic development spearheaded by the construction of the railways which was one of the original conditions of the Charter. The railway reached Bulawayo from Mafeking on 19 October 1897 following the "Missionary Road" via the Bechuanaland Protectorate and thereby avoiding the South African Republic. In the following year, a line from the Indian Ocean reached Umtali in Manicaland and the year after that, Umtali and Salisbury were connected by rail. The link between Bulawayo and Salisbury was delayed by the Anglo-Boer War/South African War (1899-1902) but was finally completed in 1902. Rhodes, in pursuit of his vision of a "Cape to Cairo" line and connecting the Rhodesias,<sup>113</sup> continued with the northward expansion of the line, with the discovery of coal deposits at Wankie resulting in the railway line crossing the Zambezi at Victoria Falls, rather than at Chirundu. Rhodes did not live to see the iconic

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assessment of the rebellions by examining the analyses of T. O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97: A Study in African Resistance*, 1967; J.R.D. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820 - 1896', D. Phil. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1976; J.R.D. Cobbing, 'The absent priesthood: Another look at the Rhodesian rising of 1896-1897', *Journal of African History*, XVIII(1), 1977, pp. 61-84; D.N. Beach, "'Chimurenga": The Shona Rising of 1896-97', *Journal of African History*, 20(3), 1979, pp. 395-420.

<sup>109</sup> T. Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa 1876-1912*, 1992, p. 500.

<sup>110</sup> isiNdebele for a discussion or meeting.

<sup>111</sup> R. Blake (1977, p. 136) credits V. Stent, *A Personal Record of some Incidents in the Life of Cecil Rhodes*, 1924, pp. 27-64 as providing the most reliable account of these events. Stent accompanied Rhodes and was present at the negotiations. The *indabas* are also described in some detail in D. Clarke, *Rhodes' Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, pp. 399-424.

<sup>112</sup> S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 'Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s - 1930s', in B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, p. 48.

<sup>113</sup> After securing concessions over Barotseland in 1890 and acquiring treaties with the Bemba and Chewa, the BSAC administered the Protectorates of Northeastern Rhodesia and Northwestern Rhodesia following the British Orders in Council of 1899 and 1900 respectively. The two protectorates were amalgamated in 1911 to form the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia. The Company relinquished its political administration on 31 March 1924 following which the protectorate was administered by the Colonial Office.

steel bridge span the Zambezi in 1905 and although there was subsequent further northward rail expansion, his vision remains “unfulfilled”. The railway was regarded by some as “... the greatest cause of social and economic change in Central Africa during the early years of the twentieth century”<sup>114</sup> and Rhodesia was no exception.

A further change marking this new era was the 1898 Southern Rhodesia Order in Council which established a new constitution that provided for a Legislative Council, an Administrator and a Resident Commissioner who reported to the High Commissioner in South Africa. The Legislative Council consisted of ten members, including the Administrator, five members nominated by the BSAC and four members elected by registered voters.<sup>115</sup> It was a qualified franchise based on literacy and property qualifications and although seemingly colour-blind, only a handful of Africans qualified.<sup>116</sup> Settler representation was thus established and a new Civil Service, based on the Cape Colony model, was also introduced.<sup>117</sup>

Events south of the Limpopo were once again to impact on the territory as during the Anglo-Boer War the British Government requested two mounted regiments of Rhodesians to defend the Bechuanaland and Rhodesian borders. The 1,500 volunteers accounted for approximately 12,5 per cent of the white population at that time. This was the first example of the “favourable attitude” the settlers demonstrated towards Britain and the Empire, which was to be seen again during both World Wars.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 145.

<sup>115</sup> *Southern Rhodesia Order in Council*, 20 October 1898, <https://www.rhodesia.me.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Southern-Rhodesia-Order-In-Council-1898.pdf>. Accessed: 2020-04-23. From 1898 to 1901 there were two Administrators, one each for Mashonaland and Matabeleland, but on the retirement of the latter the two positions were merged under the title of Administrator of Southern Rhodesia.

<sup>116</sup> Blake (1977) contends that the purpose of the franchise was not so much to exclude Africans but rather to exclude ‘poor whites’ coming from the Transvaal.

<sup>117</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, pp. 151-152; A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to be Proud – The Struggle for Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia, 1890-1922*, 1978, pp. 36-37.

<sup>118</sup> A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to be Proud - The Struggle of Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia, 1890-1922*, 1978, p. 37; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 125.

Rhodes died in Muizenburg in the Cape Colony on 26 March 1902, just two months before the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed which ended the Second Anglo-Boer War. One of his earliest biographers, J.G. McDonald wrote, on learning of his death “the whole British Empire was plunged into mourning”.<sup>119</sup> His body was carried by train from Cape Town to Bulawayo where he was buried in the Matopos at a spot he chose in 1896 and had called “The View of the World”. He was given the Matabele Royal Salute, *Bayete*.<sup>120</sup>

Following the death of Rhodes and further economic development, the main issue to emerge was the political future of the territory, particularly when the renewal of the Royal Charter was discussed in 1914. Settler grievances regarding the Company Administration centered around its failure to separate its administrative and commercial revenues which led to a shortage of capital that undermined the economic viability of the territory. There were also questions concerning the Company’s land rights. Efforts to address these issues were interrupted by World War I (1914-1918), when once again the patriotism of the settlers came to the fore. From a white population which had grown to 27,000, some 5,500 white men volunteered to serve in the armed forces along with 2,700 black troops. In terms of the white population, this was the largest single per capita contribution to the Allied war effort from all the colonies, and more than from Britain itself.<sup>121</sup> The War provided a welcome stimulus to the fledgling Rhodesian economy and in its immediate aftermath, the political future of the territory came to be decided following a referendum held on 27 October 1922. The choice before the white settler electorate was either for Responsible Government or to join the Union of South Africa as a fifth province.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> J.G. McDonald, *Rhodes: A Life*, 1971, p. 368.

<sup>120</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 153; J.G. McDonald, *Rhodes: A Life*, 1977, p. 371. See also P. Maylam, *The Cult of Rhodes – Remembering an Imperialist in Africa*, 2005, pp. 32-36 for an overview of the activities immediately following Rhodes’ death, details of the train journey carrying his body to Bulawayo and subsequent burial. The burial is also described in detail by D. Clarke, *Rhodes’ Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, pp. 31-57.

<sup>121</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 153; P. Moorcraft, ‘Rhodesia’s War of Independence’, *History Today*, 1990, p. 12.

<sup>122</sup> An in-depth analysis of the 1922 referendum can be found in M.A.G. Davies, *Incorporation in the Union of South Africa or Self-Government: Southern Rhodesia’s Choice, 1922, 1965* and A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to be Proud – The Struggle for Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia, 1890-1922*, 1978. See also D. Lowry, ‘Rhodesia 1890-1980 ‘The Lost Dominion’’, in R. Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the seas*, 2010, pp. 119-120.

Although amalgamation with Northern Rhodesia had been mooted as a possibility as early as 1914, and supported by the BSAC, this was discouraged by the Colonial Office on the basis of the extremely small white population there.<sup>123</sup> A further blow to the BSAC came when the British Privy Council ruled in 1918 that the Company did not own the unalienated land outside of the Native Reserves. It had been acting as the Crown agent and thus was not entitled to the proceeds of the land but could only sell such land to defray administrative expenses it had incurred.<sup>124</sup> Feeling deprived of the benefits of its investment and now only likely to get a minimum reimbursement, the BSAC refused to invest further in Southern Rhodesia thereby forcing the debate on the territory's future.<sup>125</sup>

The Responsible Government Association (RGA) was formed in 1917<sup>126</sup> to promote self-government while in July 1922 Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, provided the terms for incorporation with the Union.<sup>127</sup> The terms offered by Smuts were generally regarded as being "generous". Southern Rhodesia was to be given preferential representation in the Union House of Assembly and Senate, more than its economic weight and population deserved. Generous financial incentives were offered to the Company for the unalienated land, public works and railways, while it would retain its other assets, mineral, commercial and ranching rights. In addition, an annual £50,000 subsidy over ten years would be paid to compensate for the abolition of Rhodesia's preferential trade tariff. Voter qualifications (including for women)<sup>128</sup> would be maintained, but in common with the rest of the Union, both English and Dutch would be official languages, and the Civil Service and the armed forces would be integrated with the Union's.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to be Proud – The Struggle for Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia, 1890-1922*, 1978, pp. 59-62.

<sup>124</sup> D.O. Malcolm, *The British South Africa Company (1889-1939)*, 1939, p. 46.

<sup>125</sup> D.O. Malcolm, *The British South Africa Company (1889-1939)*, 1939, pp. 46-47; J.R.T. Wood, *So Far and No Further: Rhodesia's Bid for Independence during the Retreat from Empire 1959-1965*, 2005, p. 8.

<sup>126</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 179.

<sup>127</sup> The Terms of Admission of Southern Rhodesia into the Union of South Africa are published in the British South Africa Company, *Government Gazette Extraordinary*, 31 July 1922 (Government Notice 341 of 1922), pp. 325-328 and in M.A.G. Davies, *Incorporation in the Union of South Africa or Self-Government: Southern Rhodesia's Choice, 1922*, 1965, pp.72-82 with a summary of the most important provisions being cited in A.P. Di Perna *A Right to be Proud – The Struggle for Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia, 1890-1922*, 1978, pp. 121-124.

<sup>128</sup> Women had the franchise in Southern Rhodesia but not yet in the Union.

<sup>129</sup> An analysis of the Terms of Incorporation provided by Smuts are provided in M.A.G. Davies, *Incorporation in the Union of South Africa or Self-Government: Southern Rhodesia's Choice, 1922*, 1965, pp. 36-61 and A.P. Di Perna,



The result of the referendum was decisive. All but one electoral district voted for Responsible Government giving those in favour a majority of 59,4 per cent. Letters Patent published on 24 September 1923 provided for the Constitution of Responsible Government for the Colony of Southern Rhodesia.<sup>130</sup> The formal transfer of power took place on 01 October 1923 with the official annexation of the territory to the Crown. The 34 years of Company Administration had come to an end in Southern Rhodesia and shortly thereafter on 01 April 1924, Northern Rhodesia was annexed to the Crown as a Protectorate leaving the BSAC to operate solely as a commercial enterprise.<sup>131</sup>

### 3.5 THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1923 – 1965)

The Letters Patent granting the Colony the right to self-government made no change to the pre-existing franchise which granted the right to vote to adult (over twenty-one years of age) British subjects with an elementary standard of education, property ownership (initially worth £150) and financial means (earning £100 per annum).<sup>132</sup> As indicated above, the reality was that despite being apparently non-racial, the qualifications were beyond the reach of most (black) Africans and thus the electorate at the time was, and remained throughout the colonial period, predominantly white. The Governor could appoint six ministers, one of whom was designated as the “Premier”,<sup>133</sup> who would oversee the Cabinet. The first Premier was Sir Charles Coghlan, a South African-born lawyer of Irish descent, who had been elected to the Legislative Council in 1908 and was a supporter of the RGA. He led the delegation to London in 1921 to discuss the proposals for Responsible Government.<sup>134</sup>

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*A Right to be Proud – The Struggle for Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia, 1890-1922*, 1978, pp. 116-137.

<sup>130</sup> *Southern Rhodesia Constitution Letters Patent*, 1923, <https://www.rhodesia.me.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Rhodesia-1923-Constitution-as-amended-to-1933.pdf>. Accessed: 2020-04-25.

<sup>131</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 191.

<sup>132</sup> J.R.T. Wood, *So Far and No Further: Rhodesia's Bid for Independence during the Retreat from Empire 1959-1965*, 2005, p. 9.

<sup>133</sup> Blake (1977, p. 192) contends that the title of ‘Premier’ was slightly inferior to that of Prime Minister, which was not conferred until 1933. See also L.H. Gann and M. Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia: The Man and His Country*, 1964, p. 91.

<sup>134</sup> For a biography of Sir Charles Coghlan, see J.P.R. Wallis, *One Man's Hand*, 1972.

What Southern Rhodesia had attained was close to Dominion status<sup>135</sup> as it gained wide powers, including defence, but not external affairs. Britain retained Reserve Powers of veto to “protect” African rights and land in particular. It was a unique constitutional arrangement in that while the British Government had full power to legislate for Southern Rhodesia, it would not do so without the consent of the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly. The British Reserve Powers were *never* invoked - not even when racial segregation legislation was introduced.<sup>136</sup> The position is described by C. Palley in her authoritative constitutional history of Southern Rhodesia as being “... a unique constitutional position as a self-governing dependency subject to attenuated but overriding British authority”.<sup>137</sup> Able to govern and defend themselves, the white electorate understood that, in due course, Southern Rhodesia would become a Dominion. This belief was reinforced by the British placing responsibility for Southern Rhodesia under the aegis of the Dominions’ Office (together with Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, etc.) and by inviting Southern Rhodesian Prime Ministers to all conferences of the Dominion (and later Commonwealth) Prime Ministers from 1931 onwards. Southern Rhodesia was also the only colony which had a High Commission in London, a diplomatic mission status normally afforded only to independent members of the Commonwealth.<sup>138</sup>

As with its predecessor, the new Government stressed European immigration and a wave of post-World War I arrivals were provided generous land grants to support the growing agricultural sector. The Colony’s exhibit at the British Empire Exhibition in London

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<sup>135</sup> The Dominions were semi-independent polities under the British Crown, constituting the British Empire, beginning with the Canadian Confederation in 1867. They included Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland (now part of Canada), South Africa, and the Irish Free State, and then from the late 1940s also India, Pakistan and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). The Balfour Declaration of 1926 recognised the Dominions as “autonomous Communities within the British Empire”, and the 1931 Statute of Westminster granted them full legislative independence, [www.britannica.com/topic/dominion-British-Commonwealth](http://www.britannica.com/topic/dominion-British-Commonwealth). Accessed: 2020-04-26.

<sup>136</sup> Blake (1977, p. 193) makes the point that the reason why the Reserve Powers were never invoked was because it became custom for the Southern Rhodesia Government to submit measures to Whitehall before introducing them in the Assembly and thus amend, or drop, those that the UK Government objected to. This became “The Convention” and is one of several features of Southern Rhodesia’s status which was closer to a self-governing Dominion than a Crown Colony with Representative Government. See also R. Tredgold, *The Rhodesia that was my life*, 1968, p.37; K. Flower, *Serving Secretly – Rhodesia’s CIO Chief on Record*, 1987, p. 26.

<sup>137</sup> C. Palley, *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia 1888-1965 with Special Reference to Imperial Control*, 1966, p. vii.

<sup>138</sup> For a brief summary of the conflicting academic opinions on the constitutional status of Rhodesia in international law see J. Nkala, *The United Nations, International Law, and the Rhodesian Independence Crisis*, 1985, p. 62.

between 1924 and 1925 primarily featured its agricultural products, including Virginia tobacco which was growing in importance as a major cash crop and which was to become one of its major sources of foreign exchange.<sup>139</sup>

Without doubt, one of the most significant pieces of legislation in the country's history was passed in 1930. The Morris Carter Commission was appointed in 1925 to investigate the practicability of dividing the country into European and African areas and recommended a policy of "possessory segregation" through the apportionment of the country into designated racial areas.<sup>140</sup> The recommendations of the Commission were embodied in the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. According to a thesis by M.L. Rifkind,

With the 1930 Land Apportionment Act, Southern Rhodesia embarked on a policy of rigid segregation. Before that date racial segregation was a social and political fact but the innovation of this Act was the legal enshrinement of this policy and the consequent increase in rigidity. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s the Land Apportionment Act became embedded in the political consciousness of Rhodesian society. Various described as the "bulwark of white civilization" and "the cornerstone of our native policy", the Act transcended a mere piece of legislation. Minor amendments were acceptable, but the fundamental principle of land segregation went unchallenged.<sup>141</sup>

The Act allocated 30 per cent of the land area for African use and nearly 51 per cent for Europeans, with the latter area including the formal towns and cities and thus became the basis for urban residential segregation. E.M. Chiviya argues the Act, together with other discriminatory measures such as the Maize Control Acts (1931 and 1934) and the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934, was responsible for the prevention of the emergence of a class of viable African commercial farmers and an African middle-class in the urban areas. He contends that the African population remained in a position of providing labour to the European sector where most of the economic and social development now took place.<sup>142</sup>

The Act became, in different forms, symbolic to both Africans and Europeans. For the

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<sup>139</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 153.

<sup>140</sup> Southern Rhodesia, *Southern Rhodesia Land Commission Report* (The Morris Carter Report), 1925. The term "possessory segregation" was first used in 1924 by Professor Edgar Brookes in his study of Native Policy in South Africa.

<sup>141</sup> M.L. Rifkind, 'The Politics of Land in Rhodesia - A Study of Land and Politics in Southern Rhodesia with Special Reference to the Period 1930-1968', M.Sc. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1968, p. 65.

<sup>142</sup> E.M. Chiviya, 'Land Reform in Zimbabwe: policy and implementation', Ph.D thesis, Indiana University, 1982.

European it became a symbol of “civilisation, the maintenance of standards, the cornerstone of white rule: To the African it seemed to be the embodiment of all their ills, their loss of land their inferior status in Rhodesian society and in general, the symbol of all that was wrong to them under European rule”.<sup>143</sup> Described by many as the “White Man’s Magna Carta”,<sup>144</sup> the Act was, according to R.H. Palmer, “... the most contentious piece of legislation ever passed by a Rhodesian Government”.<sup>145</sup>

The 1930s also saw the BSAC being paid £2 million by the Government for its mineral rights and the election of Godfrey Huggins (later Sir) as Prime Minister. He was to be the symbol and embodiment of Southern Rhodesia for a political generation, holding the post from 1933 until 1953, following which he went on to become Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>146</sup> Although still a primary mineral and agricultural producer, the economy gradually improved with economic output trebling in the decade post the Great Depression (1929) until the outbreak of World War II (1939). White immigration and a high birth rate customary amongst a youthful population, resulted in the European population increasing from 33,620 in 1921 to over 68,954 in 1941, respectively comprising 4,42 per cent and 4,66 per cent of the total population,<sup>147</sup> and more than half of whom were living in the urban areas.<sup>148</sup>

As a Crown Colony, Southern Rhodesia was automatically involved in Britain’s declaration of war following Nazi Germany’s invasion of Poland in September 1939 and was the first member of the British Empire to issue its own declaration.<sup>149</sup> As was the case during World

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<sup>143</sup> J.H. Bannerman, ‘The Land Apportionment Act - a Paper Tiger?’, *Zimbabwe Agricultural Journal*, 79(3), 1982, p. 105.

<sup>144</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 203.

<sup>145</sup> R.H. Palmer, ‘The Making and Implementation of Land Policy in Rhodesia, 1890-1936’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1968, p. 364. The land issue is dealt with in detail by, *inter alia*, R.H. Palmer, *Land and Racial Discrimination in Rhodesia*, 1977; H. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, 1984; S. Moyo, *The Land Question in Zimbabwe*, 1995.

<sup>146</sup> For a biography of Sir Godfrey Huggins, see L.H. Gann and M. Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia: The Man and His Country*, 1964.

<sup>147</sup> J. Paxton (ed.), *The Statesman’s Year Book 1971-72: The Businessman’s Encyclopaedia of All Nations* (108th edition), 1971, p. 522.

<sup>148</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 221.

<sup>149</sup> J.R.T. Wood, *So far and no further - Rhodesia's bid for independence during the retreat from empire 1959-1965*, 2005, p. 9.

War I, while small in absolute numbers, Southern Rhodesian contribution was disproportionately high in percentage terms.<sup>150</sup> The War<sup>151</sup> was to impact the Colony in several ways, one of the more noticeable being its participation in the Empire Air Training Scheme to train pilots for the Royal Air Force and also those from Australia, Canada and New Zealand.<sup>152</sup> The Rhodesia Air Training Group (RATG) was formed in January 1940 and the initial six training schools (with concomitant runways, personnel accommodation, etc.) were eventually increased to eleven resulting in some 7,600 pilots and 2,300 navigators having been trained in Southern Rhodesia by the end of the War.<sup>153</sup> This included South African Air Force personnel, and Yugoslavs and Greeks for service in the Royal Air Force.<sup>154</sup> In addition, the Southern Rhodesia Women's Auxiliary Air Service was formed, No. 44 (Rhodesia) Squadron was chosen as a bomber squadron and No. 266 (Rhodesia) Squadron was designated a fighter squadron.<sup>155</sup> The boom in immigration immediately after the War saw the white population grow from 82,000 to 135,000 between 1946 and 1951,<sup>156</sup> which can be attributed directly to the exposure enjoyed by many Britons and other Allied nationals, to what P. Baxter calls the "pleasant climate and society of Rhodesia".<sup>157</sup>

Another notable development during the War was the formation in 1940 of the Rhodesian African Rifles (RAR) who were to be deployed against the Japanese in Burma in 1945. White Rhodesian officers were also employed to instruct and command African soldiers in West, Central and East Africa. At the time Sir Robert Tredgold, later Chief Justice of the Federation, observed, "At least our men had seen a black man outside a Christy Minstrel performance and had a basis on which understanding between officer and man could be

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<sup>150</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 219.

<sup>151</sup> The 'official' account of the Colony's involvement in the war effort can be found in J.F. MacDonald, *The War History of Southern Rhodesia 1939-45*, (2 Vols.), 1947.

<sup>152</sup> For more details on the scheme see I.E. Johnston, 'The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and the Shaping of National Identities in the Second World War', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 43(5), 2015, pp. 903-326.

<sup>153</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 222; B. Salt, *A Pride of Eagles - A History of the Rhodesian Air Force*, 2015, pp. 67-82. Further details on the RATG can also be found in C. Meredith, 'The Rhodesian Air Training Group 1940-1945', *Rhodesiana*, 28, 1973, pp. 16-29.

<sup>154</sup> *Rhodesia and the R.A.F.*, 1945, p. 20.

<sup>155</sup> B. Salt, *A Pride of Eagles - A History of the Rhodesian Air Force*, 2015, pp. 108, 110, 113.

<sup>156</sup> J. Isaac, *British Post-War Migration*, 1954, pp. 132-134.

<sup>157</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 222.

built”.<sup>158</sup> White Rhodesians were finally being exposed to slightly less rigid racial relationships. A further consequence of the War was the growth and development of secondary industry in the Colony.<sup>159</sup>

While the issue of “amalgamation” between Northern and Southern Rhodesia had been raised by the BSAC as early as 1914, citing the advantages of an enlarged African labour market and the development of commercial opportunities following the removal of trade barriers,<sup>160</sup> it only started to receive serious attention after World War II. The initial response from London was lukewarm. After an “unofficial” conference between representatives of the two Rhodesias in 1936 where the idea of a “united Rhodesia” was agreed upon,<sup>161</sup> a Commission under Lord Bledisloe was appointed in 1938 to consider whether any form of closer association between the territories was desirable or practicable, bearing in mind the “British responsibilities to the African”.<sup>162</sup> The Commission advised against amalgamation on the basis that policies relating to African interests were too divergent and that while most Europeans were generally in favour of amalgamation, Africans were not. As an interim measure, the Commission recommended an Inter-Territorial Council (called the Central African Council) to increase co-operation on an administrative, scientific and judicial level and suggested the unification of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>163</sup>

Although the Central African Council, comprising representatives of the three territorial governments, was established in 1945<sup>164</sup> to provide some administrative co-ordination,

<sup>158</sup> R.G. Tredgold, *The Rhodesia that was my life*, 1968, p. 133.

<sup>159</sup> The economic impact of World War II on the economic development of the country is analysed, *inter alia*, by G. Arrighi, ‘The Political Economy of Rhodesia’, *New Left Review*, 39, 1966, pp. 35-65; I.R. Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe 1890-1948: capital accumulation and class struggle*, 1987; D. Johnson, *World War II and the Scramble for Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe*, 2000.

<sup>160</sup> A.S. Mlambo, ‘From the Second World War to UDI, 1940-1965’, in B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, p. 86.

<sup>161</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 225; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 214.

<sup>162</sup> See United Kingdom, *Report of the Rhodesia-Nyasaland Royal Commission* (The Bledisloe Commission), 1939. For analysis see L.H. Gann and M. Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia: The Man and His Country*, 1964, pp. 119-121; J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1983, pp. 58-68.

<sup>163</sup> W.V. Brelsford (ed.), *Handbook to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960, p. 104; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 226; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 214.

<sup>164</sup> J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1983, pp. 90-99.

pressure for closer co-operation was pursued by both Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and Roy Welensky, leader of the “unofficials” in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council. In October 1948 the British Government indicated it would consider a federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and in 1951, after holding three conferences on the matter, agreement was reached on the blueprint for federation.<sup>165</sup> The result of referendum held in Southern Rhodesia on 09 April 1953 was overwhelmingly in favour of the proposed federal constitution. Subsequently both the Legislative Councils in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland also voted in favour.<sup>166</sup> The Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation Act received Royal Assent on 14 July and the Order in Council was promulgated on 01 August 1953.<sup>167</sup>

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (also commonly referred to as the Central African Federation) formally came into being on 04 September 1953 with the arrival of the Governor-General designate, Lord Llewellyn. Although the official policy of the Federation was a “racial partnership between Europeans and Africans”,<sup>168</sup> it has been described using many other epithets: as “an unholy wedlock”, “a horse and rider partnership”, “a failed experiment”, “an aberration of history”, “a deviation from the inevitable historical trend of decolonisation”, “a counter-poise to Afrikaner nationalism”<sup>169</sup> – but R. Hyam and P.

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<sup>165</sup> For a detailed analysis of the origins and history of the Federation, see J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1983. For an analysis of the background and events leading up to the Federation see R. Hyam, ‘The Geopolitical Origins of the Central African Federation: Britain, Rhodesia and South Africa, 1948-1953’, *The Historical Journal*, 30(1), 1987, pp. 145-172.

<sup>166</sup> W.D. Gale, *Deserve To Be Great - The Story of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960, p. 108; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 268; J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1983, p. 362.

<sup>167</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 252.

<sup>168</sup> C.J.M. Zvobgo, *A History of Zimbabwe, 1890-2000 and Postscript: Zimbabwe, 2001-2008*, 2009, p. 86.

<sup>169</sup> For further analysis and detail on the Federation and reasons for its demise see, for example, E.M. Clegg, *Race and Politics: Partnership in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960; A.J. Hanna, *The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland*, 1960; H. Franklin, *Unholy Wedlock: The Failure of the Central African Federation*, 1963; P. Keatley, *The Politics of Partnership: The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1963; R. Welensky, *Welensky's 4000 Days: The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1964; P. Gifford, ‘Misconceived Dominion: The Creation and Disintegration of Federation in British Central Africa’, in P. Gifford and W.M. Roger Louis (eds.), *The Transfer of Power in Africa - Decolonization 1940-1960*, 1982, pp. 387-416; B. Sherer, ‘A Failed Experiment in Imperial Governance: The Central African Federation 1953-1963’, M.A. thesis, University of Nevada, 2007; A. Cohen, ‘Settler Power, African Nationalism and British Interests in the Central African Federation: 1957-1963’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield, 2008; A. Cohen, *The Politics and Economics of Decolonisation in Africa: The Failed Experiment of the Central African Federation*, 2017.

Henshaw describe it as the “most controversial large-scale imperial exercise in constructive state building ever undertaken by a British Government”.<sup>170</sup>

The system of government established for the Federation was one of the most complicated systems of government ever established. Five different governments had overlapping and interlocking responsibilities for its affairs. There was the British Government in London, theoretically united but divided for practical purposes into two by no means friendly or united departments: the Commonwealth Office which dealt with the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments through separate sets of High Commissioners in Salisbury and London; and the Colonial Office which dealt with the two northern protectorates through their respective Governors who possessed very wide powers. There was also a Governor-General of the Federation and a Governor of Southern Rhodesia, both of whom, unlike their northern counterparts, were constitutional monarchs acting on the advice of their Prime Ministers.<sup>171</sup> The constitutional position was thus in many respects similar to that of pre-Federation Southern Rhodesia. The Federation enjoyed considerable powers not normally granted to British dependencies in that it had: entrustments in respect to foreign affairs and could negotiate trade agreements; the Federal Prime Minister attended Commonwealth Prime Ministers’ Conferences; it had full powers in regard to internal defence; it could raise bank loans and maintained its own currency yet it could not be described as “self-governing”. Considerable external controls remained which included the British Government’s right to revoke the Constitution, the Right of the Crown to reserve any Bill amending the Constitution or affecting franchise qualifications. As such these were the principal obstacles to it being accorded full Dominion status.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> R. Hyam and P. Henshaw, *The Lion and the Springbok: Britain and South Africa since the Boer War*, 2003, p. 198. See also R. Hyam, ‘The Geopolitical Origins of the Central African Federation: Britain, Rhodesia and South Africa, 1948-1953’, *The Historical Journal*, 30(1), 1987, p. 145.

<sup>171</sup> R. Blake, Foreword in J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1983, pp. 27-28.

<sup>172</sup> C. Palley, *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia, 1888-1965 with special reference to Imperial Control*, 1966, p. 350. The constitutional position is analysed in G.H. Baxter and P.W. Hodgens, The Constitutional Status of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *International Affairs*, 33(4), 1957, pp. 442-452.



The nature and character of Southern Rhodesian society had changed between the end of World War II and the establishment of the Federation, and it was to change even more dramatically during the federal decade as will be described in more detail in the following section. The “fatal flaw”<sup>173</sup> of the Federation, according to J.R.T. Wood, was the question of African political rights, coming at a time when Britain was to start granting its African colonies their independence. The divided franchise meant that in the two northern protectorates only British citizens could vote - which disqualified almost all Africans, being as they were, British Protected Persons, while in Southern Rhodesia the qualified franchise meant relatively few Africans were entitled to vote. There was no “Federal nationality” and the inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia remained Southern Rhodesia citizens.<sup>174</sup>

The principle of “partnership” between the races has often been stressed as being a motivation for the establishment of the Federation. Huggins was of the view that the federation will build partnership between blacks and whites but that partnership would be that like of a rider and a horse - the white being the rider and the black the horse.<sup>175</sup> The historian J. Darwin argues that the acceptance of partnership lay in its ambiguity,<sup>176</sup> while as C. Leys and C. Pratt observe:

By “partnership” Europeans and Africans mean distinctly different things. The European population appears to understand it as a socio-political system based on the maintenance of race identity and on political and economic co-operation between the races. In practice the policy is one of race segregation, with the Europeans ... in control. The “civilised standards” which partnership is claimed to uphold are dictated by the ruling community and show nothing of the imprint that the Africans would like them to bear. ... By partnership the African means equality of individuals before the law, regardless of race or colour. It means for him a social and political system based on persons rather than groups. Specifically, it means the total abolition of discrimination on the grounds of race and a steady advance to full equality

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<sup>173</sup> J.R.T. Wood, *So Far and No Further: Rhodesia's Bid for Independence during the Retreat from Empire 1959-1965*, 2005, p. 12.

<sup>174</sup> C. Palley, *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia, 1888-1965 with special reference to Imperial Control*, 1966, p. 351.

<sup>175</sup> L.H. Gann and M. Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia: The Man and His Country*, 1964 p. 170. For further analysis of the “partnership concept” see, for example, G.M. Huggins, Partnership Policy in Southern Rhodesia, *National Progress*, 4(12), 1951; H.S. Albinski, ‘The Concept of Partnership in the Central African Federation’, *The Review of Politics*, 19(2), 1957, pp. 186–204; T.R.M. Creighton, *The Anatomy of Partnership: Southern Rhodesia and the Central African Federation*, 1960; P. Keatley, *The Politics of Partnership: The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1963.

<sup>176</sup> J. Darwin, *The Making of 20th Century Britain and Decolonisation*, 1988, p. 200.

and majority rule. ... it is not so much partnership between the races as non-racialism ... .<sup>177</sup>

Most commentators agree that the economic benefits of the Federation are its most important legacy, most notably the building of the Kariba hydro-electric power plant on the Zambezi<sup>178</sup> between 1956 and 1960, which at the time of its completion created the world's largest man-made lake.<sup>179</sup> The road network was expanded, the first major railway extension since the end of Company rule was completed, a new international airport was built near Salisbury, the tobacco auctions had become the largest in the world, the copper price was initially buoyant and television was introduced.<sup>180</sup>

The second half of the Federal decade was less rosy. While African opposition to the Federation, especially in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was strong from the beginning,<sup>181</sup> increasing African discontent and the rise of African nationalism escalated from civil disobedience into strikes and riots, spreading from the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt into Nyasaland. Attempts by the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins (now Lord Malvern), to secure Dominion status for the Federal Government failed. After serving as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for twenty years and a further three as Federal Prime Minister, Huggins retired on 31 October 1956<sup>182</sup> and was succeeded by Sir Roy Welensky.

The year 1957 is described as the turning point for the Federation.<sup>183</sup> Welensky visited London in April to press for five constitutional concessions regarding the Federation's political future, the most important of which was that Whitehall would not countenance a

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<sup>177</sup> C. Leys and C. Pratt (eds.), *A New Deal in Central Africa*, 1960, pp. 171-173.

<sup>178</sup> The choice of building the dam on the Zambezi River was not without controversy as it was chosen over another potential site on the Kafue River in Northern Rhodesia. Many in the north felt that as with the choice of Salisbury as capital city of the Federation, together with the building of a new international airport and locating the new multi-racial university there, most of the 'prestigious' projects were to the benefit of Southern Rhodesia.

<sup>179</sup> *Royal Occasion 1960 The Kariba Project*, 1960, p. 1.

<sup>180</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, pp. 288-289. For a detailed overview of the Federal economy see W.V. Brelsford (ed.), *Handbook to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960, pp. 235-414.

<sup>181</sup> A.S. Mlambo, 'From the Second World War to UDI, 1940-1965', in B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, p. 93.

<sup>182</sup> At the time of his retirement, Huggins was the longest continuing serving Prime Minister in the British Commonwealth.

<sup>183</sup> See R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, pp. 296-306, 321.

motion for any territory to secede from the Federation. Although he achieved the latter and secured a date for the Federal Constitutional Review Conference to be held in 1960,<sup>184</sup> subsequent events and the apparent British *volte-face* were to have a dramatic impact on the attitude of white Southern Rhodesians.

The aftermath of the Suez Canal crisis in 1956 was symbolic of Britain's decline as a major power and produced a shift in the attitude towards its erstwhile "Empire".<sup>185</sup> The Gold Coast became the first of its African colonial possessions to receive its independence as Ghana on 06 March 1957, marking the beginning of the process of decolonisation on the continent.<sup>186</sup> The increase in African nationalism was also to be felt within the Federation.

On 06 July 1958 Dr Hastings Banda returned to Nyasaland and immediately began speaking against the "stupid" Federation<sup>187</sup> and calling for its dissolution. Amidst rising tensions, Federal troops were called in to restore order and a State of Emergency was declared in Nyasaland on 03 March 1959 leading to the arrest of Banda and hundreds of his followers.<sup>188</sup> As a result of the emergency, and the concomitant rise in tensions in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the whole question of the Federation was drawn into British politics. On 24 November 1959 the Monckton Commission of Inquiry was set up to "advise upon the future of the Federation" and presented its report in October 1960.<sup>189</sup>

Against this backdrop, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan made a tour of Africa and visited the Federation in January 1960. He departed from Salisbury for South Africa where

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<sup>184</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 289.

<sup>185</sup> The 1956 Suez Canal Crisis, which saw the attempt by Israel, Britain and France to forcefully regain control of the Suez Canal which had been nationalised by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, was a critical event in post-World War II British history which helped end the era of Britain as a global empire and superpower. Following political pressure from the United States, the USSR and the United Nations, the three invaders withdrew. Many historians conclude that the crisis signified the end of Britain's role as one of the world's major powers. See G.C. Peden, 'Suez and Britain's Decline as a World Power', *The Historical Journal*, 2012, 55(4), pp. 1073-1096 and S.C. Smith (ed.), 2016, *Reassessing Suez 1956: New Perspectives on the Crisis and its Aftermath*.

<sup>186</sup> G. Arnold, *Africa - A Modern History*, 2005, p. 45; M. Meredith, *The State of Africa - A History of Fifty Years of Independence*, 2005, pp.17-29.

<sup>187</sup> C. Cameron, 'The End of Federation: An Achievement Worthy of Recognition', *The Society of Malawi Journal*, 67(1), 2014, p. 1.

<sup>188</sup> J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1983, p. 647. The Nyasaland Emergency is dealt with in detail on pp. 625-659.

<sup>189</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, pp. 326-327.

on 03 February he made his famous “the wind of change ... blowing through this continent” speech to the South African parliament in Cape Town.<sup>190</sup> Later, the independence of the Belgian Congo in June and the subsequent secession of Katanga resulted in a flood of refugees pouring into Northern Rhodesia.<sup>191</sup> Federal requests to intervene were rejected by the British Government, which instead, supported the intervention of the United Nations.

According to the Monckton Commission, which issued its report in October 1960, opposition to the Federation, particularly from Africans, was “widespread, sincere and of long standing. It is almost pathological”.<sup>192</sup> While the Europeans in all three territories, and some Africans in Southern Rhodesia, wanted the Federation to continue, “the strength of African opposition in the Northern territories [was] such that the Federation cannot, in our view, be maintained in the present form”.<sup>193</sup> The Commission recommended, *inter alia*, a common voters roll for both Europeans and Africans, the removal of all discriminatory legislation and the annual rotation of the Federal legislature to each of the territories. But the most damning recommendation, the “principle of secession”, needed to be discussed and the British Government should provide for the immediate secession of any Territory whose people desired it.<sup>194</sup>

According to Blake, “To the Europeans of the Federation, all this seemed a betrayal, duplicity, appeasement, cowardice, loss of nerve and of the will to rule”,<sup>195</sup> all of which came to characterise their attitude to future British Governments. While to many, the

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<sup>190</sup> R. Welensky, *Welensky's 4000 Days – The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1964, p. 179; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 327.

<sup>191</sup> J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1983, pp. 803, 857-876.

<sup>192</sup> J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1983, p. 816. A detailed analysis of the Monckton Report is provided by J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1983, pp. 813-856.

<sup>193</sup> United Kingdom, *Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Report of the Monckton Commission*, 1960, as quoted in A.S. Mlambo, ‘From the Second World War to UDI, 1940-1965’, in B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, pp. 92-93.

<sup>194</sup> See J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1983, pp. 813-856; R. Welensky, *Welensky's 4000 Days – The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1964, pp. 268-269; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 331.

<sup>195</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 328.

Monckton recommendations were “the sounding of the Federal death-knell”.<sup>196</sup> Welensky, in particular, believed that Britain had deliberately destroyed the Rhodesian experiment in racial partnership. “They have been guilty of an act of treachery ... I say that Britain has lost the will to govern in Africa”.<sup>197</sup> Banda had successfully campaigned and secured agreement from the British Government for Nyasaland to secede, much to the dismay of the Federal Government which was of the view that this was beyond the British Government’s authority.<sup>198</sup> On 29 March 1963 it was announced that Northern Rhodesia had also been granted the right to secede and so it was left to a final Conference at the Victoria Falls to work out the details of the dissolution of the Federation and to apportion its assets. On the issue of Southern Rhodesia’s future, Ian Smith contends that at the Conference the Southern Rhodesians were promised independence<sup>199</sup> “at a date not later than the granting of independence to the two members of the Federation” although no minutes were taken of the meeting.<sup>200</sup> This was to be a cause of much contention between the two countries in the years to come.

In his doctoral thesis, M. Evans asserts that it was the conjunction of two factors which led to the demise of the Federation – the revolution in British decolonisation policy from the

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<sup>196</sup> I. Smith, *The Great Betrayal*, 1997, p. 41. See also H.I. Wetherell, ‘Continuity and Change in Opposition Politics in Southern Rhodesia, 1923-1962’, M. Phil. thesis, University of Rhodesia, 1974, Chapter 5, where he argues that the one-third of the Southern Rhodesian electorate, which had always opposed Federation, distrusted the British Colonial Office and believed that Federation had denied Southern Rhodesia its independence and Dominion Status. This grouping was later to become the nucleus of support for the Rhodesian Front.

<sup>197</sup> Quoted in M. Evans, ‘The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980’, D. Phil thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, p. 10.

<sup>198</sup> See R. Welensky, *Welensky’s 4000 Days – The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1964, pp. 318, 362; J.R.T. Wood, *The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1983, pp. 1075-1123.

<sup>199</sup> According to Winston Field and Ian Smith (the Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister respectively), ‘R.A. ‘Rab’ Butler (the British Minister for Central African Affairs), took them aside following the formal British-Southern Rhodesian talks and gave the solemn assurance that if Southern Rhodesia participated at the Federal Dissolution Conference, it would be granted independence once the Federation had been disposed of. Butler denies that any such assurance was given but both Smith and Field insisted that it had (see K. Young, *Rhodesia and Independence: a study in British colonial policy*, 1967, pp. 89-90). See also J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonisation to UDI, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, pp. 260-267 for the view that while Butler claimed that he did not give the assurance of independence, he did follow a policy of allowing the Rhodesian Government to *think* that he had given such an undertaking.

<sup>200</sup> I. Smith, *The Great Betrayal*, 1997, pp. 53-54; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 350; C.W. Dupont, *The Reluctant President: The Memoirs of the Hon. Clifford Dupont, GCLM, ID*, 1978, p. 132; M.C. White, *Smith of Rhodesia - a Pictorial Biography*, 1978, p. 32.

gradual advancement towards African independence to that of a policy of swift disengagement culminating in Macmillan's "Wind of Change" speech and the concomitant rise of African nationalism on the continent.<sup>201</sup> The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland formally ceased to exist at midnight on 31 December 1963. Nyasaland attained independence as Malaŵi on 06 July 1964 and became a republic two years later with Banda as President. Northern Rhodesia followed suit shortly thereafter and became the independent Republic of Zambia on 24 October 1964.

Concomitant with the political machinations which led to the ultimate demise of the Federation, the political landscape in Southern Rhodesia was also very turbulent towards the end of the 1950s and early 1960s. Garfield Todd, who replaced Sir Godfrey Huggins as Prime Minister in 1953, was a missionary, multi-racialist and advocate for African advancement, who introduced a number of liberal reforms including a review of the franchise qualifications and increasing the wages for lower level African employees. Having lost the support of his Cabinet, the subsequent election was won by the more hard-line United Federal Party (UFP) under Sir Edgar Whitehead on 05 June 1958. It was, as Baxter points out:

... the moment at which white Rhodesian society, having accepted partnership in principal, began to reject partnership in practice. It was also the moment that blacks began to realise that the small flame of hope nurtured under Todd was guttering on the verge of extinction.<sup>202</sup>

Whitehead had promised a referendum on a new constitution and at the Territorial Conference on the Southern Rhodesia Constitution in February 1961, changes to broaden the franchise were announced which offered the prospect of majority rule at some future date,<sup>203</sup> together with replacing the reserve powers of the British Government with a Declaration of Rights and a Constitutional Council.<sup>204</sup> This was a move towards

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<sup>201</sup> M. Evans, 'The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980', D. Phil. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, pp. 8-9.

<sup>202</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 268.

<sup>203</sup> L.J. Butler, 'Britain, the United States, and the Demise of the Central African Federation, 1959-63', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 28(3), 2000, p. 136.

<sup>204</sup> I. Smith, *The Great Betrayal*, 1997, p. 43 states that in terms of the British White Paper (Command 1399), which explicitly stated that the proposed constitution "will eliminate all the reserve powers at present vested in the Government of the United Kingdom, with the exception of those affecting the position of the Sovereign and the

independence, which many Southern Rhodesians believed was their due in exchange for services rendered to the war effort and the whole question of which had been put in abeyance when the territory became part of the Federation. A referendum on the new Constitution, held against the backdrop of increasing African intimidation and violence under the growing influence of the National Democratic Party (NDP) led by Joshua Nkomo, was held on 26 July 1961. The outcome was 65,8 per cent in favour.<sup>205</sup> The first elections in terms of the new Constitution were held on 14 December 1962. The new Rhodesian Front (RF) party, which had been formed in March 1962, campaigned for the preservation of the Land Apportionment Act and rejected forced integration. The result was unexpected with the RF winning 35 seats against Whitehead's UFP with 29.<sup>206</sup> As L.J. Butler remarks, the pace of Whitehead's reforms, and resentment at the outside world's indifference to their problems, had driven white voters into a more extreme mood.<sup>207</sup> Indeed, as J.M. Greenfield, one of the most prominent of the Rhodesian Federal politicians, records in his memoirs:

The rise to power of the Rhodesian Front may fairly be attributed mainly to the British Government's betrayal of the Federation, which had become manifest before the fateful general election at the end of 1962. This betrayal had, among other disastrous results, the discrediting of the UFP and their policy of political partnership.<sup>208</sup>

Most of the registered African voters heeded the call of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)<sup>209</sup> to boycott the poll. Thus, Blake contends, it was Joshua Nkomo who was the true architect of the RF election victory!<sup>210</sup>

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*Governor and the right of the British Government to safeguard the position regarding international obligations and undertakings given by the Government of Southern Rhodesia in respect of the loans under the Colonial Stock Acts" and that these reservations would be removed only on independence or Dominion Status. Thus the electorate was assured that the new constitution represented independence for Southern Rhodesia in the event of the Federation being dissolved.*

<sup>205</sup> J.R.T Wood, *So Far and No Further: Rhodesia's Bid for Independence during the Retreat from Empire 1959-1965*, 1983, p. 92.

<sup>206</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 343; J.R.T. Wood, *So Far and No Further: Rhodesia's Bid for Independence during the Retreat from Empire 1959-1965*, 1983, p. 121; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 324.

<sup>207</sup> L.J. Butler, 'Britain, the United States, and the Demise of the Central African Federation, 1959-63', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 28(3), 2000, p. 143.

<sup>208</sup> J.M. Greenfield, *Testimony of a Rhodesian Federal*, 1978, p. 232.

<sup>209</sup> ZAPU was formed on 17 December 1961, with Nkomo as the Interim President, following the banning of the NDP on 09 December 1961.

<sup>210</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 344. This contention is also supported by Ken Flower, at the time a Deputy Commissioner in the British South Africa Police (K. Flower, *Serving Secretly: Rhodesia's CIO Chief on Record*, 1987, pp. 11-12).

Following the break-up of the Federation and the granting of independence to the two northern territories, the demands for Southern Rhodesia (later simply called Rhodesia following Zambian independence)<sup>211</sup> to also obtain its independence intensified based on the verbal assurances that had allegedly been provided by the British Government.<sup>212</sup> Although prepared to grant formal independence, the British Government adopted a policy of “no independence before majority rule” and that independence would not be granted to Rhodesia under the 1961 Constitution until sufficient guarantees for the political advancement of the African majority were in place. The basic requirements on which the British Government was prepared to grant independence were based on five principles, to which was added a sixth by British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, in February 1966. These were as follows:

- 1) The principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule, already enshrined in the 1961 Constitution, would have to be maintained and guaranteed.
- 2) There would also have to be guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the Constitution.

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<sup>211</sup> The official name of the country, according to the Constitution adopted concurrently with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965, was ‘Rhodesia’. This was not the case under British law, however, which considered the territory's legal name to be ‘The Colony of Southern Rhodesia’, the name given to the country in 1898 during the British South Africa Company's administration of the Rhodesias, and retained by the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia after the end of Company rule in 1923.

This naming dispute dates back to October 1964 when Northern Rhodesia became independent from Britain and concurrently changed its name to Zambia. The Southern Rhodesian colonial government in Salisbury felt that in the absence of a ‘Northern’ Rhodesia, the continued use of ‘Southern’ was superfluous. It passed legislation to become simply Rhodesia, but the British government refused to approve this on the grounds that the country's name was defined by British legislation and so could not be altered by the colonial government. Salisbury went on using the shortened name in an official manner nevertheless, while the British government continued referring to the country as Southern Rhodesia. This situation continued throughout the UDI period. The shortened name was used by many people including the British government in the House of Commons.

The British government maintained this stance regarding the June–December 1979 successor state of ‘Zimbabwe Rhodesia’, and when Zimbabwe Rhodesia returned to colonial status from December 1979 to April 1980, it was as ‘Southern Rhodesia’. Southern Rhodesia subsequently gained international recognition of its independence in April 1980 when it became the Republic of Zimbabwe (J. Reid Rowland, ‘Constitutional History of Rhodesia: An outline in P. Berlyn, *The Quiet Man: A Biography of the Hon. Ian Douglas Smith*, 1978, pp. 240–256). See also C. Palley, *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia, 1888-1965 with special reference to Imperial Control*, 1966, pp. 742-743.

<sup>212</sup> For a detailed analysis of the events leading up to the declaration of UDI see J.R.T. Wood, *So Far and No Further: Rhodesia's Bid for Independence during the Retreat from Empire 1959-1965*, 2010. For an international perspective see C.P. Watts, ‘The Rhodesian Crisis in British and International Politics, 1964-1965’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 2006 (published as C.P. Watts, *Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence – An International History*, 2012).



- 3) There would have to be an immediate improvement in the political status of the African population.
- 4) There would have to be progress towards ending racial discrimination.
- 5) The British Government would need to be satisfied that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.
- 6) It would be necessary to ensure that, regardless of race, there was no oppression of majority by minority or of minority by majority.<sup>213</sup>

Under these proposals the European minority would remain in control for the foreseeable future and it was calculated that the Africans under these conditions might achieve majority rule in 40 to 50 years.<sup>214</sup>

However, Ian Smith who became Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia on 13 April 1964, was chosen as leader of the RF because of his more hard-line approach to independence and his conviction that power should remain in “responsible hands”<sup>215</sup> in order to maintain “civilised standards”.<sup>216</sup> Despite repeated attempts at negotiation, the impasse remained with Wilson warning in October 1964 that any unilateral action by the Rhodesians would result in the severance of all economic and financial relations, and that there would be no relations with the Crown and Rhodesians would cease to be British subjects.<sup>217</sup> While it was unprecedented for the British Government to threaten one of its own colonies in this way, the statement did forestall the RF’s plans causing the Rhodesian Government to instead undertake a feasibility study on surviving economic isolation. In April 1965 the Rhodesian Government, ahead of a general election, issued a White Paper, suppressing - argues Blake - any adverse sentiment, which indicated that sanctions would not have any significant impact on Rhodesia. The election resulted in a crushing victory for the RF in that it won all of the A-roll seats.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> ‘United Kingdom: Proposals for Settlement of Rhodesia Problem’, *International Legal Materials*, 6(1), 1967, p. 134; H. Wilson, *The Labour Government 1964-1970: A Personal Record*, 1971, p. 143; P. Joyce, *Anatomy of a Rebel - Smith of Rhodesia: a biography*, 1974, p. 191; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, pp. 376-377; P. Moorcraft, *A Short Thousand Years: The End of Rhodesia’s Rebellion*, 1980, p. 14.

<sup>214</sup> C. Palley, *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia 1888-1965 with Special Reference to Imperial Control*, 1966, pp. 416-424; G. Arnold, *Africa - A Modern History*, 2005, p. 289.

<sup>215</sup> P. Joyce, *Anatomy of a Rebel - Smith of Rhodesia: a biography*, 1974, p. 29.

<sup>216</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 369.

<sup>217</sup> H. Wilson, *The Labour Government 1964-1970: A Personal Record*, 1971, p. 25.

<sup>218</sup> R. Coggins, Wilson and Rhodesia: ‘UDI and British Policy Towards Africa’, *Contemporary British History*, 20(3), 2006, p. 365; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 373.

Despite increasing pressure from the UN, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and from within the Commonwealth, to take action on Rhodesia and a visit to Salisbury in a last-minute attempt to find a solution, Wilson announced on 30 October 1965 that Britain would not use force against Rhodesia in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence.<sup>219</sup>

### 3.6 'INDEPENDENT' RHODESIA (1965 – 1980)

On 11 November 1965, at 11 a.m. (the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month), this symbolism being all important as will be discussed in the following chapter, under Pietro Annigoni's famous portrait of a youthful Queen Elizabeth II in Garter robes, Ian Smith and his Cabinet signed a Proclamation of Independence<sup>220</sup> from the British Parliament, whilst retaining loyalty to the person of the Monarch and the Queen of Rhodesia.<sup>221</sup> Thus white Rhodesians became, however reluctantly, the first people of largely British origin to throw off the Crown since the American Revolution. The immediate response by the British Government to this Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) was to proclaim Rhodesia to be in a state of rebellion, the Government in Salisbury to be illegal and placed embargoes on Rhodesian products including tobacco and sugar, suspended Rhodesia's Commonwealth trading preferences, expelled Rhodesia from the sterling area and denied the country accessing London's capital markets.<sup>222</sup>

UDI was almost immediately condemned by the United Nations which called on all member states not to recognise the regime in Salisbury. One month later, on 20 November, the

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<sup>219</sup> A. Megahey, *Humphrey Gibbs: Beleaguered Governor*, 1998, p. 104; G. Arnold, *Africa - A Modern History*, 2005, p. 296.

<sup>220</sup> The full text of the proclamation can be found in *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, p. 431.

<sup>221</sup> See D. Lowry, 'Rhodesia 1890-1980 'The Lost Dominion'', in R. Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates - Britons over the Seas*, 2010, pp. 112-113; D. Lowry, 'The Queen of Rhodesia versus the Queen of the United Kingdom: Conflicts of Allegiance in Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence', in H. Kumarasingham (ed.), *Viceregalism: The Crown as Head of State in Political Crises in the Postwar Commonwealth*, 2020, pp. 203-30. For Rhodesian attitudes to "their" Queen see P. Berlyn, *Rhodesia: Beleaguered Country*, 1967, pp. 71-76.

<sup>222</sup> E. Windrich, *Britain and the Politics of Rhodesian Independence*, 1978, p. 63; p. 69; R. Coggins, 'Wilson and Rhodesia: UDI and British Policy Towards Africa', *Contemporary British History*, 20(3), 2006, p. 370; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 351.

Security Council requested a break in all economic relations, specifically in regard to petroleum products.<sup>223</sup> Following the break-down of negotiations seeking a solution to the impasse, on 16 December 1966 the UN took the unprecedented step of invoking mandatory economic sanctions against the imports of certain Rhodesian products, while the sale of military and motor vehicles and the supply of oil to the country was banned. The UN policy of sanctions reached its peak on 29 May 1968 when the Security Council resolved unanimously to impose comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia on the basis that its actions constituted “a threat to international peace and security”.<sup>224</sup> The resolution imposed a complete ban on all trade with Rhodesia (with the exception of medical supplies and humanitarian items).<sup>225</sup> According to D.L. Losman, “Voluntary sanctions had thus given way to mandatory selective sanctions and, finally, to mandatory comprehensive sanctions”.<sup>226</sup> Rhodesia was thus the “first pariah nation”<sup>227</sup> and had become, according to D. Geldenhuys, “the most ostracised country [the twentieth century had] witnessed in peacetime”.<sup>228</sup>

Further attempts at finding a political solution also proved fruitless such that by 1969 a referendum was held on a new constitution and whether the country should become a republic. The almost exclusively white electorate voted in favour of a new constitution on 20 June. A Senate would be introduced and African representation in the House of Assembly would increase based on their contributions to the national exchequer, thus

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<sup>223</sup> See Ž. Červenka, ‘Rhodesia Five Years after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence’, *Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, 4(1), 1971, pp. 22-27 for details of the UN Resolutions dealing with Rhodesia immediately after UDI.

<sup>224</sup> R. Higgins, ‘International Law, Rhodesia, and the U.N.’, *The World Today*, 23(3), 1967, p. 99; R.C. Good, *U.D.I. – The International Politics of the Rhodesian Rebellion*, 1973, pp. 207-211. The full text of the Security Council Resolution 258 can be found at [https://undocs.org/S/RES/253\(1968\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/253(1968)). Accessed: 2020-06-12. Security Council Resolution 217 of 12 November 1965 was the first in which the situation in Southern Rhodesia as a result of UDI was described as constituting a “threat to international peace and security”. See [https://undocs.org/S/RES/216\(1965\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/216(1965)). Accessed: 2020-06-12.

<sup>225</sup> Ž. Červenka, ‘Rhodesia Five Years after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence’, *Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, 4(1), 1971, pp. 23-24; D.L. Losman, ‘Rhodesia: A Decade Under Sanctions’, *Il Politico*, 43(2), 1978, p. 324.

<sup>226</sup> D.L. Losman, ‘Rhodesia: A Decade Under Sanctions’, *Il Politico*, 43(2), 1978, p. 324. See also, R.C. Good, *U.D.I. – The International Politics of the Rhodesian Rebellion*, 1973, pp. 251-256.

<sup>227</sup> L. White, *Unpopular Sovereignty: Rhodesia and African Decolonisation*, 2015, pp. 12, 126.

<sup>228</sup> D. Geldenhuys, *Isolated States: A Comparative Analysis*, 1990, p. 59.

ensuring “eventual parity” between the races.<sup>229</sup> As A. Verrier notes, a little arithmetic showed that 980 years would need to elapse before parity would be achieved!<sup>230</sup> Ian Smith himself admitted that the new Constitution created a yardstick where merit is the criterion and that it sounded the death knell of the notion of majority rule. He proclaimed, “The Constitution enshrines European control on merit”<sup>231</sup> thus supporting the claim that Rhodesia believed in “non-racial meritocracy”.<sup>232</sup>

The concept of parity was also introduced into the Land Tenure Act which replaced the Land Apportionment Act. The Act divided all land into one of three categories: a European Area; an African Area; and a National Area. The Act stipulated that the total amount of European Land and African Land “will at all times be equal” and a variation of only two percent was allowed.<sup>233</sup> The European population, accounting for five percent of the population, now had access to 50 per cent of the total land area while Africans, who made up 95 per cent of the population, had access to the remaining 50 per cent. The Act reinforced their morale and came to symbolise white settler domination in Rhodesia. However, African opposition to this land policy was a major cause for the intensification of the armed struggle (now known as the Second *Chimurenga*)<sup>234</sup> during the 1970s.

Rhodesia became a republic on 02 March 1970 thereby severing its vestigial links with the Crown. Shortly thereafter a Conservative Government came to power in the UK and new settlement proposals, within the Five Principles, were agreed upon in late 1971. Elaine Windrich contends that the British Government conceded the first four of the five principles<sup>235</sup> in return for which the Rhodesian Government agreed to amend the 1969 Constitution to permit eventual majority rule following the attainment of “parity”. Significantly, control over the rate of African advancement remained in white hands and

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<sup>229</sup> Rhodesia, *Prospects for a New Constitution*, 1969; P. Joyce, *Anatomy of a Rebel - Smith of Rhodesia: a biography*, 1974, pp. 414-416.

<sup>230</sup> A. Verrier, *The Road to Zimbabwe 1890-1980*, 1986, p. 160.

<sup>231</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 08 May 1969.

<sup>232</sup> M. Evans, ‘The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980’, D.Phil. thesis University of Western Australia, 1993, pp. 74, 246.

<sup>233</sup> Rhodesia, *Proposals for a New Constitution*, 1969, p. 19.

<sup>234</sup> To the nationalist guerrillas the conflict was called the ‘Liberation Struggle’ or ‘Second *Chimurenga*’ while to most white Rhodesians it is mainly referred to as the ‘Bush War’.

<sup>235</sup> See E. Windrich, *Britain and the Politics of Rhodesian Independence*, 1978, Chapter 9, pp. 162-187.

segregation, via the Land Tenure Act, would remain.<sup>236</sup> Constitutional analyst, Claire Palley, estimated that even under the most favourable conditions in terms of these proposals, African majority rule would only occur in 2035.<sup>237</sup> Thus André Astrow concludes that the proposals were nothing but an attempt to legalise UDI and grant independence to “the settlers”.<sup>238</sup>

In order to satisfy that the proposals were “acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole” a Commission of Inquiry, chaired by Lord Pearce, was appointed to test African opinion. The Commissioners toured Rhodesia between January and March 1972 and took evidence from 165,600 Africans and met with 124 African organisations and found widespread dissatisfaction with white rule.<sup>239</sup> The Pearce Commission Report was published in May 1972 and concluded that the settlement proposals were *not* acceptable as a basis for independence.<sup>240</sup> It was the first time in the country’s history that African opinion had been “solicited, recorded and respected”<sup>241</sup> and, as Baxter puts it, “they had uttered a unified and clearly audible reply”.<sup>242</sup> As was noted in its report, the sentiment was not only against the Proposals, but against the Government.<sup>243</sup> The African rejection of a settlement was followed shortly thereafter by the beginning of the intensification of the guerrilla war. On 21 December 1972 African guerrillas attacked a white-owned farm in the Centenary district in the remote north-east of the country. This is generally considered to mark the beginning of the armed struggle (the “*Second Chimurenga*”) to end white rule.<sup>244</sup>

<sup>236</sup> M. Evans, ‘The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980’, D. Phil. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, p. 137.

<sup>237</sup> *Sunday Times* (London), 28 November 1971 as quoted in M. Evans, ‘The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980’, D. Phil. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, p. 137.

<sup>238</sup> A. Astrow, *Zimbabwe: A Revolution That Lost Its Way?*, 1983, p. 75.

<sup>239</sup> United Kingdom, *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*, 1972, pp. 44-53; pp. 72-73; A. Cousins, ‘State, Ideology, and Power in Rhodesia, 1958-1972’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 24(1), 1991, pp. 59-62.

<sup>240</sup> United Kingdom, *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*, 1972, pp. 80, 109-112; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, pp. 404-405; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 376. For more on the Pearce Commission see J. Todd, *The Right to Say No*, 1972 and A.T. Muzorewa, *Rise Up and Walk: An Autobiography*, 1979, pp. 98-116.

<sup>241</sup> E. Windrich, *Britain and the Politics of Rhodesian Independence*, 1978, p. 197.

<sup>242</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 376.

<sup>243</sup> As quoted in J. Frederikse, *None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*, 1982, p. 35; J.K. Cilliers, *Counter-Insurgency in Rhodesia*, 1985, p. 33.

<sup>244</sup> D. Martin and P. Johnson, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe*, 1981, pp. 1-3, 73-74; R.F. Reid-Daly, *Pamwe Chete - The Legend of the Selous Scouts*, 2000, p. 2. Various dates to mark the beginning of the conflict have been put forward.

Yet again it was events beyond the country's borders that were to have a dramatic and significant impact on its history. The Carnation Revolution of 25 April 1974 overthrew the authoritarian regime in Portugal and by the end of the following year, Portugal had retreated from its overseas colonies. Mozambique, with a 500km border with Rhodesia, became independent on 25 June 1975 under the left-wing, Marxist-orientated FRELIMO party. The border was closed and the FRELIMO-led government subsequently allowed guerrilla incursions to take place from Mozambique. The revolution in Portugal meant that white Rhodesia became almost completely dependent on South Africa for survival.<sup>245</sup>

With the beginning of the disintegration of the *cordon sanitaire* around white-ruled southern Africa, South Africa embarked on an outward policy of "détente" with Black Africa. As J. Barber and J. Barrett observe, after the Lisbon *coup* the South African Government under John Vorster decided that "... as the UDI regime was no longer sustainable, South Africa's best interests were best served ... in establishing a moderate, black-led government".<sup>246</sup> The result was increased pressure on the Rhodesian government and the black nationalists operating from its neighbours to accept a ceasefire on 11 December 1974. A number of senior political detainees were released, including Robert Mugabe, and constitutional talks were scheduled to take place.<sup>247</sup> However, the ceasefire did not hold and on 05 April 1975, Mugabe, with the security police in hot pursuit, fled the country by crossing the mountains into Mozambique, from where he later secured control of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and launched an intensive guerilla campaign against Rhodesia.<sup>248</sup>

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Flower states that the ZANU hierarchy had decided in 1964 to pursue the armed struggle (K. Flower, *Serving Secretly: Rhodesia's CIO Chief on Record*, 1987, p. 39) while Robert Mugabe claims that the war began with the Battle of Sinoia (Chinhoyi) on 28 April 1968 (R. Mugabe, *Inside the Third Chimurenga*, 2001, p. 1).

<sup>245</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 406; J. Mtisi, M. Nyakudya, and T. Barnes, 'War in Rhodesia, 1965-1980', in B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, pp. 144-145.

<sup>246</sup> J. Barber and J. Barratt, *South Africa's Foreign Policy: The Search for Status and Security 1945-1988*, 1990, p. 185.

<sup>247</sup> E. Windrich, *Britain and the Politics of Rhodesian Independence*, 1978, p. 239; P. Moorcraft and P. McLaughlin, *The Rhodesian War: A Military History*, 2008, p. 40.

<sup>248</sup> M. Meredith, *Robert Mugabe - Power, Plunder and Tyranny in Zimbabwe*, 2002, p. 5.

During 1976 the guerilla incursions from both Zambia and Mozambique intensified which saw Rhodesian cross-border attacks into Mozambique in retaliation. On 24 September, following discussions and under intense pressure from US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and South African Prime Minister John Vorster, Ian Smith accepted a package of proposals which included the establishment of an interim government to be followed by majority rule within two years.<sup>249</sup> The all-party Conference held in Geneva that was set up to work out the terms of the transition subsequently collapsed without having reached any agreement.<sup>250</sup>

Following the failure of the Geneva Conference, the Frontline States<sup>251</sup> decided to give exclusive recognition to the Patriotic Front (of ZANU and ZAPU) and the Organisation of African Unity followed suit by recognising the Patriotic Front as “the sole nationalist movement in Zimbabwe”.<sup>252</sup> Smith turned to the internally-based African nationalists and the “Internal Settlement” with Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Senator Chief Jeremiah Chirau was signed on 03 March 1978. This provided for universal adult suffrage elections for a 100-seat national assembly, of which 28 would be reserved for whites.<sup>253</sup> In terms of the settlement agreement, an interim Government of National Unity was established and a whites-only referendum was held on 30 January 1979 in which 85 per cent voted in favour of the agreement.<sup>254</sup> In spite of criticisms by African members of the House of Assembly, and despite the “Internal Settlement” not receiving any international recognition and being rejected outright by the externally-based nationalists, the first universal suffrage elections in the country took place between 17 and 20 April 1979. The

<sup>249</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 445. For Smith’s version of the meeting with Kissinger and Vorster see I. Smith, *The Great Betrayal*, 1997, pp. 183-210.

<sup>250</sup> P. Moorcraft, *A Short Thousand Years: The End of Rhodesia’s Rebellion*, 1980, pp. 53-60; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, pp. 448-450.

<sup>251</sup> The Frontline States were a loose coalition of countries in southern Africa from the 1960s to the early 1990s committed to ending white minority rule in Rhodesia and South Africa. In January 1977 they included Botswana, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia.

<sup>252</sup> M. Evans, ‘The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980’, D. Phil. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, p. 300.

<sup>253</sup> Rhodesia, *Constitutional Agreement for Rhodesia*, 1978. For further analysis see K. Nyamayaro Mufuka, ‘Rhodesia’s Internal Settlement: A Tragedy’, *African Affairs*, 78(313), 1979, pp. 439-450 and I. Smith, *The Great Betrayal*, 1997, pp. 223-248.

<sup>254</sup> D. Caute, *Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia*, 1983, p. 299; P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 238-141; I. Smith, *The Great Betrayal*, 1997, pp. 288-289.

result was a resounding victory for Bishop Muzorewa's United African National Council (UANC) which won 67 per cent of the votes cast thereby securing 51 of the 72 seats reserved for blacks.<sup>255</sup> On 01 June 1979 the country was renamed Zimbabwe Rhodesia, to give the impression of a new era of racial partnership,<sup>256</sup> with Bishop Abel Muzorewa being sworn in as Prime Minister and Josiah Gumede as President. In a touch of irony, all statutory racial discrimination, including the cornerstone of white Rhodesian 'space' – the Land Tenure Act - had been repealed during one of the last sittings of the Rhodesian parliament in February 1979.<sup>257</sup>

Despite the majority of black Africans in parliament, the exclusion of the externally-based African nationalists and the over-representation of whites in parliament denied Zimbabwe Rhodesia international recognition and the lifting of sanctions.<sup>258</sup> The guerilla war escalated, white attrition increased and the faltering economy finally led to British-sponsored talks at Lancaster House in London. The purpose of the conference was to discuss and reach a settlement on the terms of "an independence constitution".<sup>259</sup> The conference commenced on 10 September 1979 and was attended by all parties, including the externally-based Patriotic Front.

These negotiations resulted in the "Lancaster House Agreement",<sup>260</sup> described by Joshua Nkomo as the "... result of muddle and compromise, reached in haste in order to stop the bloodshed",<sup>261</sup> in terms of which a new independence constitution was agreed to. Sanctions were lifted and the country returned to its former status as a British colony when Lord

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<sup>255</sup> K. Nyamayaro Mufuka, 'Rhodesia's Internal Settlement: A Tragedy', *African Affairs*, 78(313), 1979, p. 448; P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 244. The full results are provided by M. Kandiah and S. Onslow (eds.), *Britain and Rhodesia: The Route to Settlement*, 2008, p. 40.

<sup>256</sup> J. Mtisi, M. Nyakudya, and T. Barnes, 'War in Rhodesia, 1965-1980', in B. Raftopoulos and A.S. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, p. 163.

<sup>257</sup> Rhodesia, *Government Notice No. 149*, 02 February 1979.

<sup>258</sup> For an overview of the debate surrounding the international recognition of Zimbabwe Rhodesia, see N. Waddy, 'The Strange Death of "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia": The Question of British Recognition of the Muzorewa Regime in Rhodesian Public Opinion, 1979', *South African Historical Journal*, 66(2), 2014.

<sup>259</sup> C.J.M. Zvobgo, *A History of Zimbabwe, 1890-2000 and Postscript: Zimbabwe, 2001-2008*, 2009, p. 214.

<sup>260</sup> The full text of the Agreement can be seen at [www.sas-space.sas.ac.uk/5847/5/1979\\_Lancaster\\_House\\_Agreement.pdf](http://www.sas-space.sas.ac.uk/5847/5/1979_Lancaster_House_Agreement.pdf). Accessed: 2020-05-07.

<sup>261</sup> J. Nkomo, *The Story of My Life*, 1984, p. 204.



Christopher Soames arrived as the new Governor on 12 December 1979 to oversee the transition process:<sup>262</sup>

The Constitutional Agreement for Zimbabwe was signed at noon on 21 December 1979 ... In the ornate 37-metre Grand Gallery in the historic Lancaster House building, 17 weeks of political wrangling came to an end; the agreement to end the war and establish an independent Zimbabwe ruled by a black government was formally signed.<sup>263</sup>

This was followed by a ceasefire on 28 December 1979 and the holding of internationally supervised elections in February 1980. 93,6 per cent of those eligible to vote did so. The result was a landslide victory for Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party which won 57 seats (62,9 per cent of the poll) followed by the Patriotic Front of Joshua Nkomo which won 20 seats (24,2 per cent of the poll). The UANC of Bishop Muzorewa won three seats with 8,3 per cent of the vote.<sup>264</sup>

On 18 April 1980 Robert Mugabe was sworn in as the Prime Minister of the sovereign and internationally-recognised Republic of Zimbabwe in terms of the Constitution which had been agreed to at Lancaster House. The curtain had fallen on just under 90 years of white rule and Rhodesia passed into the annals of history.

### 3.7 CONCLUSION

The colonisation of Rhodesia was a complex affair that involved the capitalist interests of the British in South Africa, the British Foreign and Colonial Offices, missionary interests and those of the Afrikaners and the Portuguese. The Afrikaners and Portuguese were eventually thwarted and the British emerged as the colonisers in the 1890s.<sup>265</sup> The “unique situation” that characterised the colonisation of Rhodesia and its somewhat awkward – if not untenable - constitutional position after attaining Responsible Government marked

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<sup>262</sup> C. Soames, 'From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe', *International Affairs*, 56(3), 1980, p. 411; M. Kandiah and S. Onslow (eds.), *Britain and Rhodesia: The Route to Settlement*, 2008, p. 47.

<sup>263</sup> C.J.M. Zvobgo, *A History of Zimbabwe, 1890-2000 and Postscript: Zimbabwe, 2001-2008*, 2009, p. 214.

<sup>264</sup> A. Verrier, *The Road to Zimbabwe 1890-1980*, 1986, p. 302.

<sup>265</sup> S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 'Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s - 1930s', in B. Raftopoulos and A.S. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, p. 41.

Rhodesians as being somewhat “exceptional” within the context of the British Empire.<sup>266</sup> White Rhodesians prided themselves that the foundations of the colony that was laid by the BSAC had been achieved “... without the loss of a single soldier of the British Regular Army or the expenditure of a shilling of British taxpayers’ money”.<sup>267</sup> It was initially predicted that Southern Rhodesia would progress from Responsible Government to full dominion status within the British Empire. Its loyalty and support to the British war effort was a concrete example of this ambition.

The rigid territorial segregation that came to form the basis of the social and political structure in the Colony was entrenched by the Land Apportionment Act and provided the “space” to allow White Rhodesians to increasingly consider themselves not as expatriates, but to be “fully at home” within the African landscape,<sup>268</sup> and to develop a unique identity which will be more fully explored in the following chapters. However, the land question was seen undoubtedly as “the root cause of a deep-seated sense of injustice among Africans”<sup>269</sup> and the motivational force behind their challenge to white authority, which gathered momentum throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

Feeling an increasing sense of British dishonesty<sup>270</sup> resulting in the break-up of the Federation and an apparent lack of good faith in dealing with the question of Rhodesia’s independence resulted in the declaration of UDI in 1965. This marked a watershed in the political evolution of the country in that it “placed the Rhodesian nation in direct conflict with the British state that it had sought to be part of since the colony’s inception”.<sup>271</sup> Over the next 15 years a new identity would emerge as the country became increasingly politically and economically isolated. White Rhodesia finally succumbed and a black majority government came to power on 18 April 1980.

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<sup>266</sup> D. Lowry, ‘Rhodesia 1890-1980 ‘The Lost Dominion’’, in R. Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates - Britons over the Seas*, 2010, p. 114.

<sup>267</sup> H. Birchenough, ‘Forward’, in *The Story of Rhodesia told in a series of historical pictures*, The Empire Exhibition, Johannesburg, 1936, p. 4.

<sup>268</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 93.

<sup>269</sup> C. Leys and C. Pratt, *A New Deal, A New Deal in Central Africa*, 1960, p. 176.

<sup>270</sup> I. Smith, *The Great Betrayal*, 1997, p. 43.

<sup>271</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 247.

## CHAPTER 4 - THE NATIONAL PANOPLY OF RHODESIAN SYMBOLS

*“There is no special flag for Southern Rhodesia. Our flag is the Union Jack ...”*<sup>1</sup>

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

As outlined in Chapter 1, a variety of national symbols are established and promoted to represent a nation-state in order that it is taken seriously and accepted as such by other political entities. In short, it is accepted that statehood requires a wide variety of symbolic forms. As in the case of Chapter 3, which sets out the political and constitutional evolution of Rhodesia, this chapter turns to the evolution of Rhodesian symbols. Both chapters provide a critical foundation for an analysis of Rhodesian identity. This chapter will describe the symbolic nature of Rhodesian nationhood during its political evolution. These symbols reflect the collective consciousness and self-awareness of the nation. Acting out national memory links these symbols with various ceremonies and raises a sense of belonging, which in turn reinforces national identity, which is then discussed in detail in the following chapter.

It is a long chapter which covers an extensive period: the earliest symbols, the symbols used during the Company Administration followed by the Colonial symbols and, finally, the symbols adopted by independent and republican Rhodesia. The chronological evolution over this period reflects on the political significance that these changing symbols encapsulate.

### 4.2 EARLIEST SYMBOLS

The earliest record of a “formal symbol” being used in the area which later became known as Rhodesia, and then Zimbabwe, appears to be the grant of arms given to Mwenemutapa (or Monomatapa meaning “the Conqueror”), Emperor of the Mutapa Empire, in 1569 by

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<sup>1</sup> National Archives of Zimbabwe (Harare, Zimbabwe) (NAZ), S 246/161, Correspondence from Duff to O’Dell, 18 October 1929.

King Sebastian of Portugal. As outlined in Chapter 3, the Portuguese had sent trading and exploration expeditions to central and southern Africa. In 1569 Francisco Barretto set sail from Lisbon with gifts for the Emperor bearing the title “Governor and Conqueror of the Mines of Monomatapa”.<sup>2</sup> Barretto’s expedition was charged with locating sources of gold and as J. Storry puts it, “What better gift could there be from the King of Portugal to his brother the “Emperor Monomatapa” [than] a suit of armour, complete with emblazoned shield”?<sup>3</sup> An illustration of the Arms is included in Botero’s 1595 publication *Relations of the Most Famous Kingdoms and Commonwealths Through the World*<sup>4</sup> in which the author notes that the Monomatapa “... beareth in his Coat of Arms a certain little spade, with an ivory handle, and two small darts”<sup>5</sup> (Figure 2a).

Francisco Alvarez records the symbolism of the Arms in his *Ethiopian Historie* as follows:

This king in his scutcheon or coate of armes hath two signes of maiestie. One is a certaine little spade with a handle of iuorie. The other are two small dartes. By the spade he exhortheth his subiects to husbandrie, that they may not through sloth and negligence let the earth lie vntilled, and so for want be constrained to play the theeues. The one of his darts betokeneth, that he will be a seuerer punisher of malefactors; & the other, that he will by valour & force of armes resist all forren inuasions.<sup>6</sup>

The “little spade” is likely to be a depiction of an African hoe and the “two small darts” are obviously arrows - weapons that would have been used extensively by the inhabitants in the African interior. The silver and gold charges, together with the red field and crown, all relate to the European rank of Emperor, lending further credence to the influence of the Portuguese heralds.<sup>7</sup>

The existence of the Arms is confirmed in a seventeenth century sketch showing an imaginative portrait of the Emperor with the Arms appended in the frame below. The Arms were blazoned “Gules, between two arrows pointed upward Argent, an African hoe barwise,

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<sup>2</sup> J.G. Storry, ‘Heraldry in Africa: I. Arms of an Emperor’, *The Coat of Arms*, 91(1), 1974, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> J.G. Storry, ‘Arms and The Monomatapa’, *Rhodesiana*, 30, 1974, p. 36.

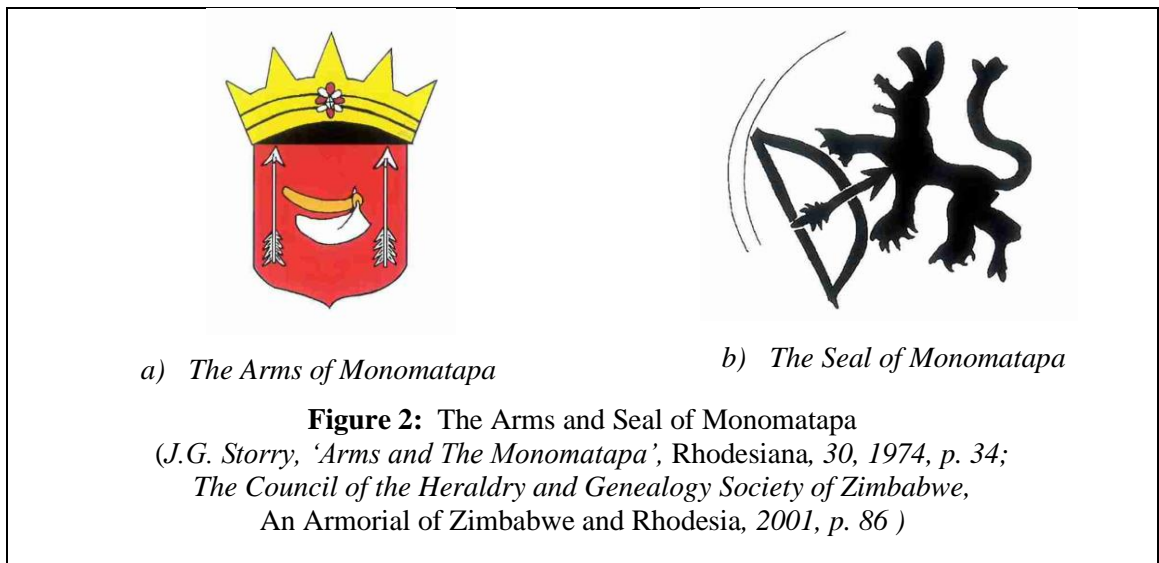
<sup>4</sup> Translated into English by Robert Johnson in 1611.

<sup>5</sup> J.G. Storry, ‘Arms and The Monomatapa’, *Rhodesiana*, 30, 1974, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> From *Leo Africanus: History &c.* Vol. III, pp. 985-986 as found at [www.hubert-herald.nl/Zimbabwe.htm#\\_edn.3](http://www.hubert-herald.nl/Zimbabwe.htm#_edn.3). Accessed: 2020-07-17.

<sup>7</sup> J.G. Storry, ‘Arms and The Monomatapa’, *Rhodesiana*, 30, 1974, p. 37.

bladed Argent, handled Or. The shield surmounted by a Crown Oriental”.<sup>8</sup> Both Storry and Slater are of the opinion that this was probably the first grant of Arms to a native of southern Africa, although it is unlikely that these Arms were ever used by the Emperor himself.<sup>9</sup> Barreto never met the Monomatapa and the gifts he intended for the Emperor must have been taken by the advance party he sent. The Emperor was apparently pleased with the gifts as he agreed to all the Portuguese requests and offered a hundred thousand warriors to assist them.<sup>10</sup>



Later evidence also reveals that the Emperor also had a seal, one impression of which still exists in the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Lisbon. While the exact origins of the seal are unknown, the impression is affixed to a document extolling the missionary activities of a Dominican Order active in the Mutapa Kingdom.<sup>11</sup> Although the impression has been flattened and distorted, it can be seen that it was engraved rather than embossed and the central figure (Figure 2b) is a:

“hybrid beast, having a leonine body, with three ferociously clawed paws, a cloven hoof and a canine snout and ears. The arrow, about to be discharged into the breast of this monster, postulates the speculative theory,

<sup>8</sup> S. Slater, *The Complete Book of Heraldry*, 1999, p. 228; The Council of the Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Zimbabwe, *An Armorial of Zimbabwe and Rhodesia*, 2001, p. 85.

<sup>9</sup> S. Slater, *The Complete Book of Heraldry*, 1999, p. 228.

<sup>10</sup> J.G. Storry, 'Heraldry in Africa: I. Arms of an Emperor', *The Coat of Arms*, 1(91), 1974, p. 84.

<sup>11</sup> J.G. Storry, 'Arms and The Monomatapa', *Rhodesiana*, 30, 1974, p. 34.

attractive perhaps to the Dominicans, that this is a representation of good triumphing over evil, or man over beast.<sup>12</sup>

Another example of a seal is that used by Lobengula in the late nineteenth century. Lobengula was illiterate and made his mark in front of several witnesses. The seal was further evidence of authenticity acceptable for legal usage. Four seals are known about, of which three were actually made.<sup>13</sup> The first was designed and made by Thomas Baines, the artist renowned for his African paintings, particularly a series on the Victoria Falls.<sup>14</sup> At Lobengula's insistence, the seal, along with the King's mark and a missionary's verification of the mark, was used to indicate his approval of concessions and treaties. Baines cut the seal out of boxwood which measured 26 mm in diameter and featured two assegais with the inscription "Lo Benguela". Although the seal has disappeared, it is known to have been used on six documents all written in August 1871. These include the Baines Concession, the first mining concession granted by Lobengula on 29 August 1871. The boxwood seal was also used on letters written by Baines on the King's behalf to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, the Portuguese Consul in the South African Republic and to Martinus Pretorius, President of the South African Republic.<sup>15</sup> The so-called "Tati Seal" is based on a signet ring which is now in the Rhodes Memorial Museum in Bishop's Stortford. It is a copy of the Baines seal and was used to seal the grant made on 21 September 1882 which later became known as the Tati Concession.<sup>16</sup>

Although genuine portraits of Lobengula are rare, he was reported to have been an obese man with a regal bearing known simply to his subjects as *Ndhlovu* – the elephant.<sup>17</sup> Not surprisingly, his other seals feature an "elephant statant"<sup>18</sup> as shown in Figure 3. The origin of these is unclear but one is now known as the Groote Schuur Seal and features an elephant above the inscription "LO BENGUELA". It was used on the letter of 18 January 1889

<sup>12</sup> J.G. Storry, 'Arms and The Monomatapa', *Rhodesiana*, 30, 1974, p 35.

<sup>13</sup> E.E. Burke, 'Lobengula's Seals', *Africana Notes and News*, XI, 1953-1955, p. 339.

<sup>14</sup> *The Story of Rhodesia Told in a Series of Historical Pictures*, 1936, p. 60; J. Baker, *The Zambezi Trilogy: Book One - The Horns*, 2018, p. 207.

<sup>15</sup> E.E. Burke, 'Lobengula's Seals', *Africana Notes and News*, XI, 1953-1955, p. 340.

<sup>16</sup> E.E. Burke, 'Lobengula's Seals', *Africana Notes and News*, XI, 1953-1955, p. 341.

<sup>17</sup> O. Ransford, *Bulawayo: Historic Battleground of Rhodesia*, 1968, p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> [www.hubert-herald.nl/Zimbabwe.htm#\\_edn.3](http://www.hubert-herald.nl/Zimbabwe.htm#_edn.3). Accessed: 2020-07-17.

repudiating the Rudd Concession which was later published in the *Bechuanaland News*,<sup>19</sup> and also on letters sent to Queen Victoria and the Emperor of Germany.<sup>20</sup> The seal was made in Kimberley and the image is of an Indian, rather than an African, elephant, a detail which Lobengula was aware of as he is reported to have commented “That is not an elephant of this country”.<sup>21</sup> The design is oval in shape and consists of an elephant standing sideways, beneath which is the inscription “LO BENGULA” in an oblong plaque.<sup>22</sup> Following his retreat from the royal kraal at Bulawayo in November 1893, Lobengula entrusted the seal to the trader, James Fairbairn, for safe keeping. The seal eventually fell into the hands of Dr. Leander Starr Jameson and it is now part of the “Relics from Zimbabwe” collection housed at Groote Schuur in Cape Town.<sup>23</sup> The metal press to imprint the seal, a gift from the Tati Concession to Lobengula in 1872, is also in the Groote Schuur collection.<sup>24</sup>

A red sealing wax impression of another seal, now called the Archives Seal, (6,7cm by 9,2cm and 0,3cm deep) is in The British Museum. This also features an Indian elephant “with a rather jovial expression” above which is the inscription which reads “LO BENGULA” and below “KING OF MATEBELE AND MASHONALANDS”.<sup>25</sup> There is no record of its use on any document signed by Lobengula, but it does appear on an unexecuted letter to Lord Loch dated 07 November 1891.<sup>26</sup> An Elephant statant remains in honour of the last Matabele King as the crest on the civic Arms of the City of Bulawayo.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>19</sup> E.E. Burke, ‘Lobengula’s Seals’, *Africana Notes and News*, XI, 1953-1955, p. 342; A. Davidson, *Cecil Rhodes and His Time*, 1988, pp. 141-143.

<sup>20</sup> E.E. Burke, ‘Lobengula’s Seals’, *Africana Notes and News*, XI, 1953-1955, pp. 342-343.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted from Ivon Fry in E.E. Burke, ‘Lobengula’s Seals’, *Africana Notes and News*, XI, 1953-1955, p. 341.

<sup>22</sup> E.E. Burke, ‘Lobengula’s Seals’, *Africana Notes and News*, XI, 1953-1955, p. 341.

<sup>23</sup> *The Story of Rhodesia told in a series of historical pictures*, 1936, p. 35; R. Becker, ‘Rhodes and His Relics’, *de arte*, 52(1), pp. 69, 72.

<sup>24</sup> R. Becker, ‘Rhodes and His Relics’, *de arte*, 52(1), 2017, p. 83–84.

<sup>25</sup> E.E. Burke, ‘Lobengula’s Seals’, *Africana Notes and News*, XI, 1953-1955, p. 343; [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E\\_Af1895-0318-3](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Af1895-0318-3). Accessed 2020-07-18.

<sup>26</sup> E.E. Burke, ‘Lobengula’s Seals’, *Africana Notes and News*, XI, 1953-1955, p. 343.

<sup>27</sup> F. Clements, *This Is Our Land - Stories and Legends of the Two Rhodesias*, 1963, p. 100; *City of Bulawayo Coat of Arms*, n.d., information brochure.



a) *The Grootse Schuur Seal*



b) *The Archives Seal*

**Figure 3:** Examples of Lobengula's Seal

([https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E\\_Af1895-0318-30](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Af1895-0318-30))

Another notable figure in the history of Rhodesia whose personal insignia became incorporated in the symbols of the country is Cecil John Rhodes. The Arms of the Rhodes family date back to the eighteenth century and are described in Sir Bernard Burke's authoritative *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* of 1884 as displaying a Heraldic Lion between two acorns, with the main colour of the Arms being blue.<sup>28</sup> In the personal Arms of Cecil John Rhodes, however, the acorns are replaced by two Scottish thistles and the main colour is red as shown in Figure 4 and has the following blazon:

- Arms: Argent, between two bendlets Gules a lion passant of the last between two thistles slipped and leaved proper.
- Crest: A cubit arm vested Gules and gloved proper, holding a branch of oak Vert.<sup>29</sup>

The charge from these Arms was later incorporated into the shield of the Coat of Arms of Southern Rhodesia. Even later the lion was incorporated to represent the territory in the shield of the Federal Coat of Arms which appeared on the Federal flag. While Rhodes did not have a personal flag in the strictest sense, he did have a flag to represent his ambitions. The "Cape to Cairo Flag" is the graphic manifestation of his imperialist dreams, particularly his intention to construct a railway across the continent to link Cape Town and Cairo.

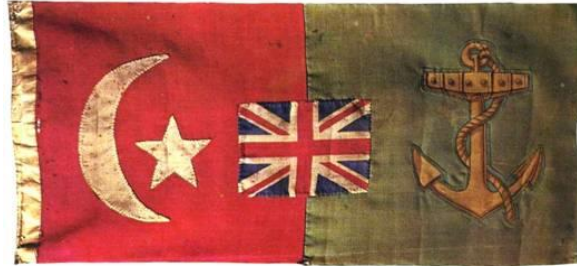
<sup>28</sup> B. Burke, *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales; comprising A Registry of Armorial Bearings from the Earliest to the Present Time*, 1884, p. 850.

<sup>29</sup> Correspondence from the College of Arms (London) to the National Archives of Rhodesia (Salisbury), January 1952 as quoted in The Council of the Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Zimbabwe, *An Armorial of Zimbabwe and Rhodesia*, 2001, p. 101; Arms illustrated on p. 102; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms and Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 40; [www.hubert-herald.nl/Zimbabwe.htm#\\_edn.3](http://www.hubert-herald.nl/Zimbabwe.htm#_edn.3). Accessed: 2020-07-17.





**Figure 4:**  
The personal Arms of  
Cecil John Rhodes  
([www.hubert-herald.nl/  
Zimbabwe.htm#\\_edn.3](http://www.hubert-herald.nl/Zimbabwe.htm#_edn.3))



**Figure 5:**  
The Cape to Cairo Flag  
(*Groote Schuur Collection*)

The “Cape to Cairo flag” comprises two equal vertical stripes of red and dark green with a small British Union Jack in the centre as shown in Figure 5. The red stripe is defaced with a white crescent moon and five-pointed star from the Egyptian flag at that time. The green stripe is defaced with a gold fouled anchor, the heraldic emblem of the Cape Colony, with the Union Jack symbolising Rhodes’ dream of connecting the two extremes of the African continent. In the biography of Sir Robert Williams (1<sup>st</sup> Baronet of Park), the Scottish mining engineer and explorer who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of the vast copper deposits in what is now called the Copperbelt of Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, and a close associate and partner of Rhodes, it is claimed that Williams was the designer of the Cape to Cairo flag.<sup>30</sup> Although not official, the flag flew on the *S.S. Cecil Rhodes* on Lake Tanganyika at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>31</sup> Writing in 1913, G. Le Sueur, one-time private secretary to Rhodes and one of his earliest biographers, records that in the billiard room at Groote Schuur hung “a small Union Jack with the Moslem crescent and star, carried by General Gordon on the Nile”.<sup>32</sup> This is taken to be a reference to the Cape to Cairo flag which is also preserved at Groote Schuur,<sup>33</sup> where it is

<sup>30</sup> R. Hutchinson and G. Martelli, *Robert's People*, 1971, p. 101.

<sup>31</sup> R. Hutchinson and G. Martelli, *Robert's People*, 1971, p. 101.

<sup>32</sup> G. Le Sueur, *Cecil Rhodes - The Man and His Work*, 1913, p. 260.

<sup>33</sup> R. Hutchinson and G. Martelli, *Robert's People*, 1971, p. 102; W. Smith, *Flags through the Ages and across the World*, 1975, p.77.

framed and hangs on the wall above Rhodes's bed.<sup>34</sup> There is no evidence of this flag ever having been used in Rhodesia and it is mentioned here to show Rhodes' affinity for flags, and for the Union Jack in particular, which will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

### 4.3 SYMBOLS OF THE COMPANY ADMINISTRATION

While it is generally accepted that the British Union Jack was the first flag of sovereignty to fly over Rhodesia, it was not the first flag to fly on Rhodesian soil. The early Portuguese explorers brought their own flags with them as they explored the east African coast and ventured inland along the Zambezi.<sup>35</sup> There is also record of a "*Vierkleur*"<sup>36</sup> of the South African Republic having found its way to Lobengula's kraal. One of the early Afrikaner traders and hunters was Piet Grobler, who later became Paul Kruger's emissary and secured the King's mark on the renewal of the friendship treaty between the Republic and the Matabele kingdom in July 1887. Grobler was visited by Lobengula whilst camped near Bulawayo in 1885. Grobler's wife Elsie records that during the visit Lobengula had a *Vierkleur* wrapped around his body like a sash and his only other item of clothing was a pair of grey woollen socks.<sup>37</sup>

One of the first Union Jacks to appear in Rhodesia belonged to Frank Johnson, who later became responsible to organise, equip and lead the Pioneer Column. Johnson was part of a syndicate that had secured a mining concession from Chief Khama in Bechuanaland. He records in his memoirs that on 24 May 1887:

This was the Queen's birthday, but I dared not fly our Union Jack, as the Matabele's believed that a flag prevented the rain from falling!<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 9.

<sup>35</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> Literally Afrikaans for "four colour"- the colloquial name for the green, red, white and blue flag of the South African Republic (officially the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek*), and later that of the Transvaal province until 1994.

<sup>37</sup> G.S. Preller, *Lobengula - The Tragedy of a Matabele King*, 1963, pp. 51-52.

<sup>38</sup> F. Johnson, *Great Days: The Autobiography of an Empire Pioneer*, 1972, p. 41.

He also included photographs of a Union Jack flying at Fort Charter<sup>39</sup> during the march of the Column and the hoisting of the flag at Fort Salisbury.<sup>40</sup> A Union Jack flown by Rudd, Maguire and Thompson over their camp in Bulawayo during the negotiations in 1888 culminating in the Rudd Concession is now preserved in the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo.<sup>41</sup>

However, it was the arrival of the Pioneer Column and the establishment of the BSAC as the administrative authority in the territory that saw the first formal hoisting of the Union Jack and the subsequent use of the Company insignia for official purposes. As such the British Union Flag (also commonly referred to as the Union Jack)<sup>42</sup> can be regarded as the first “national flag” of Rhodesia.

While most commentators suggest that the first hoisting of the Union Jack in Rhodesia by the Pioneer Column occurred once it had reached its destination near Mount Hampden on 12 September 1890, it has been recorded that the Column had hoisted the Union Jack on various occasions during its trek towards the highveld. On crossing the Shashi (now Shashe) River on 01 July 1890, a Union Jack is said to have been raised at what became Fort Tuli.<sup>43</sup> The Rhodesian historian W. Gale writes in 1960 that the Union Jack was first raised by members of the Pioneer Column after climbing what became known as “Providential Pass” and reaching the highveld on 14 August 1890.<sup>44</sup> Gale records:

Near the head of the Pass they built their first fort, named it Fort Victoria in honour of the Queen, and *hoisted the Union Jack for the first time in the new territory*<sup>45</sup> [my emphasis].

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<sup>39</sup> F. Johnson, *Great Days: The Autobiography of an Empire Pioneer*, 1972, opposite p. 143.

<sup>40</sup> F. Johnson, *Great Days: The Autobiography of an Empire Pioneer*, 1972, opposite p. 152.

<sup>41</sup> *The Story of Cecil Rhodes - Set out in a Series of Historical Pictures and Objects to Commemorate the Centenary of his Birth 1853-1953*, 1953, p. 82.

<sup>42</sup> As explained in Footnote 81, Chapter 3.

<sup>43</sup> The hoisting of a flag by the Pioneer Column at Fort Tuli is mentioned in the article ‘Flag Raising was truly historic’, *Rhodesian Commentary*, 1968, 2(26), p. 8 and a poor quality photograph of the fort with a flag flying can be seen at [https://web.facebook.com/TheBotswanaSociety/posts/fort-tuli-in-1890-and-the-tuli-circle/2559879130801533/?\\_rdc=1&\\_rdr](https://web.facebook.com/TheBotswanaSociety/posts/fort-tuli-in-1890-and-the-tuli-circle/2559879130801533/?_rdc=1&_rdr). Accessed: 2020-09-01.

<sup>44</sup> R. Cary, *The Pioneer Corps*, 1975, p. 38.

<sup>45</sup> W.D. Gale, *Deserve to Be Great - The Story of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960, pp. 28-29.

The Column rested for five days at Fort Victoria before continuing its march towards Mount Hampden. The Column established a post at Fort Charter on 04 September<sup>46</sup> where the Union Jack was hoisted once again as recorded in a photograph by Johnson. However, it is following the arrival of the Column at its final destination on 12 September 1890 that the first “official” hoisting of the Union Jack took place. Although Article 19 of the Company Charter gave it the right to “hoist and use on its buildings and elsewhere in the territories aforesaid, and on its vessels, such distinctive flag indicating the British character of the Company as Our Secretary of State and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty shall from time to time approve,”<sup>47</sup> the Company’s own flag had not been received from England when the Column set out and so a Union Jack was carried instead.<sup>48</sup>

When Rhodes was making arrangements for the Pioneer Column to leave the Cape, the question arose as to what flag the Column should carry. In May 1890, Rutherford Harris, Secretary of the Kimberley Office of the BSAC wrote to the London office as follows:

As we have none of the Company’s flags forwarded to us, Mr. Rhodes at the special request of Col. Pennefather, Mr. Colquhoun and Mr. Joseph Thomson, has sanctioned the use by these gentlemen of a white flag with the letters B.S.A.Co. on the foreground. Immediately on receipt however by us of the Company’s flags, some will be forwarded to Col. Pennefather.<sup>49</sup>

The response to this suggestion is not known. However, what is known is that the Company’s flag had not arrived before the Column departed, and despite Mr. Harris’s recommendation, the rather unimaginative suggested makeshift design was not used. Hence it was the British Union Flag which thus became the first flag of sovereignty to be hoisted in Rhodesia as shown in Figure 6a.

A detailed first-hand account of the first official raising of the flag at Mount Hampden is provided by Henry Francis (“Skipper”) Hoste, a captain in the Pioneer Corps. He writes:

The next morning, 13 September, I awoke at dawn and suddenly remembered that there was no flagstaff to hoist the Flag on, so I got up and

<sup>46</sup> R. Cary, *The Pioneer Corps*, 1975, p. 39.

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.rhodesia.me.uk/charter/>. Accessed: 2020-07-26.

<sup>48</sup> G.H. Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890-1900*, 1974, p. 27.

<sup>49</sup> Rutherford Harris to C.E. Weatherley, 12 May 1890 as quoted by T.W. Baxter, *Flags & Arms of Rhodesia*, n.d., pp. 5-6.

roused up [Lt. E.C. Tyndale-Biscoe], an ex-sailor like myself. We got hold of an axe and went to the nearest clump of trees where we picked out a nice straight pole. ...

We then carried our mast along, rigged halyards on it, and erected it in the middle of the fort that was to be ... At 10 a.m. we paraded in front of the flagstaff. ... the Canon gave a short address and extempore prayer. When he had finished, the bugles sounded the Royal Salute and we presented arms, while Biscoe slowly and solemnly raised the Flag. As the Flag reached the top of the mast 'C' Troop commenced firing a salute of twenty-one guns. ... The Colonel then called for "Three cheers for her most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria!" ... That function being over Mashonaland was now part of the British Empire, another jewel in the British Crown.<sup>50</sup>



a) *Raising the Union Jack on 13 September 1890 to mark the Occupation of Mashonaland*

**Figure 6:**

Hoisting the Flag in Salisbury and Bulawayo  
*(T.W. Baxter and R.W.S. Turner, Rhodesian Epic, 1966, pp. 112-113;*  
*W.A Wills and L.T. Collingridge, The Downfall of Lobengula: The Cause, History, and Effect of the Matabeli War, 1894, p. 136.*



b) *Company forces hoist the BSAC flag in Bulawayo on 04 November 1893*

Tanser further elaborates on the description of the event by adding that "the flag fluttered on the light breeze; then the Canon called on the parade to pray, using the words of the prayer, 'Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy most gracious favour, that we surely

<sup>50</sup> H.F. Hoste, 'Rhodesia in 1890', *Rhodesiana*, 12, 1965, p. 22.

trusting in thy defence may not be overcome by any adversary”<sup>51</sup> Having dismissed the men to set to work on building a fort after their three rousing shouts for the Queen, the officers and chaplains withdrew to the mess tent and celebrated “Occupation” with champagne.<sup>52</sup>

A flagpole now marks the spot where this first Union Jack was raised to mark the “Occupation of Mashonaland” and thus the beginning of the formal European colonisation of the country. This is on the edge of what was formerly called Cecil Square,<sup>53</sup> now renamed Africa Unity Square, in the city of Harare, capital of Zimbabwe. To further denote the significance of this event in the country’s history, the Square is laid out in the pattern of a Union Jack with trees bearing red, white and blue blossoms.<sup>54</sup> Every year between 1905 and 1979 a Union Jack was hoisted by a member, or a descendant, of the Pioneer Column on 13 September to commemorate the anniversary of the arrival of the Pioneers.<sup>55</sup>

The first Company flags eventually arrived in Mashonaland only in early 1891<sup>56</sup> despite the BSAC’s Kimberley Office representative having received a package of flags from the post office on 24 July 1890. Four days later two boxes containing seven flags which had arrived at the Cape on the “Roslin Castle” were also delivered.<sup>57</sup> Once in Mashonaland, the Company flag replaced the Union Jack as the “official” flag of the territory and hence it was the Company’s flag that was hoisted over Bulawayo on 04 November 1893 to mark Occupation following the uprising in Matabeleland. One poor quality photograph shows the BSAC flag being nailed to a tree over the royal residence of King Lobengula while a

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<sup>51</sup> G.H. Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890-1900*, 1974, p. 28.

<sup>52</sup> G.H. Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890-1900*, 1974, p. 28; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 12.

<sup>53</sup> Cecil Square is not, as many assume, named after Cecil John Rhodes. It was named after Robert Cecil, the Marquis of Salisbury, Prime Minister of Britain in 1890 (A.D. Jack, *Salisbury’s Changing Skyline 1890-1980*, 1981, p. vii; D. Clarke, *Rhodes’s Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, p. 662).

<sup>54</sup> G.H. Tanser and P. Berlyn, *Rhodesian Panorama*, 1967, p. 38.

<sup>55</sup> J.B.L. Honey, ‘Hoisting the Flag on Pioneers’ Day’, *Rhodesiana*, 24, 1971, pp. 59–62; J.B.L. Honey, ‘Hoisting the Flag on Pioneers’ Day’, *Rhodesiana*, 40, 1979, pp. 58-59. A list of the those who raised the Union Jack on Pioneer Day is provided in Annexure 3.

<sup>56</sup> M.A. Faul, ‘The Genesis of a Colonial Flag: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1937’, in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, p. 105.

<sup>57</sup> J.P.A. Sutton, ‘History of the British South Africa Company’s Police 1889 to 1902’, *The Transvaal Outpost*, 2015, p. 54. [www.bsap.org/pdfbin/TransvaalOutpostFebruary2015.pdf/](http://www.bsap.org/pdfbin/TransvaalOutpostFebruary2015.pdf/). Accessed: 2018-03-27. (LO 5/2/2, NAZ).

contemporary drawing of the event shows the flag clearly visible (Figure 6b).<sup>58</sup> This drawing later featured on a commemorative postage stamp marking the 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Occupation of Matabeleland.

The flag adopted by the BSAC (Figure 7) remained true to the precepts of its Charter and reflected the Company's British origins and character. It consisted of a British Union Flag charged in the centre, on a white roundel, with the crest of the Arms of Company, namely:

Upon a wreath Argent and Gules, a lion guardant passant Or; supporting with its dexter fore paw an ivory tusk erect proper, therebeneath the letters B.S.A.C. in black",<sup>59</sup> and was known to the irreverent as "the lion with the tooth-pick"<sup>60</sup>!



a) BSAC flag - initial version with plain disc      b) BSAC flag - later version with red ring

**Figure 7: British South Africa Company Flags**  
(Author's Collection)

Although the Company's Arms were adopted at the time of the granting of its Royal Charter in 1889, they were only formally granted by the (London) College of Arms in "the ninth year of the reign of King Edward VII". The Grant (without supporters) is dated 09 May 1909, while the supporters were the subject of a separate Grant by Garter Principle King of Arms on 25 May 1909.<sup>61</sup> These Arms (Figure 8) appeared on the Company seal, postage stamps and other official documents and were used as the official Arms of Southern Rhodesia until the end of the BSAC Administration in 1923, and are described as:

<sup>58</sup> W.A Wills and L.T. Collingridge, *The Downfall of Lobengula: The Cause, History, and Effect of the Matabeli War*, 1894, p. 136.

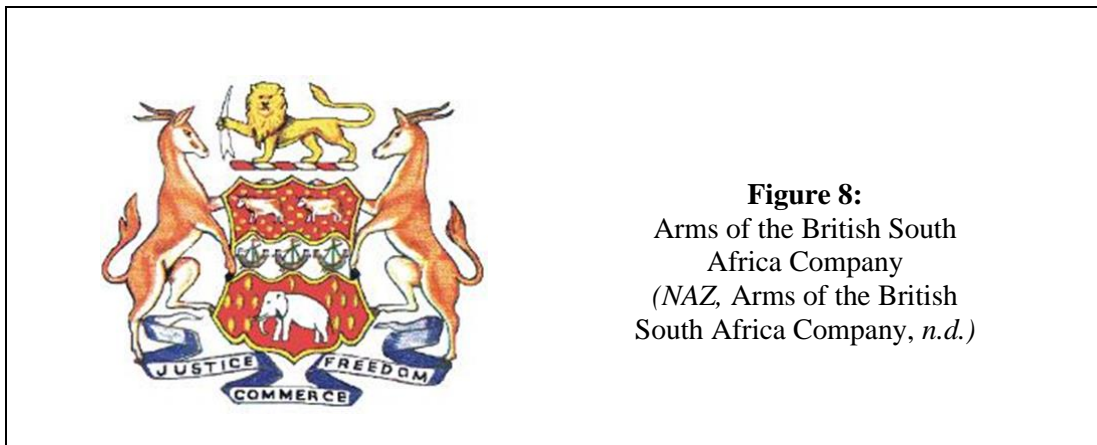
<sup>59</sup> F.G. Brownell, 'The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994', *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 77.

<sup>60</sup> T.W. Baxter, *Flags & Arms of Rhodesia*, n.d., p. 4.

<sup>61</sup> F.G. Brownell, 'The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994', *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 75.

- Blazon: Gules, the chief semee of Besants, the base semee of ears of wheat Or, a fesse wavy Argent between two bulls passant in chief and an elephant passant in base all proper; the fesse charged with three galleys Sable.
- Crest: A lion guardant passant, Or; supporting with its dexter fore paw an ivory tusk erect proper.
- Supporters: Two Springboks proper.
- Motto: Justice, Commerce, Freedom.<sup>62</sup>

The colour of the shield is red, the same as that in the Arms of England. The besants (gold discs) refer to the allure of gold in Matabeleland, and the ears of wheat on the lower part of the shield refer to the rich agricultural potential of the area. The oxen symbolise the importance of cattle in African society. The fesse wavy refers to the Zambezi, Limpopo and other rivers flowing through the territory administered by the Company. The galleys refer to shipping which can traverse the rivers. The supporters and the crest refer to the wild animals found in the area. The Lion also forms an allusion to the British Arms, being the heraldic emblem of England, and the three galleys are from the Arms of the second Duke of Abercorn, the first President of the Company.<sup>63</sup>



In line with general commercial practice, the BSAC had a common seal which was used to authenticate official documents emanating from the Company. In addition to the common seal, Article 25 of the Company Charter provided for a Deed of Settlement, which in turn

<sup>62</sup> Central African Archives, *A Guide to the Public Records of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1923*, 1956, frontispiece; *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, p. 53.

<sup>63</sup> T.W. Baxter, *Flags & Arms of Rhodesia*, n.d., p. 5; *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, p. 53; F.G. Brownell, 'The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994', *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 75.



provided for “the making and using of official seals of the Company”.<sup>64</sup> Article 100 of the Deed of Settlement in turn gave the Directors of the Company the right to create seals for use in their sphere of operation outside the United Kingdom and to provide for their use by nominated representatives. In the case of Rhodesia, such a seal did exist. It differs from the common seal by the elimination of the words “Incorporated by Royal Charter 1889” from the outer roundel and the inclusion of a second roundel with the words “Seal used in the field of the Company’s Operations South of the Zambesi”. This wording is taken from the Government Instrument authorising the Administrator of Southern Rhodesia, Sir W.H. Milton, to use the seal.<sup>65</sup> The BSAC Arms formed the centrepiece of both seals and it is presumed that a similar seal would have also existed for the Company’s operations north of the Zambezi.

As there is no official description of the BSAC flag, a number of variants are known to exist. In addition to the various renditions of the depiction of the lion, the major difference concerns whether the central device is surrounded by a red ring. Early sources make no mention of a ring and where the central device is shown in early reference books<sup>66</sup> no ring is shown (Figure 7a). The BSAC flag which was alleged to have been draped over the coffin of Cecil John Rhodes is also of the type without the red ring.<sup>67</sup> It appears that later versions of the Company flag have the central device contained within a red ring. Existing examples are those flags used by the BSAC as a commercial enterprise following the end of its Administration of Southern Rhodesia at the end of September 1923 (Figure 7b).

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<sup>64</sup> <https://www.rhodesia.me.uk/charter/>. Accessed: 2020-07-26.

<sup>65</sup> Correspondence from P. Emmerson, National Archives of Rhodesia (Salisbury), to Prof. H.H. Smith (Rhodes University, Grahamstown), 10 July 1975.

<sup>66</sup> See for example *Flags, Badges and Arms of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Part I - Flags and Badges*, 1910, Plate 17; *Flags of All Nations*, 1916, Plate 21; *The National Geographic Magazine, Our Flag Number*, XXXII(4), 1917, p. 366.

<sup>67</sup> The BSAC flag which was allegedly draped over the coffin of Cecil John Rhodes whilst it was en route from Cape Town to Bulawayo was put up for auction in London on [www.invaluable.com](http://www.invaluable.com) in August 2018. The auctioneers claimed to have evidence to support the claim regarding the provenance of the flag. The flag was sold and when the author requested details about the seller and/or buyer, the auctioneer refused to divulge any information in light of its client confidentiality regulations. This contradicts the detailed account by Francis Masey in *The late Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes. A Chronicle of the Funeral Ceremonies from Muizenberg to the Matoppos, March-April 1902*, 1902 (as reprinted by Books of Rhodesia, 1972) who states that the Charter Company’s flag, along with three wreaths, was buried with the coffin.

After being relieved of its political obligations, the Company continued to manage a wide range of agricultural, mining and commercial interests in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia until it amalgamated with the Anglo-American Corporation in 1965. During this period the Company continued to fly the Union Jack defaced with its lion badge as a house flag at its offices in London and in the Rhodesias as shown by an illustration of the flag with a red ring on the first page of an official government publication entitled *Flags of Rhodesia*<sup>68</sup> published after the adoption of the Rhodesian flag in 1968.

On 11 November 1902 the authority of the BSAC to fly flags was widened by an Admiralty Warrant which authorised a flag for the Administrator and also distinctive versions of the Blue and Red Ensigns. In terms of its Charter, the Company Administrator was the Crown's representative (i.e., *de facto* Governor) in the territories under control of the Company and the Warrant provided for a flag for his personal use. The principle for the design of such a flag is contained in a Circular from Downing Street dated 14 September 1869 which stated that "Governors of all ranks and denominations, administering the Governments of British colonies and dependencies are authorised to fly the Union Jack with the Arms or Badge of the Colony emblazoned in the centre thereof".<sup>69</sup> Attached to the Circular is an illustration of a British Union Flag showing a laurel wreath surrounding a white disc or roundel in the centre of the flag on which the device of the colony or dependency was to be placed. On this basis therefore, the flag of the Administrator was taken to be a Union Jack with the Company badge in the centre of a white roundel within a green laurel garland.

However, the 1902 Warrant makes no mention of a garland and states that "the Union Flag ... with the Badge of the British South Africa Company in the centre thereof shall be used by the Administrator of the said Company ...".<sup>70</sup> Thus there is no evidence of a distinctive Administrator's flag actually being used, nor are there any examples known to exist.

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<sup>68</sup> Government of Rhodesia, *Flags of Rhodesia*, n.d., p. 1.

<sup>69</sup> Correspondence in Cape Archives GH 5/23 as quoted in B.B. Berry, 'The Flags of the British South Africa Company 1890-1923', in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, p. 71.

<sup>70</sup> The National Archives (Kew Gardens, London, UK) (NA), Admiralty (ADM), 116-1063D, 1902.



Although empowered to own or charter ships, the BSAC's possessions never included a coastline. Whilst ensigns are primarily intended for use as maritime flags it is unlikely that those authorised for use by the Company were ever actually used. No records exist of their actual usage and no original examples have been found. The approved Blue Ensign (Figure 9a), however, bears the Company lion badge in the fly with the letters B.S.A.C. in gold beneath<sup>75</sup> and this is illustrated in a flag chart showing British ensigns reproduced in *Flags through the Ages and across the World*.<sup>76</sup>

In the case of the Red Ensign, the lion badge was placed in the centre of a white roundel in the fly, with the letters B.S.A.C. in black below, as found on the flag usually flown on land<sup>77</sup> (Figure 9b).



One further vexillological example of the use of the BSAC crest is on the BSAC Police Pennant. The original badge of the BSAC Police used between 1889 and 1892 was in the colours of red on blue and showed the lion with tusk emblem from the BSAC Arms in the centre, surrounded by the words "The British South Africa Company Police".<sup>78</sup> A police pennant was also used which features the BSAC badge, as found on the flag, on a vertical white stripe at the hoist followed by the letters BSAC on a white triangular field adjacent

<sup>75</sup> F.G. Brownell, 'The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994', *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 79.

<sup>76</sup> W. Smith, *Flags through the Ages and across the World*, 1975, p. 186.

<sup>77</sup> M.A. Faul, 'The Genesis of a Colonial Flag: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1937', in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, p. 105. Although Brownell describes the BSAC Red Ensign in 'The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994', *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 77 as having the badge placed directly in the fly as in the case of the BSAC Blue Ensign, evidence suggests that the badge was in the centre of a roundel.

<sup>78</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms and Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 159.

to two red triangles forming a swallow-tail fly as shown in Figure 10. An example of this pennant can be seen in the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo.

Following the outcome of the 1922 referendum which rejected incorporation into the Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia became a ‘self-governing’ British Colony with Responsible Government. On Saturday, 29 September 1923, the Company flag was lowered from the Administrator’s Office in Salisbury. On the following evening the Retreat was sounded at the BSAP depot and RSM Douglas, Sergeant Hughes-Halls and Sergeant Harmer lowered the BSAC flag for the last time.<sup>79</sup> At midday on Monday, 01 October, the formal transfer of power took place to the newly elected Legislative Assembly with Sir Charles Coghlan as the first Premier and Sir John Chancellor, who had arrived in Salisbury the previous day, being sworn in as Governor and representative of King George V.<sup>80</sup> The British Union Flag was raised to symbolise the change in Administration.

#### 4.4 SYMBOLS OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

As there had been no Company flag in 1890, so there was no distinctive colonial flag or Coat of Arms in 1923. Shortly after the change in administration, the question of a national coat of arms was raised and the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, a prominent local newspaper, invited its readers to submit designs. Unfortunately, not many proposals were received and those that were submitted tended to clutter the shield with renditions of various local artefacts.<sup>81</sup> A common theme in the proposals, however, was the inclusion of the lion and thistles from the Arms of Cecil John Rhodes and the use of Sable Antelopes as supporters.<sup>82</sup> In October 1923, an architect and heraldic enthusiast from Bulawayo, Mr. D. MacGillivray, submitted a design at the request of the Southern Rhodesian Government. In a letter to Sir Francis Newton, the Colonial Secretary in the Southern Rhodesian Government who had

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<sup>79</sup> P. Gibbs, *The Right of the Line*, 1974, p. 165; P. Gibbs, H. Phillips and N. Russell, *Blue and Old Gold - The History of the British South Africa Police 1889-1980*, 2009, p. 180.

<sup>80</sup> P. Gibbs, H. Phillips, and N. Russell, *Blue and Old Gold - The History of the British South Africa Police 1889-1980*, 2009, p. 180.

<sup>81</sup> J.G. Storry, ‘Heraldry in Africa: II. Two Monsters’, *The Coat of Arms*, 1(92), 1974-75, p. 110.

<sup>82</sup> J.G. Storry, ‘Heraldry in Africa: II. Two Monsters’, *The Coat of Arms*, 1(92), 1974-75, p. 110.

responsibility for the matter, the Premier, Sir Charles Coghlan, said that while he agreed with the general design, the Governor “says the rising sun is unheraldic”. Furthermore:

... as regards the crest, as MacGillivray no doubt has told you, I do not favour the placing in the banner of either a flower or a bird, at least not those suggested by Lady Coghlan, as they do not seem to me to be distinctive of Rhodesia. My idea is that we should have simply the Union Jack as the flag and the motto then I think should be very appropriate and simple would be *Semper Fidelis*<sup>83</sup> which would bear the clear implication of reference to the flag and in that way to our victory for direct communications with Downing Street at the Referendum last year ...<sup>84</sup>

In a letter to the *Bulawayo Chronicle* on 29 October 1923, a Mr. Justice Russel criticised MacGillivray’s design as lacking originality and for being too similar to that of the Arms of the BSAC. He suggested that a pick and shovel in saltire should be shown in a gold shield and that the four quarterings should contain a bull’s head, and the lion and thistles from Rhodes’s Arms. He suggested that the rising sun also be omitted and for supporters he suggested a BSAP policeman (dexter) and a Matabele Warrior (sinister) with a Sable’s head on the crest and *Aliquid novi ex Africa*<sup>85</sup> for the motto.<sup>86</sup>

These and various other suggestions were presented by Newton to the Designs Committee of the Royal Mint in London, with the final outcome being the Coat of Arms which was granted by Royal Warrant of King George V on 11 August 1924, as illustrated in Figure 11, with the following description:

Blazon: Vert a Pick Or on a Chief Argent a Lion passant Gules between two thistles leaved and slipped proper.  
 Crest: On a Wreath Or and Vert, a representation of the bird; (otherwise the Great Zimbabwe Bird) Gold.  
 Supporters: On either side, a Sable Antelope proper.  
 Motto: *Sit Nomine Digna*.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Latin for ‘Always Faithful’ or ‘Always Loyal’.

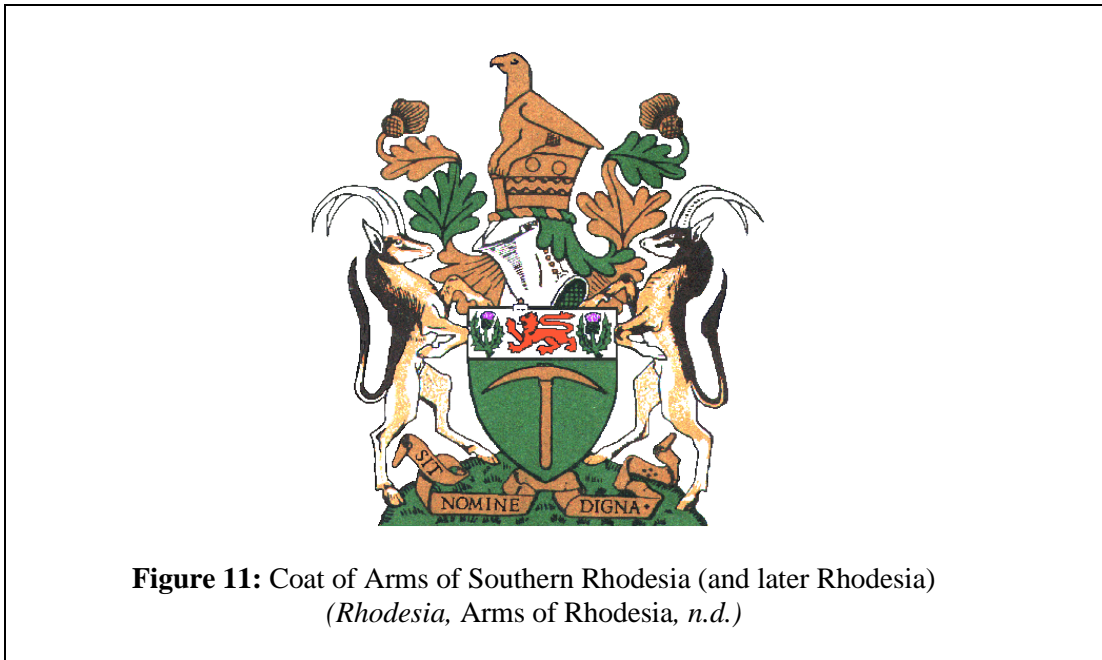
<sup>84</sup> NAZ, NEW 1/1/1, Correspondence from Sir Charles Coghlan to Sir Francis Newton, 29 October 1923; T.W. Baxter, *Flags & Arms of Rhodesia*, n.d., p. 9.

<sup>85</sup> Latin for ‘Something new out of Africa’.

<sup>86</sup> T.W. Baxter, *Flags & Arms of Rhodesia*, n.d., pp. 9-10.

<sup>87</sup> Southern Rhodesia, *Government Notice*, No. 641, 5 December 1924; Rhodesia, *Arms of Rhodesia*, n.d.; *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, p. 27.

Baxter writes that the crest was suggested by Sir Francis Newton while Storry says it was MacGillivray that proposed the Zimbabwe Bird.<sup>88</sup> Baxter further contends that the charge on the shield (the pick) was probably adapted by Oswald Barron, a heraldry and genealogy expert, the chief (from Rhodes's Arms) was probably suggested by Newton and the motto by Sir Owen Seaman, the editor of *Punch*. The final design was drawn by the Committee on Designs of the Royal Mint under Barron's direction.<sup>89</sup>



The gold pick symbolises the importance of mining and, in particular (at the time of its adoption) the mining of gold. The pick is set on a green field, representing the agricultural background of the country. The bird surmounting the Arms is a representation of the soapstone bird found at Great Zimbabwe and serves as a reminder of the country's past. The lion and thistles are from the Arms of Cecil John Rhodes, the Founder. The motto, *Sit Nomine Digna* means 'May she (Rhodesia) be worthy of the name'.<sup>90</sup>

One of the first items to link the identity of the new Colony with the customs and traditions of Britain was through the use of a parliamentary Mace. As already indicayed, in terms of

<sup>88</sup> J.G. Storry, 'Heraldry in Africa: II. Two Monsters', *The Coat of Arms*, 1(92), 1974-75, p. 111.

<sup>89</sup> T.W. Baxter, *Flags & Arms of Rhodesia*, n.d., p. 10.

<sup>90</sup> Rhodesia, *Rhodesia - The Raising of the Flag*, 1968, p. 3; Rhodesia, *Flags of Rhodesia*, n.d., p. 6.

parliamentary tradition, the Mace is the symbol of the authority of the Speaker. Without the Mace, the legislature cannot function. Therefore, the acquisition of a Mace for the newly established Southern Rhodesian Parliament was suggested by Sir Francis Newton, the Colonial Secretary, shortly after the start of the first session of the House of Assembly in June 1924. He suggested “that we should endeavour to maintain the dignity of the powers and privileges of the House by the exhibition of such a symbol ...”.<sup>91</sup> Despite the opposition of some Members, the purchase of a Mace was approved in December 1924 at a cost of £262.10.0. The Mace was designed and manufactured by Garrard and Company in London and was first used at the opening of Parliament on 27 April 1925.<sup>92</sup>

The Mace, which is 1,22 metres in length and weighs 4,36 kilograms, is described as:

A chased silver-gilt Mace, the head surmounted by a Royal Crown, enclosing date 1924, and divided by caryatides supporting arches into four panels containing one the Royal Arms, one the Arms of Southern Rhodesia and the remaining two the cyphers of G.R.V.; the end of the staff terminated by four female figures, and the rod divided by two bulb-fluted knobs and wreathed with the National Emblems of the Rose, Thistle and Acorn; having a terminal trumpet-shaped knob enriched with chased acanthus leaves, and Roses and Thistles in the panelling.<sup>93</sup>

The British National Anthem had been used during the BSAC Administration and continued to be sung after 1923. There had been attempts to adopt a local anthem when the organisers of the second Eisteddfod to be held in the territory held a competition in 1913. Thirty-four poems were submitted with the winning entrant being a nursing sister from Modderfontein in the Transvaal who received a prize from the Administrator, Sir William Milton. Another competition was then arranged for a vocal setting for the poem. Fifty-eight entries were received and the Eisteddfod opened with the singing of the new “anthem”. The Adjudicators decided that it had no “dignity or originality” and “... a tune

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<sup>91</sup> Office of the Secretary of Parliament, *The Golden Jubilee of Parliament 1924-1974*, 1974, p. 31.

<sup>92</sup> Correspondence from L.J. Howe-Ely, Secretary to Parliament (Salisbury) to Prof. H.H. Smith (Rhodes University, Grahamstown), 15 August 1973 which includes a photograph of the Mace provided by the Photographic Unit, Ministry of Information.

<sup>93</sup> Office of the Secretary of Parliament, *The Golden Jubilee of Parliament 1924-1974*, 1974, p. 31.



that will bear the brunt of the use of centuries should have merits beyond those required for a children's hymn".<sup>94</sup>

Another competition was held the following year and once again the Adjudicator was scathing about the quality of the entries. He doubted "whether it could ever be possible for any nation to get a National Anthem as a result of competition. Such things grow out of the life of a nation – as a result of great feelings and emotions in times of great national crisis ...".<sup>95</sup> Thus no new specifically Rhodesian anthem was adopted.

Another symbol of official authority is the Public Seal. As an instrument of government, the Seal is considered to be the supreme symbol of sovereignty. The Public Seal of Southern Rhodesia was approved by Royal Warrant of King George V on 24 August 1925 and its first application was on Act No. 1 of 1926. Prior to this, the personal seal of the Governor, Sir John Chancellor, had been used on official documents.<sup>96</sup> The new seal contained the Coat of Arms in the centre, surmounted by a Royal (Tudor) Crown and the name of the Colony below, circumscribed within two concentric circles and surrounded by another circle inscribed with an abbreviated form of the royal title in Latin. A new seal was introduced following the accession of King George VI in 1936.

The issue of a colonial flag for Southern Rhodesia is another that highlights the nature of settler colonial identity which is the central theme of this thesis. Having adopted a Coat of Arms, in following the traditional British colonial practice the most obvious design for a new flag for Southern Rhodesia would have been to place the shield from the Arms in the fly of a British Blue Ensign. Indeed, on 28 March 1925, the Governor informed the Colonial Office that "My Ministers inform me that they desire that the shield only should be used as a badge on flags".<sup>97</sup> That should have settled the matter. However, it was not

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<sup>94</sup> G.H. Tanser, *A Sequence of Time - The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1900 to 1914*, 1974, p. 269.

<sup>95</sup> G.H. Tanser, *A Sequence of Time - The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1900 to 1914*, 1974, p. 269.

<sup>96</sup> Correspondence from P. Emmerson, National Archives of Rhodesia (Salisbury) to Prof. H.H. Smith (Rhodes University, Grahamstown), 01 May 1975.

<sup>97</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Sir John Chancellor (Governor) to Colonial Office, 28 March 1925; M.A. Faul, 'The Genesis of a Colonial Flag: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1937', in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, p. 105.

to be and thus began a 13-year period of confusion and misunderstanding as to what was the “official” flag of the colony.<sup>98</sup>

Immediately following the granting of Responsible Government, Southern Rhodesia flew the Union Jack on both official and unofficial occasions. On 09 April 1924, in answer to a query from the Consul General of Norway regarding the flags of the new Colony, the Governor, Sir John Chancellor, stated:

- (1) The flag of the Head of State is the Union Flag (Union Jack), with the approved Arms or Badge of Southern Rhodesia emblazoned in the centre thereof on a white shield surrounded by a green garland.<sup>99</sup>
- (2) The National flag is the Union Flag (Union Jack) without badge.
- (3) There is no provision for a flag of legations and consulates of Southern Rhodesia.
- (4) and (5) There is no state flag or flag of the Navy or Mercantile Marine.<sup>100</sup>

He goes on to state that as the Coat of Arms had not yet been granted, it was not possible to furnish an illustration of the design of the flag of the Governor as outlined in (1).<sup>101</sup>

Later in March 1925, as mentioned above, the Governor seems to have been of the view that the Colony should follow the usual practice of having a flag with the colonial badge in the fly now that the formal grant of Arms had been issued. Two months later the organisers of the British Empire Exhibition wrote to the Rhodesian High Commission in London requesting a flag to represent the Colony during a procession.<sup>102</sup> The High

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<sup>98</sup> See for example M.A. Faul, ‘Just what is the Rhodesian Flag?’, *Rhodesians Worldwide*, 11(4), 1996, pp. 25-26; M.A. Faul, ‘The Genesis of a Colonial Flag: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1937’, in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, pp. 105-108; B.B. Berry, ‘“The Beloved Green and White” - (White) Rhodesia's search for a unique symbol of identity’, Paper presented at the 27<sup>th</sup> *International Congress of Vexillology*, London, 07-11 August 2017.

<sup>99</sup> The Governor should have pointed out that in terms of Colonial Regulations at that time, this flag is only flown by the Governor when embarked on a ship or other vessel and at all other times the Governor flies an undefaced (i.e. plain) Union Flag.

<sup>100</sup> NAZ, S 246/61, Correspondence from Sir John Chancellor (Governor) to Consul-General of Norway, 09 April 1924.

<sup>101</sup> NAZ, S 246/61, Correspondence from Sir John Chancellor (Governor) to Consul-General of Norway, 09 April 1924.

<sup>102</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Lt. Gen. Sir William Furse of the British Empire Exhibition to Sir Francis Newton, Rhodesian High Commission (London), 13 April 1925.

Commission contacted the Colonial Office and asked “What kind of ensign am I at liberty to provide?”<sup>103</sup> The latter replied that “... following the course adopted by other colonies last year, it is thought that the Blue Ensign with the Arms (or Flag Badge) of Southern Rhodesia in the fly might be used for this purpose”. It went on to refer to the letter received from the Governor in March whereby “... his Government had approved of the shield only” as the badge to be used on the flag. There is a note pencilled on the letter from someone in the High Commission which reads: “Shield and motto only, not supporters”.<sup>104</sup>

Clearly the officials of both the Colonial Office and the High Commission had misunderstood the contents of the Governor’s letter which stated a preference for using the shield as badge of the Colony on a flag rather than indicating an “approval”. Secondly, there is no mention of including the motto. On 06 May 1925 the High Commission replied that no flag was available, but enclosed an illustration of the Arms adding; “I understand ... that the Government of Southern Rhodesia has approved of the shield only (without supporters) with presumably the motto ... of the Colony’s Coat of Arms being used as a flag-badge”.<sup>105</sup> This was not what the Governor had written, nor what the Colonial Office had told the High Commission.<sup>106</sup>

The organisers replied that they had in fact an “Ensign of Southern Rhodesia of a suitable size”. As evidenced by the hand-written notations on the letter, this caused some consternation at the High Commission as none of the staff were aware, or had seen, such a flag and the question was raised as to “How did they get the badge?”<sup>107</sup> In a further reply to the Exhibition organisers: “The High Commissioner would be greatly obliged if this flag could be sent to him for examination as he was not previously aware that such a flag had

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<sup>103</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Rhodesian High Commission (London) to Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 24 April 1925.

<sup>104</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Colonial Office to Collyer of the Rhodesian High Commission (London), 05 May 1925.

<sup>105</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Rhodesian High Commission (London) to Lt. Gen. Sir William Furse of the British Empire Exhibition, 06 May 1925.

<sup>106</sup> M.A. Faul, ‘The Genesis of a Colonial Flag: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1937’, in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, p. 106.

<sup>107</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Lt. Gen. Sir William Furse of the British Empire Exhibition to Rhodesian High Commission (London), 07 May 1925.

been made”. They also asked for the name of the flag manufacturer.<sup>108</sup> In reply, the organisers indicated that the design had “... a pick-axe, two roses and a dragon” and named the manufacturer as Messrs Adam Lane and Neave Ltd “from whom I suggest you procure an example”.<sup>109</sup> The roses and dragon are an obvious misinterpretation of the thistles and lion (from the Arms of Rhodes) on the shield.

As M.A. Faul notes in his examination of this correspondence, the High Commission staff did not know there was a flag for the Colony. The Colonial Office had informed them of the Governor’s letter and that the shield only should be used as the badge, but they still mistakenly included the motto. These were not confused vexillologists trying to confirm the design of a new flag of a hitherto unknown area. Rather, they were the diplomatic representatives of a British colony in the capital of the mother country and were confused about their own flag!<sup>110</sup>

Three years later, in March 1928, the Rhodesian High Commission again wrote to the Colonial Secretary in Salisbury to seek clarification as to what was the flag of the Colony, adding that they had used “... the Blue and Red Ensigns with the Arms of the Colony in a circle” in the office and at some exhibitions.<sup>111</sup> The reply, a month later, was emphatic and stated that “the Union Jack is the flag of Southern Rhodesia” and that the use of the Union Jack, or of the Red and Blue Ensigns, with the flag-badge “would not be in order for the purposes mentioned in your letter”.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Rhodesian High Commission (London) to Lt. Gen. Sir William Furse of the British Empire Exhibition, 08 May 1925.

<sup>109</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Lt. Gen. Sir William Furse of the British Empire Exhibition to Rhodesian High Commission (London), 12 May 1925.

<sup>110</sup> M.A. Faul, ‘The Genesis of a Colonial Flag: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1937’, in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, p. 106.

<sup>111</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Rhodesian High Commission (London) to Colonial Secretary (Salisbury), 05 March 1928.

<sup>112</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Colonial Secretary (Salisbury) to Rhodesian High Commission (London), 05 April 1928; M.A. Faul, ‘The Genesis of a Colonial Flag: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1937’, in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, p. 106.

This was the same message conveyed in 1930 when Southern Rhodesia proposed to send a team to shoot at Bisley in the United Kingdom and enquiries were again made as to what flag the team should fly. The reply to the team was that:

There is no special flag for Southern Rhodesia. Our official flag is the 'Union Jack', and this is what should be used at the High Commissioner's Office in London.<sup>113</sup>

This was the answer provided to a subsequent enquiry from United States in 1931 when the issue of the colonial flag was again raised. However, as a result of an enquiry from the Colonial Secretary in Salisbury to the Commandant of the Territorial Force on 12 December 1932, the Commandant replied by sending a 1932 copy of *Flags, Badges and Arms of His Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas* which showed that for Southern Rhodesia the flag should follow the usual colonial pattern with the badge to be placed on a Union Flag (in a white circle) when used by the Governor and in the fly of the Blue Ensign (without a white circle) when used for other purposes.<sup>114</sup> In addition the Commandant commented that "It seems that the adoption of the Southern Rhodesian flag would obviate many difficulties".<sup>115</sup>

While the general public seemed content to only fly the Union Jack within the country, the need for a distinctive flag to distinguish the Colony abroad was still a matter of some official consternation. As a result of this the Colonial Secretary wrote to the Rhodesian High Commissioner in London requesting "the centre piece" be sent and where these could be obtained so that this information could be forwarded to other Government Departments.<sup>116</sup> In reply, the High Commissioner pointed out "... that on 05 April 1928, a letter was written by your office to this office pointing out that the Union Jack was the flag of Southern Rhodesia, and not the one to which you refer ...".<sup>117</sup> Thus no official

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<sup>113</sup> NAZ, S 246/161, Correspondence from Duff to O'Dell, 18 October 1929.

<sup>114</sup> *Flags, Badges and Arms of His Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas and of Territories under His Majesty's Protection*, 1932, pp. 5, 6, 15.

<sup>115</sup> NAZ, S 246/161, Correspondence from Commandant, Territorial Force to the Secretary, Law Department, 13 December 1932.

<sup>116</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from W.M. Leggate of the Colonial Secretary's Office (Salisbury) to J.W. Downie of Rhodesian High Commission (London), 17 January 1933.

<sup>117</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from W.M. Leggate of the Colonial Secretary's Office (Salisbury) to J.W. Downie of Rhodesian High Commission (London), 08 March 1933.

authority had been given for such a flag. Another letter from the Colonial Secretary in Salisbury stated that the Union Jack with the badge was for use only at sea, and Colonial Office Regulations made the Union Jack the colonial flag. It was not clear if these regulations applied to Southern Rhodesia and whether authorisation was required to adopt the Union Jack as the flag for the Colony.<sup>118</sup> This letter was referred to the Dominions Office, under which Southern Rhodesia fell due to its unique constitutional status as a self-governing colony with Responsible Government. In reply on 26 November 1934, it was stated that the Union Jack was the appropriate flag for use in any part of His Majesty's dominions. It went on to point out that the Union Jack with badge in the centre is for use by the Governor when on board ship, and the usual practice is "to adopt either the Blue or the Red Ensign with badge". The procedure to adopt a flag in Southern Rhodesia would be by legislation.<sup>119</sup>

The guidance to legislate for the adoption of a new flag was correct in the case of a Dominion, but was incorrect in the case of Southern Rhodesia. This is another example of the confusion caused by Southern Rhodesia's somewhat unique constitutional status – in being neither a fully-fledged Dominion nor a colony like most others. Unlike the situation which had arisen a few years previously when neighbouring South Africa had adopted a new flag in 1927 through an Act of Parliament in Cape Town, Southern Rhodesia was not a Dominion. South Africa was a Dominion and although still under the Crown, was legislatively independent. Adopting a flag was an act relating to foreign affairs and in Southern Rhodesia's unique case, foreign affairs were controlled from London.<sup>120</sup>

In addition to the official ramifications regarding the choice and use of a flag, there were also other considerations. In November and December 1932 there was some correspondence with the Director of Education following which he gave instructions with regard to the atlas by *Messrs G. Philip and Sons Atlases* that the Union Jack was to be

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<sup>118</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Colonial Secretary (Salisbury) to Rhodesian High Commission (London), 11 September 1934.

<sup>119</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from C.W. Dixon of the Dominions Office to B.F. Wright of Rhodesian High Commission (London), 26 November 1934.

<sup>120</sup> M.A. Faul, 'The Genesis of a Colonial Flag: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1937', in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, p. 106.

pasted over the incorrect flag that was shown for Southern Rhodesia.<sup>121</sup> Leggate in the Colonial Secretary's Office in Salisbury told the High Commissioner to ignore his previous instructions by saying "As the Union Jack is our flag it would not be correct to carry out the instructions I previously sent you".<sup>122</sup>



In November 1934, the continuing need for a distinctive flag saw the Rhodesian High Commission purchasing some small Union Jacks with green pennants below emblazoned with "SOUTHERN RHODESIA" in white for use as car flags at the royal wedding of Prince George as shown in Figure 12.<sup>123</sup> One such flag-pennant example is preserved in the National Archives of Zimbabwe. Later the Union Jack and pennant, alongside various other British colonial flags, featured on a handkerchief to commemorate the impending coronation of King Edward VIII.<sup>124</sup>

In February 1935 the High Commission received a letter from the Department of Internal Affairs (formerly the Colonial Secretary) in Salisbury stating that "... it has been decided

<sup>121</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from J.M. Downie of the Rhodesian High Commission (London) to W.M. Leggate, Colonial Secretary (Salisbury), 09 February 1933.

<sup>122</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from W.M. Leggate of the Colonial Secretary's Office (Salisbury) to J.W. Downie of Rhodesian High Commission (London), 09 February 1933.

<sup>123</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Various correspondence between Rhodesian High Commission (London) and Benjamin Edington Ltd (Flag and Tent Makers, London) between 22 November 1934 and 02 July 1936. There appears to have been two orders – one for the Royal Wedding and one for the expected coronation of King Edward VIII.

<sup>124</sup> An example is in the author's possession.

not to take any further steps in the matter of an official flag for this Colony”.<sup>125</sup> The correspondence makes it clear that the British Empire Exhibition incident had been forgotten, as had the Governor’s letter of March 1925. There was confusion as to the flag to be used to represent the Colony, hence the use of a flag-pennant the preceding November. Nor is there any indication that the correspondents knew of the existence of a distinctive Southern Rhodesian flag.

The matter refused to go away as the number of occasions when the Colony’s individual identity needed to be acknowledged with its own flag was increasing. The impending coronation of King George VI brought matters to a head. The Southern Rhodesian Minister of Justice, R.C. Tredgold, wrote to the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, (later Sir) Godfrey Huggins, on 18 November 1936 stating that the two methods to adopt a flag were either by an Act of Parliament or by Royal Proclamation. Given its constitutional status, it was questionable whether the Southern Rhodesian parliament had the power to adopt a flag and Tredgold suggested that the matter be referred to the Imperial authorities. He added that he thought it “would be quite in order for the Government of Southern Rhodesia to send the Blue Ensign with the Arms of the Colony inset as a present to another government as representing the flag of the Colony”. Furthermore, he continued, “It seems that unless we are prepared to alter the position by Royal Proclamation, we are left with the Governor’s flag and the Union Flag for local use, since it is unlikely, for the present at any rate, that we should have any use for a maritime flag”.<sup>126</sup> Tredgold recognised the limitations of the powers of the Southern Rhodesia parliament and the remark concerning maritime flags refers to the earlier mention in the inter-governmental correspondence of the Colonial Maritime Regulations.<sup>127</sup>

Ten days later the Prime Minister wrote to the Rhodesian High Commission stating that every year there were applications for a flag for the Colony and the Government needed to

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<sup>125</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from Department of Internal Affairs (Salisbury) to Rhodesian High Commission (London), 23 February 1935.

<sup>126</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from R.C. Tredgold (Minister of Justice) to G.M. Huggins (Prime Minister), 18 November 1936.

<sup>127</sup> M.A. Faul, ‘The Genesis of a Colonial Flag: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1937’, in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, p. 107.



be able to respond to these queries. He added “We are very anxious *not* to get away from the Union Jack” [my emphasis] and “I do not want any flag-controversy here”.<sup>128</sup> This was a reference to the South African flag controversy of 1925-28, a matter which had raised emotions, in particular around Afrikaner opposition to the inclusion of the Union Jack.<sup>129</sup>

On 12 December 1936 O’Keefe, the Rhodesian High Commissioner, wrote to the Dominions Office that there was an urgent need for a flag of Southern Rhodesia for use at the coronation as Rhodesian troops would participate. He enclosed copies of the letters from Tredgold and the Prime Minister and stressed, “I can only hope that the matter is as simple as it appears from his (Tredgold’s) opinion, and it strikes me that it would be if we decided upon a Red Ensign with the Colony’s Coat of Arms, without supporters, in the appropriate place, because from all appearances it will be some time before we become a maritime nation”.<sup>130</sup>

Once again there is a reference to the Red Ensign and the comment about becoming a “maritime nation”. As indicated already, Southern Rhodesia was land-locked with few navigable rivers or lakes likely to see large vessels (see Figure 1).

A detailed reply from the Dominions Office dated 04 January 1937 was received:

I have now been able to look into the question of a separate flag for Southern Rhodesia about which you wrote to me on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December (LOK/AM/1272/36).

I find that there was correspondence between our two offices on this subject about two years ago ending with Mr. Wright’s letter of the 27<sup>th</sup> of December, 1934 (C/2674/34). The view taken here is that the establishment of a separate flag for use on land in a self-governing colony is a matter to be governed by local law or usage. As you will gather from our letter to Mr Wright of 26<sup>th</sup> of December, 1934, legislation is thought to be the more satisfactory alternative but, as the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia is averse from passing legislation on the subject, the only course open would appear to be

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<sup>128</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from G.M. Huggins (Prime Minister) to S.M.L. O’Keefe of the Rhodesian High Commission (London), 28 November 1936.

<sup>129</sup> For further details on this issue see H. Saker, *The South African Flag Controversy 1925-1928*, 1980.

<sup>130</sup> NAZ, S 881/69/4651, Correspondence from S.M.L. O’Keefe of the Rhodesian High Commission (London) to Sir H. Batterbee of the Dominions Office (London), 12 December 1936.

either (1) to begin using the proposed new flag for such purposes as may be desired without calling special attention to the innovation, or (2) to publish a notice in the Gazette indicating what may be decided as to the use of such a flag, the notice making clear that the official land flag of the Governor of the Colony remains the Union Jack.

As to what the new flag should be, we should rather be disposed to favour the use of the Blue Ensign with the badge of Southern Rhodesia emblazoned on the fly (this being a flag which might be regarded as already existing in theory, if not in fact), but the question is really one for the Southern Rhodesia Government to decide.<sup>131</sup>

On 09 January 1937, the Rhodesian High Commission sent a telegram to the Prime Minister in Salisbury outlining the contents of the letter received from the Dominions Office ending with the request “Am I authorised to proceed to obtain a new flag accordingly? In view of Coronation matter is urgent”.<sup>132</sup> The Prime Minister’s reply on 13 January was:

Dominions Office suggestion No. 1 appeals to me; that is to say we will have a flag which can be presented to countries, schools etc; it can also be used by the High Commissioner, visiting sports teams etc., and other countries; it would not necessarily be used here at all, except as bunting or in combination with the Union Jack.<sup>133</sup>

While the Prime Minister had given tacit approval for the Blue Ensign to be the basis of the Colony’s flag, it was on the understanding that the flag would be used mainly *outside the Colony* while the Union Jack would remain as the official flag to be used within the Colony.<sup>134</sup> Thus Southern Rhodesia came to be the only territory whose land-based

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<sup>131</sup> NAZ, S 23/124/1937, Correspondence from H.F. Batterbee of the Dominions Office (London) to S.M.L. O’Keefe of the Rhodesian High Commission (London), 04 January 1937.

<sup>132</sup> NAZ, S 23/124/1937, Correspondence from Rhodesian High Commission (London) to Prime Minister’s Office (Salisbury), 09 January 1937.

<sup>133</sup> NAZ, S 23/124/1937, Correspondence from G.M. Huggins (Prime Minister) to unstated recipient, but likely to have been the Rhodesian High Commission (London), 13 January 1937.

<sup>134</sup> It should be noted that the Union Jack was regarded throughout the British Empire as being the national flag of the Dominions and Colonies. The colonial maritime ensigns (generally blue for colonies and red for protectorates) were used abroad when a distinctive flag was needed to identify a colony. In the case of Canada, its maritime red ensign was used unofficially on land, but it was never the official national flag, which remained the Union Jack. Similarly, in Australia the official national flag was the Union Jack until 1954, except that the Federal Government used an Australian blue ensign and the public came to use unofficially an Australian red ensign. After all the other Canadian provinces had adopted distinctive flags by 1969, the provincial flag of Newfoundland remained the Union Jack until 1980.

national flag was consciously determined *not* to be used within its boundaries [my emphasis].

This sentiment was confirmed later in June 1937 by the Rhodesian High Commissioner who wrote to confirm that Southern Rhodesian flags were now available from a London manufacturer, and added:

I should mention, however, that the official flag of Southern Rhodesia is still the Union Jack, and the new flag has only been adopted for use outside the Colony. ... the Union Jack gave us no distinction from the Mother Country or the Colonial Empire, but the new Flag ... the Blue Ensign with the badge of the Colony's Coat of Arms emblazoned in the fly, does give us our own identity, which is valuable for publicity purposes on this side, but I feel it right to point out that I believe it to be the official intention that the new Flag ... shall not come into general use in the Colony.<sup>135</sup>

Despite the reservations of both the Prime Minister and the High Commissioner, the Southern Rhodesian Dark Blue Ensign, as illustrated in Figure 13, did come to be used within the Colony, but flown alongside the Union Jack in an unofficial dual-flag policy. The Union Jack was flown at all "Southern Rhodesian Government stations" and when flown alongside the Southern Rhodesian flag, "the Union Jack will be in a position of seniority, namely on the right when the viewer stands with his back to the building or flagstaffs from which they are flown".<sup>136</sup>



<sup>135</sup> NAZ, S 23/124/1937, Correspondence from B.F. Wright of the Rhodesian High Commission (London) to Col. J.A. Methuen of the Southern Rhodesia Territorial Force (Umtali), 18 June 1937.

<sup>136</sup> Southern Rhodesia, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, 56, 1964, p. 1775.

In the absence of any formal regulation, not only was there confusion as to its usage but also regarding the exact specifications of the Southern Rhodesian Dark Blue Ensign. In an amendment to its 1916 edition of *Flags of All Nations*,<sup>137</sup> the Admiralty issued, as part of *Errata 8*, a coloured sheet dated May 1925 which showed the flag badge as being the shield from the Coat of Arms being placed on a white disc on the Union Jack and without the white disc on the Blue Ensign.<sup>138</sup> Wheeler-Holohan in the 1933 edition of *A Manual of Flags* notes that shield is used on the Union Jack in a white circle but without the circle on the Blue Ensign and illustrates the unofficial Red Ensign.<sup>139</sup> In the 1939 edition of *Flags of the World* the same author indicates that the shield is placed in the Union Jack without the white circle but within a white circle on the Blue ensign - which is clearly an error.<sup>140</sup> This is repeated verbatim in the 1953 edition and again reference is made to a Red Ensign version which is also illustrated.<sup>141</sup> The post-1968 Rhodesian Government publication illustrates the Blue Ensign, but with the shield on a white disc.<sup>142</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that both versions – with and without the white disc – were used although that with the shield placed directly in the fly appears to have been more common.

The flag question came to the fore once again during the Royal Tour to Southern Rhodesia in 1947 after World War II. Interestingly, this time it was the Red Ensign version that was the centre of attention as noted by an article in the *Rhodesia Herald* which commented that:

... The few specimens of the so-called Southern Rhodesian flag which are on view today consist of a Red Ensign, that is, the Union Jack in the top left hand corner, with the Colony's badge in the centre of the flag. This is a variety which we have not met with previously and which would appear to owe its origin, neither to official sanction not to custom, but to an enterprising manufacturer's idea of what our flag should be ...<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> *Flags of All Nations*, 1916.

<sup>138</sup> Errata 8, 1925, *Flags of All Nations*, 1916.

<sup>139</sup> V. Wheeler-Holohan, *A Manual of Flags*, 1933, p. 85 and opposite p. 258.

<sup>140</sup> V. Wheeler-Holohan, *Flags of the World - Past and Present*, 1939, p. 57.

<sup>141</sup> H. Gresham Carr, *Flags of the World*, 1953, p. 57 and opposite p. 40.

<sup>142</sup> Rhodesia, *Flags of Rhodesia*, n.d., p. 3.

<sup>143</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 02 April 1947.

As mentioned earlier, the Red Ensign version had been described and illustrated in various references. This version was also illustrated on a Cigarette Card issued in 1929,<sup>144</sup> so the “enterprising manufacturer” may have been utilising such a source due to the lack of an official explanation of the flag of the Colony. It is curious as to why the Red Ensign version should have featured so prominently during the Royal Tour as this is the only time it was on popular display, albeit unofficially.<sup>145</sup>

The Southern Rhodesian Red Ensign, with the shield placed directly in the fly, also featured as one of a number of flags of the dominions and colonies produced as part of the post-World War II celebrations. As was the case with the Blue Ensign, a version with the shield in a white circle was also produced (Figure 14). From the known examples, these do not seem to have been locally produced and the reason for adding the white disc is not clear.

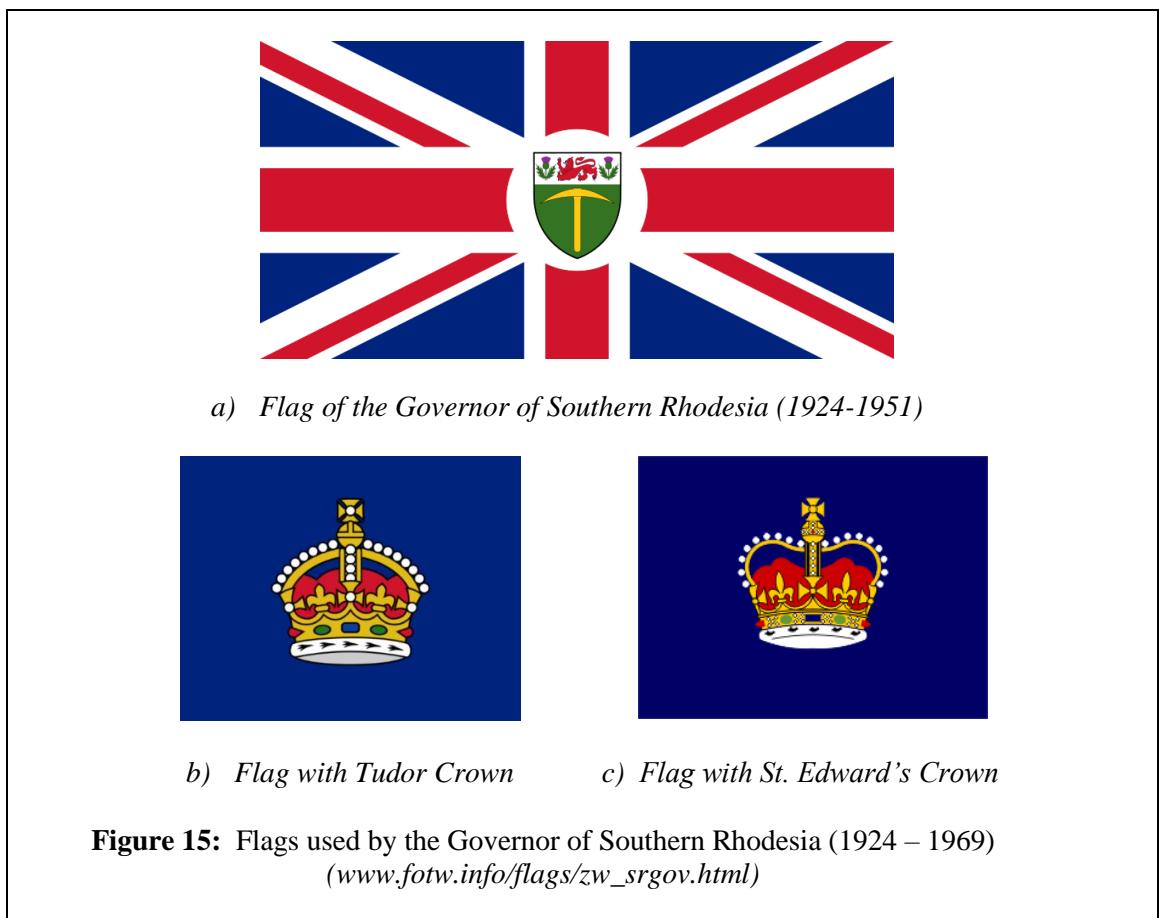


As explained in Chapter 3, following the attainment of Responsible Government in 1923, the British sovereign was represented in the Colony by a Governor who acted as Head of State. The Governor was also Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and as such, in theory, exercised considerable power over the Colony and its government. In practice, however, the main function of the Governor was to maintain a satisfactory relationship between the British and Southern Rhodesian Governments and act in an advisory capacity.

<sup>144</sup> Wills Cigarettes, *Flags of the Empire*, Card No. 25 of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Series issued in 1929.

<sup>145</sup> B.B. Berry, ‘Flying in the Winds of Change: Flags from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe’, *The Flag Bulletin*, XXXIV(2), 1985, p. 52; M.A. Faul, ‘The Genesis of a Colonial Flag: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1937’, in *Fahnen Flags Drapeaux - Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, p. 107; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia*, 2019, p. 18.

The standard practice in British colonies was that when embarked on shipping and other vessels, the Governor flew a distinctive flag, namely a Union Jack with the badge of the dominion, colony or protectorate emblazoned on a roundel in the centre, within a garland.<sup>146</sup> Initially the Governor flew an unembellished Union Jack until following the adoption of the Coat of Arms when a defaced Union Jack was adopted on 01 October 1924 for use by the Governor.<sup>147</sup> Unique among the flags of the Governors of British Colonies, the shield of Arms in the centre was not surrounded by the customary wreath as illustrated in Figure 15a.<sup>148</sup> This was possibly to distinguish the Colony's unique constitutional status.



<sup>146</sup> F.G. Brownell, 'The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994', *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 46.

<sup>147</sup> T.W. Baxter, *Flags & Arms of Rhodesia*, n.d., p. 16.

<sup>148</sup> V. Wheeler-Holohan, *A Manual of Flags*, 1933, p. 85; *Flaggenbuch - Bearbeitet und Herausgegeben vom Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine*, 1939, p.75; F.G. Brownell, 'The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994', *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 82.

Consideration of a new design for the Governor's flag came from a suggestion from the Acting Governor who felt that many in the Colony, particularly Africans, looked to the Governor as the sovereign's representative, and that a more distinctive flag might therefore be more appropriate. The initial suggestion proposed by the Prime Minister was for a flag with a dark blue field charged in the centre with two gold lions, one above the other, with SOUTHERN RHODESIA inscribed on a scroll beneath.<sup>149</sup> It was later agreed that a Crown in the centre would be more appropriate<sup>150</sup> and a new flag based on this design was approved for use by the Governor on 31 July 1951.<sup>151</sup> This was dark blue, in proportion 7:9,<sup>152</sup> charged in the centre with the Royal Crown, its height four-sevenths the hoist. Initially the Tudor Crown (the Imperial State Crown in heraldic guise) would have been used. After her accession to the throne in 1952, Queen Elizabeth II, indicated her preference for the St. Edward's Crown and this version would then have come into use<sup>153</sup> (Figures 15b and 15c).

The Governor also had a distinctive "personal" car flag. Documents reviewed in the British National Archives in Kew (London) reveal this as being another point of contention. The question about the origin of a red flag with yellow Crown being used as a car flag for guests at Government House had come to light when the blue flag with the Royal Crown had replaced a defaced Union Jack as the flag of Governor.<sup>154</sup> The reply from the Governor was to the effect that the flag was used on Government House cars when conveying the Governor's wife, or other distinguished visitors who are entitled to a flag in their own

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<sup>149</sup> NA, DO 35/3281, Correspondence from G.M. Huggins (Prime Minister) to Sir C. Syers of the Commonwealth Relations Office (London), 06 October 1950 and reply from Sir P. Liesching, Permanent Under Secretary of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office (London) to G.M. Huggins (Prime Minister), June 1950.

<sup>150</sup> NAZ, S 23/303/1925, Correspondence from Acting Governor (Salisbury) to Dominions Office (London), 25 March 1951; NAZ, S 16/57/1951, Governor (Salisbury) to Commonwealth Relations Office (London), 26 February 1951.

<sup>151</sup> Governor's Office File, 30/G/2, Correspondence from Commonwealth Relations Office (London) to Governor (Salisbury), 31 July 1951.

<sup>152</sup> Although the official proportion was given as 7:9, actual flags followed the standard British (and Rhodesian) proportion of 1:2 as confirmed in correspondence from V. Matangira of the NAZ (Harare) to the author (Johannesburg), 17 July 1995 who also kindly supplied a photograph of such a flag preserved in the NAZ.

<sup>153</sup> F.G. Brownell, 'The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994', *SAVA Journal*, 1994, 3, p. 83.

<sup>154</sup> NA, DO 35/3281, Correspondence from Sir P. Liesching, Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office (London) to Sir J. Kennedy, Governor (Salisbury), 22 November 1950.

country, in order to help the police and guards to recognise the car. The retort was that “It appeared about ten years ago or more and nobody knows who designed it”.<sup>155</sup>

It was later suggested in a letter from the Permanent Under-Secretary, dated 23 January 1951, to the Governor that the Crown on a red flag should be discontinued after the Governor's flag with a Royal Crown on a blue background is brought into use in order to avoid confusion - although there was no reason for not adopting a red flag containing another symbol. The Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, initially suggested a lion symbol to replace the Crown, but the Lord Chamberlain's Office responded advising against using a Crown or Imperial Lion, or any other traditional symbols of Royal Authority.<sup>156</sup> In a letter to the Permanent Under-Secretary, dated 23 April 1951, the Governor indicated a preference for "a square flag [to] be authorised, bearing as a symbol the Zimbabwe Bird which is part of the badge of Southern Rhodesia"<sup>157</sup> and requested the views of the Garter Principal of Arms on the matter and to prepare a drawing.<sup>158</sup> Garter replied suggesting a “flag of arms” based on the shield in the Coat of Arms was “heraldically more suitable” and proposed a green flag defaced with the gold pick and an upper compartment of white charged with a red lion and thistles.<sup>159</sup> This suggestion was passed on to the Governor who replied on 02 August 1951 that both he and the Prime Minister preferred the Zimbabwe Bird to be used as it was “more distinctive”.<sup>160</sup>

Garter originally sent a painting of a flag showing the Zimbabwe Bird on a blue field. However, on 28 November 1951, the Governor indicated to Lord Ismay, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, that he preferred the Bird on a red background as this

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<sup>155</sup> NA, DO 35/3281, Correspondence from Sir J. Kennedy, Governor (Salisbury) to Sir P. Liesching, Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office (London), 11 December 1950.

<sup>156</sup> NA, DO 35/3281, Correspondence from Sir T. Nugent, Lord Chamberlain's Office (London) to Sir P. Liesching, Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office (London), 02 March 1951.

<sup>157</sup> NA, DO 35/3281, Correspondence from Sir J. Kennedy, Governor (Salisbury) to Sir P. Liesching, Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office (London), 23 April 1951.

<sup>158</sup> NA, DO 35/3281, Correspondence from R.R. Sedgwick at the Commonwealth Relations Office (London) to Sir G. Bellew, Garter (London), 22 June 1951.

<sup>159</sup> NA, DO 35/3281, Correspondence from Sir G. Bellew, Garter (London) to R.R. Sedgwick at the Commonwealth Relations Office (London), 25 June 1951.

<sup>160</sup> NA, DO 35/3281, Correspondence from Sir J. Kennedy, Governor (Salisbury) to Sir P. Liesching, Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office (London), 02 August 1951.



would be less likely to be confused with the flag of the Governor which had a blue background.<sup>161</sup>

In February 1952 Lord Ismay sent a painting from Garter and informed the Governor that it was not necessary for the Queen to approve the design as it was a local symbol intended for domestic purposes and as such the Governor could authorise the flag for use on Government House cars.<sup>162</sup> On 12 March 1952, the Governor of Southern Rhodesia informed the Permanent Under-Secretary and Lord Ismay that the illustration provided was acceptable and that the "flag will be flown only on cars conveying my wife and distinguished visitors" and that the flag will be adopted as soon as supplies have been procured.<sup>163</sup> Although no examples of the flag are known to remain, and efforts to obtain an example of the painting by Garter have so far been unsuccessful, the existence of this flag was also confirmed in correspondence to the author from the National Archives of Zimbabwe which states that the "... household flag for the Governor's car was red with a Zimbabwe Bird".<sup>164</sup>



A reconstruction of this flag using the rendition of the Zimbabwe Bird, as found on the Arms of Southern Rhodesia, and placed in the centre of a square red field, is illustrated in

<sup>161</sup> NA, DO 35/3281, Correspondence from Sir J. Kennedy, Governor (Salisbury) to Lord Ismay, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations (London), 28 November 1951.

<sup>162</sup> NA, DO 35/3281, Correspondence from Lord Ismay, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations (London) to Sir J. Kennedy, Governor (Salisbury), 18 February 1952.

<sup>163</sup> NA, DO 35/3281, Correspondence from Sir J. Kennedy, Governor (Salisbury) to Lord Ismay, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations (London) and Sir P. Liesching, Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office (London), 12 March 1952.

<sup>164</sup> Correspondence from V. Matangira of the NAZ (Harare) to the author (Johannesburg), 17 July 1995.

Figure 16. This was the first time that an image of the Zimbabwe Bird appeared on a Rhodesian flag.<sup>165</sup>

As outlined in Chapter 3, the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, together with the self-governing Colony of Southern Rhodesia came together to form the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (sometimes also referred to as the Central African Federation). The Federation officially came into being in October 1953 following the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Act being enacted by the United Kingdom parliament authorising Her Majesty the Queen to provide by Order in Council for the federation of the three territories. The Order in Council was made on 01 August 1953 and certain of its provisions were brought into operation on 03 September. The first Governor-General, Lord Llewellyn, assumed office on 04 September and on 23 October 1953 he issued a proclamation bringing the remaining provisions of the Constitution into force.<sup>166</sup>

As with its predecessor in Southern Rhodesia, at the time of its formation there was no Federal Coat of Arms or flag. In fact, there were no official insignia of state and the first sitting of the Federal parliament on 03 February 1954 took place in the debating chamber of the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly in Salisbury.<sup>167</sup>

The first Mace used by the Federal Assembly was that initially used by the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly. The Federal Assembly acquired its own Mace when it moved into the new parliament in 1954. This Mace is made of selected Nyasaland wood and was designed by Mr. J.A. Richardson, Assistant Director of the Southern Rhodesian Department of Public Works, and turned to shape by the Northern Rhodesian Public Works Department. In the absence of any Federal symbols, it bears on its four faces the Royal Cipher and the shields from the Arms of the three constituent territories. The carving was undertaken by Mr. J. Kekana from Rusape in Southern

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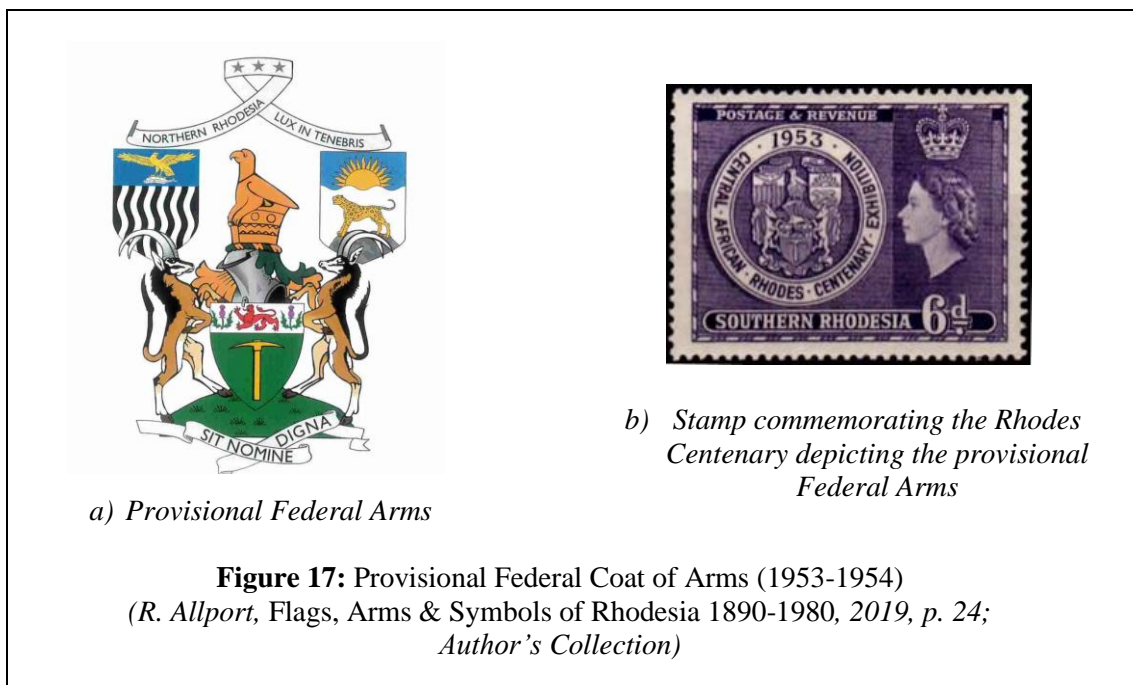
<sup>165</sup> B.B. Berry, 'Flying High - The Zimbabwe Bird on the Flags of Zimbabwe', Paper presented at the *28th International Congress of Vexillology* (San Antonio, Texas), 2019.

<sup>166</sup> W.V. Brelsford (ed.), *Handbook to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960, p. 591.

<sup>167</sup> W.V. Brelsford (ed.), *Handbook to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960, p. 606.

Rhodesia. This Mace was in use until 10 September 1954 when a permanent Mace was acquired.

A provisional Coat of Arms was initially used which took the form of joining the Arms from the three territories in a somewhat ungainly combination as can be seen in Figure 17a. These Arms appeared on the early issues of *Federal Government Gazette* and on the postage stamps issued by each of the three territories to commemorate the Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in 1953<sup>168</sup> (Figure 17b).



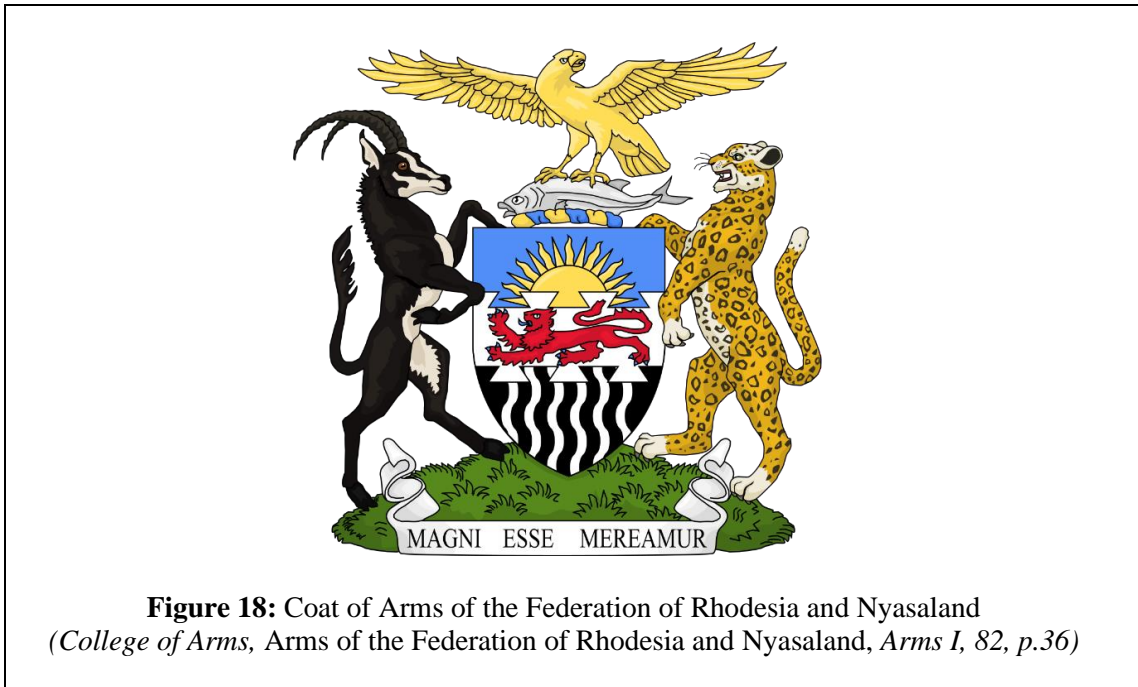
A Coat of Arms for the Federation was designed by Mr. M.J. Morris, later Information Attaché at the Federal High Commission in Pretoria, and were granted by Royal Warrant on 22 July 1954<sup>169</sup> with the following blazon:

Arms: Per fesse Azure and Sable in Chief a Sun rising Or and in base six Palets wavy Argent over all a fesse dovetailed counter-dovetailed of the last thereon a Lion passant Gules.

<sup>168</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 23.

<sup>169</sup> C. Pama, *Lions and Virgins*, 1965, pp. 116-117; F.G. Brownell, 'The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994', *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 96.

- Crest: On a wreath of the colours, an Eagle regardant wings extended Or perched upon and grasping in the talons a Fish Argent.
- Supporters: Dexter a Sable Antelope and sinister a Leopard.
- Motto: *Magni esse Mereamur.*<sup>170</sup>



The Federal Coat of Arms, illustrated in Figure 18, is a combination of the Arms of its three constituent territories. The rising sun on a blue field in the upper part of the shield is taken from the Arms of Nyasaland, while the wavy white palets on a black field, representing the Victoria Falls, are taken from the Arms of Northern Rhodesia. The central “dovetailed fess” bearing the Red Lion is from the Arms of Southern Rhodesia and comes originally from the Arms of Cecil Rhodes. Translated from Latin, the motto means “Let us Deserve to be Great”.<sup>171</sup>

Following the adoption of the Arms, a new Mace and flag were introduced incorporating the new Federal symbols. The new Mace was a gift from the House of Commons and

<sup>170</sup> W.V. Brelsford (ed.), *Handbook to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960, p. iii; F.G. Brownell, ‘The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994’, *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 96.

<sup>171</sup> W.D.Gale, *Deserve to be Great - The Story of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1969, p. 10; F.G. Brownell, ‘The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994’, *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 96.

was presented by a parliamentary delegation from the United Kingdom at a special ceremony in the new Federal Assembly Chamber on 10 September 1954. It was made by Messrs. C.J. Vander Ltd. in London. The head is chased with the Arms of the Federation and the Royal Cipher, and is surmounted by the Royal Crown enclosing a panel bearing the chased and engraved Royal Arms surrounded by the inscription, “Presented by the House of Commons to the Federal Assembly of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1954”. Under the head, instead of the usual brackets, are four lions rampant to symbolise the British Commonwealth. The shaft is chased with the Rose of England and the Flame Lily of Rhodesia. The three bosses have mouldings carved with the heraldic emblems of water to symbolise the Victoria Falls and the Zambezi River. The tower boss (or warhead as it once was) has the rays of the sun, the emblem of Nyasaland, terminating with a representation of the Great Zimbabwe Bird as depicted in the Arms of Southern Rhodesia.<sup>172</sup>



**Figure 19:** Flag of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland  
(Author’s Collection)

The new Federal flag was somewhat sarcastically described by Gann and Gelfand in their biography of Godfrey Huggins as being “... a blue ensign adorned with a heraldic hotch-potch”.<sup>173</sup> It was a distinctive version of the Blue Ensign authorised by Royal Warrant for use by the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland on 15 September 1955 and has the

<sup>172</sup> W.V. Brelsford (ed.), *Handbook to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960, pp. 607-608. The presentation ceremony can be seen on a British Pathé Newsreel at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aQKbsq7tcNo>. Accessed: 2020-08-09.

<sup>173</sup> L.H. Gann and M. Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia: The Man and His Country*, 1964, p. 264.

shield from the Arms placed directly in the fly as shown in Figure 19.<sup>174</sup> This flag differed from most other Colonial ensigns in that it was drawn by the College of Arms in proportion 3:5.<sup>175</sup> However, the Federal Government information brochure illustrates the flag as being in the traditional British ensign proportion of 1:2 and the actual flags were also made to this specification.<sup>176</sup> On the instruction of the Prime Minister, this flag was flown together with the Union Jack in a dual flag arrangement.<sup>177</sup>

As in the case of the Southern Rhodesian ensign, various unofficial variants are known to exist. These include a Federal Red Ensign with the badge placed directly in the fly and also a Blue Ensign version with the badge within a white disc.

When the Federation came into being in September 1953, it was as a “semi-Dominion”. As outlined in the previous chapter, the constitutional status of each of the three territories was not affected, though certain enactments applied to the Federation as a whole as if it were a Dominion and a Colony. Thus, its constitutional status was not dissimilar to that of Southern Rhodesia.<sup>178</sup> The Crown was represented by a Governor-General and his constitutional functions were analogous to those of the Sovereign in the United Kingdom.<sup>179</sup> In accordance with the traditional British colonial custom, the Governor-General was entitled to fly a distinctive flag. The adoption of the Balfour Declaration at the Imperial Conference in 1926 reflected a move towards greater self-determination and sovereignty between Britain and the self-governing Dominions, such that they were

<sup>174</sup> College of Arms, *Standards*, 2, 1955, p. 135; *The Times* (London), 14 January 1955.

<sup>175</sup> College of Arms, *Standards*, 2, 1955, p. 135; H. Gresham Carr, *Flags of the World*, 1961, p. 99; F.G. Brownell, ‘The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994’, *SAVA Journal*, 1994, 3, p. 97. The Royal Warrant states that “The Queen has formally approved the design for the flag for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the proportions which you recommended” and illustrates the flag in proportion 3:5 (NA, PRC, 100/88/1, 15 September 1955).

<sup>176</sup> Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, *The Flag of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, n.d. It is not clear why the unusual proportion of 3:5 was adopted. The four Federal flags in the author’s collection are in the traditional proportion of 1:2, as are all the other examples I have seen. It is also illustrated as such in Government of Rhodesia, *Flags of Rhodesia*, n.d., p. 4. The latter also incorrectly states that the Federal ensign was approved for use *outside* of the Federation only.

<sup>177</sup> *The Times* (London), 14 January 1955; CL, Cabinet Minutes, SRC (F) (63) 350, 01 November 1963; F.G. Brownell, ‘The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994’, *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 97.

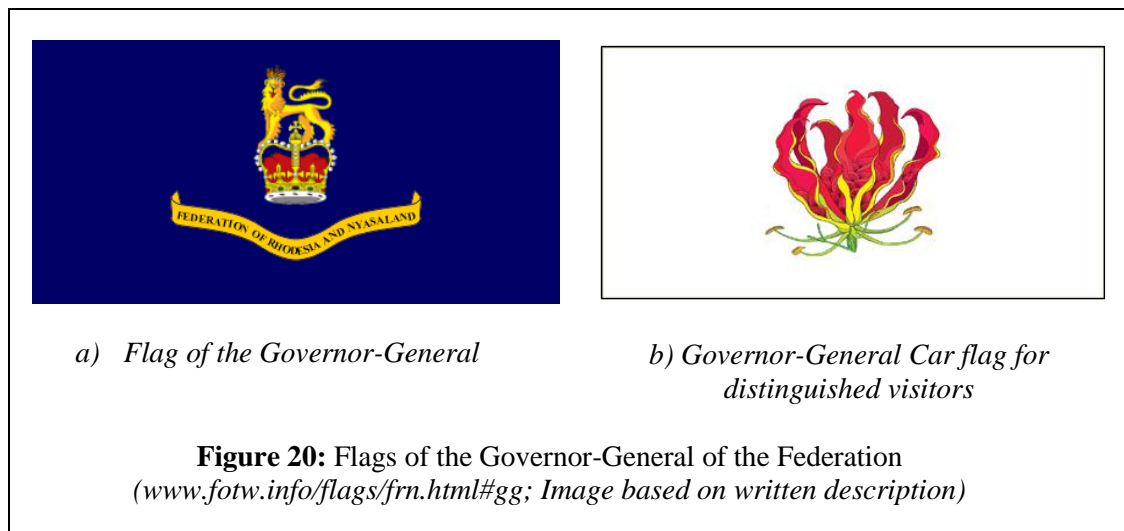
<sup>178</sup> G.H. Baxter and P.W. Hodgins, ‘The Constitutional Status of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland’, *International Affairs*, 1957, 33(4), p. 444.

<sup>179</sup> W.V. Brelsford (ed.), *Handbook to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960, p. 593.

“equal in status, and in no way subordinate to one another”.<sup>180</sup> In recognition of this, King George V decided in 1928 that the flags of the Governors-General should be adapted to indicate more clearly their changed function as his personal representatives. The Crown from the crest of the Royal Arms was chosen as the heraldic representation of the monarchy and accordingly was adopted as the charge to be placed in the centre of a dark blue field, namely:

Upon a royal crown proper a lion statant gardant Or, royally crowned also proper.<sup>181</sup>

The flag adopted for use by the Governor-General of the Federation followed this pattern even though the Federation did not enjoy full Dominion status. In common with the flags approved for the Governors-General of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa,<sup>182</sup> a yellow scroll inscribed with the name of the territory was placed below the central charge (Figure 20a).



<sup>180</sup> F.G. Brownell, ‘The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994’, *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 47.

<sup>181</sup> F.G. Brownell, ‘The Union Jack over Southern and Central Africa, 1795-1994’, *SAVA Journal*, 3, 1994, p. 47. See also NA, DO 117/100, 1928; NA, DO 35/253/5, 1930-1934; NA, DO 35/628/3, 1937-1939; for further details on the Balfour Declaration and subsequent enactment of the Statute of Westminster on 12 December 1931 which effectively gave independence to the Dominions.

<sup>182</sup> Flags following this pattern were taken into use by the Governor-General in South Africa in January 1931, in Canada in April 1931, in New Zealand in April 1935 and in Australia in July 1936.

In common with the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, the Governor-General also used a household flag on vehicles carrying distinguished visitors and official guests. It was the duty of the Governor-General to authorise the design of a personal flag which was meant to be a purely local symbol intended for domestic purposes. According to official correspondence held by the National Archives of Zimbabwe, Lord Llewellyn, the first Federal Governor-General, “... decided to use an African Flame Lily (*Gloriosa superba*) as the emblem, a flower of great beauty which grows in all the three territories which comprise the Federal area,”<sup>183</sup> on a pale cream (white) background as the design for a household flag. An illustration based on this description is shown in Figure 20b. Lord Dalhousie, who succeeded Llewellyn, continued to use the Flame Lily emblem on his personal car flag until the dissolution of the Federation.

There was also a Public Seal for the Federation which was approved by Queen Elizabeth II under Royal Warrant dated 21 October 1955.<sup>184</sup> This followed the same basic pattern as the seal used in Southern Rhodesia, but with the Federal Arms in the centre, surrounded by the inscription of the name of the country and ELIZABETH II. D.G. BRITT. R.Q.S.C. REGINA. C.P. PRINCEPS. F.D. The Federal National Anthem, and that of each of its constituent territories, was *God Save the Queen*.<sup>185</sup>

In terms of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Dissolution) Order in Council<sup>186</sup> of 20 December 1963, the Federation formally ceased to exist at midnight on 31 December 1963. The general feeling of resentment at the end of the federal era was evidenced by the lack of fanfare at its dissolution. It was left to Sergeant Cleophas Tswanhu, the caretaker of the Federal Cabinet Offices, to perform the final formal act of the Federation when he lowered the Federal flag for the last time outside the office of the Prime Minister. Sir Roy Welensky was not there to witness the historic moment, nor was

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<sup>183</sup> NAZ, F201/GG24, 23 April 1954; Correspondence from V. Matangira of the NAZ (Harare) to the author (Johannesburg), 17 July 1995.

<sup>184</sup> Correspondence from P. Emmerson, National Archives of Rhodesia (Salisbury) to Prof. H.H. Smith (Rhodes University, Grahamstown), 01 May 1975.

<sup>185</sup> [www.worldstatesmen.org/Zimbabwe.html#Rhodesia-Nyasaland](http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Zimbabwe.html#Rhodesia-Nyasaland). Accessed: 2020-08-30.

<sup>186</sup> Statutory Instrument No. 2085 of 1963, [www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1963/2085/made](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1963/2085/made). Accessed: 2020-08-27.



anyone else apart from a photographer and a reporter.<sup>187</sup> Similarly at the barracks of the Rhodesian Light Infantry (RLI) observes G. Bond:

The Federal flag on the mast at the front of the Battalion Headquarters hung limp and reluctant until it was lowered at sunset. This was probably the only time that any flag other than the regimental one had been flown from that staff. The next morning the Southern Rhodesian Ensign of navy blue was flown from the main gates, side by side with the Union Jack. But the ensign flew for barely a matter of weeks before the Government issued instructions that it was not to be flown at Government installations because it resembled the Federal flag too closely.<sup>188</sup>

Although the last day of 1963 was not a public holiday in the Federation, it might as well have been. Elaborating on Bond's recollection, John Moore recalls that it was marked by the RLI as "St. Charlie's Day" - an unofficial day off. The battalion was all but deserted, with those who were opting for "Dissolution Benefits" having already left and those who were staying on to serve in the new Rhodesian Army, celebrating in the messes.<sup>189</sup>

To mark the occasion, the Federal flag was hoisted in a place of honour at sunrise on the last day of the Federation. Moore hoisted the flag on the flagpole in front of Battalion Headquarters in Salisbury - the first and last time that any flag other than the Regimental Flag was to fly there, and he lowered it for the last time at sunset. The flag had been drawn from the Quartermaster the day before, and when he went to return it the next working day, he was told to keep it as there was no further use for it - the Federation no longer existed! Moore states that the replacement Southern Rhodesian flag only flew for six short days before being struck on orders of the Government<sup>190</sup> as once again the country was left without a distinctive flag of its own.

Technically, the Southern Rhodesian Dark Blue Ensign (Figure 13) had remained the flag of Southern Rhodesia during the Federal period although it was rarely flown as the

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<sup>187</sup> *The Times* (London), 01 January 1964. The photograph of the occasion can be seen in the *Illustrated London News*, 11 January 1964.

<sup>188</sup> G. Bond, *The Incredibles - The Story of The 1st Battalion, The Rhodesian Light Infantry*, 1977, p. 66.

<sup>189</sup> J. Moore, 'A Tale of Three Similar Ensigns', *SAVA Newsletter*, 56/10, 2010, pp. 3-4.

<sup>190</sup> J. Moore, 'A Tale of Three Similar Ensigns', *SAVA Newsletter*, 56/10, 2010, pp. 3-4.

Federal flag took precedence. With the dissolution of the Federation, it was, together with the Union Jack, the official national flag. However, given its similarity with the Federal flag - since only the badge in the fly distinguished the ensigns - the Government of Southern Rhodesia sought to adopt a more distinctive flag for the Colony. The matter of which flag to fly following the dissolution of the Federation had been discussed by the Cabinet in November 1953 with the Prime Minister recommending that “the existing Southern Rhodesia Blue Ensign with the country’s Coat of Arms, less supports (*sic*) on the fly, be retained as Southern Rhodesia’s flag”.<sup>191</sup> The sensitivity of the country’s constitutional position was acknowledged as it was also suggested that any proposed new flag should be cleared through “the normal channels”. Adopting a flag without a Royal Warrant would be interpreted as the first step to unilateral independence and undoubtedly attract international criticism, particularly at the UN.<sup>192</sup>

An article in *The Chronicle* reported that most people it had questioned did not know the design of the Southern Rhodesian flag. The article also reported on the appointment of an all-party commission, under the chairmanship of Mr. Harry Reedman, to design a new flag for Southern Rhodesia. It added, “there is every possibility that the Union Jack would not be included ...” and that the background colour would be green, “the colour of one of Southern Rhodesia’s former flags”.<sup>193</sup> The reference to the green of a former flag appears to relate to the pennant illustrated in Figure 12, and briefly used on the car flags by some Southern Rhodesian officials in the 1930s, as at that time no other Rhodesian flag had been predominantly green.

On 08 April 1964, Prime Minister Winston Field read a Ministerial Statement in Parliament announcing that a new flag had been adopted for Southern Rhodesia, and:

... this flag should be an ensign with a sky-blue background, the same colour as appears on the Air Force flag, with the Union Jack in the top left corner and the Southern Rhodesia badge in the fly.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> CL, Cabinet Minutes, SRC (F) (63) 403, 25 November 1963.

<sup>192</sup> CL, Cabinet Minutes, SRC (F) (63) 350, 01 November 1963.

<sup>193</sup> *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 06 January 1964.

<sup>194</sup> Southern Rhodesia, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, 56, 1964, p. 1774.

This flag was the same design as its predecessor except for the light blue background as shown in Figure 21. At the time of its adoption, it was unique in that it was the only non-armed service British colonial flag with this colour.<sup>195</sup>

In his statement the Prime Minister also indicated that the new Southern Rhodesian ensign would continue to fly alongside the Union Jack, with the latter in the position of seniority. He also indicated that the new flag would be used on Government vessels operating on Lake Kariba and other inland lakes and waterways,<sup>196</sup> thereby eliminating the need for a red ensign.



**Figure 21:** Southern Rhodesian Light Blue Ensign  
(Author's Collection)

The flag, using the biggest in the Colony measuring 10 feet by 20 feet, was officially hoisted for the first time on a 75-foot flagpole by the Minister for Trade, Industry and Development, Mr. George Rutland, at the opening of the Central African Trade Fair in Bulawayo on 22 April 1964.<sup>197</sup> Thereafter it was officially introduced at all government institutions on 26 May 1964.<sup>198</sup>

<sup>195</sup> B. Berry, 'Flag Of Defiance: The International Use of the Rhodesian Flag Following UDI', *South African Historical Journal*, 71(3), 2019, p. 497. Later Fiji and Tuvalu, in 1970 and 1978 respectively, also adopted British ensign-based national flags with a light blue background.

<sup>196</sup> Southern Rhodesia, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, 56, 1964, p. 1775.

<sup>197</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 23 April 1964.

<sup>198</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 72, 1968, p. 934.

Apart from the need to distinguish it from its predecessors, the choice of the lighter shade of blue was often, perhaps somewhat erroneously, thought to reflect Southern Rhodesia's association with the Royal Air Force, particularly during World War II. In fact, an explanation given at the time was that its background was "plumbago blue" – with plumbago being the favourite flower of Cecil John Rhodes.<sup>199</sup> The new light blue Ensign came to be widely used inside the country, often being flown without the Union Jack, perhaps as a result of the increasing feeling of estrangement from Britain after the failure of the Federation and the reluctance of the British Government to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia at the same time as the other two territories.<sup>200</sup>

The other symbols of Southern Rhodesia, such as the Coat of Arms, the national anthem, the Governor's flag, the parliamentary Mace, etc., remained in use unchanged following the dissolution of the Federation. However, the re-adoption of a local currency saw the introduction of new banknotes and postage stamps for use only in Southern Rhodesia, some of which are described and illustrated in the following chapter.

#### 4.5 RHODESIAN SYMBOLS – INDEPENDENCE AND THE REPUBLIC

The breakdown in negotiations regarding the terms for the granting of independence to Rhodesia<sup>201</sup> resulted in the Government declaring a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on 11 November 1965. The Proclamation of Independence recalled the country's loyalty to the Crown, to "kith and kin" in Britain and to the Commonwealth and concluded with the conventional salutation "God Save the Queen" to whom allegiance was pledged as "Queen of Rhodesia".<sup>202</sup> According to J. Brownell, "What the declaration was intended to

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<sup>199</sup> J. Moore, 'A Tale of Three Similar Ensigns', *SAVA Newsletter*, 56/10, 2010, p. 5.

<sup>200</sup> As outlined in Chapter 3, following the dissolution of the Federation, Nyasaland became the independent state of Malawi on 06 July 1964 and Northern Rhodesia became the independent as the Republic of Zambia on 24 October 1964.

<sup>201</sup> The name of the country was amended in 1964 after the independence of Zambia. See Footnote 211 in Chapter 3 for details about the naming dispute.

<sup>202</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 12 November 1965.

convey was that the UDI did not extricate Rhodesia from the British Empire, but instead unilaterally declared itself to be a Dominion *within* the British Empire”.<sup>203</sup>

Following UDI there was no immediate change in any of the country’s symbols. Indeed, in a radio broadcast by Prime Minister Ian Smith immediately after signing UDI, he reassured Rhodesians that:

... we in this country stand second to none in our loyalty to the Queen, and whatever else other countries may have done or may yet do, it is our intention that the Union Jack will continue to fly in Rhodesia and the National Anthem continue to be sung.<sup>204</sup>

However, the presence of the Union Jack on the Rhodesian flag and the singing of *God Save the Queen* became increasingly pointless as the British response to UDI was to condemn the action as illegal and that the Colony was in a state of rebellion. As indicated in Chapter 3, the country became increasingly ostracised and subject to mandatory economic sanctions which were imposed by the UN in 1968. The increase in anti-British propaganda and bitter feelings over sanctions resulted in some instances of the Union Jack on the Rhodesian ensign being removed, covered over or defaced.<sup>205</sup> In defiance of official protocol, the Rhodesian flag often flew alone and sometimes in a superior position when flown together with the Union Jack.<sup>206</sup>

Even before UDI, in August 1965, it had been decided to no longer fly the Union Jack at the Rhodesian Diplomatic Mission in Pretoria. The Union Jack would only be flown on special occasions, such as the Queen’s birthday.<sup>207</sup> When questioned in parliament about his decision not to fly the Union Jack, Rhodesia’s Accredited Diplomatic Representative to South Africa, Mr. John Gaunt, said he wished to symbolise the fact that the Rhodesian

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<sup>203</sup> J. Brownell, “‘A Sordid Tussle on the Strand’: Rhodesia House during the UDI Rebellion (1965-80)”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 38(3), 2010, p. 478.

<sup>204</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 12 November 1965; A. Skeen, *Prelude to Independence: Skeen’s 115 Days*, 1966, p. 153.

<sup>205</sup> M.A. Faul, ‘The Vexillology of U.D.I.’, *Rhodesians Worldwide*, 11(2), 1995, p. 23.

<sup>206</sup> M.A. Faul, ‘The Vexillology of U.D.I.’, *Rhodesians Worldwide*, 11(2), 1995, p. 23.

<sup>207</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 24 August 1965.

Mission was unconnected to the British Embassy and that “After all, we only have one flag, the Rhodesian one”.<sup>208</sup>

Whilst hinting at the possibility of a move towards the adoption of a republican constitution, the Prime Minister announced at the opening of the Gwanda Agricultural Show in September 1967 that the Government would establish a Committee to consider the system of honours and awards, flag and national anthem. He said that the current flag had been inherited from “pre-independence times” and was associated with a colonial territory. Furthermore he added, whilst Rhodesians had been proud to sing the national anthem, “we have now been denied the right to use this symbol and this person (the Queen) because the whole concept has been distorted by party politicians.”<sup>209</sup> It is not surprising then that in October 1967 the Cabinet established a Committee on Honours and Awards comprising several government ministers. The remit of this Committee was to investigate the possibility of creating new civil and military honours for Rhodesia, and to devise a new flag and national anthem.<sup>210</sup>

In reporting back to Cabinet on 08 May 1968, the Committee explained that it had held a public competition between October and December 1967 to design a new flag and that over 50 entries had been received.<sup>211</sup> Those suggestions which had been unaccompanied by a design had been turned into coloured illustrations which had been made available for inspection by the Cabinet. The report also laid out the guiding principles that had been used to select a successful design and these included:

- That the design should be as simple as possible;
- The design should have unity and be agreeably composed;
- The colours should be harmonious, with the dominant colour being dark green – the national colour;

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<sup>208</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 25 August 1965.

<sup>209</sup> *The Sunday Telegraph* (London), 17 September 1967; *The Sunday Express* (London), 17 September 1967; *Rhodesian Commentary*, 1(45), 1967, p. 1.

<sup>210</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (67) 197, 09 October 1967; *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 20 October 1967.

<sup>211</sup> According to a Press Statement issued by the Ministry of Information on 18 September 1968, over 200 designs were considered by the Committee. However, according to its report to Cabinet just over 50 designs were reviewed. The discrepancy could be the result of individuals submitting more than one design, or variations thereof, and following the Cabinet’s decision, requests were made for further submissions. Or, perhaps, 50 designs were shortlisted from the 200 by the Committee.

- The design should preserve a reminder of the former administration of the country; and
- The design should indicate Rhodesia's independence and depict some distinctive Rhodesian emblem.<sup>212</sup>

The Committee had also considered whether the existing flag should be retained and also whether the Union Jack should be retained and incorporated into any new design. On the question of the existing flag, the Committee was of the opinion that it “perpetuates the characteristics of a British dependency” with the inclusion of the Union Jack, and that the colour did not weather well and thus “fades badly”.<sup>213</sup> “The Committee are of the opinion that whether or not Rhodesia retains a connection with the Crown, the independence of the country must be seen to be fact”.<sup>214</sup> It argued that public sentiment was against the continued use of the Union Jack and thus recommended that it should not be incorporated into the new Rhodesian flag.<sup>215</sup>

Two designs were submitted for consideration by the Cabinet. The first and preferred choice, which was later approved, was that the flag should consist of three equal vertical stripes of bottle green, white and bottle green with the full achievement of the Rhodesian Coat of Arms in the centre. The second choice comprised the same background but with the shield only from the Arms being in the centre panel.<sup>216</sup> No details were provided as to who submitted the winning design although various claims have subsequently been made in this regard.<sup>217</sup>

The arguments in favour of the choices of these two designs were given as follows:

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<sup>212</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (68) 92, 08 May 1968.

<sup>213</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (68) 92, 08 May 1968.

<sup>214</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (68) 92, 08 May 1968.

<sup>215</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (68) 92, 08 May 1968.

<sup>216</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (68) 92, 08 May 1968.

<sup>217</sup> Wikipedia attributes the designer as being Geoffrey Turner-Dauncey (no source indicated). Subsequent follow-up revealed that Mr Turner-Dauncey passed away on 05 August 2017. He was Quartermaster of 4 Signal Squadron in Old Cranborne Barracks and later the Officer Commanding 10 Signal Squadron at KGVII Barracks. No mention of any role played in the flag design is made in his obituary in *The Rhosarian* (1/17, October 2017, p. 8). It is also claimed by John Rossier that his grandfather, Mr Michael Garnett, a former Secretary for Justice, designed the flag. Mr Garnett's widow in Australia has “the original hand-painted drawing” as well as some sketches which he made (Personal correspondence). Unfortunately, despite numerous requests to be provided with photographs, I have not seen any of this material.

- (a) Bottle green come to be generally accepted as the national colour, being the dominant colour in the Arms of Rhodesia;
- (b) The Arms of Rhodesia granted by Royal Warrant on 11<sup>th</sup> August, 1924 ... and commemorate the former connections with the mother country;
- (c) The design is unique;
- (d) The design is dignified, easily produced and the colours are fast and will wear much better than the existing flag;
- (e) The design will be cheaper and easier to produce than the existing flag. The Arms of Rhodesia can be produced by the silk screen dye printing process without difficulty;
- (f) The comparative retail prices for a 6' x 3' flag are:
 

Present flag	£3.19.6.
New design	£3.15.0.” <sup>218</sup>

The Committee also recommended that a new National Flag Act be enacted in order that the new flag be respected and recognised. Notes on the detail to be contained in the new flag legislation were provided as an Annexure to the report. The Committee also recommended that the new flag be officially taken into use on 11 November 1968.<sup>219</sup> The first draft Flag of Rhodesia Bill was considered by the Cabinet Committee on Legislation on 24 July and a second draft the following day.<sup>220</sup>

The details and the design of the proposed new flag of Rhodesia were outlined in the Flag of Rhodesia Bill and published in the *Government Gazette* of 09 August 1968. The general public got their first sight of the proposed design when an illustration and a description of the flag featured on the front page of the main daily newspaper, *The Rhodesia Herald*, under the headline “No Union Jack on proposed new flag”.<sup>221</sup>

At the Second Reading of the Flag of Rhodesia Bill in Parliament on 03 September 1968, the Minister of Justice and of Law and Order, Mr Desmond Lardner-Burke, explained the need for a new flag by saying that although Rhodesia “... has, until now, been quite willing to keep the Union Flag<sup>222</sup> ... Things have changed and we must accept that change, just as

<sup>218</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (68) 92, 08 May 1968.

<sup>219</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (68) 92, 08 May 1968.

<sup>220</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, CL (S) (68) 44, 31 July 1968.

<sup>221</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 11 August 1968.

<sup>222</sup> Also known as the *Union Jack* (see Footnote 81 in Chapter 3).



others must accept it, Rhodesia is a nation justly proud of her essentially British heritage but independent nonetheless”.<sup>223</sup> He further explained that green and white were the country’s sporting colours, having been used since at least 1924 by the Rhodesian Rugby Football Union and formally adopted as such on 30 May 1927.

The process of imbuing the flag with meaning began when the Bill was presented to Parliament. A general history of flags was outlined with specific reference to the flags of Rhodesia and how the newly independent countries “... have all adopted distinctive flags ... in which the national flags of Britain bear no part”.<sup>224</sup> The Minister presented the change as a choice which had been forced upon Rhodesia by the British Government which was as a result of the estranged relationship between the two countries, arguing “... It is because of this clearly identifiable character which we have acquired which makes it desirable and necessary to have our own separate and clearly identifiable flag ...”.<sup>225</sup>

However, the Minister failed to explain what he considered was so “Rhodesian” about the flag beyond the fact that it demonstrated that the country was no longer British.<sup>226</sup> This led to confusion amongst some Members of Parliament. The ensuing debate revealed the ambivalent relationship of the Rhodesian Government with the former colonial power, and a series of competing interpretations of what Rhodesia was, and how it should be, represented symbolically.<sup>227</sup>

The debate also revealed some harsh criticism for the proposed design. There was no consensus as to what was exactly “Rhodesian” about the new flag.<sup>228</sup> A complaint from one Member decried the inclusion of the “whole achievements of Her Majesty’s Coat of Arms of Rhodesia .... If the Union Jack is objectionable, (then) why not the (colonial) Arms

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<sup>223</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1968, 72, p. 933.

<sup>224</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1968, 72, p. 933.

<sup>225</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1968, 72, p. 933.

<sup>226</sup> D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress: White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 75.

<sup>227</sup> D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress: White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 79.

<sup>228</sup> B.B. Berry, “‘The Beloved Green and White’ - (White) Rhodesia’s Search for a Unique Symbol of Identity’, Paper presented at the 27th *International Congress of Vexillology*, London, 7-11 August 2017.

equally so?”<sup>229</sup> One backbencher felt the need for the inclusion of a symbol of Rhodesia’s Christianity while others complained that green and white were associated with Islamic states, mentioning Pakistan, Nigeria and Saudi Arabia as examples, and thus unsuitable to be used in a flag for a Christian country.<sup>230</sup>

Further debate centered on the similarity to the Nigerian flag and that this lack of distinctiveness would lead to “great confusion”.<sup>231</sup> Indeed, one Member of Parliament went so far as to correctly point out that this “is the Nigerian flag with our Coat of Arms superimposed in the centre”.<sup>232</sup> The design was criticised as being amateurish and ugly, being neither symbolic nor representative enough.<sup>233</sup> Opposition Member of Parliament, Dr. Ahrn Palley, argued strongly for the retention of the Union Jack and was strident in his criticism believing that the changing of the flag was party political, rather than a national, act and that this was a precursor to the declaration of a republic. He also argued that there had been insufficient consultation and that the design had been presented as a *fait accompli* to the public.<sup>234</sup> He also made an impassionate speech about the value of national symbols in which he argued:

If a flag is to have any meaning whatsoever to a nation or a people, that flag must grow out of the history of the people, that flag must grow out of the loyalties and the sentiments and the honour of a nation. One cannot thrust aside a national flag and replace it by the equivalent piece of bunting and say now it represents the sentiments and emotions of a people; that [it] now is your new emblem of honour, loyalty and affection and esteem which a national flag represents.<sup>235</sup>

On the other side of the parliamentary chamber there were those members who rose to the defence of the new design. One Member believed it stood for “... sunny skies, the people in it ... the living conditions ... everything appertaining to Rhodesia”.<sup>236</sup> Another stressed

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<sup>229</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1968, 72, p. 938.

<sup>230</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1968, 72, pp. 948, 956, 966.

<sup>231</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1968, 72, pp. 938, 970.

<sup>232</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1968, 72, p. 1760.

<sup>233</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1968, 72, pp. 938-940, 974.

<sup>234</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1968, 72, pp. 942-945

<sup>235</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 72, 1968, pp. 943-944.

<sup>236</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debate*, 72, 1968, p. 955; D.W. Kenrick, ‘These Colours Don’t Run: Changing the Rhodesian Flag, 1968’, Paper Presented at the *Southern African Historical Society Biennial Conference*, 2015, p. 10.

the importance of demonstrating independence from Britain while at the same time presenting a vision of the “Rhodesian way of life” – that elusive and highly subjective concept which Godwin and Hancock contend was so appealing to many white Rhodesians precisely because of its vagueness.<sup>237</sup> Another Member invoked the spirit of the United States, arguing that Rhodesia should follow its example as a rugged individualistic nation of frontiersmen.<sup>238</sup>



**Figure 22:** Flag of Rhodesia  
(Author’s Collection)

The Parliamentary debates ended on 01 October 1968 after further solicitations to the public for more designs to be submitted met with a lukewarm response. The Minister brought matters to a close stating unambiguously the Government’s view is that “... the position of the Union Jack is obvious, subservience to the British Government”.<sup>239</sup>

The Flag of Rhodesia Act was duly passed with the new flag, shown in Figure 22, being officially described as:

- ... consisting of three vertical stripes of equal width, green, white and green, on which there appears in the centre of the white stripe the coat of arms of Rhodesia, with –
- a) the length of the flag equal to twice the width of the flag; and

<sup>237</sup> D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress: White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c. 1964-1979’, D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 81; see also P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, pp. 15-40.

<sup>238</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 72, 1968, p. 942; D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress: White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c. 1964-1979’, D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 82.

<sup>239</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 73, 1968, pp. 21-22.

- b) the coat of arms of Rhodesia equal in height to three-fifths of the height of the flag.<sup>240</sup>

The Act also laid down penalties of a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds or imprisonment for a period not exceeding two years for anyone who burns, mutilates or otherwise insults the flag or a reproduction thereof which is calculated to show disrespect or bring the Flag of Rhodesia into disrepute.<sup>241</sup> However, it makes no mention of the specifications relating to the colours of the flag.

The issue of the Union Jack being removed from the new flag was also a dominant theme in the public reaction to the design of the new flag which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. However, one businessman quoted in *The Sunday Mail* stated, “By jettisoning the Union Jack we are at the same time jettisoning all the things that Cecil John Rhodes stood for in the country”.<sup>242</sup> The above-mentioned similarity with the flag of Nigeria was another major criticism with one former Civil Servant complaining that “Such a close resemblance to the flag of another country is, I believe, hardly appropriate.”<sup>243</sup> According to a sample poll conducted by the Rhodesian Constitutional Association (RCA) shortly after the announcement of the proposed new design, 89 per cent of those questioned were against the new flag with most respondents being of the opinion that the electorate should have been consulted before the design was approved.<sup>244</sup>

The new flag was raised for the first time by Sergeant Nelson Nayi, of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force, at 9 a.m. on the third anniversary of UDI, Monday, 11 November 1968.<sup>245</sup> Though the debates had suggested that there was public apathy towards the whole process, large crowds turned out to see the flag being raised at ceremonies held across the country. The main ceremony took place in front of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes in the capital presided over by the Officer Administering the Government, the head of state the Hon.

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<sup>240</sup> Rhodesia, *The Flag of Rhodesia Act*, (Act 40/1968), 1968, pp. 1-2.

<sup>241</sup> Rhodesia, *The Flag of Rhodesia Act*, (Act 40/1968), 1968, Section 5.

<sup>242</sup> *The Sunday Mail* (Salisbury), 11 August 1968.

<sup>243</sup> *The Sunday Mail* (Salisbury), 11 August 1968.

<sup>244</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 01 October 1968.

<sup>245</sup> Rhodesia, *Rhodesia - The Raising of the Flag*, 1968, p. 2.

Clifford Dupont. In his address Dupont outlined the symbolism of the design and concluded:

Flags are as old as civilization, and throughout history men have realised that they could best express their feelings, their love, their loyalty and their patriotism for their country by showing respect to an emblem such as a national flag.

May our new flag not only inspire such feelings but also become a symbol of the unity of Rhodesians of all races.<sup>246</sup>

The new flag was raised at ceremonies at all Government schools the following day. A pamphlet with an illustration, description and an explanation of the symbolism of the new flag was later published by the Government and widely distributed.<sup>247</sup>

The declaration of the republic on 01 March 1970 saw the removal of all vestigial references to the Crown on Rhodesian symbols and insignia. The process of removing references to the monarchy had begun with the amendment to the official national holidays in 1968 when it was decided that the Queen's official birthday would no longer be celebrated as a public holiday in Rhodesia.<sup>248</sup> This followed the announcement in September 1967 that in future, Independence Day, 11 November, would be recognised as the country's national day.<sup>249</sup> The removal of the Union Jack from the national flag was followed on 17 February 1970 with the introduction of new decimal banknotes and coins which saw the replacement of the Queen's portrait with the Coat of Arms.<sup>250</sup> The Queen's effigy no longer appeared on the country's postage stamps and newly designed passports in the national colour of dark green were introduced which removed references to holders requiring Royal Protection.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Rhodesia, 'Address by His Excellency, the Officer Adminstrating the Government, the Hon. C.W. Dupont, at the Flag Raising Ceremony in Salisbury on November 11, 1968', *Ministry of Information: Press Statement*, 11 November 1968; *Rhodesian Commentary*, 2(24), 1968, p. 6.

<sup>247</sup> Rhodesia, *The Flag of Rhodesia*, 1968, p. 5.

<sup>248</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 18 March 1968; *Rhodesian Commentary*, 2(13), 1968, p. 8

<sup>249</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (67) 159, 05 August 1967; *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 22 September 1967.

<sup>250</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 28 August 1969.

<sup>251</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 4(2), 1970, p. 8.

The republican constitution introduced a bicameral parliament with a new upper house called the Senate in addition to the House of Assembly. A new Mace was presented to the Senate by the House of Assembly at its first sitting on 28 May 1970.<sup>252</sup> The Senate Mace was designed and made in Salisbury. It was wrought in gold and silver and embellished with Sandawana emeralds. It featured the Lion and Thistles from the Arms of Cecil John Rhodes at the top of the staff, the Rhodesian Coat of Arms with the Zimbabwe Bird and chevron pattern along the staff and Flame Lilies at the stem. It is 1,27 metres in length and weighs 3,4 kg.<sup>253</sup> The Mace was designed by Mr. Michael Kinsella and took three months to complete. A cross made of two one and a half-carat emerald-cut emeralds representing the Christian faith is set in the head of the Mace and two rows of 18 half-carat cabochon-cut embellish the neck band and top of the shaft.<sup>254</sup>

The national anthem was the final symbol in the national panoply to change in order to reflect the country's new independent identity. The search for a replacement for *God Save the Queen* proved to be more problematic and long-lasting than was the case with the changes to the other national symbols. As with the case in selecting the design of the new flag, the public was requested to participate in a process to compose a new anthem using the following criteria:

- a) it must appeal to everyone, especially the young and must be usable on all types of national occasions;
- b) the musical range must be within that of untrained voices;
- c) the music must be melodious, have dignity and avoid being trite;
- d) its immediate popularity is not essential;
- e) both words and music should express the sincere feelings of Rhodesians and confirm their aspirations for their country;
- f) it must be completely non-political and non-racial;
- g) it should contain an element of prayer without being specifically related to any one religion;
- h) it must be written in English and be reasonably short.<sup>255</sup>

The Cabinet Committee on Honours and Awards was of the view that the words should be chosen first and thereafter set to music. Two panels of judges would adjudicate entries, one

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<sup>252</sup> *The African Times*, 5(6), 1970, p. 8.

<sup>253</sup> *The Golden Jubilee of Parliament 1924-1974*, 1974, p. 31.

<sup>254</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 4(19), 1970, p. 3.

<sup>255</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (68) 93, 08 May 1968.

dealing with the lyrics and the other with the music. Five finalists would be selected in each category and would each receive a prize of £50 and the overall winners, one poet and one composer, would be awarded a further £200.<sup>256</sup> Although 492 entries were considered by the Committee, a “hybrid” of two submissions by Miss S.E. Dodds and Mr. J.D. Brain was recommended for acceptance as the new national anthem with the following words:

Lift up your voices in praise of Rhodesia,  
Whose granite boulders lie warm in the sun,  
Tints of our trees when the leaves are unfolding,  
Splendid our skies when the daylight is done.

Proud are our hopes and worthy our labour,  
Shining our cities arise from the plains,  
May God be our help in the tasks that await us,  
Teach us the faith that inspires and sustains.

Onward Rhodesia, go forward with pride,  
Clear be our vision as skies are above,  
Deep as a mine be our true understanding,  
Warm be our fellowship, perfect our love.

Chorus:  
Onward Rhodesia, go forward with pride,  
Glory your beacon and honour your guide,  
May you shine brighter yet,  
May your star never set,  
Onward, onward Rhodesia.<sup>257</sup>

A panel of musicians were appointed by the Committee to put the words to music to complete the anthem. The proposed anthem was also “unenthusiastically” received by many in the Government and even one of its authors, Miss Dodds, was quoted as being critical of the composite proposal.<sup>258</sup> Despite not finding an acceptable replacement, both the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation and Rhodesia Television stopped the customary playing of *God Save the Queen* at the end of each evening’s programming in July 1969

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<sup>256</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (68) 93, 08 May 1968; *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 04 September 1969.

<sup>257</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (69) 130, 23 June 1969; *The Star* (Johannesburg), 26 August 1969; *Rhodesian Commentary*, 3(18), 1969, p. 1.

<sup>258</sup> *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), 04 September 1969.

following the white electorate's vote in favour of the republican constitution. The playing of the anthem at cinemas in the country had also ceased during the previous year.<sup>259</sup>

The existing anthem remained in place until the formal declaration of a republic on 02 March 1970, when it was abandoned along with the other overt references to the Crown.<sup>260</sup> A new Public Seal for Rhodesia was also introduced following the adoption of the republican constitution, wherein the seal was described as "... showing the coat of arms of Rhodesia with the inscription "Rhodesia""<sup>261</sup>

In terms of the new republican Constitution, the President replaced the Governor as Head of State and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces.<sup>262</sup> A Standard, car flag and pennant were adopted for use by the President comprising a light blue field with the national Coat of Arms in the centre.<sup>263</sup> A car pennant with a dark green field and the Coat of Arms at the hoist was used by the Prime Minister. A car pennant with the shield in yellow outline on a dark green field was also used, possibly by Cabinet Ministers or as an alternate by the Prime Minister (Figure 23). Allport points out that similar pennants, but with a dark blue background, were used prior to the Federation and were probably intended for use outside the country.<sup>264</sup>

During the first four years of the republic Rhodesia was without an anthem. Following the failure to find suitable lyrics, efforts turned to finding a suitable tune. The Minister of Education explained that the anthem must be "serious but not heavy, dignified but not pretentious [and] most important of all it had to inspire and contain the seeds of national pride".<sup>265</sup> In July 1973 the Cabinet reviewed various pieces of music composed by a local professor, two pieces of music composed by the Bandmasters of the BSAP and Rhodesia Corps of Signals and seven excerpts from the classical library of the Rhodesia Broadcasting

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<sup>259</sup> *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), 25 August 1969.

<sup>260</sup> [www.nationalanthems.info/rho.htm](http://www.nationalanthems.info/rho.htm). Accessed: 2020-09-02.

<sup>261</sup> Rhodesia, *The Constitution of Rhodesia*, 1969, p. 54.

<sup>262</sup> Rhodesia, *The Constitution of Rhodesia*, 1969, p. 6.

<sup>263</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (70) 146, 20 July 1970.

<sup>264</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 37.

<sup>265</sup> Quoted in P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 145.



Corporation. A further suggestion was made by President Dupont that Hymn 633, sung at the flag raising ceremony in November 1968, with music identical to that of *Oh, God our help in ages past*, and a piece recorded by the Ferndale Choir were also considered. The scores by the Bandmasters, the recording by the Ferndale Choir and a quicker version of Hymn 633 were selected for further review, together with a rendition from the Fourth Movement of the Trout Symphony referred by Senator Pincus and the tune *We believe in tomorrow*.<sup>266</sup> The Cabinet later agreed that the tune composed by the Bandmaster of the BSAP was the most suitable and merited further consideration<sup>267</sup> and this was confirmed at its meeting on 16 October 1973. It was noted, however, “Although at first hearing it seemed to lack the stirring qualities needed for an anthem, ... it improved with repetition”.<sup>268</sup> The recordings of two further proposed anthems were considered, and rejected as unsuitable, by the Cabinet in December 1973.<sup>269</sup>



At its first meeting in January 1974, a recording by the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation of a “modern version” of the theme from Ludwig van Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, known as *Ode to Joy*, was played to the Cabinet. It was agreed that this was the most suitable music so far presented as it could be played as an anthem, or as a quick or slow march. The Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism was instructed to check

<sup>266</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (73) 29, 31 July 1973.

<sup>267</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (73) 34, 28 August 1973.

<sup>268</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (73) 41, 16 October 1973.

<sup>269</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (73) 46, 04 December 1973.

whether the tune had not already been adopted by Guatemala, and if not, to proceed to prepare a “further orchestration”.<sup>270</sup>

It is interesting that caution should have been expressed that the tune might have been already used by Guatemala when it had already been adopted as the official European Anthem by the Council of Europe in 1972.<sup>271</sup> Despite this, a further recording was heard by Cabinet in March<sup>272</sup> and a final decision to adopt the Fourth Movement from Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony as the National Anthem was taken on 11 June 1974.<sup>273</sup> It was also agreed to give attention to finding suitable lyrics as a matter of urgency. The new anthem was to be played officially for the first time at the opening of Parliament on 27 August 1974. Despite being of the view that efforts should be made to popularise the anthem, the Cabinet decided that it should not be played in cinemas.<sup>274</sup>

The first official rendition of the anthem was recorded by the South African Broadcasting Corporation at the request of the Rhodesian Government.<sup>275</sup> The music used for the anthem was an original sixteen-bar arrangement by Captain Ken MacDonald, the Bandmaster of the Rhodesian African Rifles.<sup>276</sup> The anthem’s inaugural performance in Salisbury provoked mixed reactions, with many being disappointed that the Government had not commissioned an original tune. The music critic of the *Rhodesia Herald* wrote that he was “stupefied” by the choice, which he said was not only unoriginal, but also so associated with the supranational brotherhood that it risked making internationally isolated Rhodesia the subject of ridicule.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (74) 01, 15 January 1974.

<sup>271</sup> H. Brown, ‘Beethoven’s Ode to Joy has been harnessed for good and ill’, [www.FT.com](http://www.FT.com). Accessed: 2020-06-19. *Ode to Joy* became the official anthem of the European Community in 1985 and from 1993, of the European Union. In 2008 it became the temporary anthem of Kosovo because of the EU’s role in its independence from Serbia. It has never been used by Guatemala.

<sup>272</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (74) 10, 19 March 1974.

<sup>273</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (74) 27, 06 August 1974.

<sup>274</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (74) 28, 13 August 1974.

<sup>275</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (74) 10, 19 March 1974; Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (74) 29, 20 August 1974.

<sup>276</sup> [www.dbpedia.org/page/Rise,\\_O\\_Voices\\_of\\_Rhodesia](http://www.dbpedia.org/page/Rise,_O_Voices_of_Rhodesia). Accessed: 2020-09-02.

<sup>277</sup> [www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Rise\\_O\\_Voices\\_of\\_Rhodesia](http://www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Rise_O_Voices_of_Rhodesia). Accessed: 2020-06-19.

Following the adoption of the music, a national competition with prize money of \$500 was once again organised by the Government to find an appropriate set of lyrics to match the chosen tune.<sup>278</sup> The Cabinet Committee on the National Anthem reviewed almost 800 entries and submitted 15 to Cabinet for consideration on 02 April 1975.<sup>279</sup> On 24 September 1975 the winning lyricist was named as Mrs. Mary Bloom from Gwelo. She had submitted eleven entries and one of these, with modifications to the first line which she agreed to, was chosen by the Committee.<sup>280</sup> Bloom titled her work *Voices of Rhodesia*, but the full first line, *Rise, O voices of Rhodesia*, ultimately entered common parlance as the title of the new anthem, the lyrics of which were:

Rise, O voices of Rhodesia,  
God may we Thy bounty share.  
Give us strength to face all danger,  
And where challenge is, to dare.  
Guide us, Lord, to wise decision,  
Ever of Thy grace aware,  
Oh, let our hearts beat bravely always  
For this land within Thy care.

Rise, O voices of Rhodesia,  
Bringing her your proud acclaim,  
Grandly echoing through the mountains,  
Rolling o'er the far flung plain.  
Roaring in the mighty rivers,  
Joining in one grand refrain,  
Ascending to the sunlit heavens,  
Telling of her honoured name.<sup>281</sup>

Rhodesia finally had a new anthem, with both lyrics and music, but one which Kenrick contends reflected an idealised imagining of the country, a timeless place almost completely disconnected from the Rhodesia of the post-UDI period.<sup>282</sup> A choral version of the new anthem by the Phoenix Choir was played for the first time on both the radio and

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<sup>278</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (74) 29, 20 August 1974.

<sup>279</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, ANTH (S) (75) 1, 27 February 1975.

<sup>280</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (75) 12, 02 April 1975; CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (75) 39, 18 September 1975; *Rhodesian Commentary*, 9 (21), 1975, p. 5.

<sup>281</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 9(21), 1975, p. 5; P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, pp. 145-146.

<sup>282</sup> D.W. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019.

television services of the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation at 20h00 on 24 September 1975.<sup>283</sup>

In addition to considering the question of a new flag and coming up with an appropriate national anthem, the Honours and Awards Committee established by the Cabinet in October 1967 was also tasked “to investigate the kinds of orders, honours, decorations and medals required in Rhodesia for the Armed Services and other uniformed forces, the civil service, Chiefs and the general public”.<sup>284</sup> Once again the public were requested to participate and to provide written submissions before the end of the year.<sup>285</sup> The Committee reviewed the existing, British based, system of honours and awards and proposed that there should be a distinctive system in Rhodesia to recognise “... bravery, distinguished service, long service and campaign service for the armed forces, police, prisons and fire-fighting services”.<sup>286</sup> Thus it was decided that:

The honours and awards to be recommended must be such as to win esteem and recognition in the eyes of the public who have been accustomed in the past to the award of distinguished and eminent British awards with a long tradition. It would be invidious to imitate slavishly the British awards because one could not and should not purloin the British livery. (The) awards therefore must be significantly Rhodesian.<sup>287</sup>

The Honours and Awards Bill was submitted to parliament for consideration in September and duly enacted on 10 November 1969.<sup>288</sup> In terms of the Act, a new Order of Precedence was outlined in November 1970 following a series of Warrants which had been issued by the President outlining the new system of medals and awards.<sup>289</sup> The President, the Hon. Clifford Dupont, wore the Star which forms part of the insignia of the Grand Master of the Legion of Merit for the first time at the opening of parliament on 28 May 1971. The eight-pointed star is 90mm in diameter and is made from 18-carat Rhodesian gold. The perimeter of the circlet is set with eight Sandawana emeralds. Inside the emeralds on translucent

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<sup>283</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (75) 40, 23 September 1975.

<sup>284</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (67) 197, 19 October 1967.

<sup>285</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 20 October 1967.

<sup>286</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (68) 133, 11 July 1968.

<sup>287</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (68) 133, 11 July 1968.

<sup>288</sup> Rhodesia, *Honours and Awards Act*, (Act 50/1969), 1969.

<sup>289</sup> Rhodesia, *Honours and Awards (General) Regulations*, Government Notice No. 1093, 1970.

vitreous malachite green enamel is a Zimbabwe Bird die stamped in palladium white gold. The President's Star was designed by Mr Michael Kinsella, who also designed the Mace for the House of Assembly, and made by Mr. Don Daniel, a Salisbury jeweller.<sup>290</sup> Early in the following year, Dupont wore the Gold Collar of the Grand Master of the Legion of Merit for the first time when he presented Colours to the Rhodesian Air Force on its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary. A further addition to the President's regalia for use at formal evening functions was a sash, fringed in gold, of gold and malachite green with a silver-enamelled badge of the Grand Master of the Legion attached to the bottom.<sup>291</sup> The Rhodesian Badge of Honour was introduced to replace the Imperial Awards.<sup>292</sup>

By September 1976 when Prime Minister Ian Smith announced the acceptance of the Kissinger proposals and the move towards majority rule, Rhodesia had a full suite of national symbols to represent its independent and republican identity. There had been no change to the national animal, the Sable Antelope (*Hippotragus niger*),<sup>293</sup> or the national flower, the Flame Lily (*Gloriosa superba*). Both are indigenous to the country and both had come to be regarded as national symbols through popular use, rather than through legislation, featuring on a variety of postage stamps, coins and banknotes which will be discussed in the following chapter. The Sable Antelope had been used as Supporters on the Coat of Arms since 1924. A Sable was also one of the Supporters on the Federal Arms while the Flame Lily had come to be recognised as a national emblem following the Tour to the country by the British Royal Family in 1947.

The national emblem, also taken from the Coat of Arms, was the Zimbabwe Bird.<sup>294</sup> This was unique to the country and featured on public buildings, various coins, banknotes, medals and badges.<sup>295</sup> However, the political developments following the acceptance of majority rule once again resulted in a move towards adopting new symbols following the

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<sup>290</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 5(12), 1971, p. 7.

<sup>291</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 6(25), 1972, p. 8.

<sup>292</sup> Rhodesia Government Notice No. 1111 of 1970, *Rhodesia Warrant No. 25 of 1970*.

<sup>293</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 1(30), 1967, p. 8.

<sup>294</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (70) 60, 23 March 1970.

<sup>295</sup> B.B. Berry, 'Flying High - The Zimbabwe Bird on the Flags of Zimbabwe', Paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> *International Congress of Vexillology* (San Antonio, Texas), 2019. Further analysis on the origins and use of the Zimbabwe Bird is provided in Chapter 7.

collapse of the constitutional talks in Geneva, the subsequent “Internal Settlement” and the establishment of Zimbabwe Rhodesia on 01 June 1979.

At the time of its establishment, there were no new national symbols for Zimbabwe Rhodesia and the existing Rhodesian symbols continued to be used. There was some speculation that the new ruling party, the UANC, would re-introduce the Union Jack on the assumption of power, but this did not materialise.<sup>296</sup> Apart from a pre-recorded address to the nation by the newly elected Prime Minister, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, there were no celebrations to mark the change in administration.<sup>297</sup> However, shortly after the installation of the new Government of National Unity on 01 June 1979, plans were made to adopt a new national flag. A similar process to that which had been followed to design the new post-UDI national symbols was put in place with the establishment of a Cabinet Committee on the National Anthem and Insignia. The guiding principles were that the new flag should make a clear statement concerning the orientation of the country and that the design should be in accordance with traditional heraldic norms. Once again, the public was asked to submit proposals which would then be considered by the Committee.<sup>298</sup>

Almost 200 proposals were submitted by the public, with many incorporating the colours and the general design pattern of the party flag of the UANC (a red field with a canton of three horizontal stripes of black, yellow and green). Also prominent in the designs was the Zimbabwe Bird and the Zimbabwe Ruins.<sup>299</sup> In a statement to the press, the Chairman of the Committee said the Zimbabwe Bird is so:

uniquely part and parcel of the country that it would be surprising if it did not feature prominently in any flag design. And apart from its historical associations it has the merit of being striking and simple in design and therefore easily reproduced.<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> *The Guardian* (London), 01 June 1979.

<sup>297</sup> *The Guardian* (London), 01 June 1979.

<sup>298</sup> ‘New Flags - Zimbabwe Rhodesia’, *The Flag Bulletin*, XVIII(6), 1980, p. 188.

<sup>299</sup> ‘New Flags - Zimbabwe Rhodesia’, *The Flag Bulletin*, XVIII(6), 1980, p. 188.

<sup>300</sup> *The Herald* (Salisbury), 10 August 1979.

The Committee's recommendation was a design by Flight Lieutenant Cedric Herbert of the Zimbabwe Rhodesia Air Force and a member of the Rhodesia Heraldry and Genealogy Society.<sup>301</sup> This design was presented and approved by the Cabinet on 07 August 1979<sup>302</sup> and the Flag of Zimbabwe Rhodesia Bill was presented to parliament a week later on 14 August.<sup>303</sup> The proposed design was favourably received with one Member of Parliament describing it as "... super. It is beautiful to look at. A thing of beauty is a joy forever, and its symbolism is very appropriate and very accurate".<sup>304</sup> Another enthused that "The new flag symbolises the determination of the people of Zimbabwe Rhodesia to go forward in peace with freedom".<sup>305</sup> The Bill had an easy passage through parliament and came before the Senate on 28 August, with a second reading and debate a day later. The general sentiment was in favour of the new design, particularly because as expected, it prominently featured a Zimbabwe Bird. It was also emphasised that the adoption of a new flag would demonstrate, to both the country and the world, of the political changes which had taken place<sup>306</sup> and as an "absolute refutation" that the people of Zimbabwe Rhodesia are subservient to the old regime.<sup>307</sup>

The new flag (Figure 24) is described in the Flag of Zimbabwe Rhodesia Act as consisting of:

- (a) at the hoist, a black vertical stripe; and
- (b) on the field, three horizontal stripes in the order red, white and green of equal width, separated from the black vertical stripe by a white vertical stripe; and
- (c) in canton a representation in gold of the Bird carved in soapstone and discovered at Great Zimbabwe (otherwise the Great Zimbabwe Bird).<sup>308</sup>

The symbolism of the flag, as described by the Minister of Justice Mr. J.C. Andersen, during the second reading of the Flag Bill in parliament, is as follows:

<sup>301</sup> Zimbabwe Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly*, 1979, 100, p. 1144; 'New Flags – Zimbabwe Rhodesia', *The Flag Bulletin*, XVIII(6), 1980, p. 188.

<sup>302</sup> *The Herald* (Salisbury), 08 August 1979; *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 08 August 1979.

<sup>303</sup> Zimbabwe Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly*, 100, 1979, pp. 1085–1159.

<sup>304</sup> Zimbabwe Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly*, 100, 1979, p. 1147.

<sup>305</sup> Zimbabwe Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly*, 100, 1979, p. 1149.

<sup>306</sup> Zimbabwe Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates, The Senate*, 12, 1979, pp. 271–98.

<sup>307</sup> *The Herald* (Salisbury), 31 August 1979.

<sup>308</sup> Zimbabwe Rhodesia, *The Flag of Zimbabwe Rhodesia Act*, (Act 21/1979), 1979, Section 3.

The black stripe is placed vertically at the hoist to show the importance of majority rule. Upon it in the top half is placed the Great Zimbabwe Bird – unique to this country and clearly indicating its identity while at the same time symbolising by the colour, gold, our rich mineral resources and continued development.

The red at the top of the Flag alludes to the struggle for majority rule and the green at the bottom represents the land and the importance of agriculture to the community. The centre white stripe vertically allied to the black of majority rule represents the white community as an integral part of all aspects of life in Zimbabwe Rhodesia.<sup>309</sup>



**Figure 24:** The flag of Zimbabwe Rhodesia  
*(Author's Collection)*

There was no formal lowering of the Rhodesian flag despite some political pressure from the new Prime Minister to do so. Ken Flower recounts in his 1987 memoirs that the “question of raising and lowering the new and old flags generated much heat” with the Commanders of the Security Forces claiming it would be regarded as a (military) defeat if the Rhodesian flag was ever lowered.<sup>310</sup>

The new flag was formally raised for the first time at 50 ceremonies around the country at 11h00 on 02 September 1979. Inspector Godwin Mabika, Officer in Charge, BSAP, Glen Norah, raised the flag before a crowd of 35,000 at the principal ceremony at Rufaro Stadium in Salisbury which was presided over by the President, the Hon. Josiah

<sup>309</sup> Zimbabwe Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly*, 100, 1979, p. 1144.

<sup>310</sup> K. Flower, *Serving Secretly: Rhodesia's CIO Chief on Record*, 1987, p. 224.



Gumede.<sup>311</sup> The President described the flag as a symbol “representing a new unity under majority rule” and as a “rallying point for all who have been engaged in the war”.<sup>312</sup>

A quiet ceremony took place at Cecil Square in the capital when the new flag was hoisted on the flagpole which marks the spot where the Union Jack had been raised by the Pioneer Column on 13 September 1890. The small crowd witnessing the event included Professor Stanlake Samkange, former UANC Secretary for Education and official spokesman for the Zimbabwe Democratic Party. He stated that “I wanted to see the flag raised here. This is where it all began”.<sup>313</sup>

Despite reports of Cabinet agreeing to change the name of the country to simply Zimbabwe,<sup>314</sup> and of reports to replace the Rhodesian Coat of Arms with the Zimbabwe Bird as the national emblem, no formal legal amendments in this regard were forthcoming.<sup>315</sup> As with its predecessor, the new Constitution made provision for a Public Seal with the only change being the name of the country.<sup>316</sup> The only other symbol to be amended was the air force ensign which replaced the Rhodesian flag with the new flag in the canton.<sup>317</sup> The new name of the country was not reflected on its postage and revenue stamps nor were there any changes to the banknotes despite the designs and proofs for new stamps and banknotes having been agreed to.<sup>318</sup> A set of six coins bearing the name

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<sup>311</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, A(PS)/109, 25 August 1979; Zimbabwe Rhodesia, *Commemoration Programme - The Raising of the National Flag at Rufaro Stadium, Salisbury, on Sunday, 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 1979*; *The Herald* (Salisbury), 03 September 1979.

<sup>312</sup> *The Herald* (Salisbury), 03 September 1979.

<sup>313</sup> *The Herald* (Salisbury), 03 September 1979.

<sup>314</sup> *The Sunday Mail* (Salisbury), 26 August 1979.

<sup>315</sup> Some press reports indicate that Prime Minister Muzorewa wished to formally change the country’s name although no administrative or legislative processes to give effect to this were implemented (Letter from Secretary to the Cabinet to Dr. Whitney Smith of the Flag Research Center, 17 August 1979). Likewise, during the debate on the Flag of Zimbabwe Rhodesia Bill, mention was made of the possibility to replace the Coat of Arms with a shield containing a Zimbabwe Bird to become the new national emblem.

<sup>316</sup> Rhodesia, *Constitution of Zimbabwe Rhodesia*, (Act 12/1979), 1979, Chapter I Section 4.

<sup>317</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 139.

<sup>318</sup> Interestingly a complete set of definitive stamps was printed but never released. The artwork, printing plates and the printed stamps were destroyed. Similarly, a new series of Zimbabwe Rhodesia banknotes which had been printed were also never issued (Personal correspondence with Patrick Sherry, former employee of the Posts and Telecommunications Corporation, and Cliff Ditchfield, formerly of Fidelity Printers and Refinery).

ZIMBABWE RHODESIA were struck at the South African Mint but were also not issued for circulation due to the rapidly changing political situation.<sup>319</sup>

In terms of the constitutional arrangements agreed to at the Lancaster House Conference in December 1979, the country returned to its former status as a British Colony in preparation for the elections which were to be held in February 1980. Accordingly, the Constitution of Zimbabwe Rhodesia (Amendment) (No. 4) Act was passed on 11 December 1979 which stated that “Zimbabwe Rhodesia shall cease to be an independent state and become part of Her Majesty’s dominions”.<sup>320</sup> A transitional government was instituted the following day in terms of the Southern Rhodesia Constitution (Interim Provisions) Order 1979 passed by the United Kingdom Parliament, which established the office of the Governor which was filled by Lord Christopher Soames.<sup>321</sup>

In terms of Section 4 of the Southern Rhodesia Constitution (Interim Provisions) Order 1979, laws which purported to be in effect prior to the re-establishment of British authority were considered to have full force and effect unless “inconsistent with the status of Southern Rhodesia as part of Her Majesty’s dominions”.<sup>322</sup> Thus, although the Union Jack was restored *de jure* as the national flag of the country, the Zimbabwe Rhodesia flag continued to fly over public buildings and be used by private citizens.<sup>323</sup> However, the Union Jack flew over Government House and on the Governor’s car. No distinctive personal flag was adopted for use by the Governor.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> A proof set of these coins was sold on auction at Christie’s in London in April 2011 for £518. [www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/pre-war-dinky-14a-triporateurs-2015435-details.aspx?from=salesummary&intobjectid=2015435](http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/pre-war-dinky-14a-triporateurs-2015435-details.aspx?from=salesummary&intobjectid=2015435). Accessed: 2020-12-03.

<sup>320</sup> Zimbabwe Rhodesia, *Constitution of Zimbabwe Rhodesia (Amendment) (No. 4) Act*, (Act 44/1979), 1979.

<sup>321</sup> United Kingdom, *The Southern Rhodesia Constitution (Interim Provisions) Order 1979*, Statutory Instrument No. 1571, December 1979.

<sup>322</sup> Correspondence from M.C. Wood, Assistant Legal Advisor to the Governor (Salisbury) to Dr. Whitney Smith, Flag Research Center (Winchester, USA), 29 January 1980.

<sup>323</sup> Correspondence from M.C. Wood, Assistant Legal Advisor to the Governor (Salisbury) to Dr. Whitney Smith, Flag Research Center (Winchester, USA), 29 January 1980.

<sup>324</sup> Correspondence from H. Steel, Legal Advisor to the Governor (Salisbury) to Prof. H.H. Smith (Rhodes University, Grahamstown), 09 January 1980; Correspondence, M.C. Wood, Assistant Legal Advisor to the Governor (Salisbury) to Dr. Whitney Smith, Flag Research Center (Winchester, USA), 29 January 1980.

The flag and other symbols in the national panoply of Zimbabwe Rhodesia, including those inherited from Rhodesia, continued *de facto* in use until the independence of Zimbabwe on 18 April 1980.

#### 4.6 CONCLUSION

The national symbols of Rhodesia mirror the political evolution of the territory as described in Chapter 3 and reflect the contested relationship between the “invented traditions” and “imagined communities” outlined in Chapter 2. As Kenrick notes, national symbols seek to convey the pretence of unity and homogeneity where there often is none.<sup>325</sup> Thus the national symbols provide the opportunity for states to “invent” traditions and, by extension, promote a particular identity and nationalism. In the case of Rhodesia, a latent nationalism became evident in the 1922 referendum and the subsequent rejection of incorporation into South Africa. A distinctive British character had emerged, modelled on the imperialist vision of Cecil John Rhodes, which would characterise the country until the declaration of UDI. The settlers were predominately of British origin who identified strongly with Britain and the Empire as demonstrated by the reverence to the Monarch, the use of the Union Jack, singing of *God Save the Queen* and the adoption of Westminster parliamentary traditions. Thus, somewhat paradoxically, Rhodesia promoted itself as a young, modern nation, yet it sought to define itself through a constant looking back to its past and British heritage as its symbols and myths attest.

The failure of the Federation and increasing political tensions with the United Kingdom over terms for independence resulted in “the logical culmination of a growing sense of white nationalism in Rhodesia”<sup>326</sup> – the declaration of UDI. Although the cherished imperial symbols like the Union Jack and *God Save the Queen* were initially retained after UDI, it soon became apparent that it was absurd for white Rhodesians to claim to be part

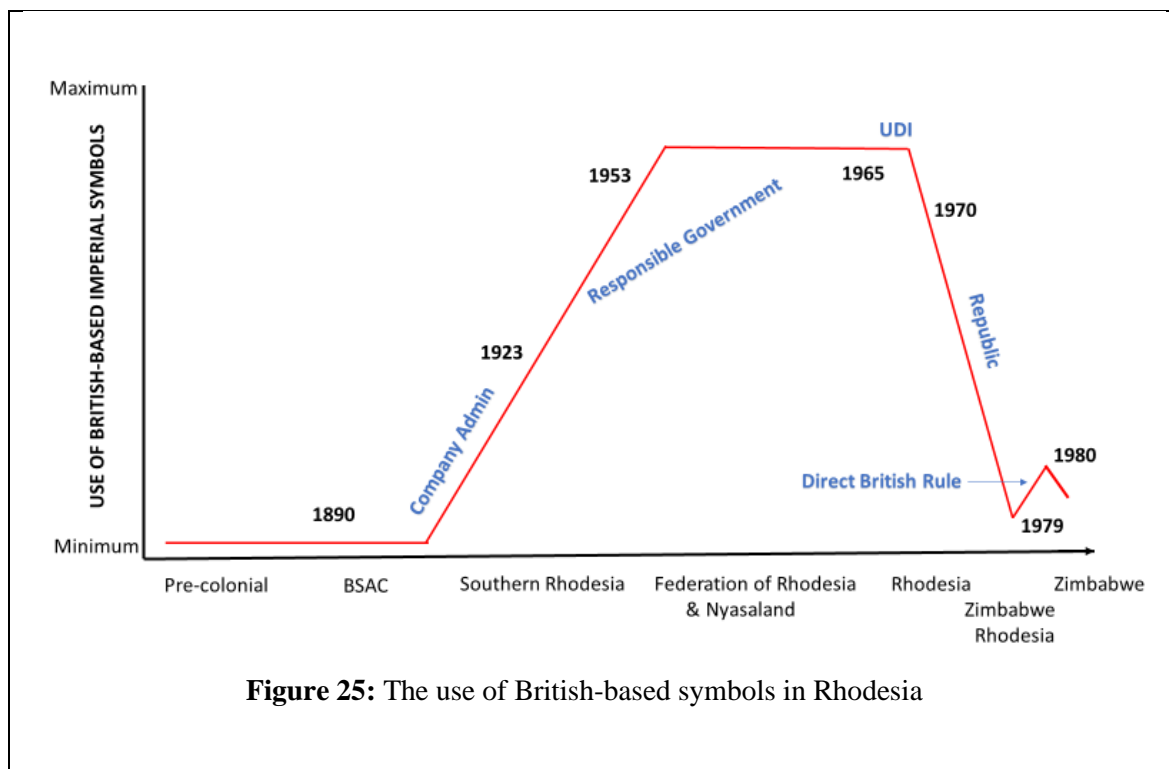
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<sup>325</sup> D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress : White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 62.

<sup>326</sup> A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to Be Proud*, 1978, p. 196.

of a wider British family.<sup>327</sup> The move towards a more distinctive Rhodesian national identity commenced with the adoption of a new national flag in November 1968. This was followed over the next decade by the systematic replacement of the entire suite of national symbols, with the exception of the indigenous flora and fauna symbols, with new ones to reflect the country's independence. Figure 25 provides a schematic representation and overview of how the use of British-based symbols was aligned to the major political developments in the country with the majority coming into use after the attainment of Responsible Government. Shortly after UDI these were all replaced with more distinctive Rhodesian symbols until 1979 when, following the imposition of direct British rule, the Union Jack and *God Save the Queen* were restored as *de jure* national symbols although in practice they not generally used.

The role of these symbols in the development of the country's identity will be fully explored in the subsequent chapters.



<sup>327</sup> D.W. Kenrick, 'Pioneers and Progress : White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979', D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 62.

## CHAPTER 5 - SYMBOLISM AND RHODESIAN COLONIAL IDENTITY

*It was all very British, and each morning and at sunset you could hear from far off the echo of the bugles played by a smart detachment of black BSA policemen at the ceremony of the raising or lowering of the Union Jack in front of Government House and a photograph of the Head of State in the United Kingdom was displayed in every government building and school.<sup>328</sup>*

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of identity, particularly in what is termed “settler societies”, is complex and has been thoroughly examined elsewhere.<sup>329</sup> Further examples and theories on the development of identity within the British colonies can be found in the work by Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw and Stuart Macintyre who argue that “Britishness as a global phenomenon” where shared traditions and common loyalties “... were strenuously maintained” by the colonies, but that this would only last for a limited period of time following which separate identities would emerge.<sup>330</sup> Jonathan Hyslop contends that this “colonial diaspora” generated an ideology of whiteness and the development of a national identity based on the assumption that these colonies were now a “white man’s land”.<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>328</sup> H. Holderness, *Lost Chance: Southern Rhodesia, 1945-1958*, 1985, p. 10.

<sup>329</sup> See, for example, R. Werbner and T. Ranger (eds.), *Postcolonial Identities in Africa*, 1996; D.S.A. Bell, ‘Mythscape: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity’, *British Journal of Sociology*, 54(1), 2003, pp. 63–81.

<sup>330</sup> K. Darian-Smith, P. Grimshaw, and S. Macintyre, ‘Introduction: Britishness Abroad’, in K. Darian-Smith, P. Grimshaw, and S. Macintyre (eds.), *Britishness Abroad - Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, 2007, p. 1.

<sup>331</sup> J. Hyslop, ‘The British and Australian Leaders of the South African Labour Movement, 1902-1914: A Group Biography’, in K. Darian-Smith, P. Grimshaw, and S. Macintyre (eds.), *Britishness Abroad - Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, 2007, pp. 90, 100.

Rhodesian identity has been extensively analysed primarily in the context of ideology and political development,<sup>332</sup> immigration,<sup>333</sup> cultural identity,<sup>334</sup> nation building and nationalism.<sup>335</sup> More recently it has been examined in terms of ‘whiteness’,<sup>336</sup> through commemoration and the concept of belonging in the Rhodesian diaspora.<sup>337</sup>

This chapter focuses on the emergence and expression of Rhodesian identity. This is examined through an analysis of the non-tangible aspects of identity as well as the adoption, display and usage of national symbols following the arrival of the Pioneer Column in 1890

<sup>332</sup> See, for example, C. Leys, *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia*, 1959; B.M. Schutz, ‘The Theory of Fragment and the Political Development of White Settler Society in Rhodesia’, D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Los Angeles), 1972; L.W. Bowman, *Politics in Rhodesia: White Power in an African State*, 1973; I. Hancock, *White Liberals, Moderates and Radicals in Rhodesia, 1953-1980*, 1984; M. Evans, ‘The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994.

<sup>333</sup> See, for example, A.S. Mlambo, ‘Building a White Man’s Country: Aspects of White Immigration into Rhodesia up to World War II’, *Zambezia*, XXV(ii), 1998, pp. 123–146; A.S. Mlambo, ‘“Some Are More White than Others”: Racial Chauvinism as a Factor in Rhodesian Immigration Policy 1890 to 1963’, *Zambezia*, XXVII(ii), 2000, pp. 139–160; K. Larsen, ‘“You Rhodesians Are More British than the British”: The Development of a White National Identity and Immigration Policies and Restrictions in Southern Rhodesia 1890-1965’, D. Phil thesis, University of Western Australia, 2013.

<sup>334</sup> See P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993 for a summary of the debates regarding the origins and strength of a Rhodesian cultural identity.

<sup>335</sup> See B.M. Schultz, ‘Homeward Bound?: A Survey Study of the Limits of White Rhodesian Nationalism and Permanence’, *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 5(3), 1975, pp. 81-117; D. Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia*, 1987; J. Bonello, ‘The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890-1914’, *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, pp. 341-367; J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012; D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress: White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016; D.W. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019.

<sup>336</sup> Recent trends in anthropological research have been premised on the understanding that race is not a biological category but a cultural understanding of physical difference. Thus to speak of “Whiteness ... refers to a set of locations that are historically, socially, politically and culturally produced and ... (which) are intrinsically linked to unfolding relations of domination” as discussed in M. Fine, L. Weis, L.C. Powell, and L.M. Wong (eds.), *Off white: Readings on Race, Power and Society*, 1997. A further analysis of whiteness in relation to the construction of national identity can be found in C. Harris, ‘Whiteness as Property’, *Harvard Law Review*, 106(8), 1993, pp. 1707-1791 in which she argues that whiteness has been ‘created’ through practices based on racial exclusion and subjugation. For an analysis of whiteness in the context of both Rhodesia and Zimbabwe, see A.C. Davies, ‘From Rhodesian to Zimbabwean and Back: White Identity in an African Context’, D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Berkeley), 2001; J.L. Fisher, *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles: the decolonisation of white identity in Zimbabwe*, 2010; D. McDermott Hughes, *Whiteness in Zimbabwe: Race, Landscape and the Problem of Belonging*, 2010; Y. Suzuki, *The Nature of Whiteness: Race, Animals, and Nation in Zimbabwe*, 2017.

<sup>337</sup> A. Simon, ‘Rhodesian Immigrants in South Africa: Government, Media and a Lesson for South Africa’, *African Affairs*, 87(346), 1988, pp. 53-68; W.G. Eaton, *A Chronicle of Modern Sunlight – The story of what happened to the Rhodesians*, 1996; K. Uusihakala, *Memory Meanders: Place, Home and Commemoration in an Ex-Rhodesian Diaspora Community*, 2008; R. Primorac, ‘Rhodesians Never Die? The Zimbabwean Crisis and the Revival of Rhodesian Discourse’, in J. McGregor and R. Primorac (eds.), *Zimbabwe’s New Diaspora - Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival*, 2019, pp. 202–228.

until Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence. This is followed by an analysis of the steps after UDI taken to shed this colonial identity and to create a distinctive local "Rhodesian" identity which is considered in the next chapter.

## 5.2 RHODESIAN "BRITISHNESS"

As Anthony Chennells observes, "the primary signifier of a colonial identity was race",<sup>338</sup> and Leys comments that race was also "the fundamental issue in Rhodesian politics".<sup>339</sup> The development of a Rhodesian identity was also premised on the process of ethnic exclusion and refers primarily to those individuals described as 'white',<sup>340</sup> being of European descent and which was later formally defined as 'European'.<sup>341</sup> Thus, when describing Rhodesians Peter Godwin and Ian Hancock state that:

The obvious bond was race, and everyday usage testified to its role in identifying and defining Rhodesianess. When most whites referred to 'Rhodesia' they meant 'White Rhodesia' and when they referred to 'Rhodesians' they meant themselves.<sup>342</sup>

Up until at least World War II when referring to 'Rhodesians', most whites were referring to settlers primarily of British extraction.<sup>343</sup> Thus Rhodesian identity is considered within this historical context for the purposes of this thesis.

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<sup>338</sup> A.J. Chennells, 'Self-Representation and National Memory: White Autobiographies in Zimbabwe', in R. Muponde and R. Primorac (eds.), *Versions of Zimbabwe: New approaches to literature and culture*, 2005, p. 134.

<sup>339</sup> C. Leys, *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia*, 1959, p. 272.

<sup>340</sup> A.C. Davies, 'From Rhodesian to Zimbabwean and Back: White Identity in an African Context', D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Berkeley), 2001, p. 27.

<sup>341</sup> The 1969 Constitution formally defined 'European' as any person who was not an 'African', with 'African' being defined as persons of the aboriginal tribes or races of Africa or any person who has the blood of such tribes or races and who lives as a member of such community (Government of Rhodesia, *The Constitution of Rhodesia*, 1969, p. 57; p. 58). Thus 'Coloureds' and 'Asians' were considered 'European' but, as Davies observes, the white community was 'created' through internal and external exclusion as well as the production of cultural norms of behaviour. Whiteness was more than a racial category, it was constructed as an economic and ethnic identity based on the British colonial image of the Rhodesian (A.C. Davies, 'From Rhodesian to Zimbabwean and Back: White Identity in an African Context', D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Berkeley), 2001, p. 77).

<sup>342</sup> P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, pp. 7-8.

<sup>343</sup> A.C. Davies, 'From Rhodesian to Zimbabwean and Back: White Identity in an African Context', D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Berkeley), 2001, p. 31.

As a primarily British community, the pride white Rhodesians took in both their race and “mythic national history” was therefore closely linked to their sentiments about Britain which was often referred to as “home”. As early as 1896 one writer to *The Rhodesia Herald* declared, “In no colony in the Empire is there a deeper feeling or greater attachment to the Throne than exists in Rhodesia to-day, and any lapse from that veneration would find no support here”.<sup>344</sup> Imperial sentiment was seen as a major factor in national life and as Bonello points out, settler identification with Britain and the Empire did not conflict with their co-existing perception of themselves as being Rhodesians.<sup>345</sup> This intertwined relationship was also highlighted by Ethel Tawse Jollie, the enthusiastic campaigner for Responsible Government in the 1920s, and later first female member of the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly, who stated that the Colony had a strong sense of nationality, “not merely British but also Rhodesian”.<sup>346</sup>

It is no surprise then that former Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, commences his memoirs almost a century later with the following:

You Rhodesians are more British than the British’. So often I heard that during the war years 1939-45. It was a comment which pleased Rhodesians. To think that we were not British would be ridiculous. After all, what is our history?<sup>347</sup>

This sentiment echoes that of Tawse Jollie, who argued 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 ... Rhodesians as a rule are intensely imperialistic.<sup>348</sup>

And at the height of the Federation in 1956, Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky also emphasised that:

I believe it is my privilege to say on behalf of the whole Federation that whatever the course of events may be, our loyalty to the Crown is

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<sup>344</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 01 February 1896 as quoted in J. Bonello, ‘The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890–1914’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, p. 354.

<sup>345</sup> J. Bonello, ‘The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890–1914’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, pp. 354-355.

<sup>346</sup> E. Tawse Jollie, ‘Britain’s New Colony’, *United Empire*, 1923, pp. 13-14.

<sup>347</sup> I.D. Smith, *The Great Betrayal*, 1997, p. 1.

<sup>348</sup> E. Tawse Jollie, ‘Southern Rhodesia’, *South African Quarterly*, 3, 1921, pp. 10–12.



unquestionable. As a people whether white or black, we are British, and we are determined that this will not change whatever our status within the Commonwealth may become.<sup>349</sup>

So it is no surprise, as Lowry points out, that for many observers the most striking aspect of Rhodesia remained its “Britishness”, and until the late 1950s, most whites appear to have identified themselves primarily as British rather than Rhodesian.<sup>350</sup>

This chapter examines the emergence and consolidation of a Rhodesian identity followed by the visible manifestations of this identity. The latter, as outlined in the previous chapter, were the symbols of state. Primary amongst these are the national flag and anthem, but also other identity markers such as stamps, national holidays and monuments which form part of the national panoply of symbols which are outlined in Annexure 1. Thus, “British flags, songs and other displays of the Empire were part and parcel of Rhodesian life”.<sup>351</sup>

### 5.3 NON-TANGIBLE EXPRESSIONS OF RHODESIAN “BRITISHNESS”

The first Europeans to enter Mashonaland with the Pioneer Column were almost all of British extraction or nationality, as would be expected of an enterprise of a British company with Imperial support and launched from a British territory.<sup>352</sup> However, as Roberts points out in his analysis of the settlement and growth of the white population in the territory, initially the white population grew slowly. Indeed, the lack of a discovery of a “Second Rand” and the fact that the entry of white women was initially discouraged, followed by the Shona and Matabele Rebellions, meant it would be some time before a settled white society could develop.<sup>353</sup> The “Informal Census” taken in 1901 recorded a white population of

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<sup>349</sup> C. Leys, *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia*, 1959, p. 247.

<sup>350</sup> D. Lowry, ‘Rhodesia 1890-1980 “The Lost Dominion”’, in R. Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, 2010, pp. 112–149.

<sup>351</sup> A.K. Shutt and T. King, ‘Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31(2), 2005, p. 363.

<sup>352</sup> R.S. Roberts, ‘The Immigrant Population of Southern Rhodesia in the First Decade of Settlement’, *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, 2013, p. 17.

<sup>353</sup> See R.S. Roberts, ‘The Settlers’, *Rhodesiana*, 39, 1978, p. 55–61; R.S. Roberts, ‘The Immigrant Population of Southern Rhodesia in the First Decade of Settlement’, *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, 2013, pp. 17–44.

only 11,032<sup>354</sup> of which the British were the dominant group comprising over 80 per cent according to BSAC Annual Reports at the end of the 1890s.<sup>355</sup> The turning point in white settlement came after 1903-04 when the gold mining industry, such as it was, slumped and the BSAC realised that its future success depended on the land it possessed and consequently attention turned to the development and promotion of commercial agriculture.<sup>356</sup> The white population doubled in the next decade to 23,000 in 1911 due almost entirely to immigration – the decade of fastest growth in Rhodesian history. It then reached 138,000 in 1951 just prior to the establishment of the Federation<sup>357</sup> following an influx of immigrants immediately after World War II, with the majority once again coming from Britain.<sup>358</sup>

Francis argues that the maintenance of a “British character” in the territory was a deliberate policy of successive administrations. Initially this was to avoid replicating the (white) ethnic divide as found in South Africa<sup>359</sup> but later, as Mlambo points out, the authorities wanted to develop Rhodesia not just as a white man’s country, but specifically, as a “British white man’s country”.<sup>360</sup> Thus the immigration efforts were directed at attracting “the right sort of people” and non-British immigrants were discouraged<sup>361</sup> with *The Rhodesia Herald* commenting that:

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<sup>354</sup> R.S. Roberts, ‘The Immigrant Population of Southern Rhodesia in the First Decade of Settlement’, *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, 2013, p. 36.

<sup>355</sup> B.A. Kosmin, ‘On the imperial frontier: The Pioneer community of Salisbury in November 1897’, *Rhodesian History*, II, 1977, as quoted in R.S. Roberts, ‘The Immigrant Population of Southern Rhodesia in the First Decade of Settlement’, *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, 2013, p. 29.

<sup>356</sup> D. Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia*, 1987, pp. 16-17.

<sup>357</sup> R.S. Roberts, ‘The Settlers’, *Rhodesiana*, 39, 1978, pp. 56, 59.

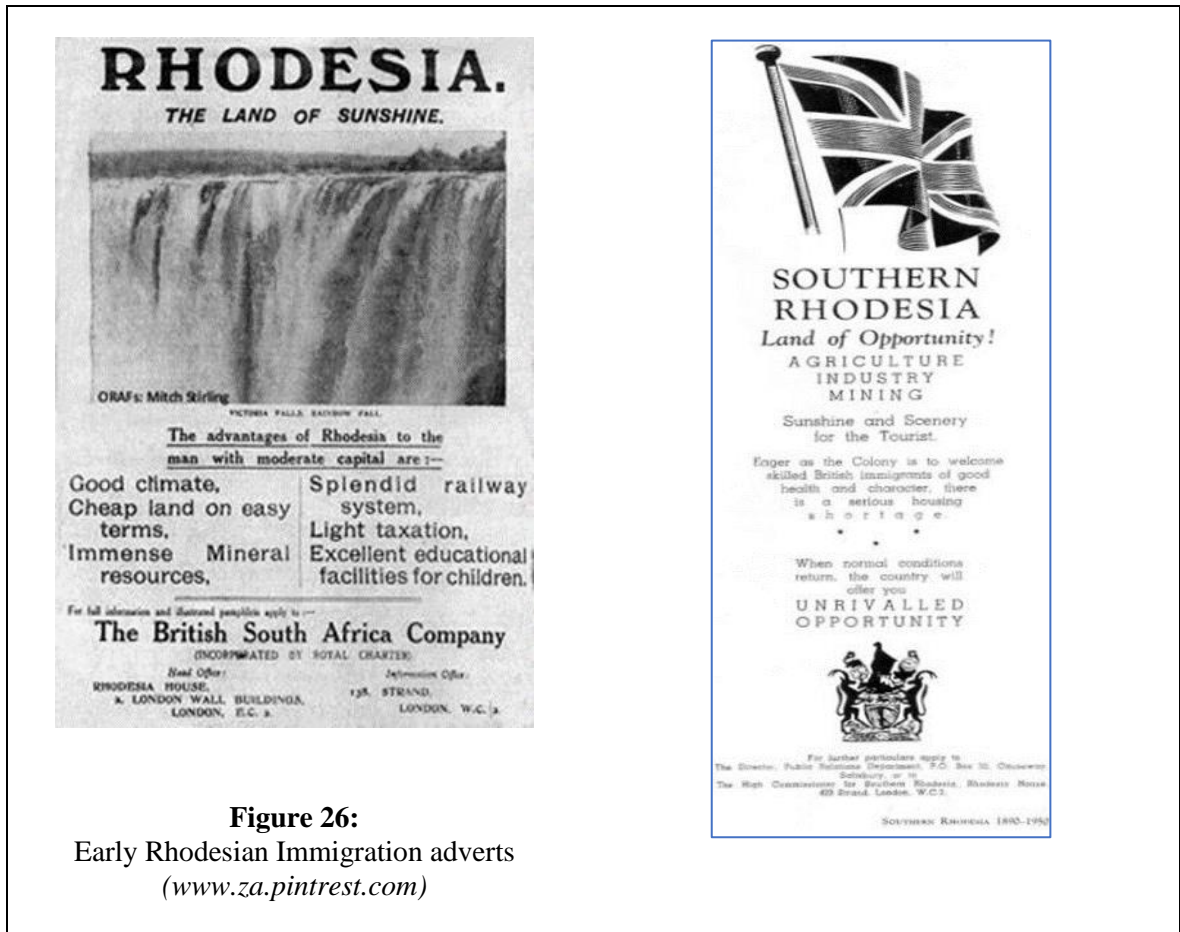
<sup>358</sup> A.S. Mlambo, ‘From the Second World War to UDI, 1940-1965’, in B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*, 2009, p. 80.

<sup>359</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 104. Furthermore, Francis argues that the development of Rhodesian identity was therefore a reaction to the assertion of Afrikaner identity which developed in South Africa towards the end of the nineteenth century.

<sup>360</sup> A.S. Mlambo, ‘Building a White Man’s Country: Aspects of White Immigration into Rhodesia up to World War II’, *Zambezia*, XXV(ii), 1998, p. 141.

<sup>361</sup> See A.S. Mlambo, ‘Building a White Man’s Country: Aspects of White Immigration into Rhodesia up to World War II’, *Zambezia*, XXV(ii), 1998, pp. 123-146 and A.S. Mlambo, “‘Some Are More White than Others’: Racial Chauvinism as a Factor in Rhodesian Immigration Policy 1890 to 1963’, *Zambezia*, XXVII(ii), 2000, pp. 139–160 for a detailed analysis of Rhodesian Immigration Policy up to UDI. A detailed analysis of the demographics of white Rhodesians can be found in J. Brownell, *The Collapse of Rhodesia – Population Demographics and the Politics of Race*, 2011.

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 (immigration) scheme has been started.<sup>362</sup>



**Figure 26:**  
Early Rhodesian Immigration adverts  
([www.za.pinterest.com](http://www.za.pinterest.com))

Adverts, such as those shown in Figure 26, emphasised Rhodesia’s loyalty to the Crown and Empire (including an illustration of the Union Jack) and were specifically aimed at attracting “skilled British immigrants”, as well as to bolster “kith and kin” ties.<sup>363</sup> So it is not surprising, therefore, that 95,8 per cent of all immigrants into Rhodesia between 1930 and 1950 were of British nationality<sup>364</sup> and by 1930 still only one-third of white Rhodesians had been born in the country.<sup>365</sup> Furthermore, it is also no surprise that the initial feeling

<sup>362</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 16 March 1939 as quoted in A.S. Mlambo, ‘Building a White Man’s Country: Aspects of White Immigration into Rhodesia up to World War II’, *Zambezia*, XXV(ii), 1998, p. 141.

<sup>363</sup> G. Bishi, ‘Kith and Kin? Rhodesia’s White Settlers and Britain, 1939-1980’, D.Phil. thesis, University of the Free State, 2018, p. 40.

<sup>364</sup> G. Kay, ‘Population’, in G.M.E. Leistner (ed.), *Rhodesia: Economic Structure and Change*, 1976, p. 43.

<sup>365</sup> R.S. Roberts, ‘The Settlers’, *Rhodesiana*, 39, 1978, p. 59.

of identity was not so much “Rhodesian” as “British”, reinforced by a ruling establishment of gentlemen-farmers - “a well-educated, well-bred and high-minded elite” with an insistence on social background, capital, qualifications and a job – all the attributes that would be needed by would-be immigrants to Rhodesia.<sup>366</sup>

An early emphasis on education had a unifying effect on the settler population as schools were based on British public school lines and became bastions of traditional values that would produce high academic standards and morals.<sup>367</sup> The latter included Christian values to aid the spread of “civilisation” on the African continent together with truthfulness, piety, honesty and manliness.<sup>368</sup> Therefore schools, as Kennedy illustrates, were to focus on “occupational skill as [well as] to inculcate the character for imperial responsibilities”.<sup>369</sup> The result of this emphasis was that in 1930 education was made compulsory for white children and by the end of the 1930s more Rhodesian children per capita were completing secondary education and going on to university than in either South Africa or Britain.<sup>370</sup> The education system was considered one of the best in Africa, if not in the world, and helped spread and maintain a common set of values based on British gentlemanly behaviour that promoted independence, honesty, integrity and fair play – all of which were considered vital for a population destined to govern a country.<sup>371</sup>

An emotional issue which was exploited during the 1922 referendum was that of bilingualism since incorporation into the Union would mean that Dutch would be recognised as an official language as well as English.<sup>372</sup> And just as British identity in South Africa was defined by the English language,<sup>373</sup> so too in Southern Rhodesia where English was

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<sup>366</sup> R.S. Roberts, ‘The Settlers’, *Rhodesiana*, 39, 1978, p. 60.

<sup>367</sup> R.S. Roberts, ‘The Settlers’, *Rhodesiana*, 39, 1978, p. 59; J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, pp. 143-148. See also N.D. Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians - A History of Educational Policy in Rhodesia*, 1972.

<sup>368</sup> N.D. Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians - A History of Educational Policy in Rhodesia*, 1972, pp. 59-60.

<sup>369</sup> D. Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia*, 1987, pp. 171-172.

<sup>370</sup> L.H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934*, 1965, p. 318.

<sup>371</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, pp. 147-149.

<sup>372</sup> A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to Be Proud*, 1978, pp. 122, 157-159; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 188.

<sup>373</sup> J. Lambert, “‘An Unknown People’: Reconstructing British South African Identity”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37(4), 2009, p. 603.

jealously guarded as the only official language. Attempts to introduce the teaching of other languages in schools, specifically Afrikaans, were initially resisted.<sup>374</sup> A distinctive accent and language sub-group emerged with a strong resemblance to South African English.<sup>375</sup> English became a unifying factor, part of the emerging “proto-nationalism”,<sup>376</sup> which helped to solidify a common identity, the promotion of a national feeling<sup>377</sup> and provided an access to a common set of British cultural references, belief and attitudes.<sup>378</sup>

The outcome of the referendum and subsequent granting of Responsible Government in 1923 was a clear demonstration of the firmly held belief that Southern Rhodesians regarded themselves not only as merely members of a small, isolated white community in Africa, but also as citizens of the British Empire.<sup>379</sup> This cultural, political and sentimental loyalty towards Britain and the Crown was further demonstrated by the immediate and unquestioning support provided to Britain during the two World Wars and is further evidence that Southern Rhodesia considered itself as a bastion of imperial loyalty.<sup>380</sup> So as Tawse Jollie once-again observed, Rhodesians were not only “intensely British” but quite “intolerably Rhodesian” with “... a super-British Imperialism, a loyalty to the Flag and Empire which appears to be old-fashioned in Great Britain today, combined with a conviction that Rhodesia is the finest spot in the Empire under the Flag ...”.<sup>381</sup> This is echoed by Gann who wrote that by the 1930s “Rhodesia’s small-town and farm society ... maintained an intensely British-South African outlook, a pride in the Union Jack, in King and Empire, a kind of patriotism already beginning to wane in the Mother Country”.<sup>382</sup> According to Bonello this identification with Britain and the Empire did *not* conflict with

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<sup>374</sup> G. Bishi, ‘Kith and Kin? Rhodesia’s White Settlers and Britain, 1939-1980’, D.Phil. thesis, University of the Free State, 2018, p. 55.

<sup>375</sup> See S. Fitzmaurice, ‘L1 Rhodesian English’, in D. Schreier (ed.), *The Lesser-Known Varieties of English: An Introduction*, 2010.

<sup>376</sup> L.H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934*, 1965, p. 315.

<sup>377</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 149.

<sup>378</sup> J. Lambert, “‘An Unknown People’: Reconstructing British South African Identity”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37(4), 2009, p. 603.

<sup>379</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 24 March 1934 as quoted in G. Bishi, ‘Kith and Kin? Rhodesia’s White Settlers and Britain, 1939-1980’, 2018, D.Phil. thesis, University of the Free State, p. 14.

<sup>380</sup> A. Thompson, ‘The Language of Loyalism in Southern Africa’, *English Historical Review*, cxviii(477), 2003, p. 620.

<sup>381</sup> E. Tawse Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia*, 1924, pp. 7, 102.

<sup>382</sup> L.H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934*, 1965, pp 314-315.

the settlers' co-existing perception of themselves as Rhodesians; the essence of "Rhodesian-ness" was distinct from "Britishness", yet at the same time was an inevitable product of it.<sup>383</sup>

In addition to the shared language and common symbols such as the Crown, Union Jack and anthem, the Southern Rhodesia Citizenship Act of 1949 allowed dual citizenship,<sup>384</sup> reflecting the dualistic identity of many within the Colony. The Act closely followed British legislation and allowed British subjects to become Southern Rhodesian citizens after two years in the Colony, while at the same time also qualifying as British subjects in terms of the British Nationality Act of 1948.<sup>385</sup> The Act is significant in that it was the first to give legal definition to being "Southern Rhodesian" as previously whites referred to themselves according to their ethnic origins and as such the European settlers could lay claim to many identities.<sup>386</sup>

Central to the evolution and development of a distinctive local identity is the concept of "space", with J. Francis arguing that conquest and the subsequent occupation of land in Southern Rhodesia was the keystone to white society.<sup>387</sup> After all, one of the main incentives to join the Pioneer Column, as outlined in Chapter 3, was the opportunity to receive land leading Verrier to comment that the history of Southern Rhodesia is one of "land seizure and settlement".<sup>388</sup> The problem was not land acquisition – as the settlers were given more than they needed – but the means of working it.<sup>389</sup> The issue of land rights and ownership thus became a dominant feature in Rhodesian history, with the centrality of land to the value systems of both Africans and Europeans ensuring that its division along racial lines inevitably leading to friction and conflict.<sup>390</sup> As indicated, on 26 July 1918 the Privy Council ruled that all unalienated land in the territory belonged to the Crown and that

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<sup>383</sup> J. Bonello, 'The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890–1914', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, p. 355.

<sup>384</sup> Southern Rhodesia Citizenship and British Nationality Act (No. 13 of 1949), 1949.

<sup>385</sup> J.L. Fisher, *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles: The Decolonisation of White Identity in Zimbabwe*, 2010, p. 107.

<sup>386</sup> G. Bishi, 'Kith and Kin? Rhodesia's White Settlers and Britain, 1939-1980', D.Phil. thesis, University of the Free State, 2018, p. 43.

<sup>387</sup> J. Francis, 'The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 50.

<sup>388</sup> A. Verrier, *The Road to Zimbabwe 1890-1980*, 1986, p. 18.

<sup>389</sup> R. Lewis and Y. Foy, *The British in Africa*, 1971, p. 127.

<sup>390</sup> B.N. Floyd, 'Land Apportionment in Southern Rhodesia', *Geographical Review*, 52(4), 1962, p. 566.

the BSAC was entitled to compensation for its role in the administration of the territory. Furthermore, the Council found that the African population had “no right to land” in the territory and that settler rights came first, thus laying the legal foundation for the future development of Rhodesia as a “white man’s country”.<sup>391</sup> Shortly afterwards the Morris Carter Commission of 1925 recommended the division of all land into separate racial areas which became formally embodied in the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, thereby establishing and demarcating distinctive, and separate, physical white and black spaces within the country.<sup>392</sup>

David Knight highlights the link between people and land as being a significant feature in the development of an identity, both individually and collectively.<sup>393</sup> He builds on the earlier work of Brian Murton who established that there is a close territorial identification by a group, with land ownership and division being important to group social identity and organisation.<sup>394</sup> This is especially true in population groups that rarely move beyond their own settlements and thus in the Rhodesian context, as Francis points out, land must be viewed as territory rather than as a mere commodity. He states:

The reason for this is that land is a neutral concept while territory is linked with a concept of identity [that] has a deep spiritual symbolism ... Given this then, we must regard territory as a psychological and emotional construct that helps define a people within a given space and is fundamental to a sense of being. This space is defined by both physical and spiritual borders [sic] that help to create a frontier between one social group and another ... .<sup>395</sup>

Thus, as Francis argues, the naming of the country after Cecil John Rhodes had a powerful symbolic significance for the white settlers and linked their occupation of the territory with

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<sup>391</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 69; C.C. Barney, “‘Not in a Thousand Years’: White Settlement, Rhodesian Nationalism, and the Formation of a Rogue State’, MA thesis, Murray State University, 2016, p. 37.

<sup>392</sup> Further details on the Morris Carter Land Commission are provided in Chapter 3.

<sup>393</sup> D.B. Knight, ‘Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 72(4), 1982, p. 516.

<sup>394</sup> B.J. Murton, ‘Territory, Social Structure and Settlement Dynamics in Tamil Nadu before 1800 A.D.’, *Pacific Viewpoint*, 17, 1976, p. 4.

<sup>395</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 72.

their national identity so much so that whiteness and Rhodesia become fundamentally interconnected.<sup>396</sup>

Territorial segregation secured white spaces from which Africans were excluded leading Henri Rolin, the eminent Belgian jurist who visited the country in 1911-1912, to describe Rhodesian society as being composed of “two separate communities”, one superimposed on the other: an aristocracy composed of white landowners and entrepreneurs, and a black proletariat.<sup>397</sup> In his assessment of white settler culture, Kennedy asserts that the central feature was its strict avoidance of contact and interchange with Africans. It was characterised “by the effort to isolate and institutionalise white settlement within a rigid set of physical, linguistic, social, economic and political boundaries”.<sup>398</sup> Segregation, according to Evans, induced a powerful sense of solidarity based on myth and distortion.<sup>399</sup> However, as Davies points out in her thesis on white identity in Zimbabwe, the overwhelming awareness of its numerical minority meant that the subjugation of African labour was a necessary component of colonial economic development which created social anxieties that could only be quelled through segregation. Thus (black) Africans were both central to, and excluded from, white society and it was within this context that a distinctly white Rhodesian identity was shaped.<sup>400</sup> By and large Rhodesians generally thought of the urban areas as being European and the Africans residing therein would, at some time in the future, return to their ‘native’ homes or reserves.<sup>401</sup> A clear-cut distinction between those inside and outside the social group became necessary in a process described by Chennells as a discursive “mapping out” of the new space.<sup>402</sup> Bull-Christiansen observes that racial stereotypes are produced as part of this process with the whites being deemed to be superior

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<sup>396</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 97.

<sup>397</sup> H. Rolin, *Rolin's Rhodesia*, 1978, p. v.

<sup>398</sup> D. Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia*, 1987, p. 189.

<sup>399</sup> M. Evans, ‘The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, p. 46.

<sup>400</sup> A.C. Davies, ‘From Rhodesian to Zimbabwean and Back: White Identity in an African Context’, D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Berkeley), 2001, p. 84.

<sup>401</sup> J.L. Fisher, *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles: The Decolonisation of White Identity in Zimbabwe*, 2010, p. 3.

<sup>402</sup> A.J. Chennells, ‘Rhodesian Discourse, Rhodesian Novels and the Zimbabwe Liberation War’, in N. Bhebe and T. Ranger (eds.), *Society in Zimbabwe's Liberation War*, 1996, p. 102.



and seeing themselves as the natural masters of this space and the embodiment of a true English identity.<sup>403</sup>

Rhodesia, as a space, defines an English race that discovers through the process of conquest and appropriation the nature of its own civilisation. The English become a race only through relation to their empire; Rhodesians as spokespeople of the discourses of empire are also naming their own identity. ... It is in his struggle to discipline both the perceived unruliness of African nature and the nature of the Africans that the Englishman becomes his true self, and the Rhodesian who in turn has appropriated that discourse becomes his or her true self.<sup>404</sup>

Numerous Rhodesian literary and poetic works provide an insight into white Rhodesian society where these tensions are described and explored.<sup>405</sup> The so-called “white Rhodesian novel” in turn has been analysed most notably by Chennells and Rosemary Moyana.<sup>406</sup> The majority of these novels uncritically portray the white settler as being honest and hardworking, in touch with nature and with a natural understanding of the true order of things,<sup>407</sup> exhibiting a British consciousness with prejudices calculated to appeal to [the author’s] British audience.<sup>408</sup> There are, however, also the more critical such as the world-renowned *The Grass is Singing* by Doris Lessing (the 2007 Nobel Literature Prize winner). This deals with the reality of racial boundaries in the country, the breaching of the sanctity of white space and the general misery of the Rhodesian colonial wife.<sup>409</sup> Further analysis of Rhodesian literature, poetry and memoirs reveal numerous examples of an almost

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<sup>403</sup> L. Bull-Christiansen, *Tales of the Nation - Feminist Nationalism or Patriotic History? Defining National History and Identity in Zimbabwe*, 2004, p. 44.

<sup>404</sup> A.J. Chennells, ‘Rhodesian Discourse, Rhodesian Novels and the Zimbabwe Liberation War’, in N. Bhebe and T. Ranger (eds.), *Society in Zimbabwe’s Liberation War*, 1996, p. 103.

<sup>405</sup> A bibliography of Rhodesian literature can be found in J. Pichanick, A.J. Chennells, and L.B. Rix, *Rhodesian Literature in English: A Bibliography (1890-1974/5)*, 1977. See also D. McCaffrey, ‘Rhodesia, Race and Writing: Using Literary Memory to Reconstruct the History of a Racist State’, *academia.edu*, 2019, pp. 1–33 for an analysis of some white Rhodesian poetry.

<sup>406</sup> See, for example, A.J. Chennells, ‘Settler Myths and the Southern Rhodesian Novel’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1982; A.J. Chennells, ‘Rhodesian Discourse, Rhodesian Novels and the Zimbabwe Liberation War’, in N. Bhebe and T. Ranger (eds.), *Society in Zimbabwe’s Liberation War*, 1996; R. Moyana, ‘An Historical Study of a Selection of the White Rhodesian Novel in English, 1890 to 1994: Content and Character’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1999.

<sup>407</sup> L. Bull-Christiansen, *Tales of the Nation - Feminist Nationalism or Patriotic History? Defining National History and Identity in Zimbabwe*, 2004, p. 46.

<sup>408</sup> R. Moyana, ‘An Historical Study of a Selection of the White Rhodesian Novel in English, 1890 to 1994: Content and Character’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1999, p. 16.

<sup>409</sup> D. Lessing, *The Grass Is Singing*, 1950. See also R. Moyana, ‘An Historical Study of a Selection of the White Rhodesian Novel in English, 1890 to 1994: Content and Character’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1999, Chapter 6 for an analysis of other novelists critical of what she terms the “settler ideology in Rhodesia”.

“mystical connection with the land” leading Moyana to comment that land, whether for farming, ranching, mining or for commercial uses, emerges as a central recurring theme in the Rhodesian novel.<sup>410</sup>

Thus we see the white Rhodesian settlers developing a strong sense of belonging, both as being part of the wider British world together with a growing sense of attachment to the country in which they lived - to being at home within the space they created and occupied within the African landscape. In his observations of white Rhodesian society, Schwartz observes:

What is striking, however, is the speed with which new immigrants came to be integrated into the culture of white society. Primarily this was the consequence of the requirements of white solidarity. The labour market was protected for all whites, while the institutions of state education did much to “Rhodesianize” the children of new migrants. The authority of racial whiteness determined the means by which, in lived culture, whiteness was encoded and made local was largely through the propagation of the historic myths of the nation.<sup>411</sup>

White Rhodesians celebrated the wide-open spaces, a passion for sport, a high standard of living and cheap domestic labour. This isolated, safety-conscious, agriculturally-based, sport-orientated, sundowner and barbequing lifestyle provided the foundation of what became commonly referred to as the “Rhodesian way of life” which became central to white Rhodesian identity<sup>412</sup> and was used to market the Colony to potential immigrants. Thus it came to be said that “white Rhodesians paid more attention to their roses, their Currie Cup cricket, their horses, their dogs and the level of algae in their pools than to the black people whose land they shared in unequal proportions”.<sup>413</sup>

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<sup>410</sup> This is explored in some detail in J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, pp. 90-93 and R. Moyana, ‘An Historical Study of a Selection of the White Rhodesian Novel in English, 1890 to 1994: Content and Character’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1999, pp. 64-67.

<sup>411</sup> B. Schwartz, *The White Man’s World*, 2011, p. 408.

<sup>412</sup> K. Larsen, “‘You Rhodesians Are More British than the British’: The Development of a White National Identity and Immigration Policies and Restrictions in Southern Rhodesia 1890-1965’, D. Phil. thesis, University of Western Australia, 2013, pp. 103-104..

<sup>413</sup> P. Moorcraft, *A Short Thousand Years: The End of Rhodesia’s Rebellion*, 1980, p. 4.

#### 5.4 TANGIBLE REPRESENTATIONS OF RHODESIAN “BRITISHNESS”

As highlighted at the beginning of this chapter, one of the most striking aspects of the colonial period was Rhodesia’s “Britishness”. This was manifested through the use of the Union Jack as the Colony’s national flag, the loyalty and allegiance to the British Royal Family as shown through the singing of “*God Save the King/Queen*” and the appearance of the monarch on its postage stamps, banknotes and coinage. In common with other British colonies, the Rhodesian armed forces adopted the British rank structure. As with other territories in the Empire, the portrait of the monarch also appeared on Rhodesian postage stamps and later on its banknotes. Distinguished Rhodesians were also included in the Crown Honours Lists and received British Orders, Decorations and Medals until UDI. Certificates and Badges of Honour for public servants were initially announced in the New Year’s Honours List and, from 1959, on the Queen’s Birthday.<sup>414</sup> Local symbolic representations centred on Victoria Falls and Great Zimbabwe, both of which were also featured on the Colony’s stamps, banknotes and coinage.

The driving force behind the European conquest and settlement of what later became Rhodesia was Cecil John Rhodes. As outlined in Chapter 3, Rhodes was at the core a British imperialist with the belief that the world should be governed by the English-speaking races<sup>415</sup> following “the furtherance of the British Empire, for the bringing of the whole uncivilised world under British rule ... for the making the Anglo-Saxon race but one Empire!”<sup>416</sup> In pursuit of this aim he attached great significance to “... the undisputed supremacy of the British flag”.<sup>417</sup> Rhodes made a number of references to the significance of the British flag, stating in an interview that, “if you take my flag, you take everything. ... I should be a fool to give up my flag and my traditions ...”.<sup>418</sup> After the relief of the Siege of Kimberley, in a speech to the shareholders of De Beers in February 1900, he claimed that

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<sup>414</sup> Cabinet Papers, Circular Minute 70/7/27, 06 June 1956.

<sup>415</sup> J.G. McDonald, *Rhodes: A Life*, 1971, p. 383; R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder - Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*, 1988, p. 100. See also R.C. Mensing, ‘Cecil Rhodes’s Ideas of Race and Empire’, *International Social Science Review*, 61(3), 1986, pp. 99-106 and for an alternative viewpoint see P. Maylam, *The Cult of Rhodes – Remembering an Imperialist in Africa*, 2005.

<sup>416</sup> B. Williams, *Cecil Rhodes*, 1921, p. 59.

<sup>417</sup> H. Hensman, *Cecil Rhodes - A Study of a Career*, 1901, p. 147.

<sup>418</sup> G. Le Sueur, *Cecil Rhodes - The Man and His Work*, 1913, p. 41.

“Her Majesty’s flag ...” was the “... best commercial asset in the world”.<sup>419</sup> According to Le Sueur and others, Rhodes was imbued with an intense patriotism and pride in being an Englishman<sup>420</sup> and these later became traits associated with Rhodesians. At Groote Schuur, his official residence in Cape Town, two Union Jacks were on display. In the library were two flags - one a Portuguese flag captured by the BSAC at Macequece in 1891 and a battered Union Jack carried by Jameson’s column into Matabeleland in 1893.<sup>421</sup> In the billiard room hung another two flags – the so called “Cape to Cairo flag” as described in Chapter 4, and shown in Figure 5, which had been carried by General Gordon on the Nile and the other a large Union Jack which had been taken by an Oxford undergraduate, Mr. Grogan, on a two year trip from Cape Town to Cairo.<sup>422</sup> The latter was one of the flags which covered Rhodes’ coffin, together with a BSAC flag and a White Ensign from the Loyal Women’s Guild bearing the inscription “Farewell, Great Heart”.<sup>423</sup> The legacy of Rhodes, his belief in the civilising mission of Anglo-Saxons and the sanctity of British symbols and traditions, became the root of white Rhodesian identity.

An example of the settlers’ “exceptional attachment”<sup>424</sup> to Britain was demonstrated in the use of the Union Jack as the national flag, despite various attempts to adopt a distinctive Rhodesian colonial ensign as discussed in Chapter 4. The debate on what is, or should be, the Rhodesian flag continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s. When approval was finally given to adopt a Rhodesian ensign (Figure 16), it was on the explicit understanding that this flag would be used to distinguish the Colony abroad and that the Union Jack remained the official flag of the Colony. The Union Jack remained the official flag, later flown together with the subsequent Federal and Southern Rhodesian ensigns, until a new Rhodesian flag was adopted following UDI on 11 November 1968. Despite the development of a sense of belonging in Africa, the settlers imagined themselves to be a united community of British imperialists and, as indicated earlier, their patriotism and loyalty to the Crown was initially

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<sup>419</sup> B. Williams, *Cecil Rhodes*, 1921, p. 174.

<sup>420</sup> G. Le Sueur, *Cecil Rhodes - The Man and His Work*, 1913, p. 41.

<sup>421</sup> G. Le Sueur, *Cecil Rhodes - The Man and His Work*, 1913, p. 257.

<sup>422</sup> G. Le Sueur, *Cecil Rhodes - The Man and His Work*, 1913, p. 260.

<sup>423</sup> G. Le Sueur, *Cecil Rhodes - The Man and His Work*, 1913, p. 329.

<sup>424</sup> C. Leys, *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia*, 1959, p. 250.

unwavering.<sup>425</sup> As Ian Smith reveals in his autobiography, “the sons of these Pioneers were more British than the British ... that was how we were brought up and taught to live ... [and] when you walked past a Union Jack ... you looked at it and admired it”.<sup>426</sup> The Union Jack was thus a key signifier of the place of white Rhodesians in the world and served to legitimate their rule in accordance with the tenets of British and European imperialism: discourses of European superiority, paternalistic notions of development and civilising missions.<sup>427</sup>

In addition to the Union Jack it was the Crown, and through it the Monarchy, that was the symbol of unity, the apex of shared loyalty and citizenship that bound the Empire and wider British world together.<sup>428</sup> Although acting for a commercial enterprise in the form of the BSAC, the Pioneers claimed the territory for the British Empire in the name of Queen Victoria. The settlers derived a sense of attachment to the wider British world by a common allegiance to the Crown which remained central to Rhodesian identity throughout the colonial period right up to, and as will be explained in the next chapter, immediately after UDI. This veneration and loyalty to the Monarchy was a key issue in the referendum debate over union with South Africa in 1922 with Charles Coghlan, the future Premier, telling Winston Churchill that “we will not part from the British flag without fighting ... [and] if we have to fight we prefer to do so as an independent British entity ...”.<sup>429</sup> For Coghlan and others in the RGA, it was “Rhodesia for the Rhodesians and Rhodesia for the Empire”.<sup>430</sup> Thus Rhodesians were already acutely aware of their British identity by the time of the referendum and feared that this would be lost if they joined the proposed union with South Africa.<sup>431</sup> As such the settlers voted to remain separate in what was the first direct expression of a nascent Rhodesian nationalism and distinctive identity.

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<sup>425</sup> K. Larsen, “‘You Rhodesians Are More British than the British’: The Development of a White National Identity and Immigration Policies and Restrictions in Southern Rhodesia 1890-1965”, D. Phil. thesis, University of Western Australia, 2013, p. 104.

<sup>426</sup> I.D. Smith, *The Great Betrayal*, 1997, p. 3.

<sup>427</sup> D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress: White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 54.

<sup>428</sup> A.B. Keith, *The Sovereignty of the British Dominions*, 1929, pp. 418-436.

<sup>429</sup> J.P.R. Wallis, *One Man’s Hand*, 1972, p. 186.

<sup>430</sup> E. Tawse Jollie, ‘Britain’s New Colony’, *United Empire*, 1923, pp. 13-14; J.P.R. Wallis, *One Man’s Hand*, 1972, pp. 209, 213, 242.

<sup>431</sup> A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to Be Proud*, 1978, pp. 161-162.

The allegiance to the Crown found expression through the adoption of the rituals of state such as the use of a parliamentary Mace, standing to attention at cinema and theatre performances for the playing of the (British) national anthem and observances of the monarch's birthday.<sup>432</sup> Expressions of loyalty on such holidays as Victoria Day and Empire Day included religious services, parades of troops through Cecil Square, a ceremonial unfurling of the Union Jack and guns firing the royal salute as children sang the national anthem.<sup>433</sup>

Further expressions of loyalty to the Crown were evident within the armed forces. The military organisation of the territory began with the granting of the BSAC Charter as this gave the Company the right to establish a police force and with it the responsibility to maintain law and order. The BSAC Police was formed as a military force and accompanied the Pioneer Column in 1890. The primary objective of the BSAC Police was to protect the colonists. It thus formed the country's first defence force and accompanied the settlers to Mashonaland. The outbreak of the Matabele War in 1893 saw an increase in volunteers and the number of men under arms increased to over 1000. The Rhodesia Horse, the Victoria Rangers and Raaff's Rangers were formed to assist the BSAC Police and the establishment of these units formed the first territorial units in the country.<sup>434</sup> These volunteer units were disbanded in December 1893 and a new force named the Rhodesia Horse was formed. Policing was to be undertaken by the Mashonaland Mounted Police and the Matabeleland Mounted Police in Mashonaland and Matabeleland respectively. Following the increase in the settler population, it became necessary to establish a dedicated military, as opposed to a police force and consequently the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers (SRV) was established in 1899.<sup>435</sup>

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<sup>432</sup> P. Berlyn, *Rhodesia: Beleaguered Country*, 1967, p. 72.

<sup>433</sup> J. Bonello, 'The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890–1914', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, p. 358.

<sup>434</sup> D. Wall, *Insignia and History of the Rhodesian Armed Forces 1890-1980*, 2002, p. 17.

<sup>435</sup> D. Wall, *Insignia and History of the Rhodesian Armed Forces 1890-1980*, 2002, p. 20.

The SRV took part in the relief of the Siege of Mafeking during the Anglo-Boer/South African War and was presented with a King's Colour 09 October 1904. The Colour followed the traditional British pattern and was a silk Union Jack with gold fringe on a flagpole surmounted by a Crown and miniature Lion.<sup>436</sup> Shortly thereafter a Regimental Colour was presented to the SRV (Western Division) on 09 November 1905. The Colour had a red field with a Union Jack in the canton. In the centre was the Lion and Tusk, surrounded by the traditional wreath of roses surmounted by the Royal Crown, above the inscription "SOUTHERN RHODESIA VOLUNTEERS WESTERN DIVISION".<sup>437</sup> The Lion and Tusk emblem used by the SRV, taken from the Crest of the BSAC Arms, was the first example of its use by a uniformed unit and furthermore, the Colours awarded to the SRV were the first such to be presented to a Rhodesian military unit.

The Rhodesia Regiment also fought in the Anglo-Boer/South African War and also assisted in the relief of Mafeking. It took part in other operations in the Western Transvaal until it was disbanded in 1900. It was re-established following the outbreak of World War I on 13 October 1914 to form two regiments, both of which fought alongside the BSAP and the Rhodesia Native Regiment in German South West Africa as well as in East Africa and France. The badge of the Rhodesia Regiment was a Maltese Cross (a link with the former affiliation with the Sixtieth Rifles) in the centre of which was the Lion and Tusk emblem, surmounted by a Crown.

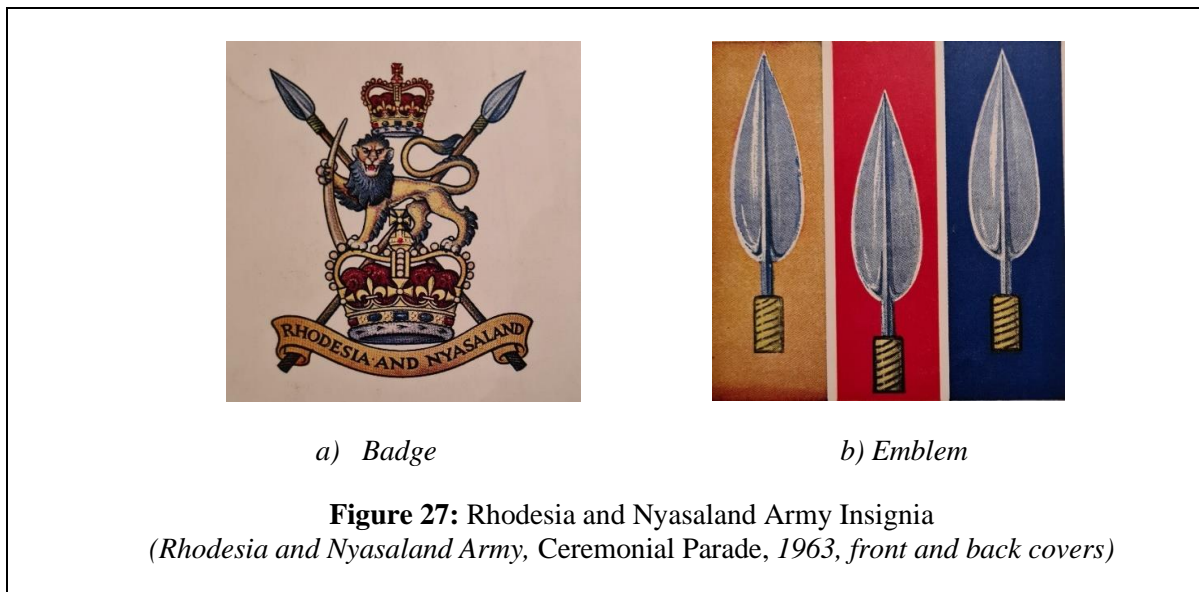
Another early example of the use of the Lion and Tusk emblem in the insignia of the armed forces is in the badge of the Rhodesian Army Staff Corps. Like the emblem emblazoned on the Colour of the SRV, the badge of the Rhodesian Army Staff Corps includes both the Lion and Tusk emblem and Crown. On a flag, comprising two equal vertical panels, the badge is placed in the centre in yellow.

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<sup>436</sup> *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 05 October 1904; J. de Lisle Thompson, 'The Colours of the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers (Western Division)', *Rhodesiana*, 1977, 36, pp. 23–25; A. Binda, *The Rhodesia Regiment - From Boer War to Bush War 1899-1980*, 2012, p. 28.

<sup>437</sup> J. de Lisle Thompson, 'The Colours of the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers (Western Division)', *Rhodesiana*, 36, 1977, pp. 24-25.

With the establishment of the Federation, all military forces in the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland came under the Central Africa Command on 01 July 1954, with its headquarters in Salisbury, the Federal Capital.<sup>438</sup> The emblem of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Army comprised the Rhodesian Lion and Tusk emblem standing on a Royal Crown surmounted by a smaller Crown, all superimposed on two crossed Assegais in saltire, above a scroll with the words “RHODESIA AND NYASALAND” as can be seen in Figure 27.<sup>439</sup> The Army badge comprised vertical stripes of yellow, red and blue, fimbriated in white. An assegai head was placed in the centre of each stripe, with the middle Assegai being slightly lower than the other two on either side.<sup>440</sup> The Assegais represent the constituent territories which formed the Federation and also they featured on the flag and badges of the Central Africa Command and in the roundel of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force. Where appropriate, the prefix “Rhodesia and Nyasaland” was added to the names of some units, but otherwise their symbols and insignia remained unchanged.



<sup>438</sup> See W.V. Brelsford (ed.), *Handbook to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1960, pp. 666-677.

<sup>439</sup> ‘Rhodesia and Nyasaland Army’, *Ceremonial Parade – Farewell to The Federal Prime Minister The Right Honourable Sir Roy Welensky, KCMG, MP*, Glamis Stadium, Salisbury, 8 December 1963, front cover; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 67.

<sup>440</sup> Rhodesia and Nyasaland Army, ‘The Rhodesia and Nyasaland Army Badge’, *Ceremonial Parade – Farewell to The Federal Prime Minister The Right Honourable Sir Roy Welensky, KCMG, MP*, Glamis Stadium, Salisbury, 8 December 1963, back cover.



The Rhodesian African Rifles (RAR) was the second oldest regiment of the Rhodesian Army and was the successor to the Rhodesia Native Regiment which had initially been raised in 1916 for service in German East Africa during World War I. The RAR was a black infantry regiment which was formed in 1940. Its badge depicted a Matabele war shield superimposed on which was a Matabele *assegai* (stabbing spear) crossed in saltire with a Shona *museve* (digging spear), upon which was a vertical knobkerrie. A scroll bearing the title “RHODESIAN AFRICAN RIFLES” was placed below the badge.<sup>441</sup> As a rifle regiment the RAR wore the traditional colours of black and rifle green, the latter later being changed to olive green. The flag of the RAR consisted of its regimental colours of green over black with the regimental badge in silver in the centre.<sup>442</sup> By capturing essential elements of both Ndebele and Shona cultures, the regimental badge symbolised the unity of these two historically hostile tribes within the RAR. As Michael Stewart comments in his thesis on the multicultural character of the regiment, the RAR thus created a new cultural symbol in which its soldiers, regardless of race or tribe, could take great pride. By breaking down the tribal barriers between individuals, this symbol allowed the RAR soldiers to build loyalty, both to the regiment and between themselves.<sup>443</sup>

A Regimental Colour for the Rhodesian African Rifles was granted by King George VI and approved by Queen Elizabeth II. It was presented by the Queen Mother during her tour of the country on 12 July 1953. An initial design prepared by the Commander of the Military Forces of the Colony which comprised a “Bottle green flag [with] a Union Flag at the top left corner. In the centre the regimental badge in silver and black surrounded by a silver ring bearing the title “RHODESIAN AFRICAN RIFLES” in black” was rejected as it did not conform to British Army specifications. An amended design suggested by the Inspector General of Colours consisted of a black flag with a St. George Cross, in the centre of which would be placed the Regimental Badge, surrounded by a garter with the Regimental Title. Surrounding this would be a wreath of roses as found on other Colours of the British Army.

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<sup>441</sup> A. Binda, *Masodja: The History of the Rhodesian African Rifles and Its Forerunner the Rhodesia Native Regiment*, 2007, p. 42.

<sup>442</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 105.

<sup>443</sup> M.P. Stewart, ‘The Rhodesian African Rifles - The Growth and Adaption of a Multicultural Regiment through the Rhodesian Bush War, 1965-1980’, Masters thesis, US Army Command and General Staff College, 2011, p. 6.

This design was also not accepted on the grounds that the Colour should be in the regiment's traditional colour of green and that as the Regiment was comprised of various nationalities, the cross of a particular patron saint would not be suitable.<sup>444</sup> The approved design was "On a bottle green flag, a regimental badge in colour within a garter inscribed "THE RHODESIAN AFRICAN RIFLES" surrounded by a wreath of normal Army pattern and surmounted by the Crown".<sup>445</sup>

A Queen's Colour was also presented to the Regiment. This was in the traditional form of a silk, fringed, Union Jack emblazoned with its battle honours. The battle honours awarded to the RAR in 1953 were "EAST AFRICA 1916-1918", "ARAKAN BEACHES", "TAUNGUP" and "BURMA 1944-45".<sup>446</sup>

A close association and affiliation to its British counterpart can be seen in the symbols used by the Air Force. Following the declaration of war between Britain and Germany in 1939, the Southern Rhodesia Air Unit became No. 1 Squadron Southern Rhodesia Air Force on 06 September 1939. All Southern Rhodesia Air Unit personnel were absorbed into the Royal Air Force (RAF) on 01 April 1940 and No. 1 Squadron was officially redesignated No. 237 (Rhodesia) Squadron Royal Air Force.<sup>447</sup> The badge of the squadron followed the traditional RAF pattern, being a circular frame in RAF blue with an indentation showing the number of the squadron, surrounded by a laurel wreath. In the centre of the frame is the squadron emblem, which in this case was the lion with tusk from the original BSAC Arms. The motto *Primum Agmen in Caelo* which means "The First Force in the Sky" or "First in the Field" was in a scroll below and surmounting the frame was the Royal Crown.<sup>448</sup>

In December 1940 the public was asked to suggest designs for the various squadron badges. Interestingly, the Zimbabwe Bird was the most popular choice indicating its emergence as a

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<sup>444</sup> A. Binda, *Masodja: The History of the Rhodesian African Rifles and Its Forerunner the Rhodesia Native Regiment*, 2007, p. 109.

<sup>445</sup> A. Binda, *Masodja: The History of the Rhodesian African Rifles and Its Forerunner the Rhodesia Native Regiment*, 2007, p. 109.

<sup>446</sup> A. Binda, *Masodja: The History of the Rhodesian African Rifles and Its Forerunner the Rhodesia Native Regiment*, 2007, p. 225.

<sup>447</sup> This was the squadron which Ian Smith, later Prime Minister of Rhodesia, joined in 1942.

<sup>448</sup> B. Salt, *A Pride of Eagles - A History of the Rhodesian Air Force*, 2015, p. 71.

prominent local symbol. Other suggestions included the Sable, Kudu, eagles, a locust, assegais, mine stamps and even the mosquito.<sup>449</sup> No. 266 Squadron and No. 44 Squadron were also officially designated “Rhodesian” in 1940 and 1941 respectively because of the large number of Rhodesian airmen and crew in these units. No. 266 (Rhodesia) Squadron was a fighter squadron and had a bateleur eagle in flight as its emblem and *Hlabezulu*, Ndebele for “The Stabber of the Sky” as its motto. The badge for No. 44 (Rhodesia) Squadron, a bomber squadron, was a representation of Lobengula’s elephant seal with the motto *Fulmina Regis Iusta* which means “The Kings Thunderbolts are Righteous”.<sup>450</sup> Sometimes the badge was embellished by adding “lo Bengula” below the elephant, although this was not official.<sup>451</sup>

No. 1 Signals Company of the Southern Rhodesian Corps of Signals in 1939 was the first unit to feature the Zimbabwe Bird in its badge.<sup>452</sup> This was followed by the Rhodesia Air Training Group (RATG) in 1940, this being the scheme whereby Allied air personnel, the bulk of whom were British, were sent to Rhodesia for training during World War II. The RATG adopted a motto in Shona, which reflected its role and function. *Ticasimba Nezana* means “We will be strengthened in hundreds”.<sup>453</sup> The Rhodesian Air Askari Corps, the unit comprised black volunteer troops whose mission was to guard the various airfields used by the RAF during World War II, also adopted a badge which prominently featured the Zimbabwe Bird after it was formed in August 1941 but unlike the RATG, the badge did not feature the Crown.<sup>454</sup>

It was after World War II, in a *Government Gazette* dated 28 November 1947, that it was announced that “An Air Unit of the Permanent Force ... which shall be styled the Southern Rhodesia Air Force” was to be established.<sup>455</sup> With the advent of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, defence became controlled by the Federal Government and as

<sup>449</sup> B. Salt, *A Pride of Eagles - A History of the Rhodesian Air Force*, 2015, p. 84.

<sup>450</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, pp. 135, 137.

<sup>451</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 136.

<sup>452</sup> B.B. Berry, ‘Flying High - The Zimbabwe Bird on the Flags of Zimbabwe’, Paper presented at the 28th International Congress of Vexillology, 15-19 July 2019, San Antonio (Texas).

<sup>453</sup> B. Salt *A Pride of Eagles - A History of the Rhodesian Air Force*, 2015, p. A-12.

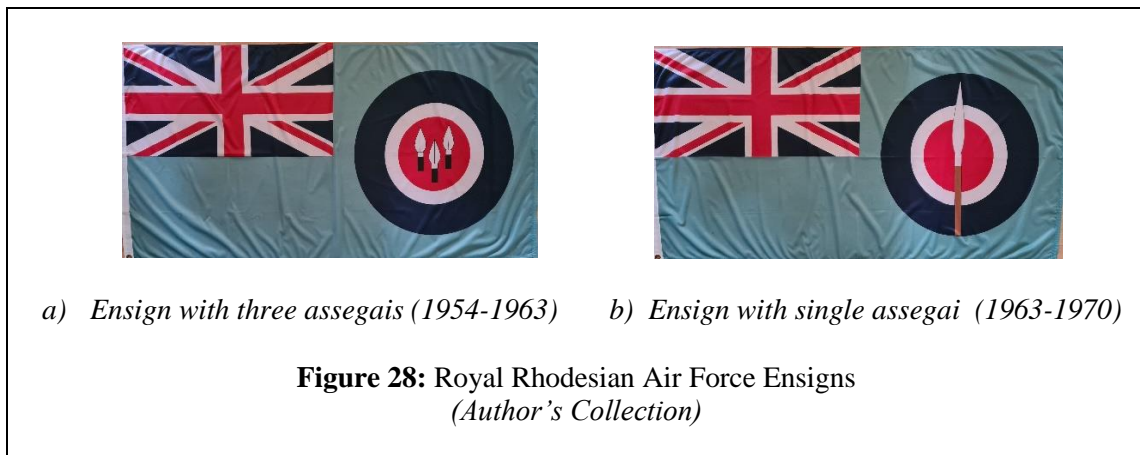
<sup>454</sup> D. Wall, *Insignia and History of the Rhodesian Armed Forces 1890-1980*, 2002, pp. 16, C12.

<sup>455</sup> Quoted in B. Salt, *A Pride of Eagles - A History of the Rhodesian Air Force*, 2015, pp. 299-300.

such the SRAF ceased to exist. On 15 October 1954 it was announced that the new title of the air force would be the Royal Rhodesian Air Force (RRAF).<sup>456</sup> The badge of the RRAF was formally described with the following blazon:

In front of a Circle Argent fimbriated Or inscribed with Royal Rhodesian Air Force in letters Or fimbriated Sable ensigned by the Imperial Crown proper all above a scroll bearing the motto “*Per Ardua ad Astra*” in letters Sable a Bateleur Eagle volant head lowered to the sinister proper.<sup>457</sup>

The roundel adopted by the RRAF was that used by the RAF but with the addition of three vertical black and white assegais, to represent the three territories forming the Federation, being placed in the centre.<sup>458</sup> Continuing with the traditional RAF pattern, the roundel was placed in the fly of a light blue ensign to form the RRAF ensign as shown in Figure 28.



During the federal period, the RRAF was reorganised from 4 to 7 squadrons and took delivery of Hawker Hunter, Vampire and Canberra jet fighters as well as a squadron of Alouette helicopters. With the dissolution of the Federation at the end of December 1963, the majority of the aircraft and manpower reverted to the Southern Rhodesia Government.<sup>459</sup>

<sup>456</sup> B. Salt, *A Pride of Eagles - A History of the Rhodesian Air Force*, 2015, p. 341.

<sup>457</sup> RAF Heraldry Trust, *Royal Rhodesian Air Force (RRAF)*, [www.rafht.co.uk/index.php/2016/06/13/royal-rhodesian-air-force-rrhaf/](http://www.rafht.co.uk/index.php/2016/06/13/royal-rhodesian-air-force-rrhaf/). Accessed: 2021-02-14.

<sup>458</sup> C.S. Kern, ‘National Aircraft Markings and Flags’, *The Flag Bulletin*, XI(2), 1972, pp. 255-256.

<sup>459</sup> *An Outline History of the Rhodesian Air Force*, 1973, p. 7.

The air force retained its name but the RRAF roundel, and consequently its ensign, were changed to display a single vertical assegai extending across the length of the roundel.<sup>460</sup>

The police force occupied a unique status in the country having initially been formed by the BSAC to accompany the Pioneer Column in 1890 as mentioned in Chapter 4. As indicated, the primary objective of the BSAC Police was to protect the colonists. It thus formed the country's first defence force and accompanied the settlers to Mashonaland. Following the disastrous Jameson Raid from Bechuanaland into the Transvaal in December 1895, and the later Matabele and Mashona Rebellions in 1896, the police forces were transferred from the BSAC to the British High Commissioner in the Cape. The police forces were amalgamated to form the Rhodesia Mounted Police and became formally known as the British South Africa Police (BSAP) on 29 December 1896.<sup>461</sup>

The original badge of the British South Africa Company Police used between 1890 and 1892 was in the colours of red on blue and featured a Lion holding the Tusk from the crest of the BSAC arms in the centre, surrounded by the words "THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY POLICE".<sup>462</sup> As shown in Figure 29, the badge adopted by the BSAP after its formation comprised a charging lion - the "British Lion" and a reference again to that used in the BSAC Arms - with a spear in its chest, against a background of Mimosa bushes, with assegais and shields on the ground.<sup>463</sup>

There were a number of variants of the police badge in use at different periods prior to World War II. In 1933 a Royal Crown was added above the badge to bring it in line with the badges of other colonial police forces and in 1949 a new version of the badge was adopted as a police crest for use on all official police stationery and by the police magazine *The Outpost*. It was this version that was used on the first police flag, being placed in the

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<sup>460</sup> C.S. Kern, 'National Aircraft Markings and Flags', *The Flag Bulletin*, XI(2), 1972, p. 255; D. Cowderoy and R.C. Nesbit, *War in the Air - Rhodesian Air Force 1935-1980*, 1987, p. 39; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 139.

<sup>461</sup> P. Gibbs, H. Phillips, and N. Russell, *Blue and Old Gold - The History of the British South Africa Police 1889-1980*, 2009, p. 79.

<sup>462</sup> D. Wall, *Insignia and History of the Rhodesian Armed Forces 1890-1980*, 2002, p. 3; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 159.

<sup>463</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 159.

centre of a dark blue field. The crest showed the lion badge in yellow encircled by a scroll bearing the BSAP motto *Pro Rege, Pro Lege, Pro Patria* which can be translated as "For Sovereign, for Law, for Country", with another scroll below containing the words "BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA POLICE". This crest, yellow with dark blue lettering, was used until 1960.

In 1960 the crest was changed to a simpler design of the badge, closer to that of the original medal design, but with the Royal (St Edward's) Crown added above the badge. The police flag was also changed to incorporate the new crest, being in yellow with a black outline with a yellow scroll with black letters below. At the same time the colour of the field of the flag was changed to a shade of navy blue.<sup>464</sup>



Loyalty to the Crown was also visibly demonstrated, as outlined in Chapter 3, by the contributions of Rhodesians to the Allies during both World Wars. In particular, Rhodesia's contribution to the war effort in World War II, such as through the RATG, enhanced the cultural and military connections between Rhodesia and Britain as well as being instrumental in the development of strong "kith and kin" feelings among many white

<sup>464</sup> B.B. Berry, 'Police Flags in Central Africa', *SAVA Newsletter*, 51/08, 2008, pp. 11-12; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 159.

Rhodesians.<sup>465</sup> This sentiment would later become central in the argument to rationalise UDI.

Stamps, together with banknotes and coins, also contribute to the national iconography and their imagery is used to communicate a particular narrative both within, and beyond, a country's borders. The territory's first adhesive postage stamps were printed during the BSAC administration in 1890 and released for postal purposes in the territory in 1892 after the establishment of postal services. A definitive<sup>466</sup> issue featuring the BSAC Arms was issued on 02 January 1892 and subsequent updates, all featuring the Arms, were issued until 1910.<sup>467</sup>

The first stamps to bear the country's name, together with that of the Company, and featuring the effigy of the monarch are the "Double Heads" which were issued in November 1910. King George V had only been on the throne for five months when the first definitive series to bear his portrait appeared in Rhodesia, before stamps of the new reign were issued in Britain, or by the Dominions such as Canada and New Zealand. The "Double Heads" series was also unique in that it featured the portraits of both King George V and Queen Mary in 18 denominations, some denominations of which never appeared in any British series. This series was replaced in September 1913, after less than three years in use, by small-format stamps portraying the King alone, in the peaked cap of the Admiral of the Fleet which became known as the "Admirals" series. However, the "Double Heads" are regarded as being among the greatest classic of British Commonwealth stamps of the twentieth century, examples of which are shown in Figure 30.<sup>468</sup>

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<sup>465</sup> G. Bishi, 'Kith and Kin? Rhodesia's White Settlers and Britain, 1939-1980', D.Phil. thesis, University of the Free State, 2018, p. 37.

<sup>466</sup> *Definitive* is the term given to stamps produced for everyday use and which do not have a commemorative or celebratory purpose. Definitive stamps are issued in many denominations and the designs remain unchanged for a number of years (and in some instances are unchanged for decades as in the case of British definitive issues featuring the portrait of the sovereign). *Commemorative* issues have a specific theme (usually to recall a specific event, anniversary or individual etc.) and are issued in fewer denominations and for a limited period only.

<sup>467</sup> R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs*, 1967, p. 310.

<sup>468</sup> Smithsonian National Postal Museum, *The Sun Never Sets on the Stamps of the British Empire*. <https://postalmuseum.si.edu/exhibition/the-sun-never-sets-on-the-stamps-of-the-british-empire>. Accessed: 2020/11/12.



**Figure 30:** BSAC “Double Heads” definitive series (1910-1913)  
(Author’s Collection)

In common with other members of the British Empire, and later Commonwealth, the portrait of the sovereign appeared on a number of Rhodesian stamps. This was both as the main (or only) feature of the stamp, such as the definitives issued between 1913 and 1931. The portrait of the sovereign later appears as a cameo on both definitive and commemorative issues.

The Southern Rhodesia commemorative to mark the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II issued on 01 June 1953 was quite different from others issued in the Commonwealth to mark the occasion in that it was a single stamp of a relatively high value.<sup>469</sup> The first Federal definitive issue depicted a portrait of Queen Elizabeth on all values and this was the last to have the sovereign as the only feature on a Rhodesian stamp.

Following the end of World War II, Jan Smuts invited the Royal Family to tour South Africa.<sup>470</sup> The tour included a visit to Southern Rhodesia between 07 and 16 April 1947. To mark the occasion, a commemorative stamp issue featuring the members of the Royal Family - King George VI, Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret - was issued on 01 April and a month later, a set of “Victory” stamps also featuring the members of the Royal Family went on sale. Their design was personally approved by the King, a keen philatelist. After the stamps had been printed, the artist’s original sketches, die proofs and the corner blocks were presented to the King for inclusion

<sup>469</sup> R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs* 1967, pp. 388-389.

<sup>470</sup> For details on the background and an assessment of the tour in South Africa see H. Sapire and A. Grundlingh, ‘Rebuffing Royals? Afrikaners and the Royal Visit to South Africa in 1947’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 46(3), 2018, pp. 525-551.



in the Royal Collection.<sup>471</sup> Together with Queen Victoria, His Majesty King George VI also appears on the commemorative stamp issued to mark the Diamond Jubilee of Southern Rhodesia. The national coat of arms separates the two royal portraits.

In addition to issuing a special stamp and postmark, these visits were accompanied by a great deal of fanfare which reinforced the imperial identity of the Colony. Members of the public, of all races, waving Union Jacks, lined specially decorated streets to catch a glimpse of the Royal visitors.<sup>472</sup> As was commented in a pictorial brochure marking the Queen Mother's last visit, "The concept and construction of the British Commonwealth may be changing, but the loyalty of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland to the Crown and their peoples' affection for the Royal Family are subject to no similar erosion".<sup>473</sup>

This popular affection was shown during the 1947 tour when a diamond brooch fashioned like a Flame Lily was presented to Princess Elizabeth for her 21<sup>st</sup> birthday. The brooch was a present from 42,000 school children in the Colony who contributed towards the gift - a tickey or three pence - from their pocket money.<sup>474</sup> The Flame Lily brooch entered the history books because it was the first piece of jewellery she wore as Queen Elizabeth. The young queen wore the brooch on her black outfit as she returned to Britain from Kenya following the death of her father on 07 February 1952 and it was worn multiple times during the period of mourning following her father's death.

The brooch, shown in Figure 31, is made from 301 diamonds and is set in platinum and white gold. It was designed by Len Bell, a jeweller in Salisbury and made by Eric Kippin for Sidarsky and Son in Johannesburg. Reported to be one of her favourite pieces, the brooch can be seen in some of the most iconic images of the reign of Queen Elizabeth II. The brooch has been worn by the Queen during visits to Royal Ascot and to the Chelsea Flower Show. On more formal occasions, it was worn during diplomatic meetings in Abu Dhabi in November 2010 and when Her Majesty gave her Christmas Message in December

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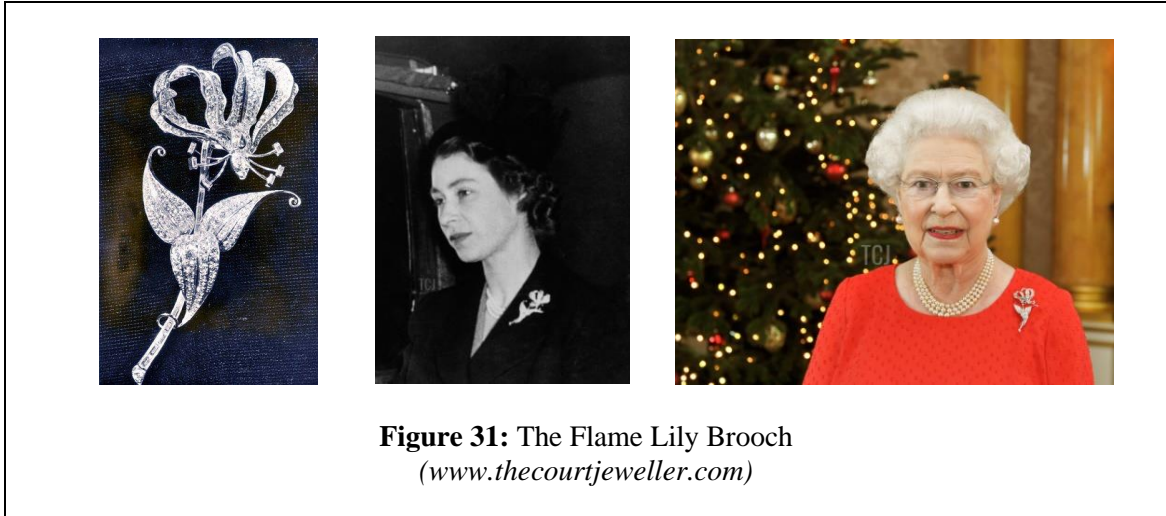
<sup>471</sup> R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs* 1967, pp. 384-385.

<sup>472</sup> *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 06 July 1953.

<sup>473</sup> *Royal Occasion 1960 The Kariba Project*, 1960, p. 7.

<sup>474</sup> *The Daily Telegraph* (London), 17 May 2006.

2011. Two further identical pieces were also made by Eric Kippin and presented to the Queen Mother and Princess Margaret during their tour to Southern Rhodesia in 1953. The Queen inherited her mother's version in 2002.<sup>475</sup>



**Figure 31:** The Flame Lily Brooch  
([www.thecourtjeweller.com](http://www.thecourtjeweller.com))

Sir Roy Welensky appears to have been the first to suggest that the Flame Lily be regarded as a national emblem, similar to that of the English Rose or Welsh Daffodil.<sup>476</sup> It was a popular suggestion and the Flame Lily subsequently featured on a number of postage stamps, banknotes and coins, as well as appearing on book covers and other local memorabilia. As discussed in Chapter 4, Lord Llewellyn chose the flower to be the emblem on his household car flag (Figure 20b) and it was later incorporated into the design of the parliamentary mace.

As Francis points out in his thesis on the formation and nature of Rhodesian settler society, it is crucial to have myths to justify the actions of a society.<sup>477</sup> The fate of the Shangani Patrol led by Major Allan Wilson, sent in pursuit of Lobengula following his retreat from Bulawayo at the end of the Matabele Rebellion in 1893, soon became part of the nation's

<sup>475</sup> The Flame Lily Brooch, *The Court Jeweller*, [thecourtjeweller.com/2020/02/the-flame-lily-brooch.html?fbclid=IWAR1ZLSATCfqIkZyj1T8nZnUAXctg3sZWSxq4XCtAvz4EN0FLcdcJg7i7TeQ](http://thecourtjeweller.com/2020/02/the-flame-lily-brooch.html?fbclid=IWAR1ZLSATCfqIkZyj1T8nZnUAXctg3sZWSxq4XCtAvz4EN0FLcdcJg7i7TeQ). Accessed: 2020/07/13.

<sup>476</sup> F. Clements, *This Is Our Land*, 1963, p. 109.

<sup>477</sup> J. Francis, 'The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 53.

forklore, legend and inspiration. The fate of Wilson and his thirty-three men<sup>478</sup> moved Rhodes deeply. Their courage and refusal to be beaten came to be seen as the embodiment of heroism, and also a symbol of “the civilised few amongst the savage multitude”.<sup>479</sup> The legend was further enhanced by the claim that they went to their deaths singing *God Save the Queen*.<sup>480</sup>

The bodies of Wilson and his men were initially buried on the battlefield under a tree with the simple inscription “To Brave Men” carved into it.<sup>481</sup> As many had come from Fort Victoria, their remains were later moved near to Great Zimbabwe.<sup>482</sup> On choosing World’s View in the Matopos as the site where he wished to be buried, Rhodes also instructed that the remains of Wilson and his men be reinterred and placed in a memorial to be built there<sup>483</sup> to form part of a “national sanctuary”,<sup>484</sup> that was later described as “Rhodesia’s Valhalla ... a holy place”.<sup>485</sup> According to Rhodes’s wishes, the Shangani Memorial was erected in July 1904. The monument is an oblong, flat-topped structure about 10 metres tall and made from granite from a nearby kopje. It was designed by Sir Herbert Baker and is based upon the Pedestal of Agrippa at the Acropolis in Athens. Each side of the memorial bears a bronze panel by the Scottish sculptor John Tweed depicting the members of the Patrol in relief. The main inscription reads “To Brave Men” with a smaller dedication below: “Erected to the enduring memory of Allan Wilson and his Men who fell in fight against the Matabele on the Shangani River December 4<sup>th</sup> 1893. There was no survivor”.<sup>486</sup>

Blake describes the heroic legend of the Shangani Patrol as being the most prominent feature in the iconography of Rhodesian history being commemorated in paintings, sculptures,

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<sup>478</sup> Three members of the Patrol had left earlier in an attempt to seek reinforcements.

<sup>479</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 109.

<sup>480</sup> A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to Be Proud*, 1978, p. 210. See also J. O’Reilly, *Pursuit of the King – An Evaluation of the Shangani Patrol in the light of sources read by the author*, 1970, pp. 87-97.

<sup>481</sup> S.H. Veats, ‘The Occupation of Matabeleland’, *Rhodesian Graphic (Special Issue - Rhodes & Rhodesia: The Man & His Monument)*, 1953, p. 121; G.H. Tanser and P. Berlyn, *Rhodesian Panorama*, 1967, p. 100.

<sup>482</sup> J. O’Reilly, *Pursuit of the King – An Evaluation of the Shangani Patrol in the light of sources read by the author*, 1970, p. 113.

<sup>483</sup> R.W. Fothergill (ed.), *The Monuments of Southern Rhodesia*, 1953, p. 124; G.H. Tanser and P. Berlyn, *Rhodesian Panorama*, 1967, p. 100.

<sup>484</sup> L.H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934*, 1965, p. 315.

<sup>485</sup> D. Fairbridge, *The Pilgrim’s Way in South Africa*, 1928, p. 48.

<sup>486</sup> R. Wrigley and M. Craske (eds.), *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea*, 2004, pp. 202-204.

friezes, and tapestries.<sup>487</sup> Shangani Day was observed as a public holiday on 04 December between 1895 and 1920 reflecting the high value placed upon the human cost in Rhodesia's early development.<sup>488</sup>

However, the key figure in the country's pioneer mythology and a fundamental part of white Rhodesian identity is that of Cecil John Rhodes himself.<sup>489</sup> As Schultz notes in his 1972 analysis of the political development of Rhodesian settler society, "perhaps no settler society has been so self-consciously 'founded' by a single personality".<sup>490</sup> Various descriptions of Rhodes as "The Founder" and the "The Father of the Country", Rhodes came to be venerated with the kind of intense loyalty usually reserved for the monarch<sup>491</sup> symbolising imperial ambition, white supremacy and "civilised standards"<sup>492</sup> - the latter being a recurring theme in Rhodesian political and cultural discourse as embodied by Rhodes's famous dictum of "Equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambezi".<sup>493</sup> As the poet Kingsley Fairbridge accurately observed, "To Rhodesians, Cecil Rhodes was something more than human ... He was Rhodes, the Colossus".<sup>494</sup> This reverence for Rhodes was manifest such that Richard Wood, the Rhodesian historian, reflected that a typical white boy growing up in Southern Rhodesia:

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<sup>487</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 110. The Shangani Patrol about to depart is depicted on one of the panels of the National Tapestry (O. Ransford, *Rhodesian Tapestry - A History in Needlework*, 1971, pp 52-53) and a painting of Wilson's last stand by Allan Stewart was on display in the foyer of the Bulawayo City Hall (T. Tanser and P. Berlyn, *Rhodesian Panorama*, 1967, p. 96).

<sup>488</sup> J. Bonello, 'The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890-1914', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, p. 352.

<sup>489</sup> J. Bonello, 'The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890-1914', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, p. 353.

<sup>490</sup> B.M. Schultz, 'The Theory of Fragment and the Political Development of White Settler Society in Rhodesia', D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Los Angeles), 1972, p. 48.

<sup>491</sup> L.H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934*, 1965, p. 208; D. Lowry, "'White Woman's Country': Ethel Tawse Jollie and the Making of White Rhodesia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23(2), 1997, p. 265.

<sup>492</sup> J. Bonello, 'The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890-1914', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, p. 364.

<sup>493</sup> G. Le Sueur, *Cecil Rhodes - The Man and His Work*, 1913, pp. 60, 76; R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power*, 1988, p. 611.

<sup>494</sup> D. Lowry, "'Shame upon 'Little England' while 'Greater England' stands": Southern Rhodesia and the Imperial Idea, unpublished paper, Oxford Brookes University, 1996, p. 2 quoted in J. Bonello, 'The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890-1914', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, p. 364.

... would be living in a country named 'Rhodesia', possibly attend a school named 'Cecil John Rhodes', would go to a senior school and would be placed into Rhodes House, would look forward to the mid-winter holidays which were called 'Rhodes and Founders', would, if he was lucky, be taken for holidays to Rhodes Hotel on Rhodes Estate and when he was not on holiday would possibly walk down Rhodes Avenue into town and draw money from the Rhodes Building Society and spend an afternoon watching a film at the Rhodes Cinema ... Rhodes' likeness would have been imprinted in his mind. He would pick up a bank note and holding it to the sun would see Rhodes' face imprinted in the note. He would walk down the main streets in the major cities and would see Rhodes' statue towering down from its pedestal ... The image was so firmly ingrained that Rhodes assumed almost God-like proportions in his young mind ... <sup>495</sup>

The impact of Rhodes, and the country's founding myths,<sup>496</sup> on the identity of Rhodesia and Rhodesians reached its zenith with the holding of the Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition. The Exhibition was the centrepiece of celebrations marking the centenary of the birth of Rhodes and was held in Bulawayo between 30 May and 29 August 1953. As Shutt and King point out in their analysis of the Exhibition, in addition to showcasing the importance of Rhodes for white identity, and being held shortly after the 1948 election victory of the National Party in South Africa and just prior to the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Exhibition provided an opportunity for Rhodesians to embrace their British heritage and highlight the progress made since the founding of the Colony.<sup>497</sup> It provided a counterpoise to the growing anti-imperial sentiment being exhibited in South Africa as Southern Rhodesia consciously sought to differentiate itself from its Afrikaner-dominated neighbour by emphasising the link to Cecil Rhodes, its loyalty to the Crown and its less inflexible racial policies.<sup>498</sup> The Exhibition also provided the opportunity to educate the growing number of post-World War II

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<sup>495</sup> P. Maylam, 'Monuments, Memorials and the Mystique of Empire: The Immortalisation of Cecil Rhodes in the Twentieth Century: The Rhodes Commemoration Lecture Delivered on the Occasion of the Centenary of Rhodes' Death, 26 March 2002', *African Sociological Review / Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 6(1), 2002, p. 141; P. Maylam, *The Cult of Rhodes - Remembering an Imperialist in Africa*, 2005, p. 46.

<sup>496</sup> See D. Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia*, 1987; A. Chennels, 'Settler Myths and the Southern Rhodesian novel', D.Phil. thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1982.

<sup>497</sup> A. Shutt and T. King, 'Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31(2), 2005, pp. 357, 363.

<sup>498</sup> A. Shutt and T. King, 'Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31(2), 2005, p. 362.

immigrants of Rhodesia's historical past, the importance of pioneer hardship and triumph<sup>499</sup> with the theme of the government exhibit being "progress and vitality". The Colony's imperial loyalty was emphasised through the presence of the Queen Mother, who officially opened the Exhibition, and performances by the Hallé Orchestra, the Covent Garden Opera House and the Sadlers Wells Ballet Company.<sup>500</sup> Thus the Exhibition brought Southern Rhodesia closer to Britain.<sup>501</sup>

A special stamp and postmark to mark the opening of the Exhibition was issued by all three territories which were about to form the Federation. The stamps were the first in each of these territories to depict Queen Elizabeth II, whose portrait was surmounted by a crown. The central feature of the stamp was a composite arrangement of the three territorial coats of arms.<sup>502</sup> The Centenary was also marked by a commemorative issue of five postage stamps depicting various aspects of the country's development. The portrait of Rhodes, together with the shields from the three territorial Arms, featured on a special Silver Crown minted for the occasion, with the first depiction of Queen Elizabeth II on a Rhodesian coin appearing on the obverse. On the un-milled edge is the inscription 1853 OUT OF VISION CAME REALITY 1953.<sup>503</sup> Rhodes's image also appeared on various other souvenirs and memorabilia issued to mark the Centenary.

The portrait of Rhodes had earlier appeared on two stamps issued to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of the BSAC in 1940. The one and a half penny stamp showed him full face while the tuppenny stamp showed the peace indaba with the Matabele Chiefs in 1896. The peace indaba was depicted on one of the panels of the National Tapestry which later hung in Parliament<sup>504</sup> and was also depicted on a bronze plaque above the entrance to the

<sup>499</sup> A. Shutt and T. King, 'Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31(2), 2005, p. 360.

<sup>500</sup> A. Shutt and T. King, 'Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31(2), 2005, pp. 367-368.

<sup>501</sup> G. Bishi, 'Kith and Kin? Rhodesia's White Settlers and Britain, 1939-1980', 2018, D.Phil. thesis, University of the Free State, p. 78.

<sup>502</sup> R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs*, 1967, p. 388.

<sup>503</sup> *The Story of Cecil Rhodes - Set out in a Series of Historical Pictures and Objects to Commemorate the Centenary of His Birth 1853-1953*, 1953, p. 192.

<sup>504</sup> O. Ransford, *Rhodesian Tapestry - A History in Needlework*, 1971, pp. 68-69.

Bulawayo City Hall.<sup>505</sup> This stamp issue is significant in that it was the first to feature a flag with the one penny stamp illustrating the hoisting of the Union Jack at Fort Salisbury in 1890. Other symbols from Rhodesian iconography which are also depicted in this issue are the Arms of the BSAC and the Zimbabwe Bird - also for the first time shown on a Rhodesian stamp - on the half penny and two stamps respectively. The statue of Sir Charles Coghlan, the first Premier, unveiled in 1932 in the grounds of the new Market Building in Bulawayo (and later moved to the City Hall Gardens)<sup>506</sup> is shown on the six pence stamp. Rhodes's "Cape to Cairo" vision is symbolised by the Victoria Falls bridge shown on the four penny stamp. The one shilling stamp depicts Lobengula's Kraal and Government House, together with portraits of Queen Victoria and King George VI, the reigning monarch at that time, illustrating progress in the Colony since the arrival of the Pioneers.

An image of Rhodes did not feature again on any Rhodesian stamp, although images of his grave in the Matopos appear on the two penny Southern Rhodesia definitive stamp issued on 06 February 1952 and on the three pence stamp of the second Rhodesia and Nyasaland definitive issued on 12 August 1959. Maylam asserts that Rhodes's grave was an important symbol in forging Rhodesian national identity and that all new settlers arriving in the Colony were expected to visit it.<sup>507</sup> During the Centenary celebrations there was a "national pilgrimage" to the grave and on 05 July 1953, the centenary anniversary of his birth, the Queen Mother, Princess Margaret and more than 3,000 others, including Ndebele chiefs, gathered around the grave to pay homage to the founder of Rhodesia.<sup>508</sup> The site became a kind of "heroes acre" and every year a memorial was held at the site on the Sunday closest to the anniversary of his death.<sup>509</sup>

Also appearing twice on a stamp is the statue of Rhodes which was previously situated in central Salisbury. Initially depicted on the five shilling stamp of the second Rhodesia and

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<sup>505</sup> T. Tanser and P. Berlyn, *Rhodesian Panorama*, 1967, p. 96.

<sup>506</sup> A.D. Jack, *Bulawayo's Changing Skyline 1893-1980*, 1979, p. 122.

<sup>507</sup> P. Maylam, *The Cult of Rhodes - Remembering an Imperialist in Africa*, 2005, p. 36.

<sup>508</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 06 July 1953.

<sup>509</sup> P. Maylam, *The Cult of Rhodes - Remembering an Imperialist in Africa*, 2005, p. 36.

Nyasaland definitive, it is also later shown on the three and a half cent stamp of the first decimal definitive issue issued on 17 February 1970.<sup>510</sup>

Rhodesian heroes and historical figures were also honoured by having towns, street names, suburbs, schools and government buildings named after them. According to Maoz Azaryahu, the use of street names for commemorative purposes is instrumental in transforming the urban environment into a virtual political setting<sup>511</sup> and the ability to control the meanings of such settings is an important expression of power.<sup>512</sup> Thus, commemorative street names, and their officially ordained meanings in particular, are instrumental in substantiating and reinforcing the ruling socio-political order and became associated with nation-building during the twentieth century,<sup>513</sup> with Rhodesia being no exception. As D. Zeigler explains, the map comes to express our perceptions of places and their characteristics, including what is judged to be important and unimportant,<sup>514</sup> confirming that maps should be seen as part of the nation-building process.<sup>515</sup>

Conforming with the notion of what Azaryahu calls “urban prestige”,<sup>516</sup> streets in the main urban centres were named after important historical figures which included, *inter alia*, leaders and directors of the BSAC, senior government officials, high-ranking military personnel, philanthropists and explorers who were regarded as “builders of the colony” who helped in the making of Rhodesia as a colonial state.<sup>517</sup> Uniquely, in recognition of its origin, a street in central Bulawayo was named after Lobengula and three white suburbs were called Kumalo, Malindela and Famona - being the names of the Royal Clan of the

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<sup>510</sup> The same image is found on the 4c stamp issued on 01 January 1973. This followed an amendment in postage rates which resulted in the 3½c value being withdrawn.

<sup>511</sup> M. Azaryahu, ‘The Power of Commemorative Street Names’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 1996, 14, p. 311.

<sup>512</sup> J. Entrikin, *The Betweenness of Place*, 1991, p. 52.

<sup>513</sup> M. Azaryahu, ‘The Power of Commemorative Street Names’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14, 1996, pp. 312, 314.

<sup>514</sup> D.J. Zeigler, ‘Post-Communist Eastern Europe and the Cartography of Independence’, *Political Geography*, 21(5), 2002, p. 673.

<sup>515</sup> J. Gottmann, ‘Geography and International Relations’, *World Politics*, 3(2), 1951, pp. 154.

<sup>516</sup> M. Azaryahu, ‘The Power of Commemorative Street Names’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14, 1996, pp. 312, 325.

<sup>517</sup> Z. Mamvura, D.E. Mutasa, and C. Pfukwa, ‘Place naming and the discursive construction of imagined boundaries in colonial Zimbabwe (1890–1979): The case of Salisbury’, *Nomina Africana*, 3(1), 2017, p. 45.



Matabele, Lobengula's maternal grandmother and one of his daughters respectively.<sup>518</sup> As mentioned previously, Rhodes features prominently and in addition to being commemorated by street names there were also suburbs such as Rhodesville in Salisbury and Rhodene in Fort Victoria named in his honour. Furthermore, there was also Cecil Avenue, the Cecil Hotel, Cecil Building and Cecil House in Salisbury alone to commemorate the Colony's "founder".<sup>519</sup>

Other tributes to the Pioneers and early settlers included naming the Office of the Prime Minister after Sir William Milton, an Administrator of Mashonaland between 1898 and 1901 before becoming the first Administrator of Southern Rhodesia. There was also Milton High and Junior Schools for boys in Bulawayo and Jameson High School in Gatooma named in honour of Sir Leander Starr Jameson, long-time friend of Rhodes, the second Administrator of Mashonaland and first Administrator of Matabeleland. The main thoroughfare in the capital where the statue of Rhodes was located was also named in his honour. In addition, there was Chaplin High School in Gwelo, named after Sir F.P.D. Chaplin, the last Administrator prior to the granting of Responsible Government and Coghlan Primary School in Bulawayo named after the first Premier, Sir Charles Coghlan. As mentioned earlier there was Allan Wilson School in Salisbury named in honour of the leader of the Shangani Patrol, together with the main street in Fort Victoria. Founders High School in Bulawayo, for Asian and Coloured children, was named to commemorate "all the founders of Rhodesia including those whose names and humble contributions have gone unrecorded and unsung ...".<sup>520</sup>

In common with other aspects of the colonial iconography, the British Royal Family was also honoured through naming towns, streets, suburbs, schools and clinics after successive British monarchs and other members of the Royal Family, such as the Victoria Falls, King George VI Memorial School, Queen Elizabeth Girls' High School, Queen Elizabeth II

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<sup>518</sup> Suburbs of Bulawayo: names and meanings, [www.bulawayo1872.com/history/zimbyo.suburbnames-am.htm](http://www.bulawayo1872.com/history/zimbyo.suburbnames-am.htm). Accessed: 2021-01-10.

<sup>519</sup> Z. Mamvura, D.E. Mutasa, and C. Pfukwa, 'Place naming and the discursive construction of imagined boundaries in colonial Zimbabwe (1890–1979): The case of Salisbury', *Nomina Africana*, 3(1), 2017, p. 45.

<sup>520</sup> I.P. MacLaren (ed.), *Some Renowned Rhodesian Senior Schools 1892-1979*, 1981, p. 128.

Primary School, Prince Edward School, and Queens Park, etc. This naming system was part of the broader system to anchor the claim of belonging in the territory and to further concretise the white Rhodesian sense of identity.

As Bonello points out, memorials were powerful symbols of the sacrifice and bravery prized by the Rhodesian settler community<sup>521</sup> as shown by the Shangani Memorial. Statues of Rhodes were erected in the main centres of Bulawayo and Salisbury. In addition, two schools were named after Rhodes in the country.<sup>522</sup> Rhodes was further celebrated during the annual Rhodes and Founders' long weekend. Whilst most public holidays were instituted along traditional British lines, some were exclusively created for Rhodesia such as Shangani Day on 04 December, which commemorated the anniversary of the deaths of the members of the Shangani Patrol. Rhodes Day was created as a public holiday to mark his birthday on 05 July 1903. This was changed in 1910 so that the public holiday fell on the second Monday in July. This was done so as to combine it with Founders' Day and so create a long four-day weekend which was used by many to take a short mid-year holiday. Founders' Day was initially created as a public holiday on 06 July 1903 to commemorate the crossing of the Shashi River by the Pioneer Column in July 1890.<sup>523</sup>

Shangani Day was replaced as a public holiday by Occupation Day in 1920. Occupation Day was held on 12 September and marked the anniversary of the arrival of the Pioneer Column at Fort Salisbury which marked the formal occupation of Mashonaland by the BSAC. It was renamed as Pioneer Day in 1961.<sup>524</sup> Central to this commemoration was the annual raising of the Union Jack at a ceremony in Cecil Square in central Salisbury where the first hoisting of the flag took place on 13 September 1890. The ceremonial hoisting was held annually from 1905 until 1978, with the exception of 1909 when no ceremony was held due to a smallpox epidemic.<sup>525</sup> The Pioneer Memorial Flagstaff in Cecil Square was

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<sup>521</sup> J. Bonello, 'The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890–1914', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, p. 353.

<sup>522</sup> I.P. MacLaren (ed.), *Some Renowned Rhodesian Senior Schools 1892-1979*, 1981, p. 46.

<sup>523</sup> *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, p. 136.

<sup>524</sup> *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, p. 282.

<sup>525</sup> See Annexure 3.

erected on the same site as the original flagstaff in 1935.<sup>526</sup> The Pioneer Column Association (predecessor of the Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society),<sup>527</sup> which was established to preserve the "cult of the pioneers",<sup>528</sup> decreed that only Pioneers, or their descendants, should have the honour of raising the flag and this tradition was maintained until 1978.

Another pioneering figure, although of lesser prominence, who features in Rhodesia iconography is the Scottish missionary and explorer Dr. David Livingstone. He is, according to O'Meara, along with Rhodes, one of the two archetypal figures to dominate Rhodesian history.<sup>529</sup> As the first white man to see the Victoria Falls, his statue overlooks the Devil's Cataract. Despite various attempts to have it removed, it remains in its original location. The bronze statue was commissioned by the Caledonian Societies of Rhodesia and South Africa in August 1934 and it was designed by Sir William Reid-Dick.<sup>530</sup> On the centenary of Livingstone's 'discovery' of the Falls on 16 November 1955, the Governor-General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland unveiled a plaque at the statue as part of a dedication to "the high Christian aims and ideals" which inspired Livingstone. The event was also marked by the first commemorative stamp issue of the Federation which comprised two stamps showing the Victoria Falls and the one shilling value having a framed inset portrait of Livingstone.<sup>531</sup>

Images of the Victoria Falls appear on at least one banknote in each series which were issued for use as legal tender in Southern Rhodesia except those issued in the 1920s and 1930s by a commercial bank, The Standard Bank, in South Africa.<sup>532</sup> However, both the ten shilling

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<sup>526</sup> The Pioneer Day Ceremony, [www.rhodesia.me.uk](http://www.rhodesia.me.uk). Accessed: 2020-12-06.

<sup>527</sup> The Society was established in September 1904 (incorporating the Pioneer Column Association of 1890) to record and encourage the preservation and publishing of the history of the early occupation of Rhodesia, to undertake commemorative and traditional services in honour of Cecil John Rhodes, and of the pioneers and early settlers' of Rhodesia and to carry on the tradition of the Pioneer Column Association, "in particular the commemoration of the foundation of Rhodesia through the ceremony of the Hoisting of the Flag on the 12<sup>th</sup> September in each year in Salisbury by a descendant of a member of the 1890 column". Further details on the Society can be found in *The Story of the Society*, 1976.

<sup>528</sup> D. Lowry, 'Rhodesia 1890-1980 "The Lost Dominion"' in R. Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, 2010, p. 132.

<sup>529</sup> P. O'Meara, *Rhodesia: Racial Conflict or Coexistence?*, 1975, p. 2.

<sup>530</sup> B. Whyte, *Beneath a Rhodesian Sky*, 1979, p. 46.

<sup>531</sup> R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs*, 1967, p. 393.

<sup>532</sup> *Rhodesian Currency*, [www.rhodesian.net](http://www.rhodesian.net). Accessed: 2020-12-16.

and one pound bank notes issued at the same time by Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) for use in Rhodesia and inscribed “Rhodesian Issue” do have an image of the Victoria Falls on the obverse.

In common with British and other British colonies, all Southern Rhodesian banknotes featured the portrait of the sovereign on the obverse and a pictorial theme on the reverse. In addition to the Victoria Falls, the profile of a head of a Sable Antelope is also depicted on the reverse of the first Ten Shilling note issued by the Southern Rhodesia Currency Board in 1939. This design was used for the next decade until the introduction of banknotes issued by the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1955. The newly designed series of banknotes featured the image of Queen Elizabeth II on the obverse and contained the watermark with an image of Cecil John Rhodes. The Sable head was no longer depicted on the reverse and instead, a Sable and other aspects of local flora and fauna, were depicted in the lower left corner on the obverse of the banknotes. In addition to the Victoria Falls, a depiction of the Conical Tower at the Great Zimbabwe Ruins was also a common feature on the reverse of the Colony’s banknotes between 1939 and 1964, including being illustrated on the reverse of the One Pound note issued by the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The establishment of formal settlements followed the ‘rebellions’ of the late-1890s allowing what A. Keppel-Jones refers to as the social and cultural institutions of the British colonial world to be planted in townships scattered around Rhodesia. On 04 November 1893, exactly one month after the hoisting of the BSAC flag, Rhodes arrived in Buluwayo. He insisted that a new town be built as close as possible to Lobengula’s former capital and that it should bear the same name. Using the services of Patrick Fletcher, a trooper from the 1890 Pioneer Column, the town - a square mile in area surrounded by park land - was laid out in a grid pattern according to Rhodes’s instructions.<sup>533</sup> As a tribute to the BSAC, its Directors were commemorated in the naming of the streets – Abercorn, Fife, Rhodes and Grey. Wilson and Borrow of the Shangani Patrol, together with Lobengula and Jameson, were also

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<sup>533</sup> A.D. Jack, *Bulawayo’s Changing Skyline 1893-1980*, 1979, p. 7; A. Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884-1902*, 1983, pp. 359-360.

similarly honoured.<sup>534</sup> Buluwayo was formally declared a town by Dr Leander Starr Jameson, the Administrator of Matabeleland, on 01 June 1894. On 04 March 1896, *The Bulawayo Chronicle* announced the formal change in the spelling to Bulawayo and shortly thereafter on 27 October 1897 the town was declared a municipality. On 04 November 1953, the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, Bulawayo was granted city status.<sup>535</sup>

The origins of Bulawayo are reflected in its municipal Arms which, unlike those of many other Rhodesian towns, are mainly African in origin. The charges on the shield are rock-rabbits (*imbela*), the totem animal (*isibango*) of the royal clan of the Matabele and symbolise the Matabele nation. The crest comes from the royal seal used by Lobengula, as described in the previous chapter, alluding to his title of *Ndhlovu*, the elephant. A further association with the Matabele is the motto, *Si Ye Pambili* in Sindebele, which means “Let us go forward”.<sup>536</sup> A flag for the city was adopted following the granting of the municipal Arms. The flag has a royal blue field with the full achievement of the Arms in colour in the centre.<sup>537</sup> The flag, in pennant form, is used on the Mayoral car.<sup>538</sup>

Most other urban centres also adopted symbols to reflect their individual identity. In the case of Salisbury, for example, initially its Town Council decided to produce a municipal seal. Rhodes was asked if the shield from his Arms could be embodied and he agreed, but he wanted the shield supported by a Pioneer on the one side and an African on the other. A design was prepared by the Mayor, Mr. William Fairbridge, a newspaper editor, and assisted by Mr. Charles Watson, Secretary of the Special Committee which had been appointed to consider the matter. The suggestion for supporters by Rhodes was rejected on the grounds that there were still too many “bitter memories” of the recent rebellion. A compromise was reached and instead of supporters, the fourth quarter of the shield was devoted to a trophy

<sup>534</sup> A.D. Jack, *Bulawayo's Changing Skyline 1893-1980*, 1979, p. 7.

<sup>535</sup> *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, pp. 55-56; A.D. Jack, *Bulawayo's Changing Skyline 1893-1980*, 1979, pp. 7-8.

<sup>536</sup> *City of Bulawayo Coat of Arms*, n.d., information brochure; A.D. Jack, *Bulawayo's Changing Skyline 1893-1980*, 1979, p. 8; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 47.

<sup>537</sup> B.B. Berry, ‘Municipal Flags in Zimbabwe’ in P. Martinez (ed.), *Flags in South Africa and the World - Proceedings of the XVII International Congress of Vexillology*, 1999, p. 3.

<sup>538</sup> Town Clerk (Bulawayo) to the author (Johannesburg), 15 May 1996.

of indigenous weapons,<sup>539</sup> with the remainder of the showing as many items as possible to illustrate the town's history and hopes.<sup>540</sup> The crest was in the form of a sheath of wheat with a miner's pick and shovel leaning against it, again emphasising the importance of mining and agriculture for the future development of the town.<sup>541</sup> The motto, *Discrimine Salus*, literally "Soundness by the use of judgement"<sup>542</sup> but commonly taken to mean "in discrimination there is safety", was that of the Traill family from which the Fairbridges were descended, and was chosen because the site of the town had been carefully chosen.<sup>543</sup> After some debate the Council adopted the emblem in June 1898 and it was used for the first time in August 1899. This was in spite of the College of Arms rejecting the design, described as being "a confused but heraldic jumble",<sup>544</sup> for being too crowded and possessing "too many discrepancies from the rule of English heraldry".<sup>545</sup>

It was only in 1939 that a design acceptable to the College of Arms was agreed upon and the Council subsequently approved the amended design as prepared by the College of Arms and the Letters Patent was received in 1944.<sup>546</sup> These Arms were later registered under the Protection of Names, Uniform and Badges Act of 1950.<sup>547</sup>

In the pursuit of a more individual identity, the other main centres in the country also developed local symbols. As in the case of Bulawayo and Salisbury, this usually took the form of the adoption of civic Arms, and in some cases, also a municipal flag.

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<sup>539</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 13 August 1965; G.H. Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890 to 1900*, 1974, p. 195.

<sup>540</sup> G.H. Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890 to 1900*, 1974, p. 195.

<sup>541</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald*, 13 August 1965; G.H. Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890 to 1900*, 1974, p. 195; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 43.

<sup>542</sup> *The Council's Armorial Bearings*, n.d., information leaflet. It has occasionally, but erroneously, been suggested that the motto was a reference to discrimination between the races.

<sup>543</sup> V.M. Hiller, "'Zoo and Ironmongery'", *Salisbury - A City Comes of Age*, 1956, p. 17; *The Rhodesia Herald*, 13 August 1965; G.H. Tanser, *A Scantling of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia 1890 to 1900*, 1974, p. 195.

<sup>544</sup> V.M. Hiller, "'Zoo and Ironmongery'", *Salisbury - A City Comes of Age*, 1956, p. 17; *The Rhodesia Herald*, 13 August 1965.

<sup>545</sup> M.W. Jones, 'Heraldry in Rhodesia', *12. Internationaler Kongreß für genealogische und heraldische Wissenschaften*, 1974, p. H212.

<sup>546</sup> *The Council's Armorial Bearings*, n.d., information leaflet; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 44.

<sup>547</sup> *The Council's Armorial Bearings*, n.d., information leaflet

## 5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted that, as Knight observes, it is through a whole set of symbols – or iconography – that people can develop significant bonds which form a group identity.<sup>548</sup> In the case of the white settler population in Rhodesia, a settler identity and nascent nationalism began to emerge during the BSAC Administration and gained impetus at the time of the referendum, the attainment of Responsible Government and during the period of economic growth leading up to World War II. During this period, Southern Rhodesia remained ardently loyal to the Crown and this was expressed through the adoption and use of British symbols, such as the Union Jack, “*God Save the King/Queen*” and deference to the Monarchy, which reflected the British origins of the overwhelming majority of the settlers. Settler culture and identity came to reflect a powerful sense of racial exclusivity which was built around what Leys calls an “anachronistic belief in the imperial idea” and Rhodesian service in the two World Wars.<sup>549</sup>

Concurrently, the growing settler population also began to develop a more “Rhodesian” identity that was specific to time, place and community, quite separate to that of Britain.<sup>550</sup> Marston notes that a separate white Rhodesian culture began to emerge in the 1930s with its own heroes, shrine and elite in the Pioneers and their descendants.<sup>551</sup> The visible manifestations of this are seen in the adoption of local symbols, naming streets, suburbs and schools, the erection of monuments and statues, the establishment of traditions and public holidays to commemorate events associated with the Pioneer Column and the subsequent European occupation and colonisation of the territory.

The sense of national identity which emerged was based on the settler civic culture together with a sense of pride in being part of the British Empire and everything that it stood for.

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<sup>548</sup> D.B. Knight, ‘Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 72(4), 1982, p. 520.

<sup>549</sup> C. Leys, *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia*, 1959, pp. 27-36, 270.

<sup>550</sup> K. Larsen, “‘You Rhodesians Are More British than the British’: The Development of a White National Identity and Immigration Policies and Restrictions in Southern Rhodesia 1890-1965”, D. Phil. thesis, University of Western Australia, 2013, p. 21.

<sup>551</sup> R. Marston, *Own Goals: National Pride and Defeat in War: The Rhodesian Example*, 2010, p. 157.

Imperial sentiment was a major factor in national life exhibited in the Colony's iconography and Rhodesians' ardent support for their British "kith and kin". Thus Francis comments that Rhodesia came to embody Britain at its height: patriotic, self-reliant, self-supporting with law and order.<sup>552</sup> This echoes the sentiment of Harold Soref, the British Conservative Party Member of Parliament, who described Rhodesia as representing Britain in its halcyon days: patriotic, self-reliant, self-supporting with law and order and a healthy society.<sup>553</sup>

Bonello makes the point that despite this identification with Britain and the Empire, the essence of "Rhodesian-ness" was distinct from "Britishness", yet at the same time an inevitable product of it.<sup>554</sup> And it was this coexisting perception of themselves as Rhodesians which came to be intrinsic in what became described as the "Rhodesian way of life".

The political developments which ultimately led to the demise of the Federation proved to be a turning point and from 1962 onwards it appears that identification with British values was falling out of favour. Increasingly Rhodesians were identifying with Rhodesia by transferring their support to a narrower, more distinctive, more local "Rhodesian" identity which will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

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<sup>552</sup> J. Francis, 'The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 47.

<sup>553</sup> Quoted by D. Lowry, 'Ulster Resistance and the Loyalist Rebellion in the Empire', in K. Jeffery (ed.), *An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, 1996, p. 203; D. Lowry, 'The Impact of Anti-Communism in White Rhodesian Political Culture, c.1920s-1980', in S. Onslow (ed.), *Cold War in Southern Africa*, 2009, p. 96.

<sup>554</sup> J. Bonello, 'The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890-1914', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, p. 356.



## CHAPTER 6 - CREATING A DISTINCTIVE LOCAL RHODESIAN IDENTITY

*It has been said of us Rhodesians that we are a nation wandering around the country with short shorts and short stockings ... playing rugby, tackling hard, drinking hard, swearing hard and enjoying our outdoor life to the full. There is a bit of a ditty ... (which) goes something like this: Rhodesian born, Rhodesian bred; strong in the arm and thick in the head.*<sup>1</sup>

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

The demise of the Federation and the subsequent impasse with Britain regarding the political future of Southern Rhodesia saw white Rhodesians shift away from their traditional identification with, and loyalty to, Britain. Nowhere is this change in relationship more starkly illustrated than in the attitude of the last Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky. He began his Premiership in 1956 as a convinced Anglophile and imperialist who believed in the British Commonwealth as “one of the greatest forces in the world for good”.<sup>2</sup> Presiding over the tortuous negotiations which ultimately resulted in the death of the Federation at the end of 1963, Welensky’s Anglophilia was transformed into Anglophobia as he believed Britain had deliberately destroyed the Rhodesian experiment in racial partnership.<sup>3</sup> Evans argues that Welensky’s anti-British rhetoric helped to plant the seeds of an anti-British settler ideology which ultimately led to the rise of the Rhodesian Front (RF). Furthermore, it was Welensky who popularised (and even exaggerated) the influence of the communist threat in Central Africa, which was also later to become a central feature of RF ideology.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates (House of Assembly)*, 1973, 85, col. 1510 as quoted in P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die – The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c. 1970-1980*, 1993, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in F. Clements, *Rhodesia: The Course to Collision*, 1969, pp. 142-143.

<sup>3</sup> M. Evans, ‘The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, pp. 9-10. See also R. Welensky, *Welensky's 4000 Days - The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, 1964.

<sup>4</sup> M. Evans, ‘The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, pp. 10-11.

The reasons for the rise of the RF have been examined and analysed in detail elsewhere<sup>5</sup> but suffice it to say, the party's winning of the December 1962 election marked a turning point in the increasing anti-British sentiment amongst the (almost exclusively white) electorate. This was exploited by the RF, which was determined "that the Government of Southern Rhodesia will remain in responsible hands"<sup>6</sup> and to secure independence for the country.

In his recent work on the process of decolonisation, identity and nation-building in Rhodesia after UDI, Kenrick outlines four stages in the RF's nation-building project. The first was the attempt to secure independence within the Commonwealth on the basis of the 1961 (minority-rule) Constitution, being a situation similar to the old Dominions (i.e., like Canada, Australia, etc.) with Rhodesia being completely politically autonomous but retaining strong links to the Crown. The second period between 1967 and 1975 is described as "symbolic decolonisation" during which the RF sought to highlight the country's independence with new symbols and constitutional arrangements. The third stage between 1975 and 1978 sees the retrenchment of the settler state as a result of the guerrilla war against the nationalist liberation armies and finally the transition to majority rule.<sup>7</sup> It is against this backdrop that this chapter will examine the various steps that were taken to reconfigure and symbolise a more distinctive Rhodesian identity.

## 6.2 EMERGING FROM THE FEDERATION

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formally dissolved at midnight on 31 December 1963, with Southern Rhodesia returning to its pre-federal status as a British Colony with Responsible Government as discussed in Chapter 3. Significantly, the majority of the Federal armed forces were transferred to Southern Rhodesia, including the Royal Rhodesian Air Force (RRAF), the First Battalion, the Rhodesian Light Infantry (RLI), the First Battalion, the Rhodesian African Rifles (RAR) and the Second Battalion, the Royal

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, N. Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia*, 1965; J. Barber, *Rhodesia: The Road to Rebellion*, 1967; K. Young, *Rhodesia and Independence: A Study in British Colonial Policy*, 1967; L.W. Bowman, *Politics in Rhodesia: White Power in an African State*, 1973.

<sup>6</sup> P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> D.W. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, p. 22.

Rhodesia Regiment (RRR).<sup>8</sup> Central African Airways came under the joint ownership of all three territorial governments which had participated in the Federation, while Rhodesia Railways became jointly owned by Northern and Southern Rhodesia.<sup>9</sup> The ownership and management of the Kariba hydro-electric station was taken over by the Central Africa Power Corporation, a joint public authority under the joint ownership and control of the governments of Northern and Southern Rhodesia.<sup>10</sup> Other institutions which were created to replace Federal ones included the establishment of the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia<sup>11</sup> and the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation, the latter including Rhodesia Television.<sup>12</sup>

While the immediate focus following the dissolution of the Federation was on the negotiations regarding the conditions on which independence would be granted, the national symbols adopted emphasised continuity and affiliation with Britain as suggested by Kenrick. The Union Jack continued to be flown alongside the Southern Rhodesia ensign. However, the introduction of a new ensign in April 1964 with a distinctive light blue, as opposed to the traditional dark blue, background, was the first symbolic shift from the traditionally British-orientated past. This suggests a more “Rhodesian” influence on what is traditionally a British design to create a unique colonial ensign.

The Cabinet held discussions on the design and denominations of new banknotes and coins for Southern Rhodesia on 20 September 1963. As the Federal ten pound banknote had not been popular, it was agreed not to adopt a new Southern Rhodesia ten pound note and instead remain with ten shilling, one pound and five pound banknotes. The new banknotes featured the Pietro Annigoni portrait of Queen Elizabeth II and the Rhodesian Coat of Arms on the obverse. As with the previous banknotes, the watermark was a portrait of Cecil John Rhodes. The reverse depicted a field of tobacco on the ten shilling note, Devils Cataract at

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<sup>8</sup> J.R.T. Wood, *So Far and No Further: Rhodesia's Bid for Independence during the Retreat from Empire 1959-1965*, 2005, pp. 176-177.

<sup>9</sup> J.R.T. Wood, *So Far and No Further: Rhodesia's Bid for Independence during the Retreat from Empire 1959-1965*, 2005, p. 186.

<sup>10</sup> J.R.T. Wood *So Far and No Further: Rhodesia's Bid for Independence during the Retreat from Empire 1959-1965*, 2005, p. 177.

<sup>11</sup> T. Nyamunda, 'British Sterling Imperialism, Settler Colonialism and the Political Economy of Money and Finance in Southern Rhodesia, 1945 to 1962', *African Economic History*, 45(1), 2017, p. 98.

<sup>12</sup> See J. Zaffiro, *Media and Democracy in Zimbabwe, 1931-2002*, 2002.

the Victoria Falls on the one pound note and the Conical Tower at Great Zimbabwe on the five pound note. Opposite the portrait of the Queen, in the bottom left-hand corner were images of other local symbols, namely the soapstone carving of the Zimbabwe Bird, the Flame Lily and a Sable Antelope on each of the notes respectively.<sup>13</sup>

Coins in the denominations of three pence, six pence, one shilling and two shillings were initially agreed to on the basis that these could also be used following decimalisation,<sup>14</sup> with a two and six shilling coin being added later.<sup>15</sup> The coins featured the effigy of Queen Elizabeth II on the obverse with the words “ELIZABETH THE SECOND”. The Flame Lily, the shield from the national Coat of Arms, the Zimbabwe Bird and a Sable Antelope featured as insignia on the reverse of the six pence, one shilling, two shilling and two and six shilling coins respectively. Interestingly, the three assegai heads, representing the three territories comprising the Federation, which was the badge of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Army and which featured on the roundel of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force, appeared as the insignia of the three pence coin (colloquially known as the “tickey”). The coins were minted by the South African Mint<sup>16</sup> and showed the name of the country as “Rhodesia” above the insignia together with both the imperial and decimal values and year of issue below.

A request had been made to the Royal Mint to quote for the manufacture of the new coins as well as to obtain permission to use the effigy of Queen Elizabeth.<sup>17</sup> The proposal to only use the name “Rhodesia” on the coins caused some consternation with the Central African Office informing the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia that:

It would seem improper to put “Rhodesia” on the territory’s coins so long as the correct name is “Southern Rhodesia”. It would appear from this that Southern Rhodesian authorities have it in mind that there should be [a]

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<sup>13</sup> R. Visser, *The Rhodesian Banknote Directory – Edition 1*, 2018, pp. 31, 64, 88.

<sup>14</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, SRC (F) (63) 272, 20 September 1963.

<sup>15</sup> NA, MINT, 20/3065, Correspondence from N.H.B. Bruce (Chief Cashier), Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Salisbury) to J.H. James, Royal Mint (London), 14 December 1963.

<sup>16</sup> NA, MINT, 20/3065, Outward Telegram, Central African Office (London) to Reserve Bank (Salisbury), 27 February 1964.

<sup>17</sup> NA, MINT, 20/3065, Correspondence from N.H.B. Bruce (Chief Cashier), Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Salisbury) to J.H. James, Royal Mint (London), 14 December 1963.

change of name. This would involve amendment of [the] Constitution including sections which can only be amended by Her Majesty in Council.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, a Secret Minute was prepared by the Royal Mint for the British Prime Minister on the use of the Queen's effigy by Southern Rhodesia, raising the concern that the new coins would be struck in South Africa<sup>19</sup> given that the quote from Pretoria was £40,000 less than theirs (excluding further savings on freight).<sup>20</sup> A further concern raised in the Minute was the impact on the deteriorating inter-governmental relations, particularly should the requested permission be withheld. The Master of the Mint was of the opinion that "we should avoid any public controversy with the Southern Rhodesia Government over the use of the effigy" and pointed out that there was no rule, constitutional or otherwise, preventing the striking of the Monarch's effigy in foreign countries.<sup>21</sup> The response from the Prime Minister's Office was that there was "no objection to Southern Rhodesia using the new effigy and having the coinage struck in South Africa provided this is acceptable to the Queen".<sup>22</sup> The formal response from Buckingham Palace is not known, but given that the new coinage was minted in South Africa with a crowned effigy of the Queen, it appears that a favourable response was provided. The incident reveals tensions around Rhodesian symbols were already becoming apparent as the political impasse over the issue of independence remained unresolved.

Unlike the other territories which formed part of the Federation which issued new stamps with simple designs to avoid the delay associated with the production of the art-work, Southern Rhodesia issued a new definitive set depicting various aspects of the country's natural resources, flora and fauna - with the exception of the highest value which depicted

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<sup>18</sup> NA, MINT, 20/3965, Outward Telegram from Central African Office (London) to Reserve Bank (Salisbury), 27 February 1964.

<sup>19</sup> NA, MINT, 20/3065, Correspondence from I. de L. Radice of the Royal Mint (London) to T.H. Caulcott, Treasury (London), n.d.

<sup>20</sup> *New Coinage for the Members of the former Central African Federation*, n.d.; NA, MINT, 20/3065, Correspondence from N.H.B. Bruce (Chief Cashier), Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Salisbury) to J.H. James, Royal Mint (London), 18 March 1964.

<sup>21</sup> NA, MINT, 20/3065, *Southern Rhodesia Coinage – Draft Minute to the Prime Minister*. Examples where this had previously occurred, such as by the Paris Mint for Canadian coinage in 1937 and when coins for Australia and Fiji were struck in the United States during World War II, were given.

<sup>22</sup> NA, MINT, 20/3065, Correspondence from T. Bligh of the Prime Minister's Office (London) to I.P. Bancroft, Treasury (London), 07 May 1964.

the Coat of Arms. The stamps were printed by Harrison and Sons in London and were issued on 19 February 1964.<sup>23</sup> In common with previous issues, the design incorporated a cameo of Queen Elizabeth II. However, unlike on the notes and coins, “Southern Rhodesia” was retained as name of the country. The first stamps to show only “Rhodesia” were issued after both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia had been granted independence and had changed their names to Malaŵi and Zambia respectively. The commemorative issue was to mark the centenary of the International Telecommunication Union and went on sale on 17 May 1965 and continued to feature a portrait of Queen Elizabeth II.<sup>24</sup>

The issue of the change of the country’s name was, and remained, contentious throughout the post-colonial period. On 07 October 1964 the Government of Southern Rhodesia announced that as from 24 October, following the independence of Northern Rhodesia, the official description of the Government would be “The Government of Rhodesia” and that the Colony would be known simply as “Rhodesia”. The Minister of Internal Affairs subsequently announced that the Constitution would be amended to this effect. However, as Palley points out in her seminal work on the constitutional history of the country, the Southern Rhodesia legislature did not have the power to change this in terms of the 1923 Southern Rhodesia (Annexation) Order in Council. Furthermore, in terms of the Southern Rhodesia (Constitution) Act of 1961 and the Southern Rhodesia (Constitution) Order in Council, the country was described as “The Colony of Southern Rhodesia”.<sup>25</sup> Thus in international law the official name of the country remained as “Southern Rhodesia” until the independence of Zimbabwe in April 1980, while within the country “Rhodesia” came into general usage and was used on official government documents. The only visible manifestation of this dispute was reflected in the country’s International Vehicle Nationality Plate, which in terms of the Geneva Convention on Road Traffic of 1949<sup>26</sup> needs to be

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<sup>23</sup> R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs*, 1967, pp. 413-417.

<sup>24</sup> R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs*, 1967, p. 417.

<sup>25</sup> C. Palley, *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia 1888-1965 with Special Reference to Imperial Control*, 1966, pp. 742-743. See also Footnote 211 in Chapter 3 regarding the naming dispute.

<sup>26</sup> The Convention and current list of Distinguishing Signs of International Vehicles in International Traffic can be found at the United Nations Treaty Collection at: [https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetailsV.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg\\_no=XI-B-1&chapter=11&Temp=mtdsg5&clang=\\_en](https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetailsV.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XI-B-1&chapter=11&Temp=mtdsg5&clang=_en). Accessed: 2021-02-01.

displayed on vehicles when leaving the country. This was changed from “SR” to “RSR” (for Rhodesia / Southern Rhodesia) in 1964 and remained as such until 1980.

The feeling amongst white Rhodesians that Britain was not serious in protecting their interests and their sense of betrayal at not being given independence which they felt had been earned “by right of our history, by right of our good Government ...”<sup>27</sup> cast doubt on their own sense of Britishness. Increasingly white identity, “based around a sense of whiteness and Rhodesianess, offered more of a solution than being British”.<sup>28</sup> In his analysis of the “kith and kin” relationships between Britain and Rhodesia, George Bishi comments that the animosity directed at Britain after the break-up of the Federation came at a time when Rhodesians needed British emotional and political support against a backdrop of rising African nationalism.<sup>29</sup> Many white Rhodesians could not believe how drastically Britain had changed since 1945. Donal Lowry concurs, writing that:

To many of these, any evident deterioration of British influence could only be proof of a wilful decadence, manifested not least in sexual permissiveness and deviance, pornography and drug-based youth musical culture, a failure of vigilance, and an apparent decay at the heart of Empire.<sup>30</sup>

Thus many white Rhodesians remained in denial that the days of imperial glory had faded with time and as such they felt it was their responsibility to teach their cousins in Britain what it really meant to be British – that the “British could never be defeated or displaced like other people in history, no matter how desperate their situation might become”.<sup>31</sup> As Clements observes, the insistence of being British preserved Rhodesia’s identity in cultural terms, in economic matters and political tradition.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, to many Britain’s colonial policy was unpalatable and “.. so devious as to be treacherous and dishonest ... and

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<sup>27</sup> Southern Rhodesia, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, 1964, 58, p. 1610.

<sup>28</sup> G. Bishi, ‘Kith and Kin? Rhodesia’s White Settlers and Britain, 1939-1980’, D.Phil thesis, University of the Free State, 2018, p. 98.

<sup>29</sup> G. Bishi, ‘Kith and Kin? Rhodesia’s White Settlers and Britain, 1939-1980’, D.Phil thesis, University of the Free State, 2018, p. 100.

<sup>30</sup> D. Lowry, ‘The Impact of Anti-Communism in White Rhodesian Political Culture, c.1920s-1980’, in S. Onslow (ed.), *Cold War in Southern Africa*, 2009, p. 90.

<sup>31</sup> D. Lowry, ‘The Impact of Anti-Communism in White Rhodesian Political Culture, c.1920s-1980’, in S. Onslow (ed.), *Cold War in Southern Africa*, 2009, p. 90; G. Bishi, ‘Kith and Kin? Rhodesia’s White Settlers and Britain, 1939-1980’, D.Phil. thesis, University of the Free State, 2018, p. 100.

<sup>32</sup> F. Clements, *Rhodesia: The Course to Collision*, 1969, p. 140.

the men responsible for it were portrayed as cynical bullies or pusillanimous weaklings ...”<sup>33</sup>

The official Rhodesian view, propagated by the RF Government, was that the country was under the threat of international communism and thus it needed to defend “civilised standards” in the country - in short, white political and social superiority.<sup>34</sup> It thus sought a mandate to “... strengthen the hands of your Government in its negotiations to indicate to the whole world our united voice on this issue of independence” through a referendum which was held on 05 November 1964. The response of the electorate to the question “Are you in favour of independence based on the 1961 Constitution?” was an overwhelming “Yes” with 89 per cent votes cast in favour.<sup>35</sup>

### 6.3 UDI AND ITS IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH

The failure of numerous attempts to reach agreement on the issue of independence culminated in the Unilateral Declaration of Independence on 11 November 1965, the international response to which was outlined in Chapter 3. The declaration was couched in language echoing the American Declaration of 1776<sup>36</sup> and stated that “the people of Rhodesia having demonstrated their loyalty to the Crown and to their kith and kin in the United Kingdom and elsewhere through two world wars ... now see all that they have cherished about to be shattered on the rocks of expediency”.<sup>37</sup> The Proclamation affirmed the “unswerving loyalty and devotion” of the Rhodesian people to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and ended with the salutation *God Save the Queen*.<sup>38</sup> In announcing the decision during a radio broadcast to the nation, Prime Minister Ian Smith concluded by saying, “We have struck a blow for the preservation of justice, civilisation and Christianity,

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<sup>33</sup> F. Clements, *Rhodesia: The Course to Collision*, 1969, p. 142.

<sup>34</sup> R. Coggins, ‘Wilson and Rhodesia: UDI and British Policy Towards Africa’, *Contemporary British History*, 20(3), 2006, p. 364.

<sup>35</sup> J.R.T Wood, *So Far and No Further: Rhodesia's Bid for Independence during the Retreat from Empire 1959-1965*, 2005, p. 249. An indaba, attended by 622 Chiefs and Headmen, held at Domboshawa from 22 to 26 October 1964 to solicit African opinion, was reported to also be in favour on the issue of independence.

<sup>36</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 381; D. Lowry, ‘Rhodesia 1890-1980 ’The Lost Dominion’, in Robert Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, 2010, p. 112.

<sup>37</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 12 November 1965; *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, pp. 430-431.

<sup>38</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 12 November 1965; *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*, 1973, pp. 430-431.



and in the spirit of this belief have this day assumed our sovereign independence”.<sup>39</sup> These traits were considered to be the central tenets of white Rhodesia’s identity.

Although there was no change to the country’s national symbols immediately following UDI, there was an upsurge in displays of patriotism in support for independence. One of the most obvious demonstrations involved the display of the national flag. The light blue ensign adopted in 1964 was displayed on cars and appeared on “Good Luck Rhodesia” air mail stickers. Pro-independence groups in South Africa and Britain also produced “Good Luck Rhodesia” stickers depicting the Rhodesian flag. These were sold with a request to “Help Rhodesians by Displaying this flag in your car or house window”.<sup>40</sup> Bumper stickers were also carried on fuel tankers and leaflets thanking South Africans for ensuring fuel supplies were maintained despite the imposition of the United Nations oil embargo as shown in Figure 32. According to Michael Faul, this “... was the only time when the display of flags in Rhodesia rivalled that of the USA”.<sup>41</sup>



Rising anti-British sentiment within the country also resulted in the Rhodesian flag being flown alone and contrary to established practice, sometimes in a superior position when flown together with the Union Jack. As feelings over sanctions became more bitter, there

<sup>39</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 12 November 1965; P. Joyce, *Anatomy of a Rebel - Smith of Rhodesia: A Biography*, 1974, p. 235; B. Pimlott, *The Queen*, 1996, p. 348.

<sup>40</sup> H.A. Friedman, *Rhodesia PSYOP 1965-1980*, [www.psywar.org/rhodesia.php](http://www.psywar.org/rhodesia.php). Accessed: 2021-02-22.

<sup>41</sup> M.A. Faul, ‘The Vexillology of U.D.I.’, *Rhodesians Worldwide*, 11(2), 1995, p. 23.

were cases of “patriotic flag desecration” whereby the Union Jack was removed on some flags or crossed-out with black lines. Further evidence of the shift in allegiance can be seen when stickers of the South African flag were placed over the Union Jack, this being one of the few examples where the flag of a country was desecrated by people who supported the country and its government.<sup>42</sup>

In seeking to portray UDI in terms of what can be described as a “loyal rebellion”,<sup>43</sup> - later described by UK Conservative politician Julian Amery as “a rebellion wrapped up in the Union Jack”<sup>44</sup> - the distinction was frequently made between the monarch as “Queen of Rhodesia” and the Queen of anyone else.<sup>45</sup> Loyalty was to the Queen personally and allegiance was to the Government of Rhodesia.<sup>46</sup> Thus it was argued that UDI was not against the Queen but rather against the British Government<sup>47</sup> with Ian Smith stating in September 1965 that:

As far as we are concerned the Queen [is Queen] of Rhodesia ... not the Queen of anybody else. We accept her as the Queen of Rhodesia and we are loyal to her in that category, in that definition.<sup>48</sup>

This “divisibility of the Crown” was further enunciated by Brigadier Andrew Skeen, the Rhodesian High Commissioner in London at the time of UDI, who said:

... to my mind there are two monarchs. The first is one’s personal monarch, the underlying monarch, the Queen in person, and to us Rhodesians this is a very real loyalty. Then there is the other monarch, the constitutional monarch, the legal monarch, and of course the legal monarch in that sense is merely the monarch of the party in power in the country at that time.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> M.A. Faul, ‘The Vexillology of U.D.I.’, *Rhodesians Worldwide*, 11(2), 1995, p. 23.

<sup>43</sup> For a discussion on what is described as a tradition of “loyal rebellion” in the settler societies within the British Empire see D. Lowry, ‘Ulster Resistance and Loyalist Rebellion in the Empire’, in K. Jeffrey (ed.), *‘An Irish Empire’? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, 1996, pp. 191-125 and P. Pickering, ‘Loyalty and Rebellion in Colonial Politics: The Campaign Against Convict Transportation in Australia’, in P. Buckner and R.D. Francis (eds.), *Rediscovering the British World*, 2005, pp. 87-89.

<sup>44</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 21 July 1977.

<sup>45</sup> D.W. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, p. 135.

<sup>46</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 192.

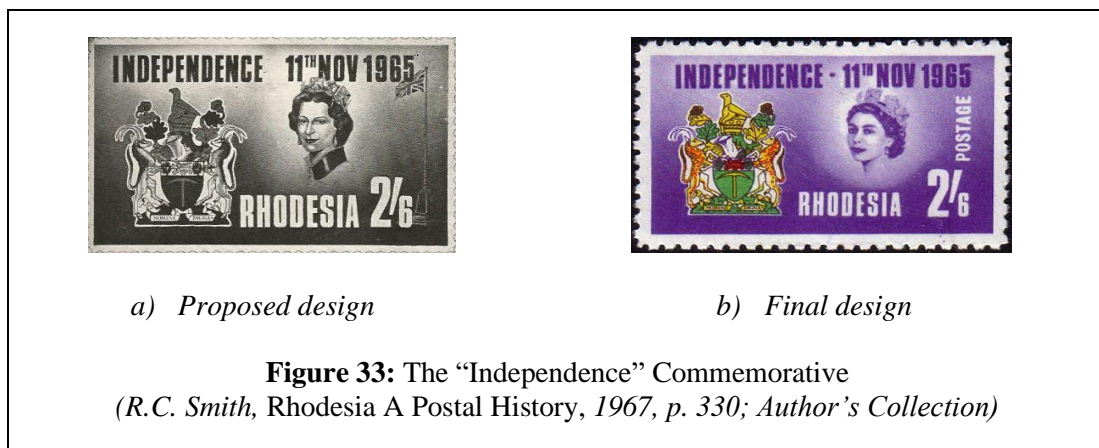
<sup>47</sup> K. Flower, *Serving Secretly: Rhodesia’s CIO Chief on Record*, 1987, p. 60.

<sup>48</sup> Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1965, 62, p. 991.

<sup>49</sup> As quoted in P. Berlyn, *The Quiet Man: A Biography of the Hon. Ian Douglas Smith*, 1978, p. 158.

An example of this duality in terms of loyalty to both Monarch and the country can be seen in the stamp issued to commemorate UDI on 08 December 1965. The initial design included the Cecil Square flagpole and used a portrait of the Queen for which permission would be required as it had not featured on a Rhodesian stamp before.<sup>50</sup> The final design comprised the Rhodesian Coat of Arms on the left and the portrait of the Queen on the right and the words “INDEPENDENCE – 11 NOV 1965” as shown in Figure 33b, illustrating again the dual loyalty to both country and Crown. These stamps were the first to be printed within the country.

It was also announced on 12 January 1966 that the existing Southern Rhodesia definitive stamps would be overprinted with the words “INDEPENDENCE 11 November 1965”. Stamps issued to mark the life of Sir Winston Churchill, who had died on 24 January 1965, which had been issued the previous August were also overprinted.<sup>51</sup>



Despite mail services between Rhodesia and a number of countries being suspended after UDI, services continued between Britain and Rhodesia.<sup>52</sup> However, the British Government considered the UDI commemorative stamp and the “Independence” overprints as being

<sup>50</sup> R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs*, 1967, pp. 421-422.

<sup>51</sup> R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs*, 1967, p. 420.

<sup>52</sup> See M. Hughes, ‘Postal Sanctions Against Rhodesia 1965 to 1980’, [www.rhodesianstudycircle.org.uk/postal-sanctions-against-rhodesia-1965-to-1980-mike-hughes/](http://www.rhodesianstudycircle.org.uk/postal-sanctions-against-rhodesia-1965-to-1980-mike-hughes/), for further detail on postal sanctions against Rhodesia. Accessed: 2019-09-10.

particularly provocative and declared them invalid for postage to the UK.<sup>53</sup> It also requested the Universal Postal Union to recommend that its members do likewise, which some did. However, the British Government later admitted that few other countries had followed its example and the Rhodesian independence stamps were for the most part accepted as postage paid overseas.<sup>54</sup>

A further example of the dual loyalty to Crown and country was reflected in what became dubbed the “battle of the books” by *The Sunday Mail*. Following instructions to remain in his post at Government House after UDI, Governor Sir Humphrey Gibbs had declared the RF Government to be unconstitutional maintaining that he represented the Queen and therefore the legitimate government of Rhodesia.<sup>55</sup> After UDI the Government provided books in the main centres for citizens to sign as an expression of loyalty to the person of Her Majesty, the Queen – but in effect to the ‘new’ Rhodesian Government. Similarly, Sir Humphrey adopted a similar procedure at Government House for those loyal to him as the Queen’s representative.<sup>56</sup> Signing the books took on a symbolic significance with over a thousand signing the Visitors Book at Government House in June 1966 on the occasion of the Queen’s birthday. Later that year former Prime Minister Godfrey Huggins (now Lord Malvern) sent out a letter encouraging people to express their admiration for the Governor by signing the Book, with the result that over 1,750 called at Government House to do so and a further 1,250 sent letters of support. The following year the number was significantly less at just over 900 but this increased to over 3,000 in 1968 with 600 letters of support, stimulated in part, it is speculated, by the fact that the Queen’s birthday was no longer an official public holiday.<sup>57</sup> The numbers who signed the parallel Book at Dupont’s residence is not known. However, Gibb’s biographer suggests that as no political capital was made

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<sup>53</sup> J. Brownell, ‘The visual rhetoric of settler stamps: Rhodesia’s rebellion and the projection of sovereignty’, in Y. Huang and R. Weaver-Hightower (eds.), *Archiving Settler Colonialism - Culture, Space and Race*, 2018, p. 154.

<sup>54</sup> See NA, FCO, 14/133, Cabinet, Ministerial Committee on Rhodesia, ‘Action Against Postal Traffic with Rhodesia’, November 1967; See also J. Brownell, ‘The visual rhetoric of settler stamps: Rhodesia’s rebellion and the projection of sovereignty’, in Y. Huang and R. Weaver-Hightower (eds.), *Archiving Settler Colonialism - Culture, Space and Race*, 2018, p. 157.

<sup>55</sup> See A. Megahey, *Humphrey Gibbs: Beleaguered Governor*, 1998, pp. 110-159 and K. Flower, *Serving Secretly: Rhodesia’s CIO Chief on Record*, 1987, pp. 78-84 for the position of Sir Humphrey Gibbs in the immediate aftermath of UDI.

<sup>56</sup> C.W. Dupont, *The Reluctant President - The Memoirs of the Hon. Clifford Dupont*, GCLM., ID., 1978, p.74.

<sup>57</sup> A. Megahey, *Humphrey Gibbs: Beleaguered Governor*, 1998, p. 136.

out of it by the Government the numbers were probably less<sup>58</sup> while Baxter claims the Government Books received many more signatures although he does not indicate how many.<sup>59</sup>

As described in Chapter 4, loyalty to the Monarchy lay at the heart of Rhodesian civic and cultural values with “Loyalty to the Queen of England ... [being] as natural to the people of this country as it is natural to breathe. Royalist feelings stem, in part, from the always strong connections that white Rhodesians have had with Britain in the past”.<sup>60</sup> Thus in terms of the 1965 Constitution annexed to the UDI declaration, Queen Elizabeth remained Head of State to be represented by the Officer Administering the Government.<sup>61</sup>

The Oath of Allegiance remained unchanged, with Ian Smith again emphasising that “... whenever I take my oath ... I take it to the Queen of Rhodesia, not to the Queen of Britain”.<sup>62</sup> The portrait of the Queen, as we have seen, remained on the country’s stamps, banknotes and coinage and *God Save the Queen* continued to be used as the national anthem. UDI was always portrayed by the Rhodesians as being a “patriotic rebellion”.<sup>63</sup> However, the retention of these colonial symbols for several years after UDI created a great deal of ambiguity about the legitimacy and nature of the Rhodesian nation. The failure to secure international recognition, coupled with the increase in anti-British sentiment, rendered the continued use of such British imperial symbols increasingly pointless leading to a process of “symbolic decolonisation”.

This began, as described in Chapter 4, with the process of designing a new flag which resulted in the new Rhodesian flag being hoisted on the third anniversary of UDI. The new flag was the first visible demonstration of Rhodesia’s independence – an icon around which

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<sup>58</sup> A. Megahey, *Humphrey Gibbs: Beleaguered Governor*, 1998, p. 154.

<sup>59</sup> P. Baxter, *Rhodesia - Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 349.

<sup>60</sup> P. Berlyn, *Rhodesia: Beleaguered Country*, 1967, p. 71.

<sup>61</sup> Rhodesia, *The Constitution of Rhodesia 1965*, 1965, p. 7.

<sup>62</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 1(27), 1967, p. 6; P. Joyce, *Anatomy of a Rebel - Smith of Rhodesia: A Biography*, 1974, p. 380.

<sup>63</sup> J. Brownell, ‘The Magical Hour of Midnight: The Annual Commemorations of Rhodesia’s and Transkei’s Independence Days’, in T. Falola and K. Kalu (eds.), *Exploitation and Misrule in Postcolonial Africa*, 2018, p. 247.

to rally domestically while attracting ire and controversy internationally.<sup>64</sup> Like the light blue ensign immediately after UDI, the new flag became the most obvious vehicle for the expression of patriotism and was displayed on a variety of consumer items such as bumper stickers, caps, clothes, swimming towels, beer mugs as well as on curios. The RF had already amended its principles in 1967 to include “the National Flag as the only and exclusive symbol of our independent Rhodesian Nation”.<sup>65</sup> It later featured on a postage stamp, on illustrated book covers and was the focus of a song by popular Rhodesian folk singer, John Edmond. Increasingly, the new flag came to be the symbolic representation of Rhodesia’s post-colonial identity.

Shortly after the raising of the new flag, another referendum was held on the issue of a new Constitution and the declaration of a republic. While Ian Smith acknowledged that there was a deep and sincere sentiment towards the monarchy within the country, he claimed that Rhodesians had “no option but to become a republic”<sup>66</sup> and sever the tie. The result of the referendum held on 20 June 1969 was 81 per cent in favour of a republic and 72,3 per cent in favour of the adoption of a new Constitution.<sup>67</sup> Rhodesia subsequently declared itself a republic on 02 March 1970. With the last remaining ties with Britain and the monarchy having now been formally severed, a truly distinctive Rhodesian symbolic identity would soon start to emerge.

#### 6.4 SYMBOLS TO REFLECT A NEW RHODESIAN IDENTITY

On 17 February 1970, a fortnight before the declaration of the republic, the country converted to a decimal currency. The Decimal Currency Bill had been introduced in April 1967 which provided for the establishment of a Decimal Currency Board to oversee the

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<sup>64</sup> See B.B. Berry, ‘Flag of Defiance: The International Use of the Rhodesian Flag Following UDI’, *South African Historical Journal*, 71(3), 2019, pp. 495–517.

<sup>65</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 14 June 1967; *Rhodesian Front – Principles and Policies*, 1973; R. Austin, *Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa - Rhodesia: A book of data*, 1975, pp. 104-105.

<sup>66</sup> *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 04 April 1969.

<sup>67</sup> C.W. Dupont, *The Reluctant President - The Memoirs of the Hon. Clifford Dupont, GCLM., ID.*, 1978, p. 203; P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 51.

conversion process.<sup>68</sup> Decimalisation had been first discussed in 1959 and consequently both imperial and decimal values were shown on the new coinage introduced following the break-up of the Federation. Various discussions had also been held on a name for the new currency, amongst these being the Rand, Rhodes, Dyke, Sable, Starr (after Sir Leander Starr Jameson), Leaf (as in tobacco), Royal and a suitable vernacular word. These were all rejected for a variety of reasons including that the name of the new unit should not be based on a personality, nor emphasise one sector or element of the economy, or that finding a suitable word in the vernacular that would be acceptable to all Africans would be difficult. It was also felt that as the Rand was already used by South Africa it would not be appropriate to use the same name in Rhodesia.<sup>69</sup> In making recommendation to use the “dollar”, the Minister of Finance referred to the fact that Rhodesia had copied the United States in the Declaration of Independence and although the dollar was associated with the United States, it was already used by a number of other countries. He argued that as such it was already internationally recognised and this would assist in the acceptance of the new currency.<sup>70</sup> Accordingly, Rhodesia became the twelfth country in the world to use the “dollar” as the name for its new currency.<sup>71</sup>

Details of the new banknotes and coins were published in August 1969. The design of the new one dollar, two dollar and ten dollar banknotes were similar to those they replaced, but with the national Coat of Arms replacing the effigy of the Queen and the Reserve Bank of Rhodesia emblem replacing where the Arms had previously been positioned in the centre of the banknote. An image of the bust of Rhodes was retained as the watermark. The Arms also replaced the effigy of the Queen on the obverse of the new coins while the same insignia as found on the existing coins remained on the reverse. The new banknotes were printed in Salisbury and the coins were minted at the South African mint.<sup>72</sup> A five dollar banknote was introduced in October 1972 which followed the same general layout and design of the other denominations and depicted a lion and lioness.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, CL (S) 67, 27 April 1967; Rhodesia, *Decimal Currency Act*, 1967.

<sup>69</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) 66, 200, 06 July 1966.

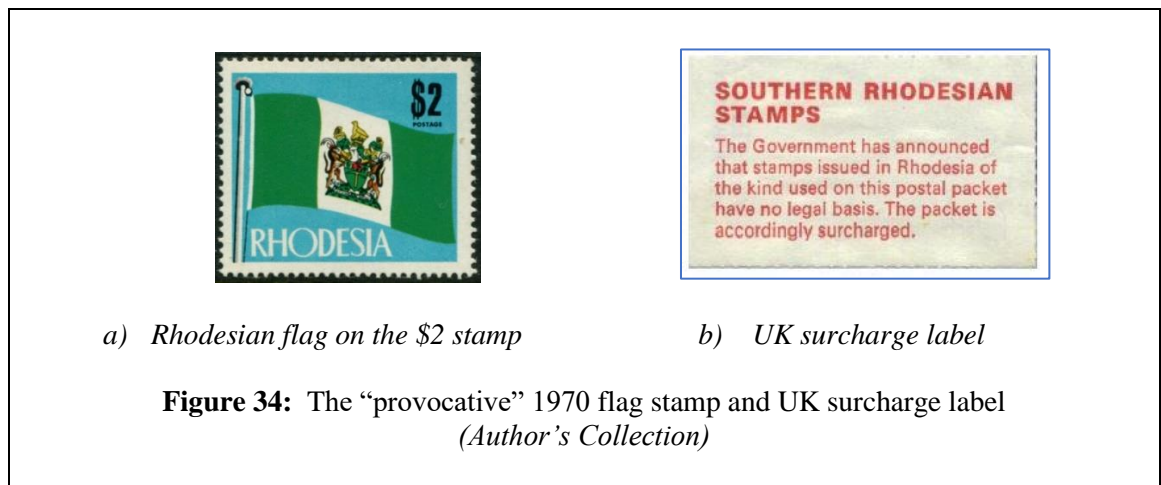
<sup>70</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) 66, 200, 06 July 1966

<sup>71</sup> R.C. Smith, *Supplement to Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts & Telegraphs*, 1970, p. 39.

<sup>72</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 28 August 1969; O.W. Linzmayer, *The Banknote Book: Rhodesia*, 2020, p. 4.

<sup>73</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 6(22/23), 1972, p. 2.

Another consequence of decimalisation was a new definitive set of postage stamps which was issued on the day the Rhodesian dollar was introduced. As with the currency, the portrait of the Queen no longer appeared. While the monarch's effigy had continued to appear on the country's definitive stamps, it had been omitted from the commemoratives issued since 1967. This was the first time that the effigy of the reigning monarch had not appeared on Rhodesian stamps since 1910.<sup>74</sup> The new stamps portrayed the "astonishing development" achieved in the country through the themes of land, air and water.<sup>75</sup> The highest value, which traditionally featured the Coat of Arms since the 1950s, depicted the Rhodesian flag as shown in Figure 34a. This was the only time the Rhodesian flag featured on a postage stamp.



The British Minister of Posts and Telecommunications announced in the House of Commons that the new "decimal" stamps would be regarded as "illegal" and not valid for the prepayment of mail. As with the case in 1966, mail bearing these stamps would be regarded as underpaid and surcharged accordingly. According to J. Brownell, the British Government was explicit in that while the other post-UDI stamps had been "tolerated", with the exception of the Independence commemorative and Independence Overprints, the 1970 stamps were different. The stamps did not feature a portrait of the Queen, were priced in the

<sup>74</sup> R.C. Smith, *Supplement to Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts & Telegraphs*, 1970, p. 40.

<sup>75</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 4(2), 1970, p. 5.



new decimal currency and most provocatively, the highest value showed the “illegal regime’s new flag”.<sup>76</sup> The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) concluded that the stamp issue “is obviously timed to draw attention to the assumption of republican status” and the “regime’s timing is defiant”.<sup>77</sup> The matter was debated in the House of Lords on 26 March 1970 and the surcharge became effective on 08 April 1970.<sup>78</sup> In what R.C. Smith, one time Rhodesian Deputy Postmaster General, calls “The Great Mail Robbery of 1970”, unlike the inconsistency of the previous ban in 1966, all surcharged items were to have a sticker affixed to them (Figure 34b) indicating the following:

Southern Rhodesian Stamps

The Government has announced that stamps issued in Rhodesia of the kind used on this postal packet have no legal basis. The packet is accordingly surcharged.<sup>79</sup>

The British Government informed the UPU of its decision, and as in 1966, requested that it ask its members not to recognise Rhodesian stamps. The latter admitted “it has no way of enforcing this ... apart from informing all members of the British action ...”.<sup>80</sup> The Channel Islands of Jersey and Guernsey followed Britain’s example and surcharged Rhodesian mail and India also refused to accept Rhodesian postage stamps as being valid. Rather than surcharge mail, many countries had suspended all postal relations following the imposition of UN sanctions and postal items to such countries were either not accepted at the office of origin or returned endorsed “No Service”. The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, formally announced the abolition of the British policy of surcharging mail from Rhodesia at the Conservative Party Congress on 09 October 1970.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>76</sup> NA, PREM 13/3444, Memorandum from FCO to H. Wilson (Prime Minister), 16 February 1970 as quoted by J. Brownell, ‘The visual rhetoric of settler stamps: Rhodesia’s rebellion and the projection of sovereignty’, in Y. Huang and R. Weaver-Hightower (eds.), *Archiving Settler Colonialism - Culture, Space and Race*, 2018, p. 155.

<sup>77</sup> NA, PREM, 13/3444, Memorandum from FCO to H. Wilson (Prime Minister), 16 February 1970.

<sup>78</sup> R.C. Smith, *Supplement to Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts & Telegraphs*, 1970, pp. 41-42.

<sup>79</sup> R.C. Smith, *Supplement to Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts & Telegraphs*, 1970, p. 42; R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia in Stamps: Second Supplement to Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs*, p. 109. For further detail and analysis of postal sanctions and the surcharging of mail from Rhodesia see D.A. Mitchell and H.T. Tring, *The Surcharging of Rhodesia’s Mail 1965-1971*, 1978 and M. Hughes, ‘Postal Sanctions Against Rhodesia 1965 to 1980’, [www.rhodesianstudycircle.org.uk/postal-sanctions-against-rhodesia-1965-to-1980-mike-hughes/](http://www.rhodesianstudycircle.org.uk/postal-sanctions-against-rhodesia-1965-to-1980-mike-hughes/). Accessed: 2019-09-10.

<sup>80</sup> R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia in Stamps: Second Supplement to Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs*, 1978, p. 111.

<sup>81</sup> R.C. Smith, *Rhodesia in Stamps: Second Supplement to Rhodesia A Postal History - Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs*, 1978, p. 112.

J. Brownell contends that the primary themes communicated through Rhodesian stamps were that the country was a functioning state capable of taking on international statehood; that it represented the best of British history and imperial traditions; that although their settler state was relatively young, it was on the same historical path as all settler states which preceded it; and that it was good for the majority of the Africans, who supported it.<sup>82</sup> Taken together, Roberts asserts, these themes projected Rhodesia as an oasis of law and order in a hostile and chaotic continent with an economic environment which emphasised private enterprise and economic development. Roberts goes further and states that “every single definitive stamp from 1964 onwards was visually evocative of the country” while the commemoratives were more of a historical character and more specific to Rhodesia, just at the time the RF was trying to develop a non-British patriotism.<sup>83</sup> Thus, as found elsewhere in the world, the images depicted on Rhodesian postage stamps reflected on who held power in the country.<sup>84</sup> In short, “Rhodesian stamps were unambiguously positive about the role of whites in Africa”,<sup>85</sup> one of the reoccurring themes in Rhodesian national identity.

The “Famous Rhodesians” series issued between 1967 and 1975 featured Leander Starr Jameson, Alfred Beit, William Henry Milton, Mother Patrick, Frederick Courtney Selous, Robert Moffat, David Livingstone, George Pauling and Thomas Baines. Interestingly, although all are treated as “Rhodesians”, none were born in the country and they are commemorated for their contributions to the colonisation of the country. Other than the commemorative issue in 1953 to mark the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, that featuring Mother Patrick is the only other Rhodesian stamp to honour a woman.

Unlike the 1970 issue, the subsequent definitives issued in 1974 and 1978 were more politically neutral and depicted only natural resources (precious stones), flora and fauna

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<sup>82</sup> J. Brownell, ‘The visual rhetoric of settler stamps: Rhodesia’s rebellion and the projection of sovereignty’, in Y. Huang and R. Weaver-Hightower (eds.), *Archiving Settler Colonialism - Culture, Space and Race*, 2018, p. 158.

<sup>83</sup> R.S. Roberts, ‘Identity and the Nation: The Evidence of Postage Stamps’, *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, 25, 2006, p. 7.

<sup>84</sup> A. Rowley, “Miniature Propaganda: Self Definition and Soviet Postage Stamps, 1917-1941”, *Slavonica*, 8(2), 2002, p. 139.

<sup>85</sup> J. Brownell, ‘The visual rhetoric of settler stamps: Rhodesia’s rebellion and the projection of sovereignty’, in Y. Huang and R. Weaver-Hightower (eds.), *Archiving Settler Colonialism - Culture, Space and Race*, 2018, p. 153.

(wildlife, butterflies, flowers and waterfalls), including the Victoria Falls, once again, on the two dollar stamp in 1978. Apart from the flag illustrated on the two dollar stamp in the 1970 definitive, the only other national symbols depicted on Rhodesian stamps were the Coat of Arms on the issue to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Responsible Government in 1973 and the Flame Lily once again in 1974.

The philatelic history is silent on the “Bush War”<sup>86</sup> and, for example, marking the centenary of the birth of Ethel Tawse Jollie, campaigner for Responsible Government and later the first female member in the Southern Rhodesia parliament and also first female parliamentarian in the British Empire.<sup>87</sup> In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 4, a set of stamps featuring the name “Zimbabwe Rhodesia” was designed and printed but these never went on sale nor were there any overprints.<sup>88</sup> Thus the name never appeared on a stamp.

There were privately produced commercial covers which reflected the major political developments in the country. These covers commemorated a variety of anniversaries and political events such as the various political settlement negotiations, the last day of Rhodesia and first day of Zimbabwe Rhodesia, the hoisting of the flag of Zimbabwe Rhodesia and later the lifting of sanctions and the arrival of Lord Soames as Governor in December 1979, etc. These covers feature a Rhodesian stamp and are date-stamped to commemorate the event.

As Kenrick points out, if 1965 was the birth of the new Rhodesia then 1969 was its coming of age.<sup>89</sup> Following the declaration of the republic, Rhodesian identity entered a new phase. The Royal-prefix was dropped from titles of some units in the armed forces, most notably in the case of the air force, loyalty was to the State rather than to the Monarch and prosecutions were instituted in the name of the State instead of the Crown. That the process

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<sup>86</sup> As noted in Chapter 3, the conflict went by many names. To the nationalist guerrillas it was the ‘Liberation Struggle’ or ‘Second *Chimurenga*’ while to most white Rhodesians it is mainly referred to as the ‘Bush War’.

<sup>87</sup> See, for example, P. Berlyn, ‘On Ethel Colquhoun Tawse Jollie’, *Rhodesiana*, 15, 1966, pp. 68–70; D. Lowry, ‘“White Woman’s Country”: Ethel Tawse Jollie and the Making of White Rhodesia’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23(2), 1977, pp. 259–281.

<sup>88</sup> See Footnote 315 in Chapter 4.

<sup>89</sup> D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress : White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 122.

of symbolic decolonisation received a new urgency is revealed in a Cabinet Report tabled just three days after the adoption of the republican constitution. The Report listed all the government ministries and departments where the Royal Insignia would need to be replaced with new symbols.<sup>90</sup> In addition, a Government Notice published a list of modifications to existing legislation to replace “Colony” with “Rhodesia” and “Governor” with “President”, etc. The total number of changes covered 39 pages of small type in the Notice.<sup>91</sup> Details of a new design for Rhodesian passports had already been announced in January 1970 and the new passports were to be issued after the new Constitution came into effect. These were in green vinyl and depicted the Coat of Arms on the cover and on each page.<sup>92</sup> The rank structures of both the Rhodesian Army and the Rhodesian Air Force had initially been based on British lines, the insignia of which featured the Royal Crown, and these too were also changed to incorporate Rhodesian symbols.<sup>93</sup>

The Rhodesian Army was formed on 01 January 1964 immediately following the break-up of the Federation. The design of the Army badge followed that which had previously been used during the Federation and contained both British and local elements in that it comprised two crossed assegais with the Lion and Tusk emblem surmounted by a Crown and standing above a Crown with the simple motto “RHODESIA” in a scroll below. This badge was placed in the centre of the Army flag which comprised three horizontal stripes of yellow, red and blue. Following the declaration of the republic in 1970, the basic design of the flag was retained but the Crowns were removed and the badge changed to place the Lion and Tusk above a green shield containing a white pickaxe, all above the scroll and motto. The design of the badge was subsequently changed again when the assegais were removed and the Lion and Tusk, together with the pickaxe were placed in the centre of a shield with a green background. The motto was also amended to read “RHODESIAN ARMY”.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) 70 62, 05 March 1970.

<sup>91</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 4(6), 1970, p. 3.

<sup>92</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 4(2), 1970, p. 8.

<sup>93</sup> D. Wall, *Insignia and History of the Rhodesian Armed Forces 1890-1980*, 2002, pp. 54, 58.

<sup>94</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, pp. 76-77.

The emblems of the four Army brigades featured local wildlife symbols, namely the head of an elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo and lion in the centre of a red, green, brown and blue field respectively. The 3 Brigade flag also added the numeral “3” in the canton and had a white fimbriation, possibly because the colours of the flag were not distinguishable from a distance.<sup>95</sup>

The new army badges were worn for the first time on 01 July 1971. Where the Crown was previously worn on the shoulder by officers of the rank of Major and above, this was replaced by the Lion and Tusk emblem superimposed on a laurel wreath, The star (usually referred to as a “pip”) worn by junior officers was also redesigned to feature the Lion and Tusk in the centre. Warrant Officers Class I who formerly wore the Royal Arms on their cuffs would now wear the Rhodesian Coat of Arms and Warrant Officers Class II replaced the Crown with the Lion and Tusk within a laurel wreath. Colour sergeants and staff sergeants replaced the Crown with the lion and tusk emblem above their chevrons. The regimental and corps cap badges also saw the Crown being removed and replaced with the Lion and Tusk. There was no change to the rank structure or nomenclature.<sup>96</sup>

The Lion and Tusk emblem, as originally featured on the Arms, seal and flag of the BSAC as described in Chapter 4, that was adopted by the Rhodesian Army was also incorporated into the design of the badges of a number of other Army Units. These included the Rhodesian Light Infantry (RLI), the Rhodesia Regiment, the Rhodesian Military Police, the Rhodesian Army Medical Corps, the Rhodesian Army Services Corps, the Rhodesian Army Pay Corps, the Rhodesian Intelligence Corps, the Rhodesia Defence Regiment, the School of Infantry and the Rhodesian Woman’s Services. In most instances, the badge also featured on a flag.

Changes to the Regimental Colours within the Rhodesian Army also reflect the move away from British based symbolism. Colours for 1 Battalion RLI were approved by Queen Elizabeth II on 15 July 1963. The Queen’s Colour took the form of a fringed silk Union

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<sup>95</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 77.

<sup>96</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 5(15), 1971, p. 4.

Jack with the regiment's name in a circle in the centre, surmounted by a Crown, all in gold. The Regimental Colour had a green field with the regimental badge in the centre, surrounded by a wreath of Flame Lilies – making it unique amongst all units that have served the British Monarch in that the wreath was not in the traditional roses and thistles.<sup>97</sup> The Regimental Colour was presented by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, on 19 June 1965.<sup>98</sup> The Queen's Colour was not carried on parade following the declaration of the republic until 1980 when it was laid up.

New Colours were approved in 1971 by the President, Mr. Clifford Dupont. These were scheduled to have been presented in 1972 or 1973, but as no financial assistance was received from the Government for their manufacture, the Battalion decided to produce them itself. To this end a Mrs. Mealing was given the task of producing them. They were, however, only completed in July 1980, after the transition from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, and although they were displayed on 08 August 1980, they were never officially presented or consecrated.<sup>99</sup>

The new Regimental Colour followed the same design as its predecessor, except for the removal of the Crown above the badge. The gap was closed by placing an extra Flame Lily in place of the Crown in the wreath and the standard British finial was replaced with a lion and tusk design. Replacing the Queen's Colour, the President's Colour followed the traditional British pattern of having the national flag as its basic design. In this instance, the Coat of Arms in the centre of a fringed Rhodesian flag was surrounded by a red ring, fimbriated in white, containing the words "THE RHODESIAN LIGHT INFANTRY". Here too, the traditional British Crown and Lion finial was replaced with a local design featuring the Zimbabwe Bird<sup>100</sup> in another example of the use of a local symbol.

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<sup>97</sup> D. Wall, *Insignia and History of the Rhodesian Armed Forces 1890-1980*, 2002, p. 34; A. Binda, *The Saints - The Rhodesian Light Infantry*, 2007, p. 36.

<sup>98</sup> *Presentation of Colours to the First Battalion The Rhodesian Light Infantry by His Excellency The Honourable Sir Humphrey Gibbs, KCMG, OBE, Governor and Commander-in-Chief*, Cranborne Barracks, 19 June 1965.

<sup>99</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 96; 'Colours and Standards', [www.therli.com/history/colours](http://www.therli.com/history/colours). Accessed: 2021-02-10.

<sup>100</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 96.

One of the more enduring symbols which reflects the identity of the Rhodesian soldier in the late 1970s is “The Trooper” statue. The statue is unique in that it does not follow the usual ‘heroic’ pose of military statues and instead is of a young RLI trooper<sup>101</sup> wearing typical everyday combat kit, standing in a relaxed position with his hands resting casually on his rifle, held barrel-upwards on the ground in front of him.<sup>102</sup> It was erected in memory of all those members of the regiment who had died in action and was unveiled and dedicated on 01 February 1979, the 18<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the formation of the RLI, on a plinth in the centre of ‘Holy Ground’ at the RLI Barracks in Salisbury.<sup>103</sup> Although officially named “The Trooper”, it soon became affectionally known simply as “The Troopie”, and for many it came to epitomise the fighting spirit of Rhodesians as told in the poem in Figure 35.

The badges of the Rhodesia Military Police and the Rhodesian Corps of Engineers were unique in that they featured both the Lion and Tusk emblem together with a Zimbabwe Bird. The Rhodesian Corps of Engineers was also unique in that the emblem on the flag was not that which featured on its cap badges etc. The flag consisted of a red field, with two thin blue horizontal stripes, with a badge in gold in the centre of a broad red stripe. This emblem was a “flaming grenade with nine flames” with “RHODESIA” in a scroll below, all in yellow.<sup>104</sup> The badge is similar to that initially used when the Southern Rhodesia Engineers was formed in 1949 which consisted of a laurel wreath surrounding a garter containing the words “SOUTHERN RHODESIA” and the title “ENGINEERS” on a scroll beneath. The crest was a Zimbabwe Bird and within the garter was the Lion and Tusk emblem, marking one of the first instances when this was used within the Army. During the Federal period, the Zimbabwe Bird was replaced with the Crown and the Royal Monogram (EHR) replaced the Lion and Tusk emblem. The name was also changed to the Rhodesia and Nyasaland

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<sup>101</sup> The bronze statue was modelled on Trooper Wayne Hanekom from 2 Commando, RLI. Hanekom remained with the RLI until it was disbanded and then emigrated to South Africa. He spent some time travelling abroad and settled in England for 11 years before returning to South Africa. He died in Pretoria on 20 December 2010.

<sup>102</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 98.

<sup>103</sup> The Trooper, *Fighting Forces of Zimbabwe Rhodesia (No. 6)*, 1979, p. 11; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 98. The statue was removed and taken to South Africa following the decision to disband the RLI shortly after the independence of Zimbabwe. It was on display at the Military History Museum in Johannesburg until 1999 when it was taken to England and stored at the British Empire and Colonial Museum in Bristol. It was rededicated on 28 September 2008 at the estate of the Marquess of Salisbury in Hatfield, Hertfordshire, where it is now on permanent display.

<sup>104</sup> D. Wall, *Insignia and History of the Rhodesian Armed Forces 1890-1980*, 2002, p. 40.

Engineers. After UDI the badge changed again when “Southern” was dropped from the title and both the Lion and Tusk emblem and Zimbabwe Bird were reinstated. The motto of the Engineer Corps was *Ubique*, which it shared with the Corps of Royal Engineers and which means “Everywhere”.<sup>105</sup>

“The Troopie”  
(by Jenny Ayling)

He stood erect and proud,  
Was unveiled before the crowd,  
Representing what could not be said,  
A memorial to the brave and dead.

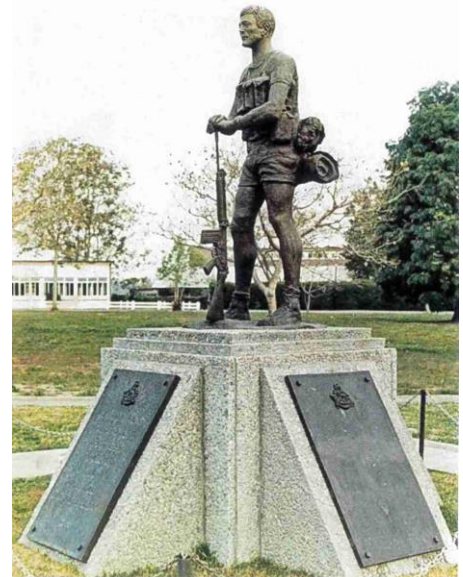
A symbol of courage for all to see,  
A salute to soldiers who’s (sic) souls fly free,  
The pride of the Rhodesian Light Infantry,  
The man in bronze, the immortal “Troopie”.

He weathered the sun and wind and rain,  
He suffered not, he felt no pain,  
Standing at ease and looking ahead,  
He saw not the tears we shed.

A symbol of courage for all to see,  
A salute to soldiers who’s (sic) souls fly free,  
The pride of the Rhodesian Light Infantry,  
The man in bronze, the immortal “Troopie”.

Where he stood is now an empty space,  
Nothing else could ever take his place,  
Yet he lives on in each and every heart,  
In the lives of which he was a part.

Gone is the symbol of courage for all to see,  
A salute to soldiers who’s (sic) souls fly free,  
Gone is the pride of the Rhodesian Light Infantry,  
Gone is the man of bronze, the immortal “Troopie”.



(RLI Barracks, Salisbury)

**Figure 35:**  
“The Troopie” Poem and Statue  
(“*The Troopie*”, Cheetah Souvenir Edition,  
31 October 1980, p. 38)

After 1970, the Zimbabwe Bird replaced the Crown in the badge of the Rhodesian Corps of Signals which was based on that of its British counterpart featuring a figure of Mercury, the Roman messenger of the Gods, atop a globe of the world with the motto *Certa Cito* meaning

<sup>105</sup> ‘Rhodesian Corps of Engineers’, *Fighting Forces of Rhodesia* (No. 4), 1977, p. 75.



“SURE AND SWIFT”. Below the emblem is another scroll containing the word “RHODESIA”. The emblem was placed in the centre of a flag comprising three horizontal stripes of light blue, dark blue and green, the middle stripe being a third of the width of the others. The colours correspond to those of the Royal Corps of Signals and represent the three media of communication, namely through air, over sea and over land.<sup>106</sup>

Immediately following the announcement of the replacement of Royal Insignia following the declaration of the republic, the re-named Rhodesian Air Force (RhAF) adopted a new roundel and ensign. The new insignia featuring local motifs and symbols and designed by Warrant Officer Cedric Herbert, were unveiled by the Minister of Defence on 05 March 1970 at New Sarum Air Base. The new fin flash was in the national colours of green and white while the new air force ensign continued to use the traditional RAF light blue background but with the new air force roundel in the fly. The roundel was also green and white with the Lion and Tusk emblem, originally used by the BSAC and also by No. 237 (Rhodesia) Squadron, in yellow in the centre. The Rhodesian flag replaced the Union Jack in the canton in the new Air Force ensign.<sup>107</sup> The end of an era was marked when the new ensign was flown for the first time on 03 April<sup>108</sup> and the last Union Jack to feature on a Rhodesian flag was finally removed.

The crests of the eight squadrons of the Air Force retained their respective emblems but the Crown was removed and replaced with the Lion and Tusk badge as the crest. The Air Force emblem was ensigned with the national Zimbabwe Bird emblem with its new motto *Alæ Præsidio Patriæ* (“Our Wings are as the Fortress to the Land”) in a scroll below.<sup>109</sup>

To mark the occasion of its 25<sup>th</sup> birthday, the President presented the Air Force with its first Colour on 28 November 1972. The presentation was made during a parade at Government House, Salisbury, and was followed by a ceremonial march through the city with the new

<sup>106</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, pp. 122-124.

<sup>107</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 4(6), 1970, p. 3; C.S. Kern, ‘National Aircraft Markings and Flags’, *The Flag Bulletin*, XI(2), 1972, p. 256; B. Salt, *A Pride of Eagles - A History of the Rhodesian Air Force*, 2015, p. 456.

<sup>108</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 4(8), 1970, p. 1.

<sup>109</sup> Correspondence from Air Lt. C.D. Herbert to G. McKenzie, 27 October 1976; D. Mutanda, *The Rhodesian Air Force in Zimbabwe’s War of Liberation, 1966-1980*, 1985, p. 80; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 139.

Colour.<sup>110</sup> Standards were later presented to No. 1 Squadron on 23 September 1973, No. 3 Squadron on 07 April 1975 and No. 7 Squadron on 18 May 1979.<sup>111</sup> These Colours followed the same design having a light blue background, with gold fringe, containing the squadron badge in the centre. In each corner was an emblem of three Flame Lilies.

With the adoption of the new Constitution and change in the country's name to Zimbabwe Rhodesia on 01 June 1979, the Air Force Ensign was the only military flag to be changed when the new national flag replaced the Rhodesian flag in the canton. The individual squadron badges remained unchanged until April 1980 when the Rhodesian Air Force officially became the Air Force of Zimbabwe. The Lion and Tusk emblem above the badges was then replaced with the Zimbabwe Bird although the squadron mottos and badges remained unchanged.<sup>112</sup>

Interestingly, after Rhodesia became a republic and the Crown was removed from its badge, and consequently also from its flag, the name of the BSAP and its motto were retained in what Kenrick suggests was “colonial nostalgia’s power to limit Rhodesian republican zeal”.<sup>113</sup> There was also no change to the name of the force or its insignia during the short-lived period between June 1979 and April 1980 when the country became known as Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

In terms of the republican constitution, the Prison Service was defined as a uniformed disciplined force along with the Security Forces and the BSAP which was responsible for the management and administration of the country's prisons. Accordingly, it adopted its own flag in May 1971. The flag had a dark green background in the centre of which was the badge of the Service. The badge comprised a Lion within a circlet containing the words “RHODESIA PRISON SERVICE” superimposed on which was a sheathed sword, pointing

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<sup>110</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 150.

<sup>111</sup> B. Salt, *A Pride of Eagles - A History of the Rhodesian Air Force*, 2015, pp. 506, 533; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 151.

<sup>112</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 139.

<sup>113</sup> D. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, p. 172.

vertically, with a Zimbabwe Bird above and below a Flame Lily.<sup>114</sup> The motto of the Service was *Tenax et Justus* which translated from the Latin means “Just and Tenacious”.

The Selous Scouts, named after the British explorer Frederick Courtney Selous who guided the Pioneer Column on its trek into Mashonaland in 1890, was formed in 1973.<sup>115</sup> It was a special forces regiment of the Rhodesian Army which gained notoriety during its seven-year existence as one of the world's foremost and ruthless proponents of covert operations in guerrilla counter-insurgency warfare. It claims to have been responsible for 68 per cent of the guerrilla deaths within Rhodesia.<sup>116</sup>

The regimental flag of the Selous Scouts was designed by its founder and commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Ron Reid-Daly and comprised the badge of the regiment, above its Shona motto of *Pamwe Chete* (“Together as One”), on a brown field. Reid-Daly explained later in a letter to Richard Allport, “As the Rhodesian Army was choked in green we chose a brown background”.<sup>117</sup> Although brown is not a common colour for a flag, in the case of the Scouts it was an apt choice as it signified their clandestine nature, their ability to blend in with their environment and being the colour of the soil it also emphasised their primary role as trackers.<sup>118</sup> The regimental badge was a stylised Osprey (a hawk) in flight.

The Selous Scouts never had a Regimental Colour in the traditional sense. Rather it was felt that something with more significance for its African members would be more appropriate and more in keeping with its unique identity. Reid-Daly suggested a traditional European pike, surmounted by the Osprey badge, below which were the horns of a bull bound in position by elephant hide. Traditionally, in African culture, the bull denotes strength while the elephant is widely respected as the most powerful beast in the bush. Between the horns was a round boss made of zebra skin to symbolise the multi-racial character of the regiment, below which hung a satin bannerette embroidered with the

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<sup>114</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 5(10), 1971, p. 2.

<sup>115</sup> R.F. Reid-Daly, *Selous Scouts Top Secret War*, 1982, p. 46.

<sup>116</sup> History of the Selous Scouts, [www.theselousscouts.com/history.php](http://www.theselousscouts.com/history.php). Accessed: 2021-02-10.

<sup>117</sup> Correspondence, R.F. Reid-Daly to R. Allport, 02 July 1993 as quoted in R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 117.

<sup>118</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 117.

Regimental motto. Wildebeest tails are traditionally used by traditional medicine men to ward off evil spirits, so two wildebeest tails hung from the points of the horns to safeguard the Regiment to form a unique “standard”.<sup>119</sup>

Following the signing of the Internal Settlement in March 1978 and the formation of the Government of National Unity, an auxiliary force of local Africans and on-side guerrillas who had taken advantage of the amnesty campaign was formed. Officially called the “Security Force Auxiliaries” they soon became known by their Shona name of *Pfumo reVanhu*, and occasionally in Ndebele as *Umkhonto wa Bantu*, which means “Spear of the People”.<sup>120</sup> The auxiliaries numbered approximately 16,000 at the time of the ceasefire and they were disbanded immediately after the independence of Zimbabwe.<sup>121</sup>

In contrast to the other members of the Security Forces, the auxiliaries were issued with dark brown uniforms. The flag of the unit was also dark brown with its emblem featuring a black and white spearhead in the centre of a shield with a white and black outline, with its name in black below. Two variants of the flag are known to exist, one having the badge within a black circle outline. On parades and at other official functions, a banner was on display which took the form of a fringed unit flag.

A further example of “symbolic decolonisation” was the adoption of a new Order of Precedence and the system of Honours and Awards as described in Chapter 4. As mentioned in Chapter 5, prior to 1970 all serving members of the Rhodesian forces were eligible for the award of British medals as the country was a Colony of the Crown. As with the stamps, banknotes and coins, the new medals featured only local images. Medals awarded for service to the country featured the Coat of Arms or Shield from the Arms, while the Lion and Tusk emblem was depicted on the Conspicuous Gallantry Decoration, the Police Cross for Conspicuous Gallantry and on the Medal for Territorial or Reserve Service. The effigy

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<sup>119</sup> R.F. Reid-Daly, *Selous Scouts Top Secret War*, 1982, p. 307; The Standard, [www.theselousscouts.com/standard.php](http://www.theselousscouts.com/standard.php). Accessed: 2021-02-10

<sup>120</sup> A. Binda, *The Rhodesia Regiment - From Boer War to Bush War 1899-1980*, 2012, p. 350; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 120.

<sup>121</sup> A History of the Security Force Auxiliaries or Militia, [www.rhodesianforces.org/SecurityForceAuxiliaries.htm](http://www.rhodesianforces.org/SecurityForceAuxiliaries.htm). Accessed: 2021-02-20.

of Cecil Rhodes appeared on the Meritorious Conduct and General Service Medals and on the obverse of the District Service and Prison Service Medals. The rendition of the Zimbabwe Bird as found on the Coat of Arms is depicted on the Officer and Member of the Legion of Merit Medals, the Prison Cross for Distinguished Service, the Prison Service Medal for Gallantry, the Prison Long Service Medal and on the Rhodesian Badge of Honour.

A further change resulting from the declaration of the republic concerned public holidays. Independence Day had already been declared the country's national holiday in September 1967, replacing the Queen's official birthday.<sup>122</sup> As such, the Government recommended that celebrations be encouraged to "instil a sense of pride in Rhodesia and its achievements into all members of the community".<sup>123</sup> A Cabinet memorandum on the subject of the first independence celebrations in 1966 indicated that a special effort should be made to gain the full co-operation and participation of the African population. In this regard, farmers and industrialists were asked to explain the significance of the occasion to their labourers and assist in their celebrations. It was suggested that farmers could provide extra rations and arrange dances or film shows ...while generally there should be military parades with plenty of band-playing and flag-waving. The whole objective should be "We are independent and we'll show the world".<sup>124</sup> Later Cabinet agreed that a special service be held at schools immediately prior to Independence Day to "instil a sense of national pride and respect for the flag".<sup>125</sup>

After the declaration of the republic and following consideration of a memorandum by the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Public Holidays and Prohibition of Business Act (Act No. 19 of 1969) was amended to provide for the second last Monday in October to be celebrated as Republic Day.<sup>126</sup> The rationale for the choice having a public holiday in October, rather than to celebrate on the actual anniversary of the declaration, i.e. 02 March, was that this

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<sup>122</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (67) 159, 05 August 1967; *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 22 September 1967.

<sup>123</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (66), 197, 01 July 1966.

<sup>124</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (66), 197, 01 July 1966.

<sup>125</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (71) 55, 02 April 1971.

<sup>126</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, CL (S) (70) 08, 23 April 1970.

would provide for the mid-term school holiday as this had not previously been covered by a public holiday.<sup>127</sup> Consideration was later given to a request from the Confederation of Rhodesian Employers to combine Independence Day and Republic Day into a “long weekend”, along the lines of the Rhodes and Founders’ Weekend, on the Monday and Tuesday nearest to 11 November each year. This was to avoid the disruption caused by a mid-week public holiday. However, Cabinet accepted the recommendation of the Minister of Internal Affairs that celebrating Independence Day was important to generate “national pride” and that each event should be celebrated individually.<sup>128</sup> Independence Day thus continued to be celebrated as the primary “non-religious” national holiday in the country with Pioneer Day being used for the annual raising of the Union Jack to mark the formal arrival of Europeans in the country as outlined in the previous Chapter.

Given the advantage of the country’s climate which permits sporting activities to take place throughout the year, it is not surprising that sport was a major feature in life in what Godwin and Hancock describe as an “obviously outdoor society,” with Rhodesians playing, and excelling, in many organised sports.<sup>129</sup> The Sports Trust of Rhodesia Act was promulgated on 09 November 1973. The purpose of the Act was the establishment of a Trust for the collecting and administering of funds for the purpose of assisting sporting bodies in connection with the financing of tours outside the country and visits of sportsmen and women to the country and delegates attending international sports conferences. It would also be used to counteract the attempts to isolate Rhodesian sportsmen and women from international competition.<sup>130</sup>

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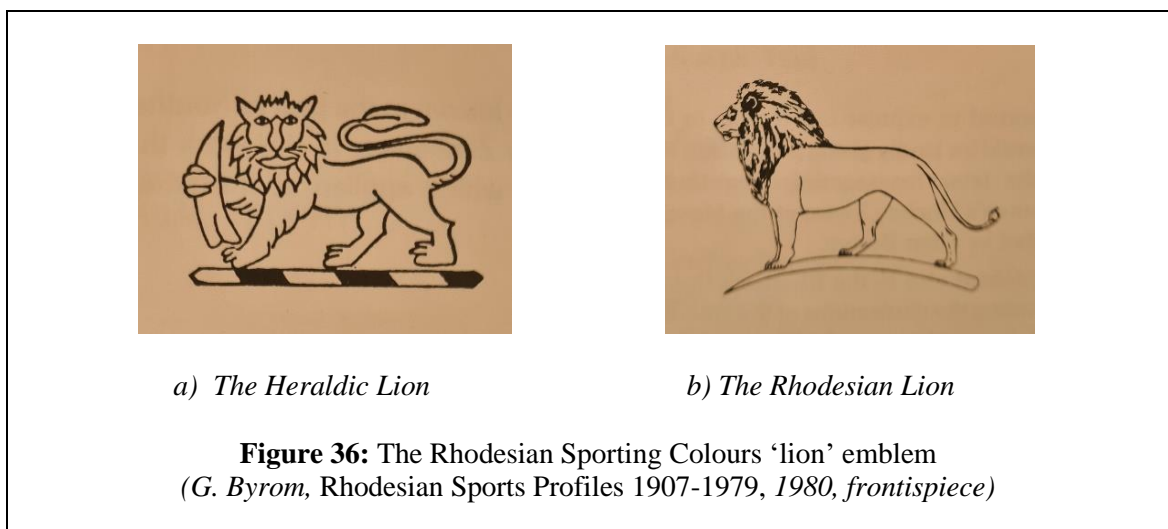
<sup>127</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 3(19), 1969; *Rhodesia Calls*, 76, 1972, p. 48; CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (76) 114, 09 September 1976.

<sup>128</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (76) 86, 02 July 1976; Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (76) 114, 09 September 1976.

<sup>129</sup> P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 38.

<sup>130</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, RC (S) (77) 48, 21 April 1977. For an analysis of Rhodesia’s international sporting relations during the UDI period see, for example, C. Little, “Preventing ‘A Wonderful Break-Through for Rhodesia’”, *Olympique: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*, XIV, 2005, pp. 47–68; M. Smith, “Examining ‘The Rhodesian Affair’: The IOC and African Politics in the 1970s”, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23(8), 2006, pp. 113–122; A. Novak, “Rhodesia’s ‘rebel and racist’ Olympic Team: Athletic Glory, National Legitimacy and the Clash of Politics and Sport”, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23(8), 2006, pp. 1369–1388; C. Little, ‘The Paralympic Protest Paradox: The Politics of Rhodesian Participation in the Paralympic Games, 1960-1980’, *Proceedings: Ninth International Symposium for Olympic Research* (Beijing, Peoples’ Republic of China), 2008, pp. 123–131; C. Little, ‘Rebellion, Race and Rhodesia: International Cricketing Relations with Rhodesia during UDI’, *Sport in Society*, 12(4–5), 2009, pp. 523–536; C. Little, ‘The Sports Boycott

The Rhodesian Colours Control Board was established in 1974. The Council comprised the Presidents of the affiliated governing bodies of sport. An affiliated body could recommend the award of Colours in respect of performance or service in a given sport. If granted, the recipient could then wear the Rhodesian Colours of dark green and white - a green blazer, with silver buttons embossed with the Rhodesian lion, which is also embroidered on the left breast pocket with the name of the sport below and “RHODESIA” above, in white capital letters.<sup>131</sup> The Rhodesian sporting emblem, which came into use on 14 December 1973,<sup>132</sup> was formally described in the Act as “On an Elephant Tusk, couped, point dexter, a Lion statant, all proper”<sup>133</sup> and replaced the BSAC Lion and Tusk which had first been adopted as the Rhodesia Colours Emblem on 21 June 1929.<sup>134</sup> This rendition of the so-called “Rhodesian lion” differs from the heraldic (British) lion which features in the Lion and Tusk emblem inherited from the BSAC and is another example of a symbolic change to reflect local characteristics as shown in Figure 36.



against Rhodesia Reconsidered’, *Sport in Society*, 14(2), 2011, pp. 193–207; A. Novak, ‘Averting an African Boycott: British Prime Minister Edward Heath and Rhodesian Participation in the Munich Olympics’, *Britain and the World*, 6(1), 2013, pp. 27–47.

<sup>131</sup> J. de Lisle Thompson, *The Story of Rhodesian Sport Volume One 1889-1935*, 1976, pp. 9-10.

<sup>132</sup> G. Byrom, *Rhodesian Sports Profiles 1907-1979*, 1980, frontispiece.

<sup>133</sup> CL, Cabinet Papers, CL (S) (73) 61, 06 August 1973.

<sup>134</sup> G. Byrom, *Rhodesian Sports Profiles 1907-1979*, 1980, frontispiece.

The national sports emblem was featured on the flags of the affiliated sporting bodies. The basic design of these flags was similar – each having the sports emblem in the centre of a dark green background with the relevant sporting body abbreviation below. There are also examples of sports bodies having individual flags such as that of the Rhodesia Rowing Association, which depicted a Zimbabwe Bird superimposed on two paddles in saltire on a green background. In addition, local sports clubs and associations also had their own individual emblems and logos.

The practice whereby the (white) administrative areas designed local symbols which had begun during the pre-UDI era continued. The growth in the urban areas resulted in the proclamation of a number of small and mid-sized towns, which then developed civic coats of arms. Generally speaking, these followed traditional British heraldic principles with the incorporation of local symbols, and were initially registered in terms of the Names, Uniforms and Badges Act of 1951. This was updated to include personal Arms as the Armorial Bearings, Names, Uniforms and Badges Act in 1971 and finally the Heraldry Act was promulgated in 1977, which established a Registry of Arms under the control of a Registrar.<sup>135</sup> The civic Coats of Arms registered in terms of this Act were designed locally and incorporated attributes or features specific to the town or area as highlighted in the examples below.

Chiredzi was the youngest town to be established in Rhodesia. It was developed as the commercial and administrative centre in the Lowveld, in the south-east of the country, following the development of a number of irrigation schemes.<sup>136</sup> A local board was established in August 1965 and on 01 July 1967 a Rural Council came into being. Its Coat of Arms features the blue cross of St. Andrew in the shield which is a reference to Thomas Murray McDougall, the Scotsman who began the first successful irrigation farm in the area which ultimately led to the creation of the Sabi-Limpopo Authority responsible for the development of the irrigation estates in the Lowveld. The charges on the shield are a baobab tree which is common in the area, a sugar cane plant, ears of wheat and a citrus tree which

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<sup>135</sup> The Council of the Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Zimbabwe, *An Armorial of Zimbabwe and Rhodesia*.

<sup>136</sup> R. Cherer Smith, *Avondale to Zimbabwe - A Collection of Cameos of Rhodesian Towns and Villages*, n.d., p. 49.



are now major irrigated crops grown in the area. Blue is symbolic of irrigation, which underpins the economy, and the gold represents mining. The motto translates from the Latin as “Work Conquers All”.<sup>137</sup>

On 04 August 1977 Kariba officially became a town, some 21 years after plans had been formulated to dam the Zambezi River. In March 1955, the decision was taken to dam the river at the Kariba Gorge to provide hydro-electric power for the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia and the emerging manufacturing industries in Southern Rhodesia. The concrete arch dam resulted in the formation of a lake 280 some kilometres in length which was at the time of its construction, the largest man-made lake in the world with an initial installed capacity of 700 megawatts. The town was built to house the construction workers and is now a major tourist centre.

The blazon of the Arms adopted for the town reflects its origins. The crest shows the Kariba dam wall and the water flowing from it which is symbolic of the importance of the dam for the town, while the elephant is symbolic of the local wildlife. The two wavy lines on the shield represent the Zambezi River and the central charge is a representation of the Nyaminyami, the snake-like ‘god’ which the traditional Tonga people in the area prayed to or through.<sup>138</sup>

The process of symbolic decolonisation finally ended with the adoption of a new national anthem in 1975. While it has been argued that the somewhat torturous search for a replacement for *God Save the Queen*, as outlined in Chapter 4, is evidence of a lack of sincerity in white Rhodesian nationalism,<sup>139</sup> the same cannot be said of *Rhodesians Never Die* which became an instant hit and assumed the status of an unofficial anthem when it was

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<sup>137</sup> *Armorial Bearings of Chiredzi Rural Council*, n.d., information leaflet.

<sup>138</sup> A more recent interpretation is that the Nyaminyami is not a god but a Tonga spirit medium through which the Tongas would pray. Thus the Nyaminyami is an intercessor and not a god (*The Sunday Mail* (Harare), 18 January 2015), [www.sundaymail.co.zw/the-walking-stick-of-the-river-god/](http://www.sundaymail.co.zw/the-walking-stick-of-the-river-god/). Accessed: 2021-03-02; Nyaminyami is commonly described as having the head of a snake and a fish’s tail, although according to Tonga folklore this is a misconception as no one has ever seen the Nyaminyami (*The Herald* (Harare), 15 August 2012), [www.herald.co.zw/nyaminyami-debasing-a-peoples-god/](http://www.herald.co.zw/nyaminyami-debasing-a-peoples-god/). Accessed: 2021-03-02.

<sup>139</sup> See, for example, L. White, *Unpopular Sovereignty: Rhodesia and African Decolonisation*, 2015.

released in 1973.<sup>140</sup> Initially penned by Clem Tholet and Andy Dillon in 1965 to fulfil Rhodesia's need for a "semi-patriotic song", it became a rallying cry expressing the defiance with which many white Rhodesians had responded to the global condemnation of UDI and the external threats facing the country.<sup>141</sup> Although Musvoto contends that it seeks to give a spiritual dimension to Rhodesian nationalism, he makes the point that it articulates a nationalism based on paranoia and insecurity by its insistence on the use of violence against those considered enemies.<sup>142</sup> The song is an "archetypal colonialist composition"<sup>143</sup> that highlights the stubborn spirit of UDI, the determination to continue fighting and the perpetuation of the way of life as experienced by white Rhodesians:

Here's story of Rhodesia, a land both fair and great  
On the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, an independent state.  
This was much against the wishes  
Of certain governments  
Whose leaders tried to break us down  
And make us all repent.

*Chorus*

Cause we're all Rhodesians  
And we'll fight through thick and thin,  
We'll keep our land a free land,  
Stop the enemy coming in,  
We'll keep them north of the Zambesi  
'Till that river's running dry,  
And this mighty land will prosper  
For Rhodesians never die.

They can send their men to murder  
And shout their words of hate,  
But the cost of keeping this land free  
Can never be too great,  
For our men and boys are fighting  
For the things that they hold dear,  
And this land and all its people will never disappear.

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<sup>140</sup> P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 14.

<sup>141</sup> D. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, p. 190.

<sup>142</sup> A.R. Musvoto, 'Filling the Void in Our National Life: The Search for a Song That Captures the Spirit of Rhodesian Nationalism and National Identity', *Muziki*, 6(2), 2009, p. 157.

<sup>143</sup> A.R. Musvoto, 'Filling the Void in Our National Life: The Search for a Song That Captures the Spirit of Rhodesian Nationalism and National Identity', *Muziki*, 6(2), 2009, p. 156.

*Chorus*

We'll preserve this little nation  
For our children's children too,  
Once you're a Rhodesian, no other land will do.  
We will stand tall in the sunshine  
With the truth upon our side,  
And if we have to go alone,  
We'll go alone with pride.

*Chorus x2.*<sup>144</sup>

Also filling the gap in the absence of an anthem was *Rhodesia We'll Ever Cherish Thee* which was considered by many to be “Rhodesia’s national song”. It was written by Jack Watson in 1963 under the title *We Who Follow* for a musical about “Countess Billie”, the first female pioneer in 1890. Married to Edmond, Vicomte de la Panouse, a wealthy Parisian socialite, Fanny Pearson adopted the name “Billie” and disguised herself as a man for the dangerous trip.<sup>145</sup> The song won first place in a national competition in 1966 and was used as an unofficial anthem, being sung in many of the country’s schools:<sup>146</sup>

Once a column came a-marching  
In the long, long, long, ago  
And they came to found a country  
That the world would come to know.

It was built on toil and courage  
Out of what was wilderness,  
So they gave us this our country  
To preserve and ever bless.

The early fathers of our land  
Have left their trust in us,  
On guard for all they won we stand  
And those who follow must.

Rhodesia, our Homeland  
We stand on guard for thee,  
Rhodesia our Homeland  
We'll ever cherish thee.

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<sup>144</sup> J. Frederikse, *None But Ourselves: Masses vs. the Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*, 1982, p. 51.

<sup>145</sup> See R. Cary, *Countess Billie - The Intriguing Story of Fanny Pearson and Edmond, Vicomte de La Panouse*, 1973 for a biography of Fanny Pearson.

<sup>146</sup> R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 183.

*Repeat.*<sup>147</sup>

The song pays homage to the Pioneers, their virtues and achievements, and to their legacy which needs to be cherished and guarded, all of which were considered central to white Rhodesian identity.

The notion of Rhodesia constantly at war became a constant theme in the folk songs, poetry and literature of late 1970s as the “Bush War”, in Rhodesian parlance,<sup>148</sup> became ever more prevalent. The abovementioned John Edmond, a prolific singer-songwriter, released a number of albums devoted to “Troopie Songs”. Together these songs chronicle Rhodesia’s military combat from “The Shangani Patrol”, involvement in both World Wars and finally a number dedicated to the various arms of the Security Forces fighting in the “Bush War”. In addition to revealing the militarisation of white society and how this affected morale, Kenrick contends that Edmond’s songs;

... were a popular cultural expression of the military’s vision of the nation. This was a nation where fighting was a cross-generational bond and masculine rite of passage for ‘Rhodesian’ men; a nation where black and white fought side by side against an external communist aggressor; a nation where women waited eagerly behind the lines to support the nation’s (male) warriors. Like the military, this vision of the nation was strictly hierarchical. Everyone in it – white men, black men, and white women – had a place and function, and they knew it and performed it without complaint.<sup>149</sup>

Edmond also released the *Green and White* in 1976 with a chorus evoking the emotional attachment to the flag:

*Chorus*  
 Green and White you’re flying  
 In the blue Rhodesian sky  
 Green and White  
 You know that we all love you ‘till we die.<sup>150</sup>

Patriotism and loyalty towards the Rhodesian cause as embodied in the flag is further highlighted in *Rhodesians of the World*:

<sup>147</sup> L. Bolze and K. Ravn, *More Life With UDI: Completing the Cartoon History of the First year of Rhodesia's Independence*, 1966, p. 134; R. Allport, *Flags, Arms & Symbols of Rhodesia 1890-1980*, 2019, p. 183.

<sup>148</sup> See Footnote 86 earlier in this chapter.

<sup>149</sup> D. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, p. 197.

<sup>150</sup> J. Edmond, *The Story of Troopiesongs and the Rhodesian Bush War*, 1982, p. 85.

*Chorus*

We stood against the World  
 For what we believed was right  
 A symbol of truth  
 Our beloved Green and White.<sup>151</sup>

In *The Last Word in Rhodesian* he links the settler heritage of Cecil John Rhodes to that of Ian Smith, then Prime Minister and national hero as discussed in the next chapter, through the word “Rhodesian”:

*Chorus*

And the first word in Rhodesian is Rhodes  
 That’s a name that everyone knows  
 It may be as Rhodesian as the flag of white and green  
 But the last word in Rhodesia is Ian.<sup>152</sup>

The “perpetual conflict” that defined the nation is the focus of the *U.D.I. Song*, released on the first anniversary of UDI, which is described as a hymn to settler colonialism and European military might:<sup>153</sup>

*Chorus*

And you can call us rebels and you can call us rogues  
 We were founded by an Englishman by the name of Cecil Rhodes  
 We fought for this dear land of ours and many men did die  
 And we may have to fight again for this is UDI.<sup>154</sup>

This association and identification with conflict can also be found in post-UDI Rhodesian literature and poetry. The analysis by Luise White, Chennells and Moyana reveals a discourse saturated in the practices of conflict, which also forms the basis of the themes by authors such as Anthony Trew, Peter Stiff and Alexandra Fuller.<sup>155</sup> M.E. Hagemann’s

<sup>151</sup> J. Edmond, *Rhodesians of the World*, RAM, <https://storecdbaby.com/cd/johnedmond3>. Accessed: 13 May 2017.

<sup>152</sup> J. Edmond, *The Story of Troopiesongs and the Rhodesian Bush War*, 1982, p. 105.

<sup>153</sup> D. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, p. 193.

<sup>154</sup> J. Edmond, *The Story of Troopiesongs and the Rhodesian Bush War*, 1982, p. 17.

<sup>155</sup> See, for example, A. Chennells, ‘Essay Review – The Treatment of the Rhodesian War in recent Rhodesian Novels’, *Zambezia*, 5(ii), 1977, pp. 177-202; A. Chennells, ‘Rhodesian Discourse, Rhodesian Novels and the Zimbabwe Liberation War’ in N. Bhebe and T. Ranger (eds.), *Society in Zimbabwe’s Liberation War*, 1996, pp. 102-129; R. Moyana, ‘An Historical Study of a selection of the White Rhodesian Novel in English, 1890 to 1994: Content and Character’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1999, pp. 307-390; L. White, “‘Heading for the Gun’: Skills and Sophistication in an African Guerrilla War”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 52(2), 2009, pp. 236-259; L. White, *Unpopular Sovereignty: Rhodesian Independence and African Decolonization*, 2015; P. Stiff, *The Rain Goddess*, 1973; A. Trew, *Towards the Tamarind Trees*, 1970; A. Fuller, *Don’t Let’s Go to the*

recent thesis on the poetry of Chas Lotter explores in detail the impact of the war in the writings of whom he describes as a complex, non-conformist, conscripted Rhodesian soldier. Unlike Tholet and Edmond, much of Lotter's work is critical of Rhodesia and undermines the myths that Rhodesians held dear.<sup>156</sup> In an analysis of John Eppel's *Spoils of War*, Musvoto highlights his questioning of the ideas of nationhood and identity. For example, in *Rhodesian Lullaby*, Eppel deconstructs and satirises the ideas of nationhood and identity that underpins the visions that are embraced and fostered in the songs by Tholet and Edmond.<sup>157</sup> The concept of "Rhodesianism" evoked by the excessive violence caused by fighting in the "Bush War" is also questioned, with Eppel's persona in the poem distancing himself from his Rhodesian identity:

Next morning our section finds their shelter,  
 fifteen metres from where we lay. The sight  
 of corpses, and their smell, like an abattoir,  
 forces warm pilchard into my throat. 'Look  
 at that,' says Sarge, 'a Tolarev pistol  
 still in its grease.' He pockets it. They take  
 a portable radio, a fistful  
 of rounds, an empty AK magazine,  
 five teeth, a penis, a number of ears,  
 and a picture of someone in a green  
 uniform. Sarge tells me to save my tears  
 for the civilians these gooks have slaughtered.  
 But I am not thinking of them, and I  
 cannot explain that I am being purged  
 of my Rhodesianism. That ugly  
 word with its jagged edge is opening  
 me. Through a haze of baked beans in chili  
 sauce I move to the past tense.<sup>158</sup>

The intensification of the "Bush War" towards the end of the 1970s and the changes that it wrought upon white Rhodesian society were reflected in its cultural output with some atrocities being set to music and used as propaganda by the government. These "war songs"

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*Dogs Tonight: An African Childhood*, 2004; W.S. Pullin, *Tales and Poems of the Rhodesian Bush War (circa 1967-1979)*, 2014.

<sup>156</sup> M.E. Hagemann, 'Shadows, Faces and Echoes of an African War: The Rhodesian Bush War through the Eyes of Chas Lotter - Soldier Poet', D. Phil. thesis, 2016, University of the Western Cape; p. 317.

<sup>157</sup> A.R. Musvoto, 'Filling the Void in Our National Life: The Search for a Song That Captures the Spirit of Rhodesian Nationalism and National Identity', *Muziki*, 6(2), 2009, pp. 158-161.

<sup>158</sup> J. Eppel, *Spoils of War*, 1989, pp. 43-44.

included *Another Hitler* by Clem Tholet, where footage of the massacre of nine British missionaries and four children at the Elim Pentecostal Mission in the Eastern Highlands, was included in a movie accompanying the song by the Ministry of Information.<sup>159</sup> The bullish defiance of the morale-boosting *Rhodesians Never Die* is now replaced by a weary bitterness of the isolated and beleaguered white Rhodesia.<sup>160</sup>

The more (in)famous example is that of the “Green Leader” raid into Zambia following the shooting down of an Air Rhodesia Viscount, on a commercial flight between Kariba and Salisbury, by ZIPRA guerrillas on 03 September 1978 using a surface-to-air missile. Thirty-eight of the passengers and crew died in the crash and a further ten were killed at the crash site by the guerrillas.<sup>161</sup> The attack prompted a vicious outcry from white Rhodesians demanding vengeance. On 19 October 1978 a combined army and air force attack saw the Rhodesian military strike Westlands Farm, some 20km north of the Zambian capital, Lusaka. The farm, under the name “Freedom Camp”, acted as ZIPRA’s headquarters and main training camp. During the attack,<sup>162</sup> which resulted in the deaths of 1,500 ZIPRA personnel and a further 1,300 wounded, the RhAF took control of Zambian airspace and the Squadron Leader in command read a prepared statement to the Lusaka control tower using the pseudonym “Green Leader”.<sup>163</sup> A sanitised version of the announcement was subsequently broadcast in Rhodesia and incorporated into a song called *Green Leader* by John Edmond which became an instant hit amongst the white community.<sup>164</sup> The attack was regarded as a triumph by white Rhodesians and, similar to the Shangani Patrol, quickly became celebrated as an example of Rhodesian ingenuity, daring and military prowess.

Kenrick concludes that Rhodesia’s militarised folk songs suggests that it was easier to look backwards rather than forward and that “Rhodesia” had become intimately associated with

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<sup>159</sup> J. Frederikse, *None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*, 1982, pp. 133-134.

<sup>160</sup> D. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, p. 201.

<sup>161</sup> K. Flower, *Serving Secretly: Rhodesia’s CIO Chief on Record*, 1987, p. 210.

<sup>162</sup> For a detailed analysis of Operation Gatling see I. Pringle, *Green Leader. Operation Gatling: The Rhodesian Military’s Response to the Viscount Tragedy*, 2015.

<sup>163</sup> P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 233. See P. Moorcraft and P. McLaughlin, *The Rhodesian War: A Military History*, 2008, pp. 135-144 for details of the attack and the transcript of the cockpit exchanges between the Rhodesians and the Lusaka airport control tower.

<sup>164</sup> J. Frederikse, *None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*, 1982, p. 169.

struggle and conflict. This, he claimed, demonstrated the underlying frailty of white Rhodesian society in a post-colonial world.<sup>165</sup>

## 6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown how Rhodesian symbols reflect the changes in its national identity after the demise of the Federation, and more particularly, after the declaration of UDI. Up until UDI Rhodesians were content to consider themselves part of the wider British Empire - rallying to its cause, flying the Union Jack, singing *God Save the Queen*, and adopting the traditions and trappings associated with the Monarchy. As has been argued by Lowry and others, Southern Rhodesia regarded itself as very much a British country before UDI and was reflected in all its symbols as outlined in Chapter 5.<sup>166</sup>

However, UDI resulted in a significant break with this past and resulted in Rhodesia undergoing what Kenrick calls a deeply individualistic process of identity formation and the profoundly homogenising imperative of nation-building.<sup>167</sup> The visible manifestation of this process can be seen in the changes to the country's national symbols, and in particular the national flag, the concerted effort to reflect local images on stamps, medals and with the adoption of a suite of new badges for the armed forces which saw the removal of the once revered Crown. It was also apparent in the urban landscape as towns developed a local identity. This emerging identity also featured prominently in the literature and songs of the period, becoming increasingly militaristic with the escalation of the war in the late 1970s which was a reflection of Rhodesians' view of themselves in an increasingly hostile environment.

Rhodesia's national identity, however that came to be defined, is analysed in more detail in the next Chapter.

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<sup>165</sup> D. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, p. 204.

<sup>166</sup> D. Lowry, 'Rhodesia 1890-1980 "The Lost Dominion"', in R. Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, 2010, p. 117; G. Bishi, *Kith and Kin? Rhodesia's White Settlers and Britain, 1939-1980*, Ph.D. thesis, University of the Free State, 2018, p. 176.

<sup>167</sup> D. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, p. 244.



## CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS - “WE’RE ALL RHODESIANS NOW”

*To be a white Rhodesian meant that one was automatically a member of the small economic, social and political elite.<sup>1</sup>*

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

Whatever its basis, most Rhodesians believed in the existence of a Rhodesian identity.<sup>2</sup> It has been argued in this thesis that the formation of this identity can be explained in terms of the confluence of two distinct traditions - British and southern African. Initially the expression of identity was distinctly British as evidenced through identification and loyalty to the Crown and Union Jack. As has been highlighted, Rhodesians were often described during this period as being “... more British than the British”.<sup>3</sup> It was, however, following the formal political break with Britain with the declaration of UDI, and later the severance of ties with the Crown following the declaration of the republic, that a more self-centred “Rhodesian-ness” rooted in southern Africa appeared that came to be expressed through the adoption of a more distinctive suite of local and national symbols.

This chapter will reflect on how national symbols came to be used in the creation and management of this more distinctive Rhodesian identity. Specific attention is given to the post-UDI era and the contemporary use of the symbols adopted during this period after the independence of Zimbabwe, particularly the positioning of the flag adopted after UDI.

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<sup>1</sup> A. King, ‘Identity and Decolonisation: The Policy of Partnership in Southern Rhodesia 1945-62’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2001, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> I.D. Smith, *The Great Betrayal*, 1997, p. 1. See also J. Bonello, ‘The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890–1914’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43(2), 2010, pp. 341-367; D. Lowry, ‘Rhodesia 1890-1980 “The Lost Dominion”’, in R. Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, 2010, pp. 128–140; J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, pp. 4-26.

## 7.2 SYMBOLIC REFLECTIONS OF THE RHODESIAN IDENTITY

Rhodesians prided themselves as being independent of spirit<sup>4</sup> with values emphasising unity, faith in the country, loyalty, freedom, independence and personal service as opposed to the modern emphasis on materialism.<sup>5</sup> A traditional conservatism emerged with a dislike for the “herd instinct” which prevented individuals making up their own minds.<sup>6</sup> This view of the strength of individual character, argues Francis, clashed with what the settlers saw as “African servility” and “tribal conformity” thereby reinforcing European prejudices towards Africans. A central tenet of Rhodesian identity was thus essentially a white masculine community that was bringing “civilisation” to the African wilderness.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, as was highlighted in Chapter 3, part of Rhodes’s imperial mission was to bring “civilisation” to Africa as encapsulated in his doctrine of “equal rights for every *civilised* man south of the Zambezi ...”<sup>8</sup> [my emphasis]. In his examination of white identity in modern Zimbabwe, David McDermott Hughes argues that it was this drive to develop, order and improve the African landscape that formed the basis of the settler’s identity.<sup>9</sup> This view is shared by O. Sicilia who contends that the:

White Rhodesian self-image which evolved in the [nineteen] twenties was based on the idea that they were civilisers of the wilderness, taming its violence. They saw themselves as peace-bringers and profoundly moral beings in contrast to the less than human blacks that embodied brute nature.<sup>10</sup>

The symbolic expression of landscape is found in the flora and fauna depicted on the country’s symbols. For example, the supporters on all the various national Coats of Arms

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<sup>4</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 302.

<sup>5</sup> G.C. Kinloch, *Flame or Lily? Rhodesian Values as Defined by the Press*, 1970, p. 96.

<sup>6</sup> P. Niesewand, *In Camera: Secret Justice in Rhodesia*, 1973, p. 11; G.C. Kinloch, *Flame or Lily? Rhodesian Values as Defined by the Press*, 1970, p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, pp. 300, 302.

<sup>8</sup> G. Le Sueur, *Cecil Rhodes - The Man and His Work*, 1913, p. 60; R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*, 1988, pp. 611-612. Rhodes defined a civilised man as being “A man, whether white or black, who has sufficient education to write his name – has some property or works. In fact, is not a loafer” (G. Le Sueur, *Cecil Rhodes - The Man and His Work*, 1913, pp. 76-77).

<sup>9</sup> D. McDermott Hughes, *Whitness in Zimbabwe: Race, Landscape, and the Problem of Belonging*, 2010, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> O. Sicilia, ‘There Is No Such Thing as a Spirit in the Stone! - Misrepresentations of Zimbabwean Stone Culture: an anthropological approach’, M.A. dissertation, 1998, University of Vienna, p. 19.

are representative of the country's wildlife (Springbok, Sable Antelope and Leopard), while the national animal, the Sable Antelope, also features on a number of stamps, coins and banknotes. Similarly, the national flower, the Flame Lily, was a popular national symbol also depicted on various coins, banknotes and stamps. At least one wildlife image is featured in every definitive stamp issue since 1952, with the exception of the two definitives issued during the Federation. Flora and fauna, encompassing birds, endangered species, trees and aloes, were also the subject of six Rhodesian commemorative stamp issues between 1965 and 1975. As a distinctive theme, only the Famous Rhodesians series features in more issues but as an individual stamp for each issue, this totals only nine stamps in all. However, the Victoria Falls is by far the most popular image featuring on 25 stamps since 1901 and on 11 different bank notes, the latter covering an uninterrupted period of 41 years. A stylised representation of the Victoria Falls is also found in the shield of the Federal Coat of Arms.

It is through this reflection of the natural features of the landscape that the land, its acquisition and use in the creation of a "white" space, became a central feature in the quest for a Rhodesian identity. Despite the majority of the white population living in urban areas, much of the Rhodesian colonial and post-colonial literature focuses on the outdoors, such as C.E. Dibb's memoirs<sup>11</sup> which are described as series of sketches of animals, plants, the landscape and episodes from a timeless wilderness.<sup>12</sup> The memories of a tobacco farmer's wife are fondly remembered in Maureen de la Harpe's *Msasa Morning*<sup>13</sup> while Alexandra Fuller's *Don't Let's go to the Dogs Tonight*<sup>14</sup> raises a spiritual connection with the African landscape despite her having a somewhat dysfunctional childhood, in which the white space is increasingly punctured by the effects of the guerrilla war in the late 1970s. What these show is essentially a "white" landscape in which Africans only feature peripherally such that by the time of UDI, Rhodesians had formed a strong attachment to the land and to being

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<sup>11</sup> C.E. Dibb, *Ivory, Apes and Peacocks*, 1981; C.E. Dibb, *The Conundrum*, 1989.

<sup>12</sup> R. Primorac, 'Rhodesians Never Die? The Zimbabwean Crisis and the Revival of Rhodesian Discourse', in J. McGregor and R. Primorac (eds.), *Zimbabwe's New Diaspora - Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival*, 2019, p. 210.

<sup>13</sup> M. de la Harpe, *Msasa Morning*, 1992.

<sup>14</sup> A. Fuller, *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight: An African Childhood*, 2004.

at home within the African landscape,<sup>15</sup> which is then proudly acknowledged in the last verse of the newly adopted national anthem.

While the basis of Rhodesian cultural attributes was essentially British, these symbolic reflections are of the African landscape in which the country is located. The adoption and use of the Zimbabwe Bird as a national symbol – and later formally acknowledged as the country’s “national emblem”<sup>16</sup> - in what Kenrick calls was a classic case of settler appropriation of indigenous symbolism<sup>17</sup> - is another example of white Rhodesians’ identification with their local surroundings.<sup>18</sup>

The Zimbabwe Bird, as first depicted on the Coat of Arms adopted in 1924, is a representation of the eight soapstone birds found at Great Zimbabwe. The birds are believed to represent birds of prey although it is difficult to identify the specific species because the carvings incorporate human as well as avian elements.<sup>19</sup> In traditional Shona culture, birds are seen as messengers and eagles, being the largest and most important birds, are said to bring messages from the ancestors and God, thus mediating between the deity and humans. E. Matenga favours the view that the birds represent the Bateleur Eagle (*Terathopius*

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<sup>15</sup> J. Francis, ‘The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI’, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 93; R. Primorac, ‘Rhodesians Never Die? The Zimbabwean Crisis and the Revival of Rhodesian Discourse’, in J. McGregor and R. Primorac (eds.), *Zimbabwe’s New Diaspora - Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival*, 2019, p. 210.

<sup>16</sup> The Cabinet formally approved for the Zimbabwe Bird to be the country’s national emblem in March 1970 (CL, RC (S) 70 60, 23 March 1970).

<sup>17</sup> D.W. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, p. 98.

<sup>18</sup> During the colonial period, the origin of Great Zimbabwe was the subject of controversy and debate with the officially sponsored viewpoint being that Great Zimbabwe was the result of a pre-Bantu Caucasian (i.e. non-African) occupation of the area. The “Zimbabwe controversy” is dealt with in detail by R.G. Summers, *Zimbabwe: A Rhodesian Mystery*, 1963; D. Chanaiwa, *The Zimbabwe Controversy: A Case of Colonial Historiography*, 1973; P.S. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe*, 1973; P.S. Garlake, ‘Prehistory and Ideology in Zimbabwe’, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 52(3), 1982, pp. 1–19; H. Kuklick, ‘Contested Monuments: The Politics of Archaeology in Southern Africa’, in G.W. Stocking, Jr. (ed.), *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*, 1991, pp. 135–169. Attempts during the 1970s by, *inter alia*, Garlake and Summers to offer an alternative, pro-African, view based on scientific evidence was rejected and both subsequently left the country. Paul Sinclair, former Curator of Archaeology at Great Zimbabwe, quoted in Frederikse, says he was threatened with losing his job if he said blacks had built Great Zimbabwe (J. Frederikse, *Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*, 1982, pp. 10-11). Garlake later returned to Zimbabwe after independence.

<sup>19</sup> T.N. Huffman, *Snakes and Crocodiles: Power and Symbolism in Ancient Zimbabwe*, 1996, p. 68.

*ecaudatus*), a universally acclaimed portentous bird having spiritual significance amongst all the Shona-speaking people.<sup>20</sup>

It was Cecil John Rhodes who first adopted the Zimbabwe Bird as a visual representation of the territory<sup>21</sup> that was to bear his name, using it to establish a link with the pre-European history and previous rulers within the country. He became obsessed with the birds and went to the extent of having the symbol incorporated into the furnishings of his residence at Groote Schuur during its renovations. Rhodes is the only person to have personally owned a Zimbabwe Bird, having purchased one from the hunter and explorer, Willie Posselt, who removed it from its pedestal at Great Zimbabwe and then took it to South Africa.<sup>22</sup> Rhodes is rumoured to have regarded it as a personal totem and made major decisions in its presence.<sup>23</sup> More importantly, he used the Bird to great effect to convince sceptical investors that there was more to the northern territory than met the eye, and his fascination is further highlighted by their prominent incorporation in the design of Rhodes House in Oxford.<sup>24</sup>

The rendition of the Bird used on the Coat of Arms adopted by Southern Rhodesia, shown in Figure 11, is based on the specimen known as “Bird 1” which was found and removed from the ruins by Richard Hall, the Curator of the site in 1903, but with the addition of an aquiline beak and a pair of legs that come from the front of the body rather than underneath it.<sup>25</sup> It is the only specimen that was not found on the Hill Complex at Great Zimbabwe and

<sup>20</sup> E. Matenga, *The Soapstone Birds of Great Zimbabwe: Symbols of a Nation*, 1998, pp. 72-74; E. Matenga, ‘The Soapstone Birds of Great Zimbabwe - Archaeological Heritage, Religion and Politics in Postcolonial Zimbabwe and the Return of Cultural Property’, *Studies in Global Archaeology*, 16, 2011, pp. 132-137.

<sup>21</sup> J. Francis, *The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonisation to UDI*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 94.

<sup>22</sup> J. Walton, ‘The Soapstone Birds of Zimbabwe’, *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 10(39), 1955, p. 78; P. Hubbard, ‘The Zimbabwe Birds: Interpretation and Symbolism’, *Honeyguide*, 55(2), 2009, p. 110; E. Matenga, ‘The Soapstone Birds of Great Zimbabwe - Archaeological Heritage, Religion and Politics in Postcolonial Zimbabwe and the Return of Cultural Property’, *Studies in Global Archaeology*, 16, 2011, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> R. Brown-Lowe, *The Lost City of Solomon and Sheba: an African mystery*, 2003, as quoted in P Hubbard, ‘The Zimbabwe Birds: Interpretation and Symbolism’, *Honeyguide*, 55(2), 2009, p. 110.

<sup>24</sup> W.J. Dewey, ‘Repatriation of a Great Zimbabwe Bird’, *Proceedings of the Society of Africanist Archaeologists 18th Biennial Conference*, 2006, pp. 12–15; D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress: White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 72.

<sup>25</sup> J.G. Storry, ‘Heraldry in Africa: II. Two Monsters’, *The Coat of Arms*, 1(92), 1974-75, p. 111.

is the one carving that did not leave the country.<sup>26</sup> According to Matenga, this specimen is rated as being of refined workmanship and a reflection of more creativity compared to the other specimens.<sup>27</sup>

The Southern Rhodesian Coinage and Currency Act of 1932 authorised the first issue of Rhodesian coins and the Zimbabwe Bird was placed on the reverse side of the one shilling coin and shortly thereafter was included below a Sable Antelope on a Southern Rhodesia Silver Crown minted to commemorate the coronation of King Edward VIII in 1936. The Bird continued to be used as the symbol on the one shilling coin until new coinage was introduced for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1955. Following the demise of the Federation, the Zimbabwe Bird reappeared on the two shilling and twenty cent coins in 1964 and 1975 respectively that were in circulation until 1980. The rendition of the Bird in both examples is the same as that found on the crest of the Coat of Arms and is the design popularised in the iconography of the Rhodesian era until 1980.<sup>28</sup>

As a uniquely local symbol, the Zimbabwe Bird also came to be featured on the cap and beret badges of various units within the armed forces as mentioned in Chapter 5. Renditions of the Bird were also found in the badges of the Customs Department, the Department of National Parks and Wildlife and on the epaulette badges of nursing sisters.<sup>29</sup> A more prominent use of the Zimbabwe Bird came with its incorporation into the emblem of Central African Airways, which was formed on 01 June 1946, and displayed near the nose on all its aircraft.<sup>30</sup> As with the national Arms, a rendition of the Bird also formed the crest of the

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<sup>26</sup> Following the arrival of the Pioneer Column in 1890, Rhodes commissioned an ‘archeological’ investigation at Great Zimbabwe and instructed that the remaining Birds be removed. Five of these were deposited in the South African Museum in Cape Town in 1893, one found its way to the *Volkerkundemuseum* (Ethnological Museum) in Berlin and Rhodes retained the one he purchased from Posselt. The one Bird remaining in the country was initially housed in the National History Museum in Bulawayo. Currently all the Birds, save for the one owned by Rhodes currently at Groote Schuur in Cape Town, have been returned to Zimbabwe and are on display at the site museum at Great Zimbabwe (see B.B. Berry, ‘Flying High – The Zimbabwe Bird on the Flags of Zimbabwe’, Paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> *International Congress of Vexillology*, 15-19 July 2019, San Antonio (Texas)).

<sup>27</sup> E. Matenga, ‘The Soapstone Birds of Great Zimbabwe - Archaeological Heritage, Religion and Politics in Postcolonial Zimbabwe and the Return of Cultural Property’, *Studies in Global Archaeology*, 2011, 16, p. 82.

<sup>28</sup> B.B. Berry, ‘Flying High - The Zimbabwe Bird on the Flags of Zimbabwe’, Paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> *International Congress of Vexillology*, 15-19 July 2019, San Antonio (Texas).

<sup>29</sup> D. Wall, *Insignia and History of the Rhodesian Armed Forces 1890-1980*, 2002, pp. C12, C26, C27, C32, C43.

<sup>30</sup> W.G.M Stirling and J.A. House, *They Served Africa with Wings - 60 Years of Aviation in Central Africa*, 2002, p. 260.

badge of Rhodesia Railways.<sup>31</sup> The first time that the Zimbabwe Bird appeared on a flag was in 1952 when, as described in Chapter 4, it was used as the main emblem on the Government House Car Flag for Distinguished Visitors by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia.<sup>32</sup> It was specifically chosen by the Governor due to its uniqueness to the country.

During the decade of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland the use of the image of the Zimbabwe Bird was somewhat muted, although it did appear briefly as the central feature in the provisional emblem used by the Federal Government prior to the formal adoption of a new Federal Coat of Arms. Images of the Zimbabwe Bird became increasingly used in the iconography of post-Federation Rhodesia. Here we see the Bird being found on both the parliamentary and Senate maces, on bank notes and coins, on postage and revenue stamps, on the obverse of medals and in a variety of corporate logos as well as being found on the national flag that was adopted on 11 November 1968 which featured the Coat of Arms. The Zimbabwe Bird replaced the bust of Cecil John Rhodes as the watermark on the last issue of Rhodesian banknotes in 1979 and it was also the central feature in the logo of the amnesty and voting campaigns towards the end of the Rhodesian era.

A profile of the Zimbabwe Bird was adopted as the logo of Air Rhodesia, a Central African Airways subsidiary. This was later changed to a more stylized version, with wings raised and incorporating the chevrons in the base, when Air Rhodesia became a fully-fledged corporation following the dissolution of Central African Airways on 01 September 1967.<sup>33</sup> This symbol was depicted on the tail fin of Air Rhodesia aircraft and was also placed in the centre of its corporate flag. This highly stylized representation was criticized as being scarcely recognizable as a Zimbabwe Bird and was dubbed the “twiggi bird” and even likened to an Arab dhow under sail and thus not being representative or symbolic of the country at all.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> The Arms of Rhodesia Railways were granted by the College of Arms on 23 June 1949. E-mail correspondence from James Lloyd (Archivist, College of Arms, London) to the author (Johannesburg), 31 March 2021.

<sup>32</sup> See B.B. Berry, ‘Flying High - The Zimbabwe Bird on the Flags of Zimbabwe’, Paper presented at the *28th International Congress of Vexillology*, 15-19 July 2019, San Antonio (Texas).

<sup>33</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 29 September 1967; *Rhodesia Commentary*, 1(46), 1967, p. 3; *Rhodesia Commentary*, 7(15/16), 1973, p. 5.

<sup>34</sup> *Air Rhodesia*, [www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Air\\_Rhodesia](http://www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Air_Rhodesia). Accessed: 2021-06-12.

The Bird featured prominently on the new national flag of Zimbabwe Rhodesia that was adopted on 02 September 1979 as shown in Figure 24. The inclusion of the Bird was an attempt to indicate to the majority African population that the new government was distinct from the previous one that had been dominated by Europeans.<sup>35</sup>

The Lion and Tusk symbol, initially used by the BSAC, became widely used especially by the military after the declaration of the republic. The lion does not only symbolise Rhodesian wildlife, it is taken from the (British) Royal Arms and is thus a representation of Britain.<sup>36</sup> While there is no reference to the ivory tusk in its paw in the official symbolism of the BSAC Arms, it can be taken to representing the local wildlife (and hunting at the time of its adoption) and also to symbolise the British “taking possession” of southern Africa – hence a direct reference to the name - the British South Africa Company. The adoption of this indigenous symbol of strength and conquest by the military is unsurprising as these attributes became part of the dominant ethos in Rhodesian identity.

As described and illustrated in Chapter 6, the Lion and Tusk emblem was also incorporated into the badge of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Army and later in the emblem of the Rhodesian Army. In the post-Federal period, it featured prominently in the badges of various army units such as the RLI. The RhAF included the Lion and Tusk emblem in its new roundel adopted in 1970. As such it featured on the Air Force ensign and was displayed on all RhAF aircraft. The emblem also replaced the Crown as the crest on all eight Air Force Squadron badges and it was also depicted on the Air Force Rank Flags and Pennants and on the Colours presented to the Air Force.

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<sup>35</sup> New Flags – Zimbabwe Rhodesia, *Flag Bulletin*, XVIII(6), 1979, p. 188; B. Berry, ‘Flying in the Winds of Change: Flags from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe’, *Flag Bulletin*, XXXIV(2), 1995, p. 56.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, J.P. Brooke-Little, *Royal Heraldry: Beasts and Badges of Britain*, 1977, p. 20. The lion, believed to be the king of beasts, was a favourite amongst the fighting men of medieval Europe and is perhaps the first charge in modern heraldry. Lions appear on the Arms attributed to some of the early Norman kings and feature in the Arms of Richard I from about 1198. As the earliest royal beast, a crowned lion is now a supporter in the Royal Arms and a lion *statant guardant* is the crest of the Royal Arms for the personal use of Queen Elizabeth II (G. Bartram, *British Flags and Emblems*, 2004, p. 34).



Another symbol to be established after UDI was the 115kg (250lb) bronze Independence Bell.<sup>37</sup> Patterned after the American Liberty Bell, it was presented to Rhodesia in 1966 by American right-wing supporters.<sup>38</sup> The symbolically freighted Bell became a “cherished invented tradition”<sup>39</sup> in Rhodesia and is inscribed “I toll for justice, civilisation and Christianity”<sup>40</sup> - those self-proclaimed tenets of Rhodesian identity. It was rung twelve times<sup>41</sup> by the Prime Minister at midnight on 10/11 November every year to commemorate the declaration of UDI. A limited edition of one thousand miniatures in hallmarked silver bearing the signature of Ian Smith were later manufactured to commemorate the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of UDI.

UDI thus marks a watershed in the development of a unique Rhodesian identity.

Initially, while Rhodesia was choosing to proclaim its independence, the Crown remained the focus for its identity. Immediately before UDI on 09 November 1965, the entire Rhodesian Cabinet signed a letter to the Queen assuring;

Your Majesty that whatever happens there will still be found among Rhodesians the same loyalty and devotion to the Crown which have guided and sustained our country since it was founded.<sup>42</sup>

The Government was thus at pains to distinguish between loyalty to the Crown in the form of the Sovereign and loyalty to the Crown as an institution. This conflicting loyalty, as outlined in the previous Chapter, saw the continued use of the country’s essentially colonial symbols and is an expression of what Kinloch calls the “duality” in the Rhodesian value

<sup>37</sup> *Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 11 November 1966; *Time* (USA), 88(21), 18 November 1966, p. 47.

<sup>38</sup> M. Evans, “The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980”, Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, p. 53.

<sup>39</sup> J. Brownell, “The Magical Hour of Midnight: The Annual Commemorations of Rhodesia’s and Transkei’s Independence Days”, in T. Falola and K. Kalu (eds.), *Exploitation and Misrule in Africa in Postcolonial Africa*, 2018, p. 250.

<sup>40</sup> A.P. Di Perna, *A Right to Be Proud*, 1978, p. 211.

<sup>41</sup> Despite the number of tolls being confused as signifying the specific anniversary of UDI, the Bell was always rung 12 times to “signify the departure of the old year and the dawning of a new one for Rhodesia” ([www.rhodesia.me.uk/rbc](http://www.rhodesia.me.uk/rbc)); J. Brownell, “The Magical Hour of Midnight: The Annual Commemorations of Rhodesia’s and Transkei’s Independence Days”, in T. Falola and K. Kalu (eds.), *Exploitation and Misrule in Africa in Postcolonial Africa*, 2018, p. 258.

<sup>42</sup> NA, PREM, 13/556, Rhodesian Cabinet to the Queen, 08 November 1965; M.C. White, *Smith of Rhodesia - a Pictorial Biography*, 1978, p. 44; A. Megahey, *Humphrey Gibbs: Beleaguered Governor. Southern Rhodesia 1929-69*, 1998, p. 107.

system. There was an emphasis on internal unity and loyalty versus wider co-operation, independence versus a British identity and loyalty to the Commonwealth, authoritarian control versus freedom and individualism.<sup>43</sup> Anderson describes the complementary nature of Rhodesian and British identities as being “the tight skin of nation over the gigantic body of the empire”.<sup>44</sup>

However, the lack of international recognition of UDI and the continuing political impasse with Britain made the continued use of the colonial symbols increasingly redundant. This led to the adoption of a new flag, the move towards a republic and the subsequent removal of all visible symbolic links with Britain which resulted in the solidification of Rhodesia as a separate and independent state, divorced from its emotional home.<sup>45</sup> This led to the entrenching of a unique Rhodesian nationalism based on a sense of unity centred around core “traditional values” and the efforts to defend the country against both the political and economic hostility of the worldwide community, and later against the immediate threat of hostile neighbours and the internal African majority. This is reflected in the fact that over 12,000 Rhodesian honours and awards were granted between 1970 and 1981 before a new awards system was introduced by the Government of Zimbabwe. The preponderance of military awards and decorations granted reflects the fact that the country was in a state of civil war for most of its short existence.<sup>46</sup> The emerging Rhodesian identity was thus defined in terms of “sacrifice, endeavour against the odds and the determination to succeed”.<sup>47</sup>

No attempt was made to canvas African opinion about the symbols adopted by the post-colonial regime. For example, when considering the design of the new Rhodesian flag, the

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<sup>43</sup> G.C. Kinloch, *Flame or Lily? Rhodesian Values as Defined by the Press*, 1970, p. 126.

<sup>44</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities - Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1991, p. 86.

<sup>45</sup> A. King, ‘Identity and Decolonisation: The Policy of Partnership in Southern Rhodesia 1945-62’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2001, p. 280; C.C. Barney, “‘Not in a Thousand Years’: White Settlement, Rhodesian Nationalism, and the Formation of a Rogue State”, M.A. thesis, Murray State University, 2016, p. 61.

<sup>46</sup> D. Saffery, *Rhodesia Medal Roll - Honours and Decorations of the Rhodesian Conflict 1970-1981*, 2006, p. 7. A list of awards and citations from 1970 to 31 March 1977 can be also be found in J. Lovett, *Contact*, 1977, pp. 150-240 and from 1977 to August 1979 in P.L. Moorcraft, *Contact II - Struggle for Peace*, 1981, pp. 179-204.

<sup>47</sup> D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress : White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 248.

concerns of African Members of Parliament<sup>48</sup> were all but ignored as the focus was on the symbolism predominantly associated with white Rhodesians – the Crown, the Union Jack, Cecil Rhodes and the often referred to but ill-defined (white) “Rhodesian way of life”. The new flag, and other national symbols, thus had little resonance with the majority African population and were considered “symbols of oppression”.<sup>49</sup> This was highlighted shortly after the adoption of the flag when the Headmaster at a school for Coloured (mixed-race) children was reported as saying that after he had been told to raise it, he washed his hands with carbolic soap and had left it up to rot.<sup>50</sup>

In contrast to the other symbols, it was the flag, as the most visible and potent symbol of post-UDI Rhodesia, that generated the most controversy particularly when displayed outside the country.<sup>51</sup> As has been the case in many other countries when a new national flag is adopted, there was initially a lukewarm response<sup>52</sup> to the new Rhodesian flag. In addition to the initial criticism relating to the removal of the Union Jack, which it was claimed was an insult to the Pioneers, and its similarity to the Nigerian flag,<sup>53</sup> the new design was dubbed “Lardener-Burke’s jersey or the “L.B.J. flag”. This was on account of the Minister of Justice, Mr. Desmond Lardner-Burke, being responsible for piloting the Flag Bill through parliament, the Ministers’ love for rugby and that green and white were

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<sup>48</sup> Mr. Mkudu, an African Member of Parliament, stated quite categorically that “... the people in this country, the Asians, the Coloureds and the Africans are not with the Government in the introduction of this flag” (Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1968, 72, p. 975). See also Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1968, 72, pp. 972-982.

<sup>49</sup> When asked about the symbolism of the Rhodesian flag and Coat of Arms, a number of black Zimbabweans interviewed in 2018, who were old enough to recall the Rhodesian period, were unsure of the detail and needed to be reminded what the Rhodesian flag looked like. Some were surprised that the Zimbabwe Bird had featured. Their only recollection about seeing the Arms, again after being prompted, was that it would probably have appeared on official documents (such as birth certificates, etc.). None had any recollection of the Rhodesian National Anthem.

<sup>50</sup> *The Sunday News* (Bulawayo), 29 April 1979.

<sup>51</sup> For an analysis of the reactions to the flying of the Rhodesian flag outside the country see B. B. Berry, ‘Flag of Defiance: The International Use of the Rhodesian Flag Following UDI’, *South African Historical Journal*, 71(3), 2019, pp. 495-517.

<sup>52</sup> For the reaction to the new Canadian flag in 1964/65 see, for example, R. Archbold, *I Stand For Canada*, 2002; and for reaction to the new South African flag design in 1993/94 see, for example, F.G. Brownell, ‘Convergence and Unification: The National Flag of South Africa (1994) in Historical Perspective’, D.Phil. thesis, University of Pretoria, 2015, pp. 201-212; B.B. Berry, ““Zero to Hero” - the Role of the National Flag in Nation Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa’, Paper presented at the *26th International Congress of Vexillology*, Sydney, 31 August-04 September 2015.

<sup>53</sup> As outlined in further detail in Chapter 4.

Rhodesia's sporting colours found on its rugby jerseys.<sup>54</sup> A particularly stinging criticism of the design focussed on the inclusion of the Arms in the new flag which "bound Rhodesians firmly to an egg-bound bird which represents a dead pagan civilisation".<sup>55</sup>

Opinion polls and letters to the press suggested that the design of the new flag, and the timing of its adoption, had aroused conflicting opinions amongst Rhodesians. Ian Smith had initially said the Union Jack would continue to be flown and was thought to disapprove of the flag change, but he had been forced to make the concession at the 1967 RF party conference. Others thought that lowering the Union Jack whilst independence negotiations were underway with Britain was "tactless"<sup>56</sup> and that there was not much point in changing the flag as there was "nowhere to wave it".<sup>57</sup>

The Rhodesian Constitutional Association (RCA) conducted a survey on the new flag design by asking four questions which were advertised in *The Sunday Mail* on 22 September 1968, namely:

- Do you support the new flag?
- Do you prefer our present flag?
- Do you think this important matter should be put to the electorate?
- Are you a registered voter?<sup>58</sup>

Of the 907 non-members of the RCA who responded to the poll, only 9,1 per cent were in favour of the new design, while 87,7 per cent preferred the existing light blue ensign. 86,5 per cent of respondents thought that the matter should be referred to the electorate. The RCA said it had conducted the poll because of the "widespread dissatisfaction" with the new flag design and the undue haste with which the Flag Bill had been rushed through parliament.<sup>59</sup> Despite this negative result, and *The Rhodesia Herald* receiving over 110 letters about the new flag, of which only four were explicitly in favour of the new design,

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<sup>54</sup> *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), 25 September 1968; *The Times* (London), 12 November 1968; J. Brownell, "'A Sordid Tussle on the Strand': Rhodesia House during the UDI Rebellion (1965-80)", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 38(3), 2010, p. 485.

<sup>55</sup> *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), 08 November 1968.

<sup>56</sup> *The Guardian* (London), 11 November 1968.

<sup>57</sup> *Times of Malta* (Mriehel), 01 November 1968.

<sup>58</sup> *The Sunday Mail* (Salisbury), 22 September 1968.

<sup>59</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 01 October 1968.

the Flag of Rhodesia Bill was approved. It was carried by 38 votes to 11 at its third parliamentary reading with Minister Lardner-Burke saying he was sure that 99,9 per cent of the population would respect the new flag once it was unfurled.<sup>60</sup>

It soon became apparent, however, that the flag had gained general acceptance amongst the white population. As the constitutional stalemate continued throughout the 1970s and the country found itself almost completely surrounded by hostile neighbours following the independence of Mozambique, the Bush War intensified and the flag became increasingly symbolic to white Rhodesians.

There were limited opportunities for the formal flying of the flag outside of the country because of its pariah status following UDI. In response to an article in *The Sunday Mail* in August 1970<sup>61</sup> about where the Rhodesian flag had been flown abroad, readers' responses revealed it had been displayed at the 23<sup>rd</sup> World Congress of the Junior Chamber International in Mar del Plata in Argentina on the day it was adopted.<sup>62</sup> It had also been displayed in Tokyo at the Lions International Convention in 1969 and in Dublin by the International Federation of Business and Professional Women in April 1970.<sup>63</sup> The first time the new flag was flown in South Africa was by a flag collector in Springs, who had had one specially made on the day it was introduced,<sup>64</sup> and it was hoisted above the Rhodesian diplomatic mission in Lisbon immediately after it was adopted.<sup>65</sup>

However, it was the flying of the flag over Rhodesia House, the offices of the Rhodesian High Commission on The Strand in London, in what became part of the "The Battle of the Strand"<sup>66</sup> that was controversial. Having been raised for the first time on 31 December 1968 following the repair of the flagpole, the flag immediately caused a ruckus in the popular press and within the British Government, which felt that the hoisting of the flag was "highly

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<sup>60</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 02 October 1968.

<sup>61</sup> *The Sunday Mail* (Salisbury), 09 August 1970.

<sup>62</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 30 November 1968; *The Sunday Mail* (Salisbury), 23 August 1970.

<sup>63</sup> *The Sunday Mail* (Salisbury), 16 August 1970.

<sup>64</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 13 November 1968.

<sup>65</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 11 November 1968.

<sup>66</sup> AP Archive, *The Battle of the Strand*, [www.aparchive.com/metadata/youtube/5a9bbef6998a4f69a2b7669b25](http://www.aparchive.com/metadata/youtube/5a9bbef6998a4f69a2b7669b25). Accessed: 2018-03-10.

provocative” and timed to coincide with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers’ Meeting, from which Rhodesia was now excluded.<sup>67</sup> That the hoisting of the flag should arouse such attention was due in part to the fact that the status of Rhodesia House following UDI was itself mired in controversy and the centre of sometimes violent protests.<sup>68</sup>

Despite the protests, which included students climbing the flagpole and replacing the Rhodesian flag with the Union Jack, one of which flew above Rhodesia House for 17 hours,<sup>69</sup> there was no official response from the British Government. The flying of this “insignificant piece of bunting”, as the flag was referred to, did not contravene any law and Rhodesia House was protected by certain diplomatic privileges.<sup>70</sup> However, the seriousness with which the British Government viewed the matter and its frustration at the lack of any recourse to remove the flag, is revealed in the preparation of the “Southern Rhodesia (Illegal Flag) Order”. Although never promulgated, the proposed Statutory Instrument would have given the police the authority to “remove and take possession of any flag” contravening the Order and offenders could be given a fine not exceeding £100.<sup>71</sup> Throughout January 1969, British newspaper cartoonists had a field day with the entire episode, lampooning the apparent powerlessness of the British Government to have the offending flag removed while highlighting the antics of the various flagpole raiders.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 06 January 1969. Further details of the controversy can be found in J. Brownell, “‘A Sordid Tussle on the Strand’: Rhodesia House during the UDI Rebellion (1965-80)”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 38(3), 2010, pp. 484-487; B. B. Berry, ‘Flag of Defiance: The International Use of the Rhodesian Flag Following UDI’, *South African Historical Journal*, 71(3), 2019, pp. 505-508.

<sup>68</sup> See J. Brownell, “‘A Sordid Tussle on the Strand’: Rhodesia House during the UDI Rebellion (1965-80)”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 38(3), 2010, pp. 471-499; pp. 483-484.

<sup>69</sup> *The Times* (London), 04 January 1969; *The Guardian* (London), 04 January 1969; NA, FCO, 36/519, Why I raised the Union Jack, Statement by Anne Warren (student who climbed the Rhodesia House flagpole), 27 January 1969. In her statement, Warren indicates that she was making a personal protest at the presence of the Smith regime in Rhodesia House and that she hoisted the Union Jack to symbolise her belief that the British Government was neglecting its duty by allowing it to remain open. She concludes that Britain should take charge and remove the Smith regime and set Rhodesia securely on the road to democracy.

<sup>70</sup> NA, PREM, 13/2893, Rhodesia: Flying the Flag, Memorandum from George Thomson (Minister without Portfolio) to the Prime Minister, 01 January 1969.

<sup>71</sup> NA, PREM, 131/2893, The Southern Rhodesia (Illegal Flag) Order 1969.

<sup>72</sup> See, for example, M. Cummings, *Daily Express* (London), 04 January 1969; M. Cummings, *Daily Express* (London), 05 January 1969; W. Papas, *The Guardian* (London), 13 January 1969; J. Musgrave Wood, *Daily Mail* (London), 14 January 1969; ‘Giles’, *Daily Express* (London), 14 January 1969; K. Waite, *The Sun* (London), 28 January 1969. British Cartoon Archive [www.cartoons.ac.uk](http://www.cartoons.ac.uk). Accessed: 2017-05-14. The cartoons are reproduced in B. B. Berry, ‘Flag Of Defiance: The International Use of the Rhodesian Flag Following UDI’, *South African Historical Journal*, 71(3), 2019, pp. 507-508.

As indicated in Chapter 6, the representation of the Rhodesian flag on the new two dollar decimal issue definitive stamp also caused offence and was specifically mentioned in British Government papers when discussing the surcharge of Rhodesian mail in 1970.<sup>73</sup> Further controversy surrounding the flag revolved around Rhodesia's participation at the few international sports and cultural events to which the country was invited or able to participate in. After UDI Rhodesian participation in international sport increasingly drew attention and condemnation, with C. Little arguing that unlike the case of *apartheid* in neighbouring South Africa at the time, the campaign against Rhodesia's participation in international sporting events was focussed solely on the legitimacy of the Rhodesian Government and not on the racial issues within Rhodesian sport.<sup>74</sup> While the sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council did not specifically mention sporting contacts, the breadth of their coverage ensured that they could be used for this purpose.<sup>75</sup>

The country was barred from participating in the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City after concerted British diplomatic pressure on the Mexicans,<sup>76</sup> but in 1971 the International Olympic Committee (IOC) offered Rhodesia the opportunity to compete in the 1972 Summer Olympics in Munich (West Germany) if it did so as the "Colony of Southern Rhodesia" with a British identity – the so-called "Tokyo Conditions". These included using the pre-1968 colonial ensign, having *God Save the Queen* as the anthem and carrying Olympic identity cards listing the Rhodesian athletes as British subjects, as had been the case when the country participated at the Tokyo Games in 1964 prior to UDI.<sup>77</sup> The matter was discussed by the Rhodesian Cabinet, and despite the influence of sport in the design and choice of colours of the Rhodesian flag, it was the Prime Minister's view that politics should be kept out of sport. The Cabinet endorsed this view and the decision to participate

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<sup>73</sup> NA, PREM, 13/3444, Memorandum from FCO to H. Wilson (Prime Minister), 16 February 1970.

<sup>74</sup> C. Little, 'The sports boycott against Rhodesia reconsidered', *Sport in Society*, 14(2), 2011, p. 194.

<sup>75</sup> C. Little, 'The sports boycott against Rhodesia reconsidered', *Sport in Society*, 14(2), 2011, p. 196.

<sup>76</sup> C. Little, 'Preventing "A Wonderful Break-Through for Rhodesia"', *Olympike: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*, XIV, 2005, pp. 47–68; A. Novak, 'Rhodesia's "Rebel and Racist" Olympic Team: Athletic Glory, National Legitimacy and the Clash of Politics and Sport', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23(8), 2006, p. 1376.

<sup>77</sup> A. Novak, 'Rhodesia's "Rebel and Racist" Olympic Team: Athletic Glory, National Legitimacy and the Clash of Politics and Sport', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23(8), 2006, p. 1378.

was to be left to the individual sportsmen and sports bodies concerned<sup>78</sup> underlying the importance of sport in Rhodesian society. Much to the astonishment of the international community, the Rhodesian Olympic Committee accepted the IOC imposed conditions with the British *Sunday Times* commenting that:

... by agreeing that their athletes should observe all the protocol – flag, anthem and so on – which applied to the pre-UDI, colonial Rhodesia, the Smithites are emphasising not their self-proclaimed independence but the lack of it ... .<sup>79</sup>

A racially mixed team of 44 athletes arrived in Munich in August 1972 and it was the pre-1964 dark blue Southern Rhodesian ensign that was raised to the strains of *God Save the Queen* at the Olympic Village to represent the country.<sup>80</sup> However, following the objections and threats from 42 nations to boycott the Games if the Rhodesians participated, the IOC later voted 36 to 31 (with 3 abstentions) to exclude Rhodesia. The athletes were allowed to remain in the Olympic Village and attend their events but were barred from participating. Nevertheless, during the closing ceremony of the Games, hockey player Reg Bennett was photographed carrying a Rhodesian flag aloft, much to the delight of the crowd.<sup>81</sup>

The Rhodesian team was also requested to participate under the Union Jack at the Maccabi Games in Tel Aviv in July 1973. The team ignored this request and marched instead under the Rhodesian Maccabi banner during the opening ceremony and did not participate in those parts of the ceremony which required the presentation of a national flag.<sup>82</sup> Following UN condemnation for allowing the Rhodesians to participate, Israel was pressured into excluding further Rhodesian participation at subsequent Maccabi tournaments, while the IOC decision in Munich meant that Rhodesia found itself excluded from almost all future international multi-sport events.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> CL, RC (S) 71 35, 21 September 1971.

<sup>79</sup> As quoted in D. Keyworth Davies, *Race Relations in Rhodesia: A Survey for 1972-73*, 1975, p. 338.

<sup>80</sup> AP Archive, *Rhodesian Olympic Flag Raising at the Munich Olympic Village*, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=pP\\_agDIx7aM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pP_agDIx7aM). Accessed: 2017-03-13; *The Times* (London), 15 August 1972.

<sup>81</sup> B.B. Berry, 'Flag of Defiance: The International Use of the Rhodesian Flag Following UDI', *South African Historical Journal*, 71(3), 2009, p. 512; <http://swimhistory.org/pools/item/380-rhodesian-swimming-articles>. Accessed: 2017-06-01.

<sup>82</sup> *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 08 July 1973; *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 10 July 1973.

<sup>83</sup> C. Little, 'The Sports Boycott against Rhodesia Reconsidered', *Sport in Society*, 14(2), 2011, p. 198. See also M. Smith, 'Examining "The Rhodesian Affair:" The IOC and African Politics in the 1970s', *The International Journal*



With the adoption of the new anthem in September 1975, almost a decade after the declaration of UDI, the country completed its symbolic decolonisation and finally had a complete panoply of distinctive Rhodesian national symbols. However, this proved to be short-lived as a year later on 24 September 1976, Ian Smith made his “surrender speech” announcing the acceptance of the Kissinger Proposals and the process to transition to majority rule within a period of two years.<sup>84</sup> This marked the beginning of the final stage in the decolonisation process of the country. The point was made poignantly and symbolically when shortly after the speech someone lowered the Rhodesian flag from the Cecil Square flagpole and hoisted in its place a white flag to half-mast. A wreath of white carnations was laid at the base of the nearby statue of Cecil Rhodes with a card saying “In memory of independent Rhodesia. Born November 11 1965. Died 24 September 1976”.<sup>85</sup>

### 7.3 WHAT IS A RHODESIAN?

Given that at no time during its history did the number of Rhodesian-born whites outnumber those that had been born elsewhere,<sup>86</sup> it is not surprising that this question should be asked. In his detailed analysis of Rhodesian demographics, J. Brownell concludes that immigration was the greatest source of white population growth. The perilously fragile demography of the white population and the concomitant African population “explosion” were a major cause leading to the demise of white rule.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore he argues, this essentially transient white population never acquired any significant loyalty to Rhodesia. Thus after UDI

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*of the History of Sport*, 23(8), 2006, pp. 113–122 for further detail on the relationship between the IOC and Rhodesia following the 1968 Olympic Games.

<sup>84</sup> P. Moorcraft, *A Short Thousand Years: The End of Rhodesia's Rebellion*, 1980, p. 5; P. Baxter, *Rhodesia - Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980*, 2010, p. 445.

<sup>85</sup> P. Moorcraft, *A Short Thousand Years: The End of Rhodesia's Rebellion*, 1980, p. 52.

<sup>86</sup> J. Brownell, ‘The Hole in Rhodesia’s Bucket: White Emigration and the End of Settler Rule’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(3), 2008, p. 598.

<sup>87</sup> See J. Brownell, *The Collapse of Rhodesia - Population Demographics and the Politics of Race*, 2011.

demography became intrinsically linked to independent-nation building<sup>88</sup> and reinforced the need to “manufacture” a Rhodesian-ness.<sup>89</sup>

Heroism, courage, dignity and strength became the dominant themes in Rhodesian identity, particularly after UDI and, increasingly so, following international ostracisation and the intensification of the guerrilla war in the late 1970s. It was Cecil John Rhodes who epitomised the strength and character of the pioneering spirit of early Rhodesians. Indeed, as outlined earlier:

The tales of derring-do and heroism seen in the media, the schoolrooms, in monuments, and indeed in everyday life in the names of schools, roads, and the national holidays provided Rhodesians with a pantheon of ‘founding fathers’ and local heroes whose memory endured in white society in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>90</sup>

While it was Rhodes who was the hero of pre-UDI Rhodesia, it was the first Rhodesian-born Prime Minister, Ian Douglas Smith, who came to personify Rhodesia after 1965. As Blake puts it, “Ian Smith (was) the epitome and symbol of the white Rhodesian ascendancy caste” who echoed their thoughts and reflected their opinions.<sup>91</sup> In this sense, the “myth of Smith”<sup>92</sup> was cast as the inheritor of Rhodes, a fact commemorated in John Edmond’s song “The Last Word in Rhodesian”<sup>93</sup> highlighted at the beginning of this chapter. As M. Evans points out, “Ian Smith was at once a national saviour, a war hero and a reluctant politician”.<sup>94</sup> As a leader he seemed somewhat of an enigma - charismatic without a single definable trace of charisma except determination and stubbornness - who was able to mesmerise most white Rhodesians into following him into what became a violent cul-de-sac.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> J. Brownell, ‘The Hole in Rhodesia’s Bucket: White Emigration and the End of Settler Rule’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(3), 2008, p. 592; p. 608; J. Brownell, *The Collapse of Rhodesia - Population Demographics and the Politics of Race*, 2011, p. 169.

<sup>89</sup> P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 17.

<sup>90</sup> D. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress: White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 213.

<sup>91</sup> R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 361.

<sup>92</sup> See D. Schorr, *The Myth of Smith*, 2014.

<sup>93</sup> D. Kenrick, *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979 - A Race Against Time*, 2019, p. 163.

<sup>94</sup> M. Evans, “‘The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980’”, Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, p. 116.

<sup>95</sup> P. Moorcraft, *A Short Thousand Years: The End of Rhodesia’s Rebellion*, 1980, p. 3.

The underlying Rhodesian cultural attributes can be seen in the 1994 biography by P. Joyce who describes Smith as being:

... basically a religious man, even though his church-going is irregular. There is a strong streak of the puritan in him: the real virtues are the simple ones; right and wrong are clearly defined and inarguable, the moral code inflexible. Family and environment have the most to do with this: his father was Scots, Presbyterian and authoritarian ... His values are the traditional ones, and by that token he is perhaps old-fashioned. He admires Britain, but it is a Britain that no longer exists. "I honestly believe that the average Rhodesian, and this includes myself", he has said, "has a warm place in his heart for the British. We have got such strong connections with the British and this is the way we have been brought up and I think we always in the past admired the things Britain has done and [what] Britain has stood for". ... It is nostalgic, wistful stuff: Smith's affection is for a memory.<sup>96</sup>

Smith frequently invoked the spirit and defiant symbolism of Winston Churchill and by making Rhodesia the bastion of "British virtue", he could claim the country was the true guardian of the Empire. He did just that when shortly after UDI he said that "if Churchill were alive today I believe he would probably emigrate to Rhodesia" because this is where all the British virtues now reside which have been lost in Britain itself.<sup>97</sup> Thus, UDI was defined as a heroic stand on behalf of "Western civilisation" in Africa with Rhodesians imbuing that spirit of defiance. This theme was reiterated in his message to mark the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of UDI, with the Prime Minister reminding the friends of Rhodesia that the country "... shall continue to maintain and defend western values and the principles handed down to us by our founder, Cecil John Rhodes".<sup>98</sup>

Smith constantly glorified the memory of UDI, describing it on several occasions as "the greatest thing that ever happened in Rhodesian history"<sup>99</sup> and Rhodesia's "finest hour".<sup>100</sup> Yet the 1965 "Independence" commemorative stamp and the 1966 "Independence

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<sup>96</sup> P. Joyce, *Anatomy of a Rebel - Smith of Rhodesia: A Biography*, 1974, pp. 21-22.

<sup>97</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 29 October 1966; *Rhodesian Commentary*, 1(22), 1966, p. 2; J. Francis, 'The Formation and Nature of Identity in Rhodesian Settler Society from Colonialism to UDI', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2012, p. 258.

<sup>98</sup> Supplement to *Rhodesia Commentary*, '10th Anniversary of Independence: Prime Minister's Message to the Friends of Rhodesia', November 1975.

<sup>99</sup> As quoted by M. Evans, "'The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980'", Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, p. 331.

<sup>100</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 29 October 1966.

Overprints”, as described in the previous chapter and making Independence Day the official national holiday, were the only specific recognition of the event in the national panoply of symbols. Notably absent was any stamp to commemorate the declaration of the republic or to mark the first, fifth or tenth anniversaries of the declaration of UDI<sup>101</sup> despite it being heralded by the Government’s own propaganda as being “Rhodesia’s Finest Hour”.<sup>102</sup> However, commemorative envelopes were privately produced to mark these, and other anniversaries and political events, such as the raising of the flag, the opening of the Geneva Conference, signing of the Internal and Lancaster House Agreements. The original Proclamation of Independence document was later lodged at the National Archives in a brass case filled with argon gas to be “preserved for posterity”.<sup>103</sup>

While there was no official attempt to create a personality cult around Smith, there is no doubt that he became, as Kertzer notes, the heroic figure leading his people to the promised land around which Rhodesians revolved.<sup>104</sup> This reverence was manifest in a wide range of memorabilia, such as commemorative medallions, copper plaques, and mugs, featuring his portrait and often related to the declaration of UDI. As White notes in his pictorial biography of Smith, these were sought after with the fervour more often accorded to the memorabilia of pop stars.<sup>105</sup>

While the RF had the general tendency to equate white dissent with disloyalty,<sup>106</sup> there were those to whom Ian Smith was anathema. Peter Godwin, in his memoir about growing up in increasingly war-torn Rhodesia, recounts how he considered shooting Smith when the Prime Minister visits the operational area where Godwin was stationed during his national service. “So this was the man – good ol’ Smithy – followed blindly by white Rhodesians even though

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<sup>101</sup> J. Brownell, ‘The visual rhetoric of settler stamps: Rhodesia’s rebellion and the projection of sovereignty’, in Y. Huang and R. Weaver-Hightower (eds.), *Archiving Settler Colonialism - Culture, Space and Race*, 2018, p. 165.

<sup>102</sup> Rhodesia, *Rhodesia’s Finest Hour*, 1965. This brochure has a picture of the Cabinet signing the proclamation of independence, a facsimile of the document and reproduces the address to the nation announcing the decision given by the Prime Minister on 11 November 1965.

<sup>103</sup> *Rhodesian Commentary*, 5(6), 1971, pp. 1-2.

<sup>104</sup> D.I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, 1988, p. 178.

<sup>105</sup> M.C. White, *Smith of Rhodesia - a Pictorial Biography*, 1978, p. 48.

<sup>106</sup> M. Evans, “‘The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980’”, Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, p. 38.

he had no bloody idea where to lead us. This was our icon”.<sup>107</sup> This sentiment was echoed in a letter to *The Rhodesia Herald* from a white reader on 25 July 1978 who asked:

What makes a true Rhodesian? He blindly follows, he gullibly believes, he patiently suffers. Should he resent his lot compared with the favoured few, or dare express an opinion, he is un-Rhodesian. He must accept every word uttered by Ian Smith and all his Ministers. ...<sup>108</sup>

For black Rhodesians Ian Smith personified white supremacy. This led to a deep distrust of Smith himself and white authority which, it has been argued, was one of the major factors leading to the overwhelming rejection by Africans of the Pearce Commission proposals in 1972.<sup>109</sup> This, shortly after Smith had remarked that Rhodesia had “the happiest Africans in the world”.<sup>110</sup> Such was the extent of the African rejection that it demonstrated the degree to which the RF Government had become a victim of its own propaganda and ideological self-delusion.<sup>111</sup> Godwin and Hancock later go on to conclude that the Rhodesians’ “... worst collective fault was an almost infinite capacity for self-deception”.<sup>112</sup>

Most commentators agree that the initial Rhodesian colonial identity was inextricably linked to Britain as can be seen in the attachment to the Union Jack and other British symbols, and the anachronistic belief in the imperial idea and racial exclusivity.<sup>113</sup> This thesis has shown that in addition to this emotional cultural affinity to Britain, the symbols of the Colony also reflected this attachment. As outlined in Chapters 4 and 5, the settlers demonstrated this loyalty by adopting British-based symbols, were fiercely loyal to the Crown, honoured the Sovereign and were content to sing “*God Save the King/Queen*”, fly the Union Jack as their national flag and to lay down their lives for it. It was only following World War I that a

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<sup>107</sup> P. Godwin, *Mukiwa - A White Boy in Africa*, 1996, p. 263.

<sup>108</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 25 July 1978.

<sup>109</sup> P. Joyce, *Anatomy of a Rebel - Smith of Rhodesia: A Biography*, 1974, p. 455; R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, 1977, p. 405.

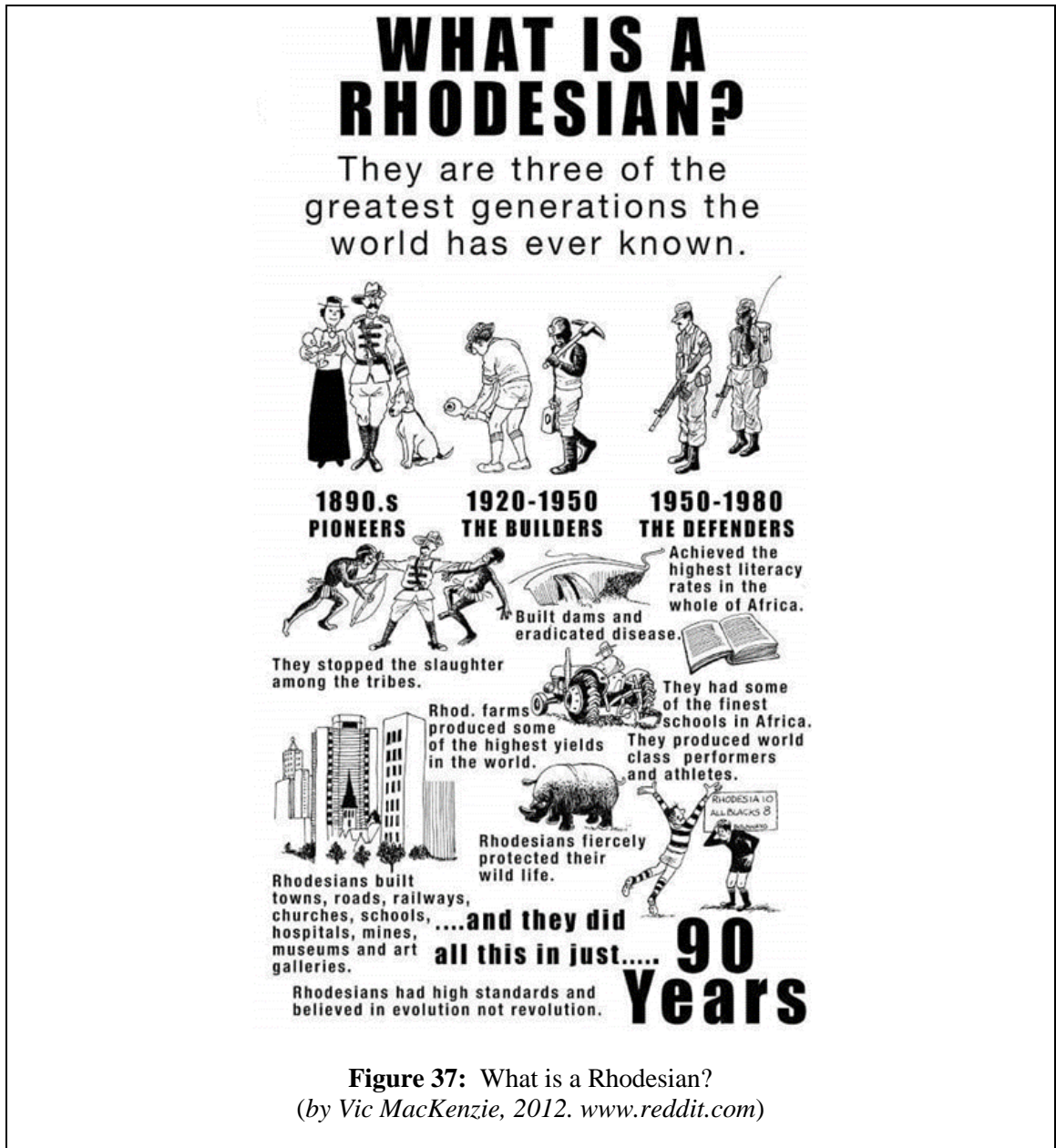
<sup>110</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 25 November 1971. Smith later repeated this again in parliament in June 1972 (Rhodesia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 81, 08 June 1972, pp. 210-211).

<sup>111</sup> M. Evans, “The Role of Ideology in Rhodesian Front Rule, 1962-1980”, Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1994, p. 139.

<sup>112</sup> P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 11. See also D.C. Hills, *The Last Days of White Rhodesia*, 1981 and D. Cauter, *Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia*, 1983 for observations on contemporary white Rhodesian society in the late 1970s.

<sup>113</sup> C. Leys, *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia*, 1959, pp. 241-250, 290-291.

more distinctive local identity began to emerge incorporating local mythology, history and including features of the indigenous landscape.



**Figure 37:** What is a Rhodesian?  
(by Vic MacKenzie, 2012. [www.reddit.com](http://www.reddit.com))

This nascent identity was constructed on the images of how the settlers saw themselves, and later, what they considered to be their contribution towards the building of the country. This identity is described by Hagemann as being "... the rough and ready, happy-go-lucky, brave, resourceful, and uncompromising white African who carved a modern state out of

wilderness”<sup>114</sup> that is captured in a post-1980 poster of “What is a Rhodesian?” shown in Figure 37. The emergence of a sense of “Rhodesian-ness” was fostered by the production of idealised images, first through popular fiction and culture and then through nostalgic memory or imagining.<sup>115</sup> Also central to the question of a cultural identity are the shared images and understandings of ideal and transgressive behaviour. This was an integral part of nation-building which can be seen with the building of monuments, erection of statues, printing of stamps, introduction of local banknotes and coins and the design of civic Arms and flags – the images that defined Rhodesians to both themselves and to others.

In Rhodesia this notion of nationhood and the establishment of a white settler identity was centred on the shared experience and relationship with Britain and a supposed racial homogeneity, what Kosmin calls an “occupational aristocracy”.<sup>116</sup> The emergence of this identity was initially a gradual process which gathered pace after World War II and reached its zenith in the decade after UDI.

There is some disagreement about the degree to which white Rhodesians constituted their own *cultural* identity but, it can certainly be argued that post-UDI, there was a belief in the existence of a *national* identity. This is clearly evidenced in the selection and adoption of the national panoply of Rhodesian symbols described in this thesis. After their somewhat ambivalent feelings towards the flag at the time of its adoption, by the end of the UDI period most white Rhodesians had transferred their emotional attachment from the Union Jack to their new flag. The large majority of (white) Rhodesians believed that their “Rhodesian-ness” supplied a common bond based on Christian values and firmly grounded in British imperial ideals, dedicated to maintaining a “civilised” way of life. The “Green and White”, as the flag came to be fondly called, came to represent that ideal of Rhodesia that many whites subscribed to. The flag, and to a lesser extent other national symbols such as the Flame Lily, the Sable and Zimbabwe Bird, was featured on various items of clothing (T-

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<sup>114</sup> M.E. Hagemann, ‘Shadows, Faces and Echoes of an African War: The Rhodesian Bush War through the Eyes of Chas Loitter - Soldier Poet’, D. Phil. thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2016, p. 56.

<sup>115</sup> A.C. Davies, ‘From Rhodesian to Zimbabwean and Back: White Identity in an African Context’, D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Berkeley), 2001, p. 31.

<sup>116</sup> See B.A. Kosmin, *Majuta: A History of the Jewish Community in Zimbabwe*, 1980.

shirts, ties and blazers), curios and plaques, towels and other memorabilia as the most iconic symbol representing post-UDI Rhodesia. The relative ease with which the country abandoned its other imperial and symbolic links is further testament to the acceptance and inculcation of a new, locally based, national identity.

#### 7.4 DOWN BUT NOT OUT – FLAGGING RHODESIA’S AFTERLIFE

The formal end of the UDI rebellion followed the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement on 21 December 1979. This resulted in the lifting of sanctions, the country’s return to its former status as a British colony and the arrival of Lord Christopher Soames as Governor. For the first time in its history the country was ruled directly from London.<sup>117</sup> A ceasefire was signed on 28 December 1979 and the internationally supervised elections held in February 1980 resulted in victory for ZANU (PF). In a ceremony reminiscent of others held across the continent more than a decade or two earlier, the Union Jack was lowered for the last time at midnight on 17/18 April 1980 and a new flag raised to mark the birth of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

Although Rhodesia as a political entity has ended, the identification with Rhodesia continues, particularly amongst the Rhodesian diaspora. It is estimated that some 150 000 whites left the country in the six years between 1976 and 1982 - more than half the white population<sup>118</sup> - and a decade later the 1992 Zimbabwe census indicated only 62 651 persons of “European” descent remained in the country.<sup>119</sup> The diaspora has an active digital presence on the internet and, as King observes, this provides an indicator of how national and cultural identity can be preserved and developed in “exile”.<sup>120</sup> Rhodesia has been

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<sup>117</sup> The Lancaster House Agreement gave the Governor, acting on instructions from the British Government, legislative and executive authority “to make laws by Ordinance for the peace, order and good governance of the country.” (Lancaster House Agreement, 1979, p. 35).

<sup>118</sup> T. King, ‘Rhodesians in Hyperspace: The Maintenance of a National and Cultural Identity’, in K.H. Karim (ed.), *The Media of Diaspora: Mapping the Globe*, 2003, p. 177.

<sup>119</sup> Quoted in A.C. Davies, ‘From Rhodesian to Zimbabwean and Back: White Identity in an African Context’, D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Berkeley), 2001, p. 2.

<sup>120</sup> T. King, ‘Rhodesians in Hyperspace: The Maintenance of a National and Cultural Identity’, in K.H. Karim (ed.), *The Media of Diaspora: Mapping the Globe*, 2003, p. 178.



reconstituted as a kind of cyber-nation,<sup>121</sup> complete with a “Rhodesian Government in Exile”, bulletin boards, forums and web-sites which focus on all aspects of Rhodesian life. Others are devoted to reminiscing about shared experiences and recollections of life in the country in the “good old days” before 1980, reasons for emigrating and the difficulties of adjusting to life in another country resulting in ex-Rhodesians becoming known as “Whewes”. Reminiscing and sharing “war stories” from the “Bush War” are also a common feature. There are also a number of Rhodesia Associations in those countries now home to a sizable ex-Rhodesian population (such as in South Africa, Britain, Australia, Canada and parts of the US).<sup>122</sup> Significant amongst both the physical and electronic gatherings are the markers of identity, the most prominent being the display of the Rhodesian flag, along with other Rhodesian memorabilia.

In her study of ex-Rhodesians view of place and home conducted in South Africa in 1990, K. Uusihakala found that “nostalgic reminiscence and perpetual self-reflection” were a major occupation in the ex-Rhodesian community.<sup>123</sup> She found that many ex-Rhodesians could always tell a Rhodesian home because they all had the same things. These included tableware, books, copperware trays and clocks cut in the shape of a map of Rhodesia, prints and paintings of Rhodesian landscapes, regimental plaques, soapstone sculptures, ashtrays, beer mugs, coins and flags as shown in Figure 38, with the flag often being the central feature. Such memorabilia can be described as “commodified nostalgia” and is obtained through the various Rhodesia Associations, antique shops, militaria stores or on-line.<sup>124</sup> Interestingly, one dealer commented that almost all the people who buy such memorabilia have a connection with Rhodesia and continue to describe themselves as “Rhodesian” even though they no longer live in the country<sup>125</sup> and that it no longer exists. Uusihakala

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<sup>121</sup> D.W. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress : White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 280.

<sup>122</sup> An analysis of where Rhodesians emigrated to can be found in W.G. Eaton, *A Chronicle of Modern Sunlight - The Story of What Happened to the Rhodesians*, 1996.

<sup>123</sup> K. Uusihakala, ‘Memory Meanders: Place, Home and Commemoration in an Ex-Rhodesian Diaspora Community’, Academic Dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2008 , p. 5.

<sup>124</sup> K. Uusihakala, ‘Memory Meanders: Place, Home and Commemoration in an Ex-Rhodesian Diaspora Community’, Academic Dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2008, pp. 145-149.

<sup>125</sup> D. Saffery, ‘Rhodesiana - It’s Hot Stuff!’, *Out of Africa International*, 3(2), 2002, p. 13.

concludes that owning and displaying such memorabilia embodies a social memory and indicates a sense of belonging within the ex-Rhodesian community.<sup>126</sup>

Commemorating Rhodesia in the diaspora is the focus of the annual celebration of UDI in November, with smaller events of a more social nature sometimes taking place during the year. The celebration of UDI is usually a more formal occasion and also an opportunity to honour those who died for Rhodesia. The focal point of these reunions is the Rhodesian flag, which is now also carried at various Remembrance Day and ANZAC Day<sup>127</sup> parades.



The ritual celebrations which occur at the annual reunions are examples of what P. Connerton describes as being commemorative ceremonies in that they refer explicitly to historical events.<sup>128</sup> They are, as G. Bouchard points out:

... part of a continuing process of remembrance designed to magnify the anchor, to activate or reactivate the imprint, and to stimulate the ethos by re-actualising them in accordance with the ever-changing contexts. Rituals are particularly important in this regard, not as a way to heal the wounds but, on the contrary, to reopen them and to reload the myths.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>126</sup> K. Uusihakala, 'Memory Meanders: Place, Home and Commemoration in an Ex-Rhodesian Diaspora Community', Academic Dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2008, p. 150.

<sup>127</sup> See, for example, [www.zwnews.com/images-of-rhodesian-flags-perth-news/](http://www.zwnews.com/images-of-rhodesian-flags-perth-news/), 10 September 2017. Accessed: 2021-05-16.

<sup>128</sup> P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 1989, p. 61.

<sup>129</sup> G. Bouchard, *National Myths: Constructed Pasts, Contested Presents*, 2013, p. 5.



**Figure 39:** Displaying the Rhodesian flag post-1980  
([www.reddit.com](http://www.reddit.com))

This was also demonstrated in the 1990 celebrations to mark the centenary of the arrival of the Pioneer Column at Fort Salisbury and the founding of Rhodesia. Since the centenary was not publicly commemorated in Zimbabwe, a re-enactment of the event took place at a site re-named “Rhodesianaland” – the recreation of a little bit of Rhodesia in South Africa<sup>130</sup> - at Tshipise, in Limpopo Province in South Africa, just over 100km from the Zimbabwe border.<sup>131</sup> Over a thousand ex-Rhodesians gathered together for a week of festivities<sup>132</sup> organised by the Rhodesia Association of South Africa (now renamed The Flame Lily Foundation), the focal point of which was a re-enactment of the raising of the Union Jack on 13 September 1990. As Uusihakala points out:

The attention to detail was carefully observed. The costumes were tailored as exact replicas; the flagpole was a simulacrum of the original. The timing of the event was precise: the event was scheduled to begin at exactly 100 years to the minute of the original ceremony. The sequence of events, with the six men entering the scene, the offering of prayer, the sounding of the trumpet, the raising of the flag and the gun salute attempted to replicate the

<sup>130</sup> Y. Duff, ‘From Jumble Sales to Jubilees’, *Rhodesians Worldwide*, 14(2), 1998, p. 17.

<sup>131</sup> For details of commemoration see K. Uusihakala, ‘Memory Meanders: Place, Home and Commemoration in an Ex-Rhodesian Diaspora Community’, Academic Dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2008, pp. 189-210; K. Uusihakala, “Keeping the Flame Alive” - Commemoration in an Ex-Rhodesian Diaspora Community in South Africa’, *Soumen Antropologi - Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society*, 33(3), 2008, pp. 21–34.

<sup>132</sup> In addition to the flag raising event, the festivities - which were attended by Ian Smith and his wife - included a Victorian dinner, a concert by John Edmond and a church service.

original event. The prayer was a verbatim reproduction of the original: its fateful present-tense phrases promising a new beginning in a new land.<sup>133</sup>

This re-enactment of the original flag-raising was also a celebration of the commemorative ritual described in Chapter 5 whereby the Union Jack was raised every year on Pioneer Day by a Pioneer descendant at Cecil Square. This sense of shared experience of the past, according to Benedict Anderson, demonstrates a significant aspect of national identity.<sup>134</sup>

This common construction of history and memory allows a sense of “Rhodesian-ness” to persist which is further transmitted through a critical articulation of the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe. The “rhetoric of nostalgia”<sup>135</sup> for the idyllic past has seen the Rhodesian diaspora earn the somewhat disparaging epithet of “When-wes” since every conversation contains a wistful “when-we-were-in-Rhodesia”...”, a yearning for the Rhodesian way of life which for many whites was a central article of faith in the 1970s.<sup>136</sup>

## 7.5 A RHODESIAN IDENTITY – MYTH OR REALITY?

While Godwin and Hancock contend that Rhodesians invented an identity and tradition just in time for both to become irrelevant,<sup>137</sup> Davies argues for an “extreme visibility of a defined Rhodesian identity”<sup>138</sup> – being an identity rooted in a unique history of late phase settler imperialism, massive land alienation, a migrant labour economy and creation of a white space.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>133</sup> K. Uusihakala, ‘Memory Meanders: Place, Home and Commemoration in an Ex-Rhodesian Diaspora Community’, Academic Dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2008, p. 206; K. Uusihakala, “‘Keeping the Flame Alive’ - Commemoration in an Ex-Rhodesian Diaspora Community in South Africa’, *Soumen Antropologi - Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society*, 33(3), 2008, p. 29.

<sup>134</sup> See B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1991.

<sup>135</sup> A.C. Davies, ‘From Rhodesian to Zimbabwean and Back: White Identity in an African Context’, D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Berkeley), 2001, p. 256.

<sup>136</sup> This is depicted in a cartoon history by L. Bolze and R. Martin, *The Whenwes of Rhodesia*, 1978.

<sup>137</sup> P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980*, 1993, p. 14.

<sup>138</sup> A.C. Davies, ‘From Rhodesian to Zimbabwean and Back: White Identity in an African Context’, D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Berkeley), 2001, p. 7.

<sup>139</sup> See, for example, R.H. Palmer, *Land and Racial Discrimination in Rhodesia*, 1977; I. Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe*, 1988; A.C. Davies, ‘From Rhodesian to Zimbabwean and Back: White Identity in an African Context’, D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Berkeley), 2001; A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, 2014.

As indicated in his seminal work, Anderson describes nationalism as a shared conceptualisation of an “imagined community”. In Rhodesia’s case this is a shared commonality that promoted a sense of nationhood based on a narrow racial and class heritage transposed from Britain. This later solidified into an identity centred on maintaining a “civilised” way of life based on Christian values firmly grounded in British imperial ideals in an increasingly hostile local and international environment.<sup>140</sup>

In his analysis of the development of Rhodesian settler society, B.M. Schutz argues that through its panoply of myths, institutions and norms, Rhodesia was trying to come to terms with both its European past and a separate national future. Thus, part of the settlers’ problem was to distinguish themselves as a unique and independent society.<sup>141</sup> Using the “fragment concept” presented by Louis Hartz whereby European immigrant societies retain a European connection and continuity in political thoughts, structures, behaviour and politics,<sup>142</sup> Rhodesia was in many ways a fragment of a fragment.<sup>143</sup> In a later empirical study undertaken by Schultz<sup>144</sup> to ascertain the level of cultural separateness and national commitment amongst Rhodesians, he concluded that despite their small number “there can be little doubt that Rhodesian whites do see themselves as a distinct community”.<sup>145</sup> The perception amongst respondents in his study was that a “true Rhodesian” was one who put “Rhodesia first” and that “Rhodesia became a nation” when it declared UDI.<sup>146</sup> It is the central contention of this thesis that the adoption of a new national flag was the physical manifestation of this newly acquired nationhood.

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<sup>140</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 1991, pp. 6, 86.

<sup>141</sup> B.M. Schutz, ‘The Theory of Fragment and the Political Development of White Settler Society in Rhodesia’, D.Phil. thesis, University of California (Los Angeles), 1972 p 17.

<sup>142</sup> See L. Hartz (ed.), *The Founding of New Societies*, 1964 for a full analysis of the fragment concept.

<sup>143</sup> A. King, ‘Identity and Decolonisation: The Policy of Partnership in Southern Rhodesia 1945-62’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2001, p. 66.

<sup>144</sup> Note spelling difference although B.M. Schutz and B.M. Schultz appears to be the same author.

<sup>145</sup> B.M. Schultz, ‘Homeward Bound?: A Survey Study of the Limits of White Rhodesian Nationalism and Permanence’, *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 5(3), 1975, p. 92.

<sup>146</sup> B.M. Schultz, ‘Homeward Bound?: A Survey Study of the Limits of White Rhodesian Nationalism and Permanence’, *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 5(3), 1975, p. 93.

Furthermore, based on the attributes necessary to distinguish a community outlined by A.D. Smith, a distinctive Rhodesian “community” can be considered to have existed as it had:

1. An identifying name and emblem;
2. A myth of common ancestry;
3. Shared historical memories and traditions;
4. One or more elements of common culture;
5. A link with an historic territory or ‘homeland’; and
6. A measure of solidarity, at least among the elites.<sup>147</sup>

Of all the symbols adopted following UDI to represent this identity, it is the Rhodesian flag that came to represent that distinctive “Rhodesian-ness” that many whites subscribed to.

Yet, to outsiders, that symbol of Rhodesian identity represents racial solidarity in defence of white privilege and minority rule. This was demonstrated in the violent reaction to the hoisting of the flag at Rhodesia House in London in 1969 and more recently after it was displayed (together with the old South African flag) on the jacket of the American shooter of nine worshippers at a historic African-American church in Charleston, South Carolina (USA) on 17 June 2015.

Reflecting on why Dylann Roof, a 21-year-old white supremacist in America, would display the Rhodesian flag in particular, a number of commentators argue that despite its obscurity in American political discourse, Rhodesia is well known to white (American) racists and Rhodesian flag patches are often sold at extreme right-wing events.<sup>148</sup> “The Rhodesian flag is important in terms of symbolism, for Rhodesia subscribed to white supremacy” explains a lecturer in African history at Oxford University.<sup>149</sup> Furthermore, such (Rhodesian and South African) flags are popular in white supremacist circles as a way to advertise to like-minded individuals without being as obvious as wearing or displaying a swastika.<sup>150</sup> Such

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<sup>147</sup> A.D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, 1999, p. 13.

<sup>148</sup> N. Baumann, ‘Dylann Roof Had a Rhodesian Flag on His Jacket - Here’s What That Tells Us’, *Huffington Post*, 2015, [www.huffingtonpost.co.za/entry/dylann-roof-rhodesian-flag\\_n\\_7616752](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/entry/dylann-roof-rhodesian-flag_n_7616752). Accessed: 2017-05-12.

<sup>149</sup> T. Blessing-Miles quoted in N. Baumann, ‘Dylann Roof Had a Rhodesian Flag on His Jacket - Here’s What That Tells Us’, *Huffington Post*, 2015, [www.huffingtonpost.co.za/entry/dylann-roof-rhodesian-flag\\_n\\_7616752](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/entry/dylann-roof-rhodesian-flag_n_7616752). Accessed: 2017-05-12.

<sup>150</sup> D. Murphy, ‘Why Would an American White Supremacist Be Fond of Rhodesia?’, *The Christian Science Monitor*, 2015, [www.csmonitor.com/World/Security-Watch/Backchannels/2015/0618/Why-would-an-American-white-supremacist-be-fond-of-Rhodesia-video](http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Security-Watch/Backchannels/2015/0618/Why-would-an-American-white-supremacist-be-fond-of-Rhodesia-video). Accessed: 2017-05-12.

sentiments are echoed by Foldy who commented that “Few flags represent racialised violence quite as sharply as that of white Rhodesia, a flag whose historical implications belong alongside the swastika”.<sup>151</sup> Consequently, the Rhodesian flag was included as one of the world’s most controversial and divisive flags following the Charleston shooting in 2015 as shown in Figure 40.<sup>152</sup>



Of course, for Rhodesians there is now no “Mother Country” to look to, so the Rhodesian identity is one preserved in a mental space, without a physical space for reference, and which now uses modern technology in the shape of cyber-space and the Internet to prolong and maintain its identity. The Rhodesians have lost their “imagined political community” of the British Empire, and Rhodesia as a physical entity, and now are a community which is “imagined ...”.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>151</sup> B. Foldy, ‘Rhodesian Flag, Confederate Flag: Roof & the Legacies of Racial Hate’, 2015, [www.juancole.com/2015/06/rhodesian-confederate-legacies.html](http://www.juancole.com/2015/06/rhodesian-confederate-legacies.html). Accessed: 2017-05-12.

<sup>152</sup> D. MacGuill, ‘The World’s Most Divisive and Controversial Flags’, *thejournal.ie*, 2015, [www.thejournal.ie/the-worlds-most-controversial-divisive-flags-2181689-Jun2015/](http://www.thejournal.ie/the-worlds-most-controversial-divisive-flags-2181689-Jun2015/). Accessed: 2015-05-14.

<sup>153</sup> T. King, ‘Rhodesians in Hyperspace: The Maintenance of a National and Cultural Identity’, in K.H. Karim (ed.), *The Media of Diaspora: Mapping the Globe*, 2003, p. 183.

## 7.6 CONCLUSION: WHITHER RHODESIA?

Following the attainment of majority rule, the question arose of how, and what, of the colonial past was to be remembered in post-independence Zimbabwe. A new process of nation building commenced whereby the Rhodesian icons, monuments, iconography and cartography were dismantled in order that the landscape could be reclaimed to incorporate and reflect the African majority.<sup>154</sup> An official policy of national reconciliation was adopted in which the country's white population was offered the chance to disengage from the past in order that they be "freed from the role of the oppressor"<sup>155</sup> and rebuild an identity within a new "spirit of belonging".<sup>156</sup>

The Zimbabwe Bird, in various forms, is the definitive icon of Zimbabwe and features prominently in the iconography of the country.<sup>157</sup> The new flag adopted at independence depicts the same rendition of the Bird which had featured on the Rhodesian Coat of Arms and on both the Rhodesian and Zimbabwe Rhodesian flags. A possible explanation for retaining the "Rhodesian version" was that this was the commonly accepted rendition used at the time when the Zimbabwean flag was designed in order to be hoisted at the country's independence celebrations.

Another rendition of the Zimbabwe Bird now forms the crest of the new Zimbabwe Coat of Arms which was adopted on 12 September 1981.<sup>158</sup> A less stylised, more traditional

<sup>154</sup> For details of the process of re-inscribing the Zimbabwean landscape see, for example, J.L. Fisher, *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles: The Decolonisation of White Identity in Zimbabwe*, 2010, pp. 55-78; S. Magudu, T. Muguti, and N. Mutami, 'Deconstructing the Colonial Legacy through the Naming Process in Independent Zimbabwe', *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, 6(1), 2014, pp. 71-85; Z. Mamvura, C. Pfukwa, and D.E. Mutasa, 'Scale, Street Renaming and the Continued Visibility of Colonial Street Names in Harare', *Nomina Africana*, 34(1), 2020, pp. 21-32.

<sup>155</sup> M. Murphree, 'Race in the New Zimbabwe', Speech to the Institute of Personnel Management, Salisbury, 1980 as quoted by L. Fisher, *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles - The decolonisation of white identity in Zimbabwe*, 2010, p. 31.

<sup>156</sup> Zimbabwe, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3 March 1998, col. 3648, as quoted by L. Fisher, *Pioneers, Settlers, Aliens, Exiles - The decolonisation of white identity in Zimbabwe*, 2010, p. 28.

<sup>157</sup> For further details on the use of the Zimbabwe Bird in the iconography of Zimbabwe see B.B. Berry, 'Flying High - The Zimbabwe Bird on the Flags of Zimbabwe', Paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Vexillology, 15-19 July 2019, San Antonio (Texas).

<sup>158</sup> Zimbabwe, *An Explanation of the Coat of Arms*, n.d., p. 1.



rendition of the Bird, was placed on the reverse of the first issue of Zimbabwe's coinage. Zimbabwe Birds, in various forms, also feature in the logos and emblems of over 100 institutions within the country.<sup>159</sup> The Sable Antelope and the Flame Lily have also been retained as the flora and fauna symbols of Zimbabwe, although Kudus are the supporters on the new Arms.

On the second anniversary of independence in 1982, the Government announced the beginning of the renaming of towns and cities, rivers and dams. Salisbury, the capital city, was re-named Harare while some other place names and geographical features were amended to reflect the correct spelling in the relevant local language.<sup>160</sup> The process of changing and altering some street names also commenced. These changes also saw the amendment or adoption of new municipal symbols. Interestingly, Bulawayo did not change its name and its Coat of Arms and flag described in Chapter 5 continue to be used.

New public holidays and awards were also introduced. The statues of colonial heroes such as Cecil John Rhodes have been moved to less conspicuous places.<sup>161</sup> Initially *Ishe Komberera Afrika* (God Save Africa) was used as the national anthem. Composed in 1897 by Enoch Sonotoga, it was adopted by the African National Congress in South Africa and later became the anthem of Tanzania and Zambia, and part of the new South African anthem adopted in 1994. A new distinctly Zimbabwean anthem, *Simudzai Mureza wedu WeZimbabwe* (O lift high, high, our flag of Zimbabwe), was introduced in 1994.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> E. Matenga, 'The Soapstone Birds of Great Zimbabwe - Archaeological Heritage, Religion and Politics in Postcolonial Zimbabwe and the Return of Cultural Property', *Studies in Global Archeology*, 16, 2011, pp. 256-259.

<sup>160</sup> For the full list of name changes see Zimbabwe, *Names (Alteration) Act*, 1983.

<sup>161</sup> In May 1980 the statue of Rhodes in central Salisbury was moved and it now stands adjacent to the National Archives. The Bulawayo statue was also removed a few days later and it now stands in the gardens near to the Natural History Museum (P. Maylam, *The Cult of Rhodes – Remembering an Imperialist in Africa*, 2005, p. 45; D. Clarke, *Rhodes' Ghost – The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, p. 658). The statue of Sir Charles Coghlan, previously in front of the Bulawayo City Hall, has also been moved and was re-erected adjacent to that of Rhodes in the gardens of the Natural History Museum. The statue of Alfred Beit was also moved from Cecil Square and is also now in the gardens of the National Archives in Harare (D. Clarke, *Rhodes' Ghost – The Conquest of Zambesia*, 2020, p. 658).

<sup>162</sup> Zimbabwe, *The Zimbabwe National Anthem: Shona, Ndebele and English*, 1993; Zimbabwe, *National Anthem of Zimbabwe Act*, 1995.

Rhodesia's "Valhalla",<sup>163</sup> the graves of Cecil John Rhodes, Leander Starr Jameson and Sir Charles Coghlan, together with the Shangani Memorial at World's View in the Matopos remain, although not without controversy. Periodic calls have been made for Rhodes's remains to be removed and reinterred elsewhere. As early as 1961, Robert Mugabe called for Rhodes's bones to be dug up and returned to England as he had stolen the country from Africans. After Zimbabwe's independence, local activist, Lawrence 'Warlord' Chakaredza went on a tour of the UK and said "Rhodes's remains will be fed to the crocodiles in the Zambezi River if somebody does not come and collect them" despite opposition from the local Ndebele, including the Governor of Matabeleland South. Mugabe initially took a softer line indicating the bones should be left alone before changing his tune during the 2002 presidential campaign when he again called for the body to be removed.<sup>164</sup> Today, the area remains a national monument and is tourist attraction providing a source of income for the local community.<sup>165</sup>

The most enduring symbol of Rhodesia thus remains its flag - the first of the symbols to reflect the break with Britain and the one most associated with the post-UDI period. Most ex-Rhodesians are indignant, and indeed horrified, that "their" flag should now come to be associated with the worst excesses of white supremacy.<sup>166</sup> To them it represents the nostalgia of the past, the years of resistance, the comradeship of war and the perfidy of supposed friends who helped bring Rhodesia down. Despite the loss of a way of life, for white ex-Rhodesians, the loss of a country and the rootlessness which it has created, the beloved "Green and White" remains for them the proud symbol of all that had been achieved in ninety years, an heroic stance for certain values and defence against sanctions ... the symbol of what they regard as their 'lost' identity.

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<sup>163</sup> D. Fairbridge, *The Pilgrim's Way in South Africa*, 1928, p. 48.

<sup>164</sup> P. Maylam, 'Monuments, Memorials and the Mystique of Empire: The Immortalisation of Cecil Rhodes in the Twentieth Century', *African Sociological Review*, 6(1), 2002, p 143; P. Maylam, *The Cult of Rhodes - Remembering an Imperialist in Africa*, 2005, pp. 39-40.

<sup>165</sup> P. Maylam, *The Cult of Rhodes - Remembering an Imperialist in Africa*, 2005, p. 40.

<sup>166</sup> "This idiot – Dylann Roof – is NOT A RHODESIAN!", www.rhomain.com. Accessed: 2021-08-15; B.B. Berry, "The Beloved Green and White" - (White) Rhodesia's Search for a Unique Symbol of Identity', Paper presented at the 27th International Congress of Vexillology, 07-11 August 2017, London.



**Figure 41:**  
The Coat of Arms of the  
Rhodesia Association of South Africa  
(now the Flame Lily Foundation)  
(*Rhodesians Worldwide*, 34(4), April-June 2019, p. 24)

In an effort to preserve this identity, the Rhodesia Association of South Africa registered a Coat of Arms incorporating many of the local symbols (Figure 41).<sup>167</sup> The shield is based on that of the former Rhodesian Coat of Arms but with the Lion holding the Tusk, symbolising Cecil John Rhodes and the BSAC. On either side of the Lion is a Protea and Flame Lily, being the national flowers of South Africa and Rhodesia to symbolise both cultures in one country. The Gold Pick is derived from the Rhodesian Arms and symbolises prosperity through work. The crest is a Sable Antelope, again taken from the Rhodesian Arms, and rising proudly symbolises the spirit, proud history and heritage of Rhodesians. The wreath and mantling are in green and gold to symbolise the natural and mineral resources of both countries. The motto, “Sit Dignitas Ex Unitate” translates from the Latin as “May worthiness arise from unity” and is taken from the former national mottoes of both countries. Despite this, the flag remains central to the Foundation’s identity and continues to be prominently displayed at its various gatherings.

This thesis has shown that the emergence and evolution of a distinct Rhodesian identity was reflected in the various national symbols used in the country since the colonisation of the country. The shared sense of values, memories, rituals and traditions, enhanced by the

<sup>167</sup> The Coat of Arms was designed by the late Dr. Fred Brownell, former State Herald of South Africa (1982-2002), and was registered with the South African Bureau of Heraldry with Certificate Number H4/3/1/3091 on 16 October 1987. The Arms are illustrated and described, together with further background on the aims and objectives of the Flame Lily Foundation, in *Rhodesians Worldwide*, 34(4), April-June 2019, p. 24. One of the objectives of the Foundation is to “preserve the heritage of Rhodesia and to promote an interest in the country’s history and culture”.

acceptance and use of the collective symbols such as the flag, anthem and national holidays, helped to create and sustain communal bonds and a sense of national identity.<sup>168</sup> Although Kenrick argues that the RF created a series of “plastic and empty symbols” which could mean anything to anyone,<sup>169</sup> the continued emotional attachment to these symbols, and to the flag in particular, is indicative that they were, and still are, integral to the identity of white Rhodesians.

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<sup>168</sup> A.D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism - A cultural approach*, 2009, p. 25.

<sup>169</sup> D. Kenrick, ‘Pioneers and Progress : White Rhodesian Nation-Building, c.1964-1979’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p. 277; p. 280.

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## **VIII. PERSONAL INFORMATION**

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**Annexure 1:**  
A typology of national symbols

<b>THE PANOPLY OF NATIONAL SYMBOLS</b>	
<b>SYMBOL</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION/FUNCTION</b>
1. Coat of Arms (or State Emblem or Crest)	The formal device representing the State - found on official documents, publications and buildings, etc. The Arms are also usually included as part of the design of the Public Seal which is affixed to legislative documents, formal government agreements and contracts. A motto is usually included in the design of the Arms.
2. Flags	The primary identification marker for both citizens and the State. Vexillology distinguishes between a State Flag, for the exclusive use of the State and its representatives, and a National Flag, which has a more general use. Other official flags are employed for use by the armed forces and other agencies of the State.
3. Anthem	A patriotic song officially adopted as an expression of national identity – the musical equivalent of the Coat of Arms, flag or motto – which is sung at important State occasions and at international sporting events to demonstrate national allegiance.
4. National Day	The anniversary to celebrate the foundation of the nation-state, such as signing of the Constitution, the proclamation of Independence, the celebration of a military victory, etc. The National Day is often used to hold national parades which feature the armed forces, national sporting teams and presentations commemorating national achievements and demonstrating national pride.
5. National Buildings and Monuments	These are important artefacts of a nation's history which provide continuity with the past and reinforce a permanent feeling of belonging. Such 'symbolic architecture' can also be used to promote the country as a tourist destination (such as the Pyramids, the Kremlin, the Temple of Angor Wat, Buckingham Palace, the Cenotaph, the Statue of Liberty, Tiananmen Square, Great Zimbabwe, etc.).

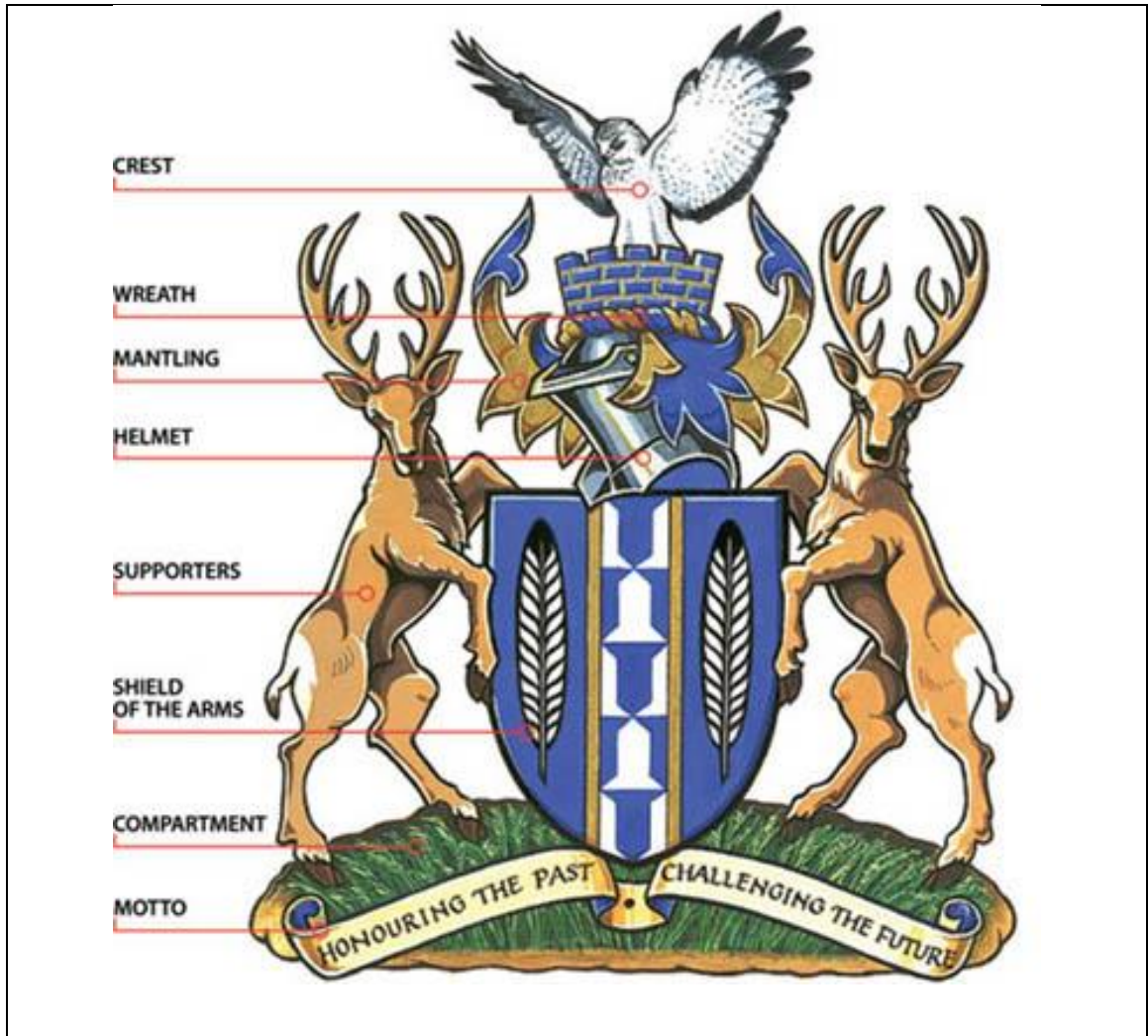
6. National Institutions	Institutions such as Parliament, the Constitutional and Supreme Courts, which are established to protect the rights of citizens are sometimes elevated to the status of a ‘symbol’ which then requires the appropriate reverence and protection by the State and its citizens. In Britain, for example, the Royal Family is considered a national symbol surrounding which there are a wide range of traditions which embody consensus and stability.
7. Parliamentary Mace	A symbol of authority historically used as a weapon, the mace in parliament signifies that it is in session and that its proceedings are official.
8. National Heroes	Individuals who have played a significant role in the creation of the State or those who have made a notable international contribution may be elevated to hero status (which can be either formal or informal) such as Simón Bolívar, Horatio Nelson, Vladimir Lenin, Mahatma Gandhi, Joan of Arc, Nelson Mandela, etc.
9. National flora and fauna	Animals, trees, and flowers which have national significance to a nation such as the Cedar Tree in Lebanon, the Maple Leaf in Canada, Bald Eagle in the United States, etc. and have become symbolic to the nation.
10. Decorations and Orders	Medals, Orders of Merit, Honours and Awards that are issued for gallantry and distinction in the armed forces and for service to the nation in other fields, helping to imbue a sense of national dignity and pride.
11. Rituals, myths and legends	Rituals, myths and legends are transmitted to, and reconstituted in, each generation by means of social and collective memories which serve to reinforce the morals, virtues and values which the nation wishes to uphold and celebrate the sacrifices of the past.
12. Banknotes and Coins	Depictions of the Arms, Head of State, heroes, national monuments and other achievements on banknotes and coins provide a constant reminder of national identity.
13. Postage Stamps	Postage stamps are an important conduit for communicating the broader image a State wishes to portray both locally and internationally.
14. National Title and Place Names	The name the State gives itself is an important signifier to its concept of itself, with a formal name being used to signify status and self-image. Names change as political conditions alter and as part of a process of



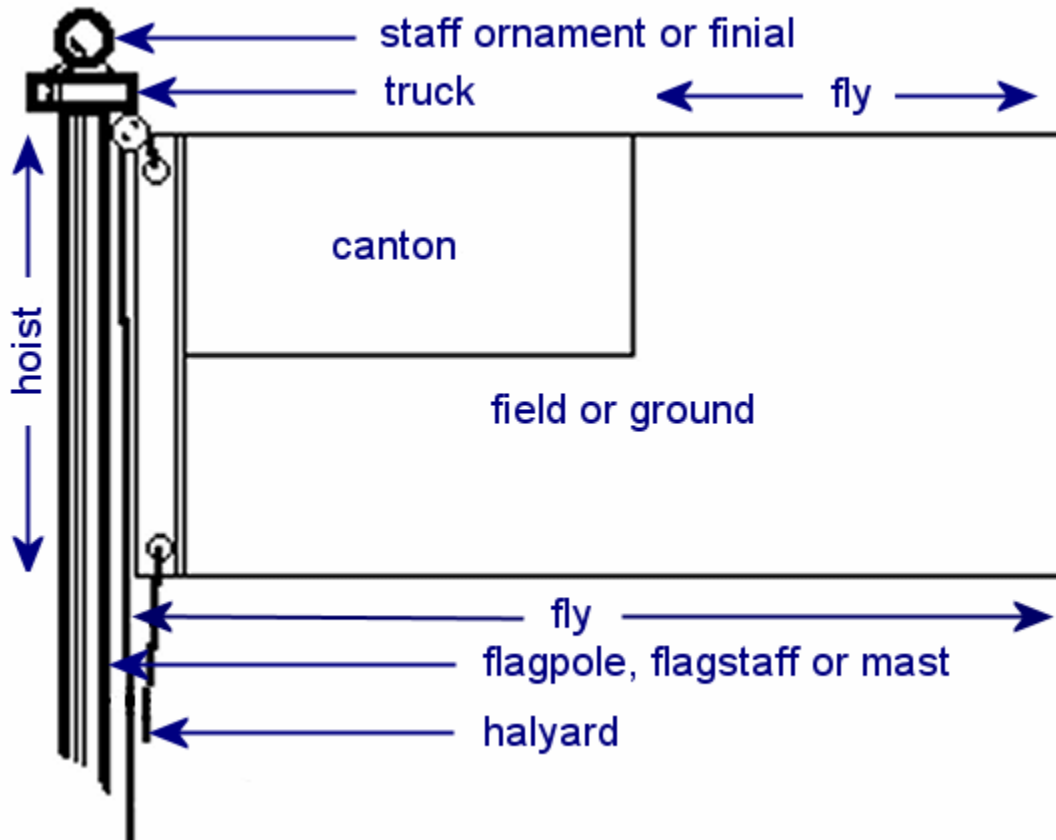
	asserting a change in identity (e.g. as seen following decolonisation in Africa, through making a religious reference in the formal name or insisting on the name of the state being expressed in a local language).
15. National 'flag carriers'	State owned or controlled companies (such as airlines or shipping lines) which are a medium for displaying the country abroad by virtue of the use of national colours in the markings or livery of their aircraft or ships. Where the State owns or operates railway or rail transport networks these too often have emblems and livery corresponding to national symbols.
16. National Language and Script	Connected with the above is the desire to restore, and even to use, an indigenous language (or languages) and script. This is one of the earliest manifestations of nationalism, which is part of a need to reinforce national identity and restore and preserve the 'cultural heritage' of a people.

(Adapted from W.G. Crampton, 'Flags as Non-Verbal Symbols in the Management of National Identity', D.Phil. thesis, University of Manchester, 1994, pp. 52-65).

**Annexure 2:**  
The parts of a Coat of Arms  
([www.internationalheraldry.com](http://www.internationalheraldry.com))



**Annexure 3:**  
The parts and terminology of a flag  
([www.netstate.com/states/symb/flags/flag\\_terminology.htm](http://www.netstate.com/states/symb/flags/flag_terminology.htm))



**Anatomy of a Flag**

- **Hoist:** Hoist is used to describe the height of the flag while flying. The term also refers to the edge of the flag that is attached to the flagpole or staff. You may hear the term "hoist end" to refer to this part of a flag.
- **Fly:** The length of the flag as measured from the attachment to the farthest point; The distance from the end of the canton to the free end of the flag or The width (length) of an extended flag.
- **Fly end:** The fly end is the part of the flag that flaps in the wind and sometimes becomes frayed.
- **Canton:** The canton is the top left-hand corner of a flag.
- **Field:** The section of the flag between the hoist and the fly ends is called the field or, sometimes, the ground. It does not include the canton.

**Annexure 4:**  
 List of those who hoisted the flag on Pioneers' Day (1905-1978)

Year	Name	By Whom
1905	Frank Salisbury Pascoe	First European boy born after occupation
1906	Freda von Hirschberg	First European girl born after occupation
1907	Leo MacLaurin	Son of Mr. A. MacLaurin, 1890 Pioneer
1908	Ida Honey	Daughter of Wm. Streak Honey, 1896
1909	No ceremony due to a small-pox epidemic	
1910	Cecil Craven	Son of Mr. P. Craven
1911	Laurie Arnott	Son of Mr. S. Arnott
1912	Francis Huntington Brown	Son of Mr. H. 'Curio' Brown
1913	David S. Mills	Son of Mr. J.W.T. Mills
1914	Jim Kennedy	Son of Mr. J.H. Kennedy
1915	Miss Arnott	Daughter of Mr. S. Arnott
1916	Master Arnott	Son of Mr. S. Arnott
1917	George Schlacter	Son of Mr. J. Schlacter
1918	Molly Sanderson	Daughter of Mr. Sanderson
1919	Harold Harper	Son of Mr. H. Harper
1920	Master Craven	Son of Mr. P. Craven
1921	Lorna Edmonds	Daughter of Mr. J.A. Edmonds
1922	Sybil Craven	Daughter of Mr. P. Craven
1923	Anna Schlacter	Daughter of Mr. J. Schlacter
1924	Laurence Arnott	Son of Mr. S. Arnott
1925	Rose Schlacter	Daughter of Mr. J. Schlacter
1926	Peter Whiteley	Grandson of Col. F. Johnson
1927	J.H.C. Nicholls	Son of Major J.E. Nicholls
1928	Gladys Drew	Daughter of Mr. A. Drew
1929	Barbara Windell	Daughter of Mr. H.J. Windell
1930	J.H.C. Nicholls	Son of Major J.E. Nicolls
1931	Grace Bertram	Daughter of Mr. C.P. Bertram
1932	Commander Tyndale-Biscoe	Who hoisted the flag in 1890
1933	Walter Edmonds	Son of Mr. J.A. Edmonds
1934	Capt. Hoste and Denton Mathews	An 1890 Pioneer and one of his descendants
1935	Roy Pilcher	Grandson of Mr. T.W. Rudland, OBE

1936	Raymond George Peake	Grandson of Mr. Carruthers
1937	Estcourt Cresswell Palmer	Grandson of Mr. J.A. Palmer
1938	Marcus Edmonds	Grandson of Mr. J.A. Edmonds
1939	Gladwin Carruthers	Grandson of Mr. Carruthers
1940	Hon. Lionel Cripps	1890 Pioneer and Speaker of the Legislative Assembly
1941	John Stace Carruthers-Smith	Grandson of Mr. E. Carruthers-Smith
1942	June Marshall	Granddaughter of Mr. T.W. Rudland, OBE
1943	Pamela Bertram	Granddaughter of Mr. C.P. Bertram
1944	Roy H. Cripps	Grandson of Mr. L. Cripps
1945	Michael Whiley	Grandson of Mr. M.W. Barnard
1946	Jennifer Rudland	Granddaughter of Mr. T.W. Rudland, OBE
1947	Mr. J.A. Palmer	1890 Pioneer, BSAC Police
1948	Mr. J.L. Crawford	1890 Pioneer
1949	Col. Divine, DSO	1890 Pioneer
1950	Mr. T.W. Rudland, OBE	1890 Pioneer (President of the Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society)
1951	Lindsay Crawford	Grandson of Mr. J.L. Crawford
1952	Mr. J.T. Harvey	B Troop, Pioneer Corps, 1890
1953	Mr. C.F. Creighton	A Troop, BSAC Police, 1890
1954	Mr. R. Carruthers-Smith	B Troop, BSAC Police, 1890
1955	Mr. R. Carruthers-Smith	B Troop, BSAC Police, 1890
1956	Mr. F. Everitt	Pioneer Column, 1890
1957	Mr. F. Everitt	Pioneer Column, 1890
1958	Mr. E.R.B Palmer	Son of J.W. Palmer
1959	Mr. C. Boardman	Grandson of Mr. C.H.C. Boardman
1960	Mr. G. Broom	Grandson of Mr. J.T. Harvey
1961	Mr. R.A. Fry	Grandson of Mr. E. Fry
1962	Mr. F.B. Johnson	Son of Sir F. Johnson
1963	Mr. E.B. MacLaurin	Grandson of Mr. A. MacLaurin
1964	Mr. N.A. Tatham	Grandson of Mr. A. Tulloch
1965	Mr. C. da Vies	Grandson of Skipper Hoste
1966	Mr. R.H. Bray	Son of Mr. R. Bray
1967	Mr. G. Arnott	Grandson of Mr. S.N. Arnott
1968	Mr L. Davis	Great Grandson of Hon. L. Cripps

1969	Mr. N. Bertram, CMG, OBE	Son of Mr. C.P. Bertram
1970	Mr. G. Schlacter	Son of Mr. J. Schlacter
1971	Mr. F.I.H. Nesbitt	Great Grandson of Mr. F. Nesbitt
1972	Mr. G.N. Brakspear	Great Grandson of Mr. H. Sanderson
1973	Mr. J. Orpen	Grandson of Mr. A.F. Orpen
1974	Mr. R.R. Bray	Great Grandson of Mr. R. Bray
1975	Mr. B.D. Bawden	Great Grandson of Mr. H.S. Bawden
1976	Ms. M.R. Gibson	Great Granddaughter of Col. C.H. Divine
1977	Mr. G.D. Jelley	Great Grandson of Mr. S.N. Arnott
1978	Mr. C. MacLaurin	Great Grandson of Mr. A.J. MacLaurin

(Source: J.B.L. Honey, 'Hoisting the Flag on Pioneers' Day, *Rhodesiana*, 1971, 24, pp. 59-62; J.B.L. Honey, 'Hoisting the Flag on Pioneers' Day', *Rhodesiana*, 1979, 40, pp. 58-59.)