

CHAPTER 12

The steady progress towards modern police methods with up to date equipment, and, perhaps more importantly the general development of Northern Rhodesia, now suffered another great setback with the outbreak of the Second World War on 3 September 1939. This time the enemy's borders were far away. Nevertheless there was still a sizeable number of Germans among the European population of Tanganyika. Their reaction to the outbreak of hostilities could not be foreseen and a company of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment was immediately despatched to reinforce the King's African Rifles in that territory. There were also intelligence reports of a Nazi force assembling in Angola to threaten Katanga and the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt. On 29 August the remainder of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, with 80 African recruits and 50 Europeans of the newly reformed Northern Rhodesia Volunteer Force, a total of 400 men, had been deployed on the Congo Border in the Mwinilunga District, west of Chingola, to counter this threat, which never materialised. Assistant Inspector Bernard O'Leary and a party of police were also involved in this operation, setting up a post at Kansanshi. By the end of September the threat was deemed no longer to exist and the Regiment returned to Lusaka to prepare for its move north.¹

Meanwhile the Northern Rhodesia Police had been engaged in the arrest and internment of enemy aliens. This task was completed on 4 September with the aid of special constables recruited from members of the European population whose loyalty was not called into question by their ancestry. There were 1,160 aliens in Northern Rhodesia, 9% of the white population. 63 German and 39 Italian mine employees had earlier been identified and watched as potential saboteurs, although strict instructions were now given that nothing should be done to cause offence to still neutral Italy. 116 men, women and children were arrested and taken to a temporary camp at Ndola. Some were released while those who appeared to require internment were sent to Gwelo in Southern Rhodesia. Hans Rhuys, who had taken employment with Moore's Chemists in Livingstone not long before the war, was believed to be involved in a plan to blow up the Victoria Falls Bridge. While in internment he made no secret of his commitment to the Nazi cause. He killed himself before the war's end.²

Special constables also assisted with guarding vulnerable points, including airfields and the mines, the product of which was vital to the allied war effort. Guards on vulnerable points on the Copperbelt were in place by 11pm on 22 August, only three hours after the alert was received from London. A similar alert during the Munich crisis of 1938 had served as a useful rehearsal. Assistant Inspector F H Letchworth of the regular force died of blackwater fever while guarding the Luangwa Bridge. He

would not leave his post before his scheduled relief arrived. The burden on the Northern Rhodesia Police was eased in 1942 when the Northern Rhodesia (African) Defence Force was formed and took over the duty of providing many vulnerable point guards.³

At the outbreak of war air raid precautions were instituted throughout the Territory. In Fort Jameson the signal for an anticipated raid was to be the ringing of bells. Naturally the District Commissioner had to order that bells should not be rung for any other purpose. However by 12 September 1939, he felt able to announce that, owing to the manner in which the war had developed, the restriction on the ringing of bells could be lifted. Should any unforeseen emergency arise, a warning would be given by very fast and continued ringing of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission bell.

A pigeon was caught on a mine building in Kitwe with a piece of paper tied to its foot. The paper bore pencil marks which could possibly have been a plan or a map. With great secrecy the paper was sent post haste to London to be examined by M.I.5. Some while later it was learnt that the missive appeared to emanate from a member of a religious sect, the members of which were in the habit of communicating with God by pigeon post!⁴

In 1940 the total strength of the Force was 7 gazetted officers, 87 members of the inspectorate, and 578 African police. The Nkana Detachment was renamed Kitwe Detachment. There were some 10 Europeans and 42 African police serving at Luanshya under Inspector John Hawkins, soon to be promoted Chief Inspector.

Nearly all the European members of the Northern Rhodesia Police volunteered for military service. All were conscripted under the Emergency Powers Regulations and required to remain at their police duties in the Territory, although on 1 June 1940 six were released for duty with the Armed Forces. On 12 July instructions were issued that applications for release must cease and only four more European police officers were allowed to leave the Territory for active service with H.M. Forces during the war. This caused much discontent. One assistant inspector deserted from the Force in order to enlist. He was apprehended and underwent a sentence of imprisonment for his offence. Most of those released were employed on police duties in occupied and liberated territories, although A/Insp G M Beal, who had completed a short service commission with the Royal Air Force before joining the Colonial Police, returned to flying duties, initially in Southern Rhodesia, where many RAF aircrew learnt their trade under the Empire Air Training Scheme, but later on operations with Bomber Command.⁵

3,626 offences against the Penal Code were recorded for the year 1940, and 7,695 against other ordinances, a slight increase on the 1939 total of 10,538 for all offences. Despite competition from the Army, 80 African police were recruited during the year. Of these 14 had had no formal education, and 14 had reached only Standard 1. 18 recruits had attained Standard IV but only 7 Standard VI. In the

whole Territory only 3,000 African children were in their fifth year of schooling and only 35 were receiving secondary education. The first secondary school for Africans, Munali, had only opened in 1939.⁶

Early in 1940 Sitali Shilling had reported at Livingstone Police Station that his brother, Sipuku, had been taken by a crocodile while herding cattle on Long Island in the middle of the Zambezi. Others of the 20 or so Africans employed there corroborated his story. Two weeks later A/Insp Jack Seed and Geoff Bolton were enjoying an evening swim in the floating bath near the Zambezi Boat Club. Their attention was drawn to the partially decomposed body of an African which had washed up against the boom which protected swimmers against crocodile. There was a jagged wound on the side of the throat which, at first sight, seemed consistent with an attack by such a beast. At the mortuary Sitali identified the body as that of Sipuku. However A/Insp C G Byrne noted that the dead man's clothing was caked in blood, which one would have expected to have dispersed in the water, had the man been seized and dragged straight in by a crocodile. The post mortem revealed that Sipuku had not died from drowning.

Sitali Shilling took Seed and Byrne in his canoe to the place where he claimed the accident had occurred, on the Northern Bank of Long Island, about a mile above the swimming bath. Experiments with a log indicated that, if the story were true, the body would have been washed over the Victoria Falls without going anywhere near the Boat Club. Detectives Kabole and Shanabwato with Const Akaliwa searched the mainland bank opposite Long Island and found a flattened patch of reeds with apparent blood stains. A log launched from here finished up against the swimming bath.

Further inquiries on the island revealed that there had been illness among the inhabitants for which the deceased had been blamed. Sitali, the capitao in charge of the herdsmen, was looked upon as a witch-doctor. He had had Sipuku taken to the mainland and held down while he cut the man's throat in such a way as to resemble the indentations of a crocodile's teeth. Sipuku had been left there overnight to bleed to death. The next day his body had been thrown into the Zambezi and the fictitious report made to the police. On 20 March 1940 Sitali Shilling was convicted of murder and sentenced to death.⁷

There were now 24,000 Africans and 2,500 Europeans employed in the Copper Industry. On 17 March 1940 the European miners at Mufulira came out on strike followed on 21 March by those at Nkana. To ensure that production continued their pay was increased and work recommenced on 27 March. The example was not lost on African mineworkers who struck two days later. There was intimidation of those who wished to go to work which extended to visits to the European Mine Townships to force out African domestic employees.

The Northern Rhodesia Regiment had recently been expanded to two battalions.

The 1st Battalion had left for Active Service in the Horn of Africa, while the 2nd, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel A N Bagshaw, remained to perform internal security duties at home. A company of this battalion was now sent to Mufulira and another to Nkana, to guard the mine installations and compound offices while the Europeans of the Northern Rhodesia Defence Force patrolled the white townships. The police provided protection for Africans who wished to go to work.

Assistant Superintendent H M L Wilkinson had arrived to take command of the 17 European police and 50 Africans of the Nkana Detachment on 29 March. At 0600 hrs on 3 April he deployed with a strong police party to the mine workers' compound to protect the loud speakers at the football field where a crowd of 5-6,000 assembled. So well behaved were the strikers that at 0815 hrs Wilkinson sent his men back to the station except for A/Inps Proust and Lindsay and 4 constables with whom he patrolled the compound in a vanette. The police wore steel helmets and carried long batons, Africans having wicker shields and Europeans their .45 revolvers and tear gas bombs. After three quarters of an hour the vehicle brakes proved defective and, rather than risk an accident the patrol returned to the compound office which was guarded by Capt R Francis Jones, two other officers, 4 British sergeants and 70 asirikari of 2 NRR with two Lewis guns.

At 1045 hrs Wilkinson was in the office when he heard a loud noise and saw a huge crowd surging down the road from the football field. The leaders swung to the left and through the compound gates. Some Africans who were lined up outside the office waiting for their pay scattered pursued by the crowd throwing stones. Some had sticks. Wilkinson who, after calling for reinforcements, had gone towards the gates, and the other 6 police were unable to stop the rush. They tried to close the gates but one was stuck fast due to lack of use. A European mineworker was asked to block the entrance with his ten ton truck but this was forced aside. In any event there was a gap in the fence only 20 yards along where a railway line entered the compound and rioters were already using this route. Police calls for them to stop were ignored. So frenzied were the strikers that some were seen gnawing at the wire fence to get in. The head of the mob stormed down the east side of the office until they came to the garage and turned west straight through a double line of soldiers knocking some over and disorganising the rest, stopping at the store where the railtrack ended. The offices were now surrounded by a mob which was enraged by the news of their colleagues drawing pay. The soldiers tried to force the crowd back by bringing the butts of their rifles down on bare feet. The police threw 5 or 6 tear gas bombs which temporarily stemmed the rush but despite repeated warnings by the police the mob rained stones on the security forces. Wilkinson went to Capt Francis Jones who was close to the side of the offices. 12 Africans were some 8 yards away advancing with bricks. The officers drew their pistols but their assailants came on. Wilkinson gave a final warning before firing 5 shots at the knees of the men nearest to him. Jones fired his automatic pistol and ordered his men to fire. An African sergeant manning a Lewis gun was laid out by a blow on the head before he could fire. The disorder had broken out so suddenly that the troops were still wearing their soft felt slouch hats. The other Lewis, manned by two British sergeants, was put

out of action by a rock on the magazine after four shots had been fired. A/Insp S A Neal was felled by a brick in the act of throwing a teargas bomb which exploded among the security forces. At first the firing had little effect. Agitators had told their followers that the weapons were only loaded with paper! Finally the attackers drew off and the "Cease Fire" was sounded on the bugle. A/Insp Hughes and two constables had appeared just before the firing commenced and further police reinforcements now arrived from the station so that when brave spirits launched a second assault it was beaten off by the police alone with 10 tear gas grenades. The dead and injured were collected by mine 'police' and first aiders. There was a first aid station close by the offices.

258 rounds of rifle and Lewis gun ammunition had been expended by the troops, one accidentally. Capt Jones had fired 20 shots from his pistol and another Army officer, one. Police officers had fired 23 rounds in all from their revolvers. 17 rioters were killed and 63 wounded. None were killed by police officers although at least four were wounded by revolver shots. 20 soldiers and 11 policemen had been injured. A/Insp R E Proust was wounded in the back of the head by a rock that dented his steel helmet. A/Insp Byrne was injured in the knee and Lindsay's face had been grazed by a stone. Most of the soldiers had only a few months service and there is no doubt they were much shaken. Like the police at Roan Antelope in 1935 some took shelter in the building and fired through the windows. However the firing was kept under control by the sufficient number of officers and NCOs. Had the order to fire not been given the troops and police would undoubtedly have been overpowered and lives among them lost.

The subsequent inquest found that the 17 dead had been "killed by unknown soldiers of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment acting in defence of life and property". Two missionaries who were present agreed that it was necessary to open fire. Capt Jones gave evidence that the European police, at considerable danger, remained close to the crowd, giving warnings until eventually they had to retreat under a hail of stones. The Coroner described Mr Wilkinson's conduct as beyond criticism and beyond praise. He was subsequently awarded the Colonial Police Medal for Gallantry for his part in the action.

After the mob had dispersed hooliganism continued in the compound where huts were burnt and the property of compound staff damaged. There was minor rioting at Chingola after an African woman was hit by a clerk issuing rations and a European mine employee joined in the dispute. 200 white troops were brought up from Southern Rhodesia where a detachment of the BSAP was stood by. The local units of The Northern Rhodesia Defence Force were reinforced but by the time Harry Franklin and the rest of the Broken Hill Detachment arrived on the Copperbelt, all was quiet. They patrolled the silent compounds by night in lorries, with bayonets fixed. On 8 April all the strikers were back at work. Their wages were increased.⁸

In September 1940 Senior Assistant Superintendent T M Davidson, in command of the Depot at Livingstone, was having a good root round the Stores when he came

across the shell of an old drum left behind on the departure of the Military in 1932. At the Depot were now ten boy buglers and Mr Davidson hit on the idea of forming a drum and bugle band. He had been a keen drummer in his school Officers Training Corps band, and was able to put the drum into a serviceable condition. He had some drum sticks made at Livingstone Central Prison and taught some of the boys to beat a 2-four or 6-eight march. By whistling some bugle marches Tommy Davidson was able to teach the buglers to play them. As a substitute bass drum he acquired a Barotse drum.

At about this time Assistant Inspector L M Clark joined the Training Depot staff as Second in Command and only other European officer. Nobby took up the new project with enthusiasm so that when, soon after, the Commissioner came from Lusaka on inspection, he was received on parade with a salute played by the embryo band. Money and all types of equipment were difficult to come by, but Mr Hart could see the value of a band for parades and enhancing morale. Knowing that Sir Stewart Gore-Brown DSO, then an active and influential member of the Governor's Council, was about to visit Livingstone, Harry Hart arranged for him to include the Depot in his itinerary. The 57 year old former Royal Artillery officer gave the band his backing, promising that if he could not persuade Government to make a grant of £100 for band equipment, he would provide the money out of his own pocket.⁹

A few months later the Government provided the money and four side drums and a proper bass drum were purchased. A spare drum-major's mace, once used by the Regiment's band was found at Lusaka, and sent down. The Deputy Commissioner, Mr R J W Verrall, presented a leopardskin for the bass-drummer. Nobby Clark painted all the drums with the Force crest and his wife, Joan, daughter of the former RSM Schronen of the Military Branch, made a drum-major's sash. Boy Bugler Sibanyati was selected as drum-major and promoted sergeant. Davidson and Clark became even more ambitious and a fife was purchased. There being no further funds available, a number of other fifes were made from steel conduit piping by Inspector J W "Gunner" Hughes, in charge of the Police Stores. After much hard work the buglers managed to produce tunes on these instruments.

The Commissioner then proposed that there should be a Force march. His wish was Mr Davidson's command, and Tommy produced a tune with lyrics which were taught to recruits by Sergeant (later Sub-Inspector) Paul Wang. This tune was later incorporated into the march "Nkhwazi", composed for the Northern Rhodesia Police by Mr George Hey ARCM, who became bandmaster in 1954. The original words were:-

"We are proud of the Police Force,
And proud of our uniforms too.
And when you see us marching with our rifles
You would think we are in the Army too.

But we are only policemen

and have very many things to do
and when you see us on beat duty
You'll know we're looking after you.

We are all of one tribe.
Our tribe is the N.R.P.
And now we are together,
Three cheers for the N.R.P."¹⁰

In 1941 a new Northern Rhodesia Police Ordinance was promulgated. Section 6 required that "the Police Force shall be employed in and throughout the Territory for preserving the peace, for the prevention and detection of crime and for the apprehension of offenders against the peace". It stated, "The provisions of this Ordinance shall be in addition to and not in substitution for or in derogation of any of the powers, authority, privileges and advantages, nor of the duties and responsibilities of a constable at Common Law".

The Commissioner of Police, subject to the orders and directions of the Governor, was to have "the command, superintendence, direction and control of the Force". The Ordinance listed 51 punishable offences against police discipline, the last one being "any act, conduct, disorder or neglect to the prejudice of good order and discipline not hereinbefore specified".

Although recruitment of European officers had been brought to a halt by the War, 102 Africans were recruited during 1941, of whom 7 had no educational qualifications, and 8 had only completed Standard I. The majority, 59 had reached Standard IV, but only 5 had attained Standard V or VI. Expenditure on the Force was £64,577. 13,908 offences were reported in 1941.

For the following year expenditure increased to £74,056. The number of recruits more than doubled to 263. Education was improving. While 10 of these new constables had had no formal schooling and 4 had only completed Standard I, 34 had reached Standard II, 79 Standard III, 83 Standard IV, 42 Standard V, and 11 Standard VI. In the whole Territory 86,300 African children were said to be in school. Crime had continued to rise with a total of 16,139 offences reported to the police.¹¹

The European Mineworkers Union led by Frank Maybank continued to threaten production. Maybank was said to be an ardent communist who hated capitalism and regarded the war as unnecessary. Among his allies were Afrikaners who felt no loyalty to the Empire. On the other hand, mineworkers, like the police, were prevented by Emergency Powers Regulations, from leaving to join the armed forces. Some non-union members supported the drive for a closed shop in the belief that once it was implemented they would be sacked and thus free to enlist! With Government sanction the mining companies entered into a closed shop agreement in September 1941 but the Emergency Powers Regulations prevented its full

enforcement while the War continued.

Intelligence indicated that on a visit to Soviet Russia, Maybank had been shaken to find that all men there were not treated as equal. Evidently the explanation he received from the Russian leadership as to why such an ideal was not yet practicable for the Russian people helped him to follow a union policy a major aim of which was to prevent African mineworkers progressing to jobs held by whites.

Neither the grant of the closed shop nor Hitler's invasion of Russia nor threats of deportation persuaded Maybank to cease agitation. Things reached a head in September 1942 when he tried to involve the European miners and railway workers in an industrial dispute at the Katanga mines in the Belgian Congo. It was decided that Maybank and two Afrikaners should be deported. The Southern Rhodesia Armoured Car Regiment was brought in to assist the police in maintaining order while the arrests and deportations were effected but all went quietly. Back in England Frank Maybank obtained employment as a seagoing storekeeper and was involved in salvage work with the Merchant Navy, which suggests that his attitude to the War had changed to some extent. In 1945 he returned to his union activities on the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt. Clearly he held no grudge against the NRP as in 1948 he encouraged a nephew, John Maybank, to join the Force. ¹²

On 9 July 1942 Inspector S A Wright led a party to the rescue of an injured man at Victoria Falls. A stretcher was improvised and the man was brought up 400 feet out of the gorge. In 1946 Sydney Wright was to be awarded the Life Saving Medal of the Order of St John in recognition of this exploit. ¹³

Although an independent Northern Rhodesia Prisons Department came into being in 1942, four officers of the Northern Rhodesia Police were still holding additional appointments as superintendents of local prisons as late as 1946. ¹⁴

From early in the War some 4,000 Polish refugees reached Northern Rhodesia. A camp was established for them at the disused Bwana Mkubwa Mine site under the command of Captain S "Chops" Grills. Fifteen African police were posted for duty at this camp. In 1944 members of the Force had to be found for duty at a second Polish refugee camp at Katambora, near Livingstone. A third was subsequently required and they remained open until 1948.

In December 1941 Northern Rhodesia was asked to prepare an internment camp for 1,500 Italian civilians formerly resident in Abyssinia. This was put in hand at Kafue. In March and April ten Poles were attested as temporary assistant inspectors of police and with 128 specially recruited African guards commenced training at the Depot at Livingstone. On 7 May 1942 Lieutenant Colonel A N Bagshaw was appointed Commandant. Having raised and trained the 2nd Battalion, The Northern Rhodesia Regiment, he had been judged too old to lead it on active service overseas, and sent to form the 4th Battalion at Fort Jameson. East Africa Command

sent the Italians elsewhere and the guard force was disbanded in late August. An Army Malariologist criticised the camp as being in a malarial area. The Northern Rhodesia Government's Director of Medical Services pointed out that the whole Territory was a malarial area! In 1943 Arthur Bagshaw was seconded to the Northern Rhodesia Government as Director of War Evacuees and Camps succeeding Lt Col Sir Stewart Gore-Brown DSO MLC in that post.¹⁵

In 1940 Superintendent Andrew Pickup had been transferred to Aden as Deputy Commissioner of Police. In September 1942 he returned as a Lieutenant Colonel and Assistant Director of Intelligence and Security for Northern Rhodesia. Assistant Superintendent Deane-Simmons and another European police officer were seconded to assist him.

14 African police were detailed for duty as Government House Guard at Lusaka under the veteran Sergeant Malalo, Number 3 in the Force. The Northern Rhodesia Police furnished this guard until 1 July 1946 when it again became a military responsibility. In 1944 the Force took over the guarding of Lusaka Airport from the Northern Rhodesia Regiment. This guard was maintained until 1 April 1946.¹⁶

In 1943 the number of African recruits had again increased, to 295. In 1944 the number dropped to 245. Seven of these held Standard VII certificates of education and one Standard VIII, although the vast majority continued to be Standard III or IV. During the last year of the War only 178 Africans were recruited, none holding more than a Standard VI certificate.

Assistant inspectors grade II attested before 1 January 1944, who passed the Northern Rhodesia Civil Service Examination in an African language at Lower Level, were eligible for promotion to Assistant Inspector Grade I after four years service, and to Inspector after completing seven years in the Force. Conditions of Service were now changed to require those recruited after that date to complete seven years as assistant inspectors grade II, and eleven years service for promotion to Inspector.

Early in the War the Northern Rhodesia Police had had to give up its .303 Lee Enfield rifles to arm new units of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment and was issued with American .300 Springfields. These were so unsatisfactory that in 1944 the annual musketry practice had to be cancelled because of the number of blow-backs.¹⁷

The "Standing Orders, General Instructions and Dress Regulations" issued in 1936 had become out of date and were replaced in 1944 by a loose leaf volume of "Standing Orders", consisting of 143 single sided pages - twice as long as the original work but easier to amend!

Expenditure on the Northern Rhodesia Police had risen steadily since 1941 to reach £88,918 for 1944. Offences against the Penal Code had risen to 5,754 in 1943, while other offences reported reached a wartime peak of 10,571 in 1942. Breakings and

theft markedly increased during the War, while murders averaged forty per year. Other crimes of violence had shown a tendency to decrease. The increase in breakings into African housing was ascribed to the rising cost of living and shortages in the supply of blankets, cooking pots, food and clothing caused by the War. Nevertheless 1945 showed a slight drop in all offences with 5,378 against the Penal Code and 10,408 against other laws. Expenditure on the Force was reduced by £2,000 in 1945.

During the War the powers of native courts to deal with criminal cases were increased and urban native courts established.¹⁸

Towards the end of the War so many categories of African in the Territory wore a khaki uniform with black fez, that it was decided that African police should wear the Force badge in front of theirs. Seven battalions and one independent garrison company of The Northern Rhodesia Regiment had been raised and most had served outside the Territory, including those who saw action in Somaliland, Ethiopia, Madagascar and Burma. The soldiers returned home wearing boots. Accordingly, after the War, the African police were issued for the first time with black ankle boots, worn with long blue puttees. "Knickers" were henceforth to be called "shorts".

The title "Detachment Commander" for the senior officer on a police station was discontinued towards the end of the War, to be replaced by "Officer in Charge".¹⁹

NOTES CHAPTER 12

1.PRO CO795/111/45237 Story NRR p76

2.Governor's telegram 5.9.39 PRO CO795/111/45237; Nkhwazi Vol 12 No.1 Apr'64 p37

Leopold F MOORE MLC founder, proprietor & editor Livingstone Mail, proprietor Moore's Chemists Livingstone b1892 London to SA, Mafeking & Bulawayo '98 Old Drift Livingstone 1904

3.Governor's telegram above, Nkhwazi Apr'64 p39

4.Nkhwazi Vol 12 No.1 Apr 1964 pp38-9

5.Nkhwazi Apr'64 p37; Cox report National Police College library Bramshill; NR report 1940-46 IWM

6.NR Report 1940-46 IWM, "A History of Zambia" Andrew Roberts

7.Article J B Seed Nkhwazi Vol 1 No.4 Apr 1953

8.PRO CO795/116/45109/7F; Story NRR pp83-4; Nkhwazi Apr'64 p39; Bagshaw taped interview IWM

Lt Col R FRANCIS-JONES ltr CO 3NRR

9.Lt Col Sir Stewart GORE-BROWNE DSO 17 b83 s/o Sir Francis KC ed Harrow RMA RFA Lt Anglo-Belgian Bdy Comm NR'11 OC 32BAC 1914 Staff Capt RA 12Div'15 BMRA 5Div 1.16 LO with Portuguese 17 GSO2 MA to CinC BAOR 10.4.19-31.5.20 Shiwa Ngandu Estate Mpika'21 MLC Kt'45 d67

10.Nkhwazi Vol 10 No.1 Aug'62 p4 & Vol 12 No.1 Apr'64 p58,

11.NR Report 1940-46 IWM

12.PRO CO795/122/45109/7, letter John Maybank 8 Apr 2002.

Frank S Maybank b1901 Richmond Sy sheep musterer NZ'19 miner to Aust 1925 car sales NSW miner Son of Gwalia Gold Mine WA Aust Minewkrs Union local Chairman to USSR'34 Salesman GM Aust Communist Pty to NR'39 Gen Sec EMU-53 rtd Aust'56

13. Annual report 1946 Rhodes House

14.NR Report 1940-46 IWM

15.PRO CO795/133/45369

16. Annual report 1946 Rhodes House

17.Nkhwazi Vol 11 No.1 May 63 p13

18.NR Report 1940-46 IWM

19.Nkhwazi April 1964 p39, 'knickers' Vol 10 No.2 Dec 62 p31