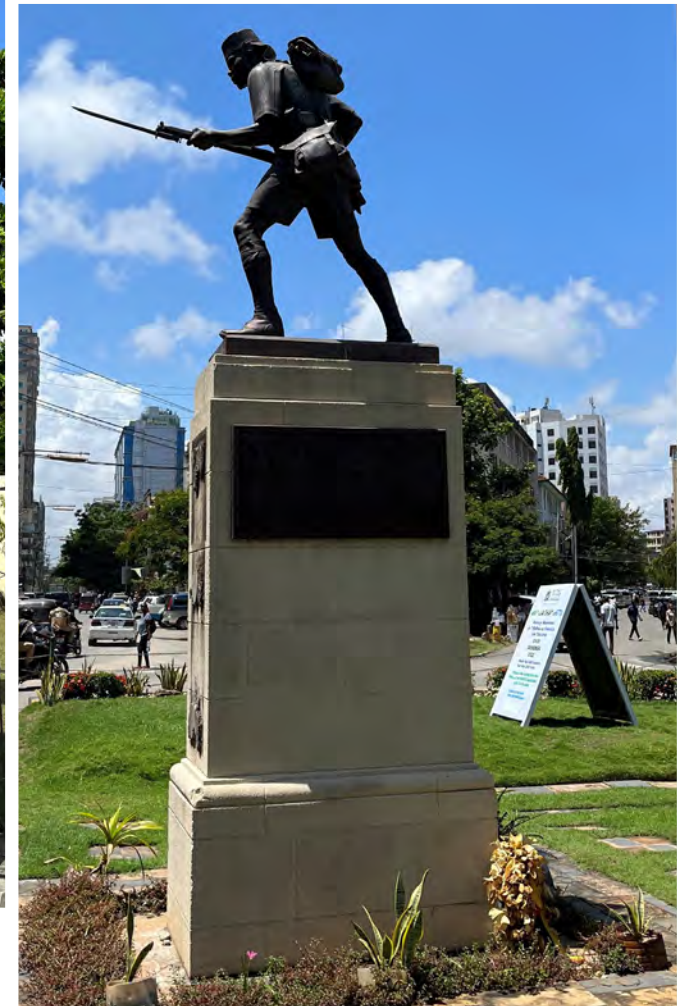


AFRICAN MEMORIALS, MOMBASA, NAIROBI AND DAR-ES-SALAAM
HERITAGE APPRAISAL
ISSUE 07
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Rowenna Malone/Michael Morrison

On behalf of Purcell®

St Mary's Hall, Rawstorn Road, Colchester, Essex CO3 3JH

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AFRICAN MEMORIALS, MOMBASA, NAIROBI AND DAR-ES-SALAAM: HERITAGE APPRAISAL

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SECTION 1.0: INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE CWGC

The Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) is an independent intergovernmental organisation, founded by Fabian Ware and constituted through Royal Charter in 1917. The key aim of the organisation is to honour the 1,700,000 men and women of the forces of the Commonwealth who died in the two world wars and ensure that their memory is never forgotten.

The CWGC cares for cemeteries and memorials in over 150 countries and territories at 23,000 locations, of which the African Memorials in Nairobi, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam are three.

The values and aims of the commission were set out within the Kenyon Report, which was the founding charter of the Imperial War Graves Commission.⁰¹ This remains relevant and significant to the management of the Commission today. The overarching principles are outlined below.

The Commission's Principles

- Each of the dead should be commemorated by name on the headstone or memorial
- Headstones and memorials should be permanent
- Headstones should be uniform
- There should be no distinction made on account of military or civil rank, race or creed

The Commission's Heritage Principles

- Principle 1:** Equality of treatment of the dead and missing is of paramount importance (Original Commission Principle, 1917)
- Principle 2:** The sites must have a sense of dignity and inspiration (Principle established by Kenyon, 1918)
- Principle 3:** Commemorations must be legible (their name liveth for evermore)
- Principle 4:** The heritage value of the Estate must be preserved for future generations in perpetuity
- Principle 5:** The historic Estate will be sustainably managed according to the Corporate Strategic Plan
- Principle 6:** Cemeteries and memorials must look cared for (Corporate Strategic Plan)

1.2 NON-COMMEMORATION REPORT

In 2021, the CWGC published a report into historical inequalities in commemoration following the First World War. This report, which built on earlier work, found that in the 1920s across Africa, the Middle East and India, imperial ideology influenced the operations of the IWGC in a way that it did not in Europe, and the rules and principles that were sacred there were not always upheld elsewhere. As a result, contemporary attitudes towards non-European faiths and differing funerary rites, and an individual's or group's perceived 'state of civilisation', influenced their commemorative treatment in death. One consequence of this was that an estimated 100,000 casualties were not commemorated by name across Egypt and East Africa. Although in most cases the IWGC did not make the decision to diverge from its principles unilaterally, it was acknowledged that it should at least be considered

complicit in those that were made. Out of this work emerged the Non-Commemoration Programme, which was focussed on further understanding and correcting, wherever possible, the commemorative inequalities of the past. This includes working with experts and community partners to find potential burial locations and continuing the search for the names of those who were not previously included in the Commission's records. The CWGC has committed to permanently commemorate all names recovered through the Non-Commemoration Programme. By working on the ground and in the archives, it is the continuing mission of the Non-Commemoration Programme to ensure that the ten recommendations which emerged out of that 2021 report are implemented.⁰²

1.3 PURPOSE AND SCOPE

This report has been prepared to gain greater understanding of the decision-making throughout the history of the memorials, from immediately after the First World War until the present day, and, with a thorough understanding of their significance in the past and today, to explore how best to make better known the contribution of the fallen Africans to the First and Second World Wars.

The scope of the reports is the three African Memorials in Nairobi, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam. Searching for the names of the people represented by the memorials is not within the scope of this report as this is being researched elsewhere.

Although conceived as a whole, this report has been designed to have the information relating to the different memorials easily extracted into separate documents for future use. Consequently there is some repetition in the individual sections for the different memorials, reflecting the shared heritage values and opportunities they have.

⁰¹ The Kenyon Report was published in 1918. It was the work of Lt-Col Sir Frederic Kenyon K.C.B, the Director General of the British Museum at the time.

⁰² See *Report of the Special Committee to Review Historical Inequalities in Commemoration*, (Maidenhead: CWGC, 2021), <https://www.cwgc.org/media/noantj4i/report-of-the-special-committee-to-review-historical-inequalities-in-commemoration.pdf>.

INTRODUCTION

1.4 STRUCTURE

1. Introduction	Outlines the purpose and scope of the report and provides contextual background on the CWGC and the Non-Commemoration Programme.
2. Understanding the Sites	Provides an overview of each memorial and its setting.
3. Historic Development	A detailed account of the origins of the memorials and the development of each since their design to the present day. Also contains contextual information on the military units represented, the sculptor and the political and social circumstances of the time when the memorials were created.
4. Assessment of Significance	A summary statement of significance for each memorial and a more detailed assessment of their heritage values.
5. Future Opportunities	An exploration of potential opportunities to enhance engagement with the memorials and a list of priorities for each memorial.
6. Bibliography	A selection of the sources used in preparing the report.

Appendices

1.5 NOTE ON LANGUAGE

Please note, much of the historic material that has informed this report has been drawn from the archives of an organisation that was the direct product of Empire. Though the work of the IWGC in the 1920s was driven by the spirit of unity in common sacrifice, that unity was seen through the lens of British imperialism. It should, therefore, be understood that the terminology and language applied by the organisation then is very different to what is deemed acceptable now. This is not to excuse its use but simply to state that it was a product of its time. As such, when directly quoting from an historic document, the authors have reproduced the terms as they were used then. When setting out the consequences of policies and actions, the authors have endeavoured to use terminology that is more accurate and appropriate for those affected. Moreover, countries, territories and place names will initially be given as they were during the events being referred to. They are followed by the appropriate current title given in brackets.

1.6 ABBREVIATIONS

CWGC	Commonwealth War Graves Commission
IWGC	Imperial War Graves Commission
KAR	King's African Rifles
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
NMK	National Museums of Kenya
NMT	National Museum of Tanzania
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
TAA	Tanganyika African Association
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TNA	Tanzania National Archives
TPDF	Tanzanian People's Defence Force

INTRODUCTION

1.7 AUTHORSHIP

The report has been prepared by Purcell, a firm of architects and heritage consultants, specifically by Rowenna Wood MA(Cantab) MA IHBC, Consultant, and Michael Morrison RIBA, Consultant, in collaboration with teams from Kenya and Tanzania.

The following members of CWGC staff have been involved in reviewing and contributing to the report:

- Patrick Abungu, Heritage Manager, Nairobi
- Daniel Achini, East African Regional Manager, Nairobi
- Simon Bendry, Head of Outreach, Maidenhead
- John Burke, Project Historian, Maidenhead
- Peter Dickerson, Works Manager, South Asia, South Africa and East Africa, Maidenhead
- Peter Francis, Chief of Staff, Maidenhead
- Mercy Gakii, Heritage Supervisor, Nairobi
- Jaffer Gulamhussein, Heritage Supervisor, Nairobi

Kenya Team



Professor George Okello Abungu is the former director of National Museums Kenya, an Associate Professor at the University of Mauritius, Honorary Professor of Museums and Heritage Studies at the Australian National University and a Fellow at the Stellenbosch University, South Africa. He was formerly the Kenya representative to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee and has been recognised by awards around the world for his contribution to heritage.



Philemon Nyamanga is a Research Scientist at National Museums Kenya.



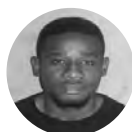
Sarah Kassim is a Scientific Researcher at National Museums Kenya.

Jimbi Katana is the former Head of Coastal Sites at National Museums Kenya and has expert knowledge of cultural heritage in and around Mombasa

Tanzania Team



Flower Manase is Curator of History at the National Museum of Tanzania and works closely with the Goethe Institut to provide museum talks in multiple countries. She has also worked closely with museums in Germany on exhibitions relating to colonialism.



Salim Jelejeza is a curator at the National Museum of Tanzania and a Cultural Officer at the Ministry of Culture Arts and Sports.



Bernard Ntahondi is a historian and heritage manager at Dar es Salaam Centre for Architectural Heritage.

UK Team



Rowenna Malone is a highly experienced heritage consultant who has previously prepared Conservation Management Plans for CWGC sites and other internationally and nationally significant sites. She is a founder trustee of the Commonwealth Heritage Forum and Expert Member of the International Polar Heritage Committee



Michael Morrison is an expert conservation architect, an Associate Professor at Hong Kong University, a Trustee of the Greenwich Foundation and a Commissioner for Historic England.

CWGC Lead



David McDonald is a qualified Archaeologist, Building Surveyor and Project Manager. Having been involved in community heritage and architectural conservation projects across Sub-Saharan Africa for almost 10 years, he is now the Operational Lead for the delivery CWGC's Non-Commemoration Programme.

SECTION 2.0: OVERVIEW OF THE SITES

2.1 Nairobi African Memorial

2.1.1 Site Location

The Nairobi African Memorial is located on a traffic island on the southern side of Kenyatta Avenue towards the eastern end, close to the junction with Wabera Street. It is in the centre of Nairobi, the capital of Kenya.



Approximate location of the Nairobi African Memorial

Nairobi African Memorial

OVERVIEW OF THE SITES

2.1.2 Site Description

Nairobi African Memorial is formed of three individual bronze statues atop a tripartite stone cenotaph with a bronze inscription plaque in the centre. The dates of the First and Second World Wars have been inscribed and painted into the plinth either side of the panel. The central statue depicts a soldier of the King's African Rifles (KAR) with his rifle resting on the ground. To his left is an Intelligence Corps scout with his rifle slung over his left shoulder. The third statue is of a carrier in a simple short tunic and wrap with a staff in his right hand. All three statues are carefully observed with all aspects of their dress and equipment carefully replicated in bronze. The inscription panel bears the same inscription in English, Swahili in Roman characters and Swahili in Arabic lettering:

'This is to the memory of the native African troops who fought: to the carriers who were the feet and hands of this Army: and to all other men who fought and died for their King and Country in Eastern Africa in the Great War 1914-1918.

If you fight for your country even if you die, your sons will remember your name'



Nairobi African Memorial (Photograph by David McDonald, CWGC)

OVERVIEW OF THE SITES

2.1.3 Setting

Kenyatta Avenue has two lanes of traffic down its centre, wide islands with pedestrian paths, lawn and trees with railings on the main road side, and then another lane on each side for local traffic with parking off it. The memorial sits on one of the islands with a modern moulded tessellated tile floor around it and a blue painted rail on posts in front of it. A dead tree is located to the south-west and a palm forms the end of a row of trees to the north-east. A street lamp with advertising sign is also located to the north-east and a gantry across the road.

Opposite it across the road on the other island is a stone obelisk on a tripartite plinth that forms the British war memorial, which is simply inscribed *'1914-1918/1939-1945/To Our Glorious Dead'*.

The building that forms the backdrop to the African Memorial is the Standard Chartered bank, an impressive three storey stone building with double height columned portico that was built in the interwar period and has thus formed the backdrop more or less since the memorial was erected. To the east of it is another colonial era building, constructed in 1931, Sanlam House. Both buildings have small, flowering trees outside them and form an attractive backdrop to the memorial that is only marred by parked cars.

Behind the British war memorial are also two storey colonial era buildings but modern additions have altered their appearance. There are a few other colonial-era buildings along the street but many others are modern and include some very tall high-rise buildings of concrete and glass or steel and glass. These date from every decade since independence.

OVERVIEW OF THE SITES

The Nairobi African Memorial is one of several sites that the CWGC cares for in the city:

Place	Casualties	Representations	Notes
Nairobi War Cemetery	1942	WWII; Commonwealth and French	
Nairobi South Cemetery	160	WWI and WWII	
Nairobi (Kariokor) Municipal Cemetery	59	WWII	
Nairobi (Forest Road) Cemetery	78 war and 38 non-war graves	WWII and WWI	
Nairobi (Quarry road) Muslim Cemetery	33	WWII	
Nairobi Park Cemetery	1	WWI	
Nairobi Memorial	477	Non-operational British, South African and East African	In Nairobi War Cemetery
Nairobi British and Indian Memorial	1234	WWI British and Indian	In Nairobi South Cemetery
East Africa Memorial	2400	WWII (including losses from troopship <i>Khedive Ismail</i> in 1944)	In Nairobi War Cemetery



Plan showing approximate locations of the war cemeteries in Nairobi

- 01 Nairobi Park Cemetery
- 02 Nairobi (Forest Road) Cemetery
- 03 Nairobi Kariokor Cemetery
- 04 Nairobi (Quarry Road) Muslim Cemetery
- 05 Nairobi African Memorial
- 06 Nairobi South Cemetery
- 07 Nairobi War Cemetery

OVERVIEW OF THE SITES

2.1.4 Views

The best views of the Memorial are from the pavement near the obelisk war memorial and from the pavement outside the Bank of India, the latter combining both war memorials in the view. In these views the African Memorial is seen against the backdrop of colonial-era buildings constructed around the same time as the memorial and these convey a sense of the Nairobi that was being planned and constructed in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

There is also an angled view of the Memorial from the junction of Kenyatta Avenue and Wabera Street (north). The Memorial can also be seen in views from along Kenyatta Avenue in both directions. However, the memorial is not so prominent amidst the trees, traffic lights and street furniture.

The back of the memorial can be viewed from outside the Standard Chartered Bank and Sanlam House as well as from the southern junction with Wabera Street.

OVERVIEW OF THE SITES

2.2 Mombasa African Memorial

2.2.1 Site Location

The Mombasa African Memorial is located on the north side of Mombasa Road (A109 dual carriageway) to the east of the Mackawi Road junction in the centre of Mombasa, Kenya. It is at Mwembe Tayari, which, today is the terminal centre for the transport system on the island.



Approximate location of the Mombasa African Memorial

Mombasa African Memorial

OVERVIEW OF THE SITES

2.2.2 Site Description

Mombasa African Memorial comprises four bronze statues surmounting a tripartite stone cenotaph with a large central bronze inscription plaque and two additional smaller bronze plaques to either side. In the centre is a KAR soldier standing to attention with his rifle resting on his shoulder with an Arab Rifleman to his right, who carries his rifle over his right shoulder. On the left hand side of the composition on a slightly lower pedestal is an Intelligence Corps scout with rifle resting on the ground, and on the right of the group is a carrier who has his arms resting on his staff. The detail of dress and equipment are all accurately reproduced in bronze. The inscription panels include the same inscription in English, Swahili in Roman characters, Swahili in Arabic lettering, and Arabic:

'This is to the memory of the Arab and native African troops who fought: to the carriers who were the feet and hands of this Army: and to all other men who fought and died for their King and Country in Eastern Africa in the Great War 1914-1918.

If you fight for your country even if you die, your sons will remember your name'



Photographs by David McDonald, CWGC

The sides panels bear the additional inscription:

'Here also are commemorated those who gave their lives in East Africa and those from this country who died in other lands serving the cause of freedom during the years 1939-1945'

By the side of the memorial statues, on the left side, are two enamel finished interpretation panels with one in English and the other in Ki-Swahili, recently erected by the CWGC in partnership with the National Museums of Kenya after restoration work in 2018.



OVERVIEW OF THE SITES

2.2.3 Setting

The Mombasa African Memorial is set back from the busy dual carriageway by a wide pavement that has been subdivided with rails to form a separate area in front of the memorial. It has low trees and planted beds as well as two interpretation panels. In line with the memorial are black painted metal gates with bougainvillea covered walls flanking these. Behind is a small landscaped area which originally contained a circular seating area but this has been removed.

The dual carriageway has a central reservation with raised grass beds and concrete flag paths. Electricity poles and street lights are arranged along the central reservation. The dual carriageway has a third lane each side that is used for buses and other vehicles that are stopping.

To the north-east of the site is the Muslim Cemetery that predates the memorial. This is enclosed by a tall wall painted white with blue decoration. To the west of the memorial is a three storey Art Deco building but most of the buildings in the area are more modern and taller. The green and white domed towers of a mosque can be seen further down the street (Masjid Shibu). On Mackawi Road, at the end of the enclosed area for the memorial, are informal stalls set up against the boundary.

The Mombasa African Memorial is one of several sites that the CWGC cares for in the city. See table and map adjacent:

2.2.4 Views

The views of the Mombasa African Memorial are short distance views from a small viewing arc on Mombasa Road. With relatively open space around them, the bronze statues catch the sun and the vegetation around the memorial makes for an attractive immediate setting.

The way in which the memorial is set back from the road means that views of the Memorial are not possible from further up Mombasa Road. There are no views of the memorial from the end of Mackawi Road because of the stalls that line the road.

Place	Casualties	Representations	Notes
Mombasa (Mbaraki) Cemetery	168 (and 28 non-war)	WWI and WWII; Commonwealth and other nationalities	The WWI graves are located within the former municipal cemetery whilst an adjoining section later became the CWGC Second World War Cemetery.
Mombasa (Manyimbo) War Cemetery	227 (and two non-war)	WWII; Commonwealth and two others	
Mombasa (Manyimbo) Roman Catholic Mission Cemetery	19	WWII	This is a small CWGC cemetery hedged off from the adjoining municipal section.
Mombasa British Memorial	81	WWI; British, South, West and East African and West Indian	In Mombasa (Mbaraki) Cemetery. Commemorating those buried at sea.



- 01 Mombasa (Manyimbo) Roman Catholic Cemetery
- 02 Mombasa (Manyimbo) Cemetery
- 03 Mombasa African Memorial
- 04 Mombasa (Mbaraki) Cemetery
- 05 Fort Jesus

Plan showing approximate locations of the war cemeteries in Mombasa

OVERVIEW OF THE SITES

2.3 Dar es Salaam African Memorial

2.3.1 Site Location

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial is located in the centre of a traffic island at the junctions of Samora Avenue, Maktaba Street, Azikiwe Street and Makunganya Street in the south-east of the historic core of Dar es Salaam, the capital city of Tanzania. It is approximately 150m north-west of the shoreline.



Approximate location of the Dar es Salaam African Memorial

Dar es Salaam
African Memorial

OVERVIEW OF THE SITES

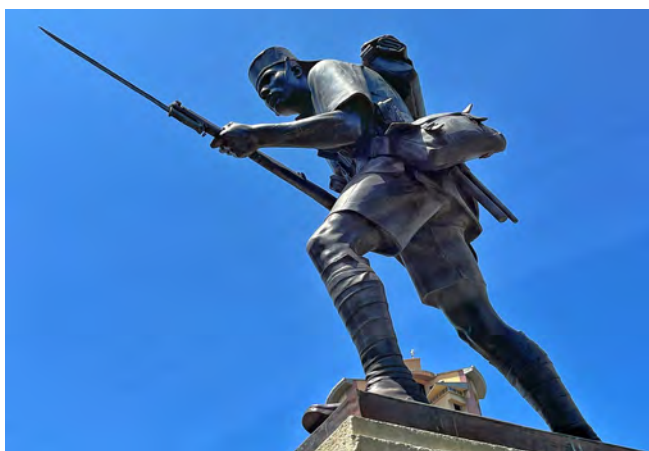
2.3.2 Site Description

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial comprises a statue of a single KAR soldier atop a stone plinth or cenotaph with bronze inscriptions on the south-east and north-west sides of the memorial and bronze relief panels on the other two sides. The bronze statue depicts a KAR soldier with his bayonet mounted on his rifle ready to charge, the sense of action reinforced by his foot extend over the bronze base. The north-east panel shows a line of carriers from the Carrier Corps transporting their loads with a KAR soldier alongside them. The south-west panel is of KAR soldiers ready to attack with some manning a machine gun. A carrier and a scout are also shown. The inscription panels have a partial moulded border around their top parts. The inscription is in English, Swahili in Roman characters and Swahili in Arabic lettering. The Swahili used here is slightly different than used on the Kenyan memorials to reflect dialect differences.

The English inscription reads:

'This is to the memory of the native African troops who fought: to the carriers who were the feet and hands of this Army: and to all other men who fought and died for their King and Country in Eastern Africa in the Great War 1914-1918.'

'If you fight for your country even if you die, your sons will remember your name'



Photographs by David McDonald, CWGC

OVERVIEW OF THE SITES

2.3.3 Setting

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial is set off-centre in a planted roundabout that has an area of shrubs to the south-east and lawn over the rest of the roundabout. There are four stone flag paths to the memorial. The roundabout has a painted concrete kerb.

The buildings around the memorial are a mixture of colonial-era, low-rise buildings with a traditional appearance and modern, higher-rise buildings. There are some trees, especially on the east side.

To the south of the memorial at the end of Maktaba Street is the Victorian cathedral to the east and a landscaped park which contains the cenotaph memorial to the west. These both sit on the sea front with water beyond.

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial is one of several sites that the CWGC cares for in the city. See table and map adjacent:

2.3.4 Views

The Dar es Salaam Memorial is a landmark at the junction of five roads and there are good views of the memorial from along each. The view from Maktaba Street from the south-east is somewhat concealed by the shrubs and plants in front of the statue.

There are good views of the statue from the pavements on the junctions of the streets. Many of the buildings have changed and are of a much greater scale than when the memorial was erected in the late 1920s. The view from Maktaba Street has the Askari Centre and another small colonial-era building forming the backdrop, which gives more of a sense of the original setting of the memorial. The buildings on the junction of Maktaba and Samora Street are also of a smaller scale and have trees in front, which forms a pleasant backdrop in views from the Askari Centre.

There are also very good views of the memorial from the paths that approach the memorial. Here the memorial is most prominent and seen amidst its immediate setting of lawn and shrubs.

Place	Casualties	Representations	Notes
Dar es Salaam War Cemetery	1844	WWI and WWII; Commonwealth and other nationalities	Created in 1968 when Ocean Road Cemetery had to be moved and further graves added from across Tanzania.
Dar es Salaam (Upanga Road) Cemetery	234	WWI	
Dar es Salaam (Kinondoni) Municipal Cemetery	11	WWII	Civil cemetery with CWGC graves
Dar es Salaam British and Indian Memorial	More than 1500	WWI	In Dar es Salaam War Cemetery.
Dar es Salaam Hindu Cremation Memorial	14	Indian	In Dar es Salaam War Cemetery.
Pugu Road 1914–1918 Memorial	124	WWI	Records Christian burials that could not be maintained.
Tanganyika Memorial	Over 350	WWII African	Graves unknown or could not be maintained.



Plan showing approximate locations of the war cemeteries in Dar es Salaam

- 01 Dar es Salaam War Cemetery
- 02 Dar es Salaam (Kinondoni) Cemetery
- 03 Dar es Salaam (Upanga Road) Cemetery
- 04 Dar es Salaam African Memorial

SECTION 3.0: HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.1 SUMMARY OF HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

Following the end of the First World War, the Commission consulted with the governments in Kenya and Tanganyika regarding proposed memorials to the missing Africans of the East Africa campaign. The absence of available lists meant the memorials would not be inscribed with individual names. The governments advised the creation of memorials with sculptures rather than plain cenotaphs. The Commission selected James Alexander Stevenson as the sculptor in December 1922. He used photographs and borrowed items of dress and equipment to create three bronze memorials: a group comprising an askari, a scout and a carrier for Nairobi, the same with the addition of an Arab Rifleman for Mombasa and an askari with bronze relief panels for Dar es Salaam..

Complications regarding securing agreed sites, the form of the inscriptions and the translation of the inscriptions delayed the completion of the memorials. The first of the sculpture groups to be completed was the one for Nairobi and this was displayed at the Royal Academy in 1925 before being shipped to Kenya. It was erected and then taken down as the Governor did not like the location so it was not until May 1928 that it was officially unveiled. The next set of bronzes to be finished was the Mombasa group but delays meant the Commission would only allow a painted plaster model of the bronze sculpture to be exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1926 whilst the sculpture itself was sent to Africa. The Mombasa memorial was unveiled in 1927 with a setting designed by Sir Herbert Baker, whose brother coincidentally worked for the Mombasa Council. The last memorial to be completed was the one for Dar es Salaam. A model of the main bronze sculpture was displayed at the Royal Academy in 1927 and the two relief panels were exhibited in 1928. It is thought to have been erected in 1927 but the planned unveiling ceremony was cancelled.

The subsequent histories of the memorials in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam have been relatively quiet. A major renovation of the Nairobi memorial was undertaken in 1972 and in 1984 there was a brief controversy over its potential removal and replacement but the then Kenyan President, Daniel arap Moi, stepped in to avert this. In the 1930s the Dar es Salaam Memorial was encircled by a roundabout and the area landscaped. It too was renovated in 1974 and subsequently well maintained. The bayonet tip was stolen and replaced in the mid-1990s. Today the askari monument is seen as an iconic landmark of Dar es Salaam and has featured in art and popular cultural objects as well as sporting advertisements.

The Mombasa Memorial has, however, had a much more complicated history. From the late 1940s there were discussions of relocating it as it was difficult to keep clean in its location and at the same time it was suggested it could be combined with a new memorial to the missing Africans of the Second World War. Whilst the latter idea was eventually quashed by the Commission's construction of such a memorial in Nairobi, the threat of relocation persisted into the 1970s. By this time the area around the Memorial had deteriorated into a rubbish tip and the bronzework was in poor condition. The bronze was renovated in 1973 and a new enclosure and landscape was created in 1979. Problems persisted due to lack of water and the persistence of stall holders in the vicinity of the Memorial. The gates installed were of poor quality and had to be replaced in the mid-1990s. The seating was removed in 2002. Between 2009 and 2011 a spate of thefts caused loss of the bronze panels and parts of the sculptures. A major repair and 3D scanning project was undertaken in 2018.

3.2 CONTEXT: THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN EAST AFRICA

3.2.1 The War in East Africa

On the 4th August 1914 Britain entered the First World War against Germany. On the same day, British troops from Uganda attacked a German outpost on Lake Victoria. The Germans retaliated with raids into Kenya and Uganda. In an attempt to stop this, the British launched an offensive to take the northern part of the German East Africa (Tanganyika) in November but this failed.

The British and German sides fought not only on land but also at sea. In the summer of 1915, the German cruiser *SMS Königsberg* sank *HMS Pegasus* at Zanzibar and the British in turn sank the *Königsberg*. Inland, the British and Germans battled for control of Lake Tanganyika.

In 1916 the British launched an attack from the north involving the King's African Rifles and Carrier Corps in a bid to take the German colony but the German General Von Lettow-Vorbeck had established a guerrilla force of 500 askaris who were able to evade the British forces. The Germans were, however, pushed back to the southern part of the colony and the British gained control of the railway from Dar es Salaam along the coast.

A major battle at Mahiwa in October 1917 forced the Germans into Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) but after nine months they returned to German East Africa and pushed on into Northern Rhodesia in August 1918. News of the Armistice did not reach the German General until the 14th November, the day after he had taken Kasama. He agreed to a ceasefire and formally surrendered on 23rd November.

Besides these major events, there were constant raids and skirmishes as the two sides sought control particularly of the railways and ports. The key British port of Mombasa is said to have only avoided capture thanks to the volunteer unit, the Arab Rifles.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.2.2 African Soldiers and Carriers

Military Labour Corps

Initially called the Military Labour Bureau and colloquially called the Carrier Corps, the Military Labour Corps were a logistical African support labour force created by the British during the First World War specifically to support the armies fighting on the British side (including the Indian Army) in East Africa.

The British recruited more than 400,000 men to serve as porters carrying requisite supplies on their backs to provide support to the army. Their job included carrying ammunition and supplies as well as the injured soldiers back to camp. The British used human portage instead of draught animal (horses and mules) as the latter were gravely affected by trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness caused by tsetse-flies) and because there was poor transportation infrastructure in the region.

The porters faced multiple challenges including the physical difficulties of covering vast areas on bare foot, illness and being provided with inadequate rations (typically half European servicemen's rations). The porters were also not provided with adequate facilities and provisions such as beds, medical supplies and vaccinations leading to high mortality rates. Their remuneration was poor: the 1915 Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance stated the monthly wages for Carrier Corps were Rs 5 (five Rupees, an equivalent of KES 8.38 today), which included food and nourishment. This wage was increased to Rs 6 (six Rupees, an equivalent of KES 10.68 today) after three months. They were granted less leave and less pension than the European servicemen. It has been claimed that European officers in charge of animals had a higher status than officers in charge of the African carriers.

The Carrier Corps were recruited in three ways: volunteers, quotas for African chiefs and conscription, with the latter being the most common. The Carrier Corps was recruited from various settlements in British East Africa (Kenya and Uganda), Nyasaland (Malawi), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), German East Africa (Tanganyika), Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) and the Belgian Congo. The British officer in charge of the recruitment of the Carrier Corps was Lt Col Oscar Ferris Watkins.

The recruitment plan demanded Provincial Commissioners in different provinces to generate the required number of men while the Chief Secretary of the Colonies in England followed up to ensure that the recruit quotas were received. The District Officers who were close to the local areas took the necessary action to supply the required number of men by personally visiting each sub-district. Chiefs who were successful in this process were duly recognised in the annual reports as an incentive for them to do even better.

The men of the Carrier Corps were enrolled either from the Swahili people of the coastal region or from the nearby communities. It is reported that people from the Nandi ethnic group were recruited mostly for the King's African Rifles, rather than the Carrier Corps, and those from the Taita were granted exemptions from the Carrier Corps until 1917. Instead, they worked closer to their homeland sending fewer men to support the East African campaigns than, for example the Luo from Nyanza Province.⁰¹ The number enlisted as Carriers by the 5th March, 1917, was around 100,000.⁰² From Kenya Colony, 162,578 Africans were recruited to the Carrier Corps and 23,869 died.⁰³

⁰¹ Clarke, *Threads of Memory: A Culture of Commemoration in Kenya Colony, 1918-1930*. PhD (History) Thesis, Waterloo University, Ontario, Canada, 2020: 44; Savage and Munro, 'Carrier Corps Recruitment in the British East African Protectorate, 1914-1918' in *Journal of African History*, Vol. 7 (2), 1966: 336, 338.

⁰² Clarke, *Threads of Memory: A Culture of Commemoration in Kenya Colony, 1918-1930*. PhD (History) Thesis, Waterloo University, Ontario, Canada, 2020:95.

⁰³ *The Standard* (Nairobi), July 1927.

The organisation of the Carrier Corps was no different from that of other regiments across the imperial army. All men were registered and could be tracked wherever they were, notes were made on their payments, hospitalisation, desertion and death, and there were registration and payroll documents. Weekly lists of the names of death were sent to local authorities. The main list had 42,000 named carriers who had died.⁰⁴



Photograph of a porter in the Carrier Corps

⁰⁴ Watson, *Diary of World War I, March 1918-July 1919*. Park Place Publications, 1919.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

King's African Rifles (KAR)

Initially called Askaris (African soldiers), these were people who provided escort to European explorers, missionaries and administrators. In Kenya from 1895, the British organised them into a regular, disciplined, uniformed force called the East African Rifles, which, in 1902, formed the 3rd Battalion of the King's African Rifles (KAR). In 1905, the Colonial Office took overall command of the KAR but gave responsibility for the individual battalions to the East African colonial governments.⁰⁵ The KAR were used by the British as a local security force and thus between 1902 and 1914, the KAR carried out "punitive" expeditions against various indigenous groups including the Gikuyu, Embu, Gusii and Turkana, among others. The KAR was also used to coerce various indigenous groups to pay taxes and to submit to colonial authority.

The KAR was organised into different units comprising of the 1st and 2nd KAR that were recruited and based in Malawi (then known as Nyasaland) and established from the Central Africa Regiment; the 3rd KAR were aligned with British East Africa (later Kenya) and the 4th and 5th KAR in Uganda (Uganda Rifles). The 2nd and 5th KAR were later revived and manned by General Jan Smuts for the South African troops, while the 6th Regiment was recruited in Somaliland. The 6th was disbanded in 1910 and later became the Tanganyika Battalion in 1917 absorbing soldiers from the ex-German colony.

The KAR grew from Smuts' 8,159 troops to 23,325 by July 1917 under General Reginald Hopkins (expanding from six to twenty battalions but were demobilised to ten in 1919). Ultimately, the KAR grew to over 30,000 troops by 1918. Of this number, 4,237 African askaris and 177 Europeans died within the KAR ranks as the campaign drew to a close.⁰⁶

The KAR was made up of indigenous soldiers, British officers and others drawn from elsewhere in the Empire, often as non-commissioned officers. It had a distinctive uniform of red fezzes and short sleeveless Zouave jackets.

The Africans' engagement in the war allowed them to escape the punitive colonial hut and poll taxes and to earn some money for their services. Their pay was lower than the European soldiers but higher than the Carrier Corps porters with wages ranging typically between 7 and 15 rupees a month.

With the coming of Kenya's independence, the 3rd, 5th, and 11th Battalions of the King's African Rifles were subsequently handed over to the new Government of Kenya and became the 3rd, 5th, and 11th Battalions of the Kenya Rifles.



A photograph of a group of KAR soldiers with two African NCOs

⁰⁵ Harrison, CA, *From King's African Rifles to Kenya Rifles: The Decolonization and Transition of an African Army, 1960-1970*. History Honors Thesis, University of Colorado at Boulder, 2016; Parsons, T, 'Kibra Is Our Blood': The Sudanese Military Legacy in Nairobi's Kibera Location, 1902-1968. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 30 (1), 1999: 15, 16.

⁰⁶ Thomas, C. G, 'Kings African Rifles'. In *International Encyclopaedia of the First World War*, edited by Michelle Moyd, 2015.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The Arab Rifles

The Arab Rifles were a local regiment that administratively came under the KAR. It was comprised of Yemenis and Hadramouts (from an area today split between Yemen, Oman and Saudi Arabia) who were mostly either water carriers in Mombasa or working on coastal plantations near Mombasa. Some were mercenaries from Aden and others were released prisoners or street boys.

The Arab Rifles was raised and trained by Arthur Wavell (1882-1916), an Englishman who served with the Royal Welch Regiment in the Boer War before mapping parts of southern Africa for the War Office and, in 1906, establishing a sisal plantation outside Mombasa. He travelled extensively in the Middle East, converted to Islam and adopted Arab dress. Refused permission to rejoin his old regiment, Wavell raised the Arab Rifles, who determinedly saw off German attacks in skirmishes on Mombasa. As such, the Arab Rifles were known as "Wavell's Own". The Arab Rifles never numbered more than 580 soldiers and often fought with around one third of this number.

The most notable engagement came in August 1914 when General Von Lettow-Vorbeck with 500 askaris and six machine guns marched on Mombasa. The Arab Rifles were the first force they encountered and the Arab Rifles defeated the German force. However, Wavell was severely injured with his arm shattered. He recovered and fought with the Arab Rifles until his death on the battlefield in January 1916. He is buried with a fellow officer at Mkongani World War memorial cemetery in Kwale County, where there is also a memorial to three NCOs and 11 men of the Arab Rifles who also died. Today there is a memorial erected in his honour, by the "grateful inhabitants" of Mombasa at the Wavell Memorial Park in front of Fort Jesus, in Mombasa.



The sculpture of the Arab Rifleman in Mombasa

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.3 THE CREATION OF THE MEMORIALS

3.2.1 The Concept of Memorials to the Missing

In the wake of the First World War, the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC) as it was then known, faced the enormous task of commemorating across three continents the dead from many countries. In East Africa, Major George Evans was the commanding officer of the Graves Registration Unit and he toured a wide area of the eastern continent to understand the scale of the work in 1918 and 1919.

A letter survives in the CWGC's archive from General CP Fendall, who was stationed in Dar es Salaam which summarises that there had been a mixed approach to commemoration with some stone, concrete and metal crosses of other memorials having been put up by an organisation called the League of Mercy or relatives or friends. (It is not clear whether the League of Mercy and other memorials were only commemorating the British fallen but the League was willing to give its funds and responsibility for commemoration to the IWGC.)⁰⁷ Fendall stated that there were many hurried battlefield graves, often with no record of the name or religion of the deceased. He suggested that regimental memorials should be created with the units and the numbers of NCOs and number of men killed inscribed on them and placed in nearby cemeteries. He stated: *'The providing of individual headstones would be an unnecessary expenditure and possibly not appreciated, for the East African Natives are mostly illiterate; besides most of these men have been fighting hundreds of miles away from their villages and it is very unlikely that their relatives would visit the places where they fell. The sentimental and sacred feeling for ones dead relatives does not appear to appeal to the native mind to the same degree as it does to the European.'*⁰⁸

⁰⁷ CWGC/1/1/7/E/52 Letter from RH Ewart (on behalf of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the East Africa Forces to the Secretary of the War Office, December 1916

⁰⁸ CWGC/1/1/7/E/52 Letter from General CP Fendall to the Secretary of the IWGC, 26.10.1918.

It is not clear whether this was Fendall's view or whether it came from elsewhere. Letters, such as from the Controller of Administration at the IWGC to the Director of Works, FR Durham, refer to a report from Evans⁰⁹. An earlier minute also mentions Evans' 'reports' at the same time as asking whether the IWGC should consider him as their Inspector of Works in the region. The IWGC resolved to ask for a report from Evans with a fully worked up proposal for commemoration in East Africa, which Evans issued on 31st January 1920. He recommended that statues should be erected to commemorate Indian and African troops and porters in major cities:

*'some form of Monument characteristically depicting the Indian soldier, the African Askari and Porter with an inscription to their memory be erected at each of the principal towns, such as Mombasa and Nairobi in B.E. Africa, Kampalla or Entebbe in Uganda, and Dar es Salaam and Tabora in Ex German East Africa.'*¹⁰

The Director of Works, Durham wrote to the Vice Chairman that, *'Certainly Major Evans' proposal that some monuments should be put up to these dead is quite right, and would give the satisfaction that the Native would look for.'*¹¹ The Principal Assistant Secretary, Lord Arthur Browne, did not entirely agree, writing to the Vice Chairman that he was of the opinion that African troops should have individual headstones but the porters and carriers should have general memorials as suggested by Evans.¹²

⁰⁹ CWGC/1/1/7/E/52 Letter from Controller of Administration to Director of Works, 19.5.1919.

¹⁰ CWGC/1/1/7/E/52 Summary of remarks under various headings called for by the Director of Works, Imperial War Graves Commission by Maj George Evans, 31.1.1920.

¹¹ CWGC/1/1/7/E/52 Letter Director of Works to Vice Chairman, 19.2.1920.

¹² CWGC/1/1/7/E/52 Principal Assistant Secretary to Vice Chairman, 25.2.1920.

It was in 1920 when the Commission began to grapple with the issue of appropriately commemorating those who were believed dead but had no known graves, the missing. In September 1921 the Committee resolved to establish a sub-committee specially to consider the issue. There were differing views on how and where the missing should be commemorated: by empty graves marked with crosses, in plaques fixed to a building or wall in a cemetery, in a regimental chapel or by a special memorial. There were debates as to whether the missing should be commemorated near where they died or by regiment.



The Cenotaph at Whitehall designed by Edwin Lutyens. A cenotaph represents an empty tomb and was seen as an appropriate way to commemorate those who died in war. It was suggested as an option for the memorial to the fallen Africans. (Photograph: Andrew Shiva / Wikipedia / CC BY-SA 4.0)

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.3.2 Local Governments Guide the Approach

In December 1921 a memorandum records the IWGC had been consulting with the local Governments in East Africa to gauge their opinion on the approach to the memorials. The memo noted that there were no proposals for memorials in Rhodesia nor Portuguese East Africa. A memorial was proposed in each of the other countries with two in Kenya and all were to *'take the form either of a Lutyens Cenotaph or of a special form of Great War Stone.'* However, the memo noted that *'The local Governments in at least 2 cases are strongly in favour of an Askari &/or follower being erected either supplementary to, or in place of a cenotaph. I suppose their wishes should be considered; their strong argument is that the statue would be understood by the natives but a Cenotaph would not.'* It seems likely that the two governments referred to were Kenya and Tanganyika.¹³ Although the drawings have not been found, a letter references a suggested design for a memorial in Nairobi *'to askaris, Sepoys and African followers'* that had been drawn up by the Government Architect Mr Rand Overy and sent to the IWGC in December 1920.¹⁴

In reply to the December 1921 memo, on 14 January 1922 FR Durham, the Director of Works sent a response that set out who was to be commemorated, in what way and where. The units to be commemorated were:

- King's African Rifles
- African Scout Battalion
- Baganda Rifles
- Zanzibar African Rifles
- 1st North Rhodesian Native Police
- Uganda Police Service Battalion
- Arab Rifles
- Mafia African Rifles
- Nandi Scouts
- 2nd Cape Corps

In addition were the porters and carriers. It was estimated the memorials would represent approximately 4,000 dead from the units and 40,000–50,000 porters and carriers. The Government of Kenya had suggested a cenotaph with the figures of a King's African Rifles askari and a porter in Nairobi whilst the memorial in Mombasa should be the same but with the addition of an Arab Rifleman. They had sent photographs and watercolours to help develop a design. Durham noted that the Government and the Nairobi Municipal Authorities had differing views on the memorial's location in Nairobi. With regard to the Mombasa memorial, Durham raised a concern that the depiction of an Arab Rifleman might be against the religious tenets of the Muslims. The Tanganyika Government, in agreement with the Officer Commanding Troops, decided one memorial in Dar es Salaam would be sufficient and suggested it should take the form of a pedestal with bronze panels and statue of a King's African Rifleman.

The panels were to illustrate the riflemen and carriers on service and in action. The Government had suggested the monument should occupy the site of the Wissmann Statue, a then-celebrated German explorer and administrator, but this was seen as undesirable by Durham. Of the other territories, Uganda had already begun a cenotaph of local stone and asked the Commission to contribute. A memorial was suggested at Zomba in Nyasaland although the Government there had yet to engage. Durham's recommendation was a budget of £2,500 to £3,000 per memorial.

In a tone and language that is of its time, Durham noted *'It is to be remembered that the Native has no regard for individual marking of graves, and that a few Tribes even have no regard for burial itself.'*

*It is thought, however, that some commemorative Memorials should be erected in commemoration of the services of these Natives not only in their honour, but also in honour of the prestige of the British Empire, in such a manner that the Native will appreciate.'*¹⁵

By March 1922, Lord Arthur Browne, the Principal Assistant Secretary at the IWGC, had consulted with the Colonial Office and received assurance that there would be no religious objections from the Muslims to the statues. Furthermore the Colonial Office supported the proposal of statues for the memorials.

¹³ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Memo from Principal Assistant Secretary to Director of Works, 12.12.1921.

¹⁴ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Letter from the Deputy Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 15.11.1923.

¹⁵ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Minute from Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 14.1.1922.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The IWGC continued to request the names of the fallen until 1927 when the Colonial Office effectively told them there would be no more information given to them.¹⁶ The IWGC had had to proceed already with the proposals but the rationale would continue to be questioned. As late as 1927, the IWGC's Deputy Director of Works in East Africa sent a letter to the Chief Secretary of the Tanganyika Government stating:

*'It was not practicable for the Commission to consider the erection of individual headstones to all the natives who died during active service owing to the great similarity in the names of many of the burials and the impossibility of establishing a concise record of them, it was decided that any attempt to do so would tend to lead to confusion owing to the lack of distinctive data concerning the individual identification of the burials concerned.'*¹⁷

The IWGC letters and memoranda of the period suggest a combination of factors and ill-informed beliefs resulted in the decision not to incorporate the names of individuals on memorials to the fallen Africans. Primarily the IWGC was not supplied with lists of names when it asked for them but behind this withholding of records were claims the records had never existed or had gone missing. Lacing the archives are claims that Africans did not mark the burials of their dead, that Africans were illiterate and would be unable to read the names if they were inscribed, that Africans would not travel hundreds or thousands of miles to visit a memorial to a lost loved one, and that Africans would be more responsive to figurative sculpture than any other form of memorial. Whatever elements of truth might have existed at the time in these claims, they were easy excuses to avoid more challenging work and higher costs.

The colonial authorities chose to take the death rituals of a relatively few communities that traditionally had left their dead to be eaten by animals as the practices of all in the region. There were a great variety of practices including burial and marking graves. Traditional burial practices had also been influenced by the adoption of Islamic and Christian religious practices where these faiths had been adopted. The profound impact of not knowing where relatives are buried continues to be felt today.

¹⁶ CWGC/1/1/9/D/29 Sir Charles Strachey to Lord Arthur Browne, 12.7.1927.

¹⁷ TNA File No. 23428, Askari statue in Dar es Salaam (10203/1 Letter from the Deputy Director of Works, East Africa to Chief Secretary in 1927).

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.3.3 Selecting a Sculptor

It was using the information from the Colonial Office and that set out in Durham's minute, that the Vice Chairman presented the issue of the Missing in East Africa for discussion at the 44th Meeting on 20th April 1922. It was resolved to proceed on this basis. Crawford and Kenyon were tasked with identifying a suitable sculptor.¹⁸ There were some, such as CS Jagger, whom Kenyon was keen to employ, who were excluded as they were too busy. A list of five names were put forward:

- JA Stevenson (who had designed a similar Memorial for Mauritius)
- A Toft (Royal Fusiliers' Memorial, Holborn)
- EC Gillick
- Lady Scott (Mrs Hilton Young)
- John Angel (Victory in the quadrangle of Burlington House).¹⁹

The Committee resolved to allow Kenyon to choose, when their report was submitted in September. In December Kenyon confirmed that his preference was for Stevenson and it was resolved to request he submit designs.²⁰

Stevenson provided a quotation that his fee would be 100 guineas and the costs excluding his fee would not exceed £9,000.00. He would submit his designs as miniatures. He undertook not only to design the sculptures and panels but to supply the bronze parts, stone pedestals, architect's plans for the foundations and other drawings to enable the erection of the pedestals and bronzes. Transport and erection costs were excluded.²¹

¹⁸ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. 44th Meeting Minutes 20.4.1922.

¹⁹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Crawford and Kenyon report. 20.7.1922.

²⁰ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. 48th Meeting Minutes 19.9.22 and 51st Meeting Minutes 19.12.1922.

²¹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Letter from JA Stevenson to FR Durham 6.12.22.

James Alexander Stevenson (1881-1937)

Born on 18 October 1881 in Chester to a Welsh father, he went to St Paul's School in Boughton and then the City and Country School before attending the Chester School of Art under Mr WG Schroeder. He subsequently went to the London University and continued to study art between 1900 and 1905 under Professor Lanteri. His skill enabled him to gain a travelling scholarship in sculpture as well as being made Landseer scholar in sculpture at the Royal Academy Schools. To support himself in his early years he taught, and was modelling master at the Regent Street Polytechnic from 1911 until 1914.

Stevenson was made Associate of the Royal College of Art in 1905, Fellow of the Royal College of British Sculpture in 1926 and was a member of the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours from 1925. He first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1906 and regularly exhibited there until his death. His work was also shown at the Paris Salon, the International Society and other galleries.

Stevenson was a tall, dark-haired man with a warm personality and '*his whole soul wrapped up in his work*'.⁰¹ He always signed his work Myrander, which was a combination of his wife's name, Myra, and his second name. He is said to have attributed his success as much to her encouragement as his own skill and felt she deserved to a share of the credit. He had married in 1913 and had one son, who became a doctor.

Stevenson was regarded as a talented sculptor with a particular gift for portrait busts. Amongst his notable works were the bust 'Imperator' at the Tate (1915), the memorial to the Devon regiments in Exeter Cathedral (1921), a war

memorial to the officers and other ranks of the Egyptian Army, a life-size figure of Christ at the Naval Cadet School in Holbrook, Suffolk, busts of George V (Shanghai Club), Sir Ernest Shackleton (Royal Geographical Society, 1924), several portrait reliefs of Lord Kitchener in London, Khartoum, Cairo, Kashmir, Lahore, Johannesburg and Paris, a statue of Sir John Millais at the V&A Museum (1909), the statue of Justice on the Law Courts, the figure of Equity on the National Provincial Bank in Cardiff (1927-8), the stone frieze for the Accountants' Institute in Great Swan Alley, London (which depicted builders from cavemen, the Egyptians and Assyrians to the present day, 1931) and the bust of Sir Frederic Kenyon at the British Museum (1927). He also contributed to the frontage of Selfridges Department Store in London. Other portrait busts included Queen Mary, Lord Rothschild, Sir Ray Lankster (1910 and 1915), Sir James Goodhard Bt, Rev RJ Campbell (1912), Sir Malcolm Campbell (1933 and 1936), Lady Stanley of Alderley (1936), Sir Horatio Steer, Col. Barrington Foote and Jeanette Steer. Stevenson was also responsible for the bronze statues on the Curepipe War Memorial in Mauritius (1922). This was particularly significant as he was recommended by Kenyon because of this.



Photograph of JA Stevenson working on a model bust of Frederic Kenyon (Cambridge University Library PH-Y-03011-K-000-00013)

⁰¹ 'Well-known sculptor in Woodhall Spa' in *The Herald and Leader*, Tuesday 13 July 1915.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.3.4 Developing Designs

Stevenson requested photographs of King's African Riflemen, Arab Riflemen, carriers and porters, which in turn the Commission requested from the Colonial Office,²² and then the Imperial War Museum.

It was not only the Commission that was searching out source material. Stevenson wrote on 15th January 1923 that he had managed to obtain on loan the uniforms of a King's African Rifleman and a porter from the Crown Agents for the Colonies and was hoping the India Office could help with the Arab Rifleman uniform. He also mentioned he was in touch with a former sergeant major of the King's African Rifles. Stevenson asked Lord Arthur Browne if he could source webbing and a scabbard²³ and Browne duly sent a request to the War Office. The War Office could not confirm the webbing and bayonet used by the African troops but advised on what the British troops in East Africa used. A scabbard, bayonet and webbing were duly loaned at a cost from Woolwich in March. Whilst there were still items that Stevenson was requesting in early September, the Committee had already approved his designs and authorised construction in July at the 57th Meeting.

3.3.5 Securing the Sites

Whilst Stevenson was developing the designs in London, the Deputy Director of Works, JN Cormack, was liaising with the local government administrations. In a letter to the Chief Secretary of the Tanganyika Administration, he made it clear that the IWGC required the site with '*unquestionable rights in perpetuity*'. His letter also makes it clear that the IWGC had overcome its concerns regarding the reuse of the site of the Wissmann statue as this had been taken down and re-erected in Hamburg. Its granite pedestal, however,

remained, and the Commission would have to bear the cost of its removal as it did not want to reuse it.²⁴

Similarly he wrote to the Commissioner of Lands in Nairobi for clarification regarding the area of transfer and stressing the need for gardens around it as well as for agreement on the future maintenance arrangements.²⁵ The matter was referred to the Municipal Authority, which refused to give a response until the Commission responded to a letter it had sent in June 1921.²⁶ His team also were carrying out works to ascertain the geological strata below the memorial sites in Kenya and sourcing local stone samples. A local mason had also been found but he was 12% more expensive than masons in England.²⁷

3.3.6 Sourcing Material for Stevenson

The Deputy Director of Works was also drawn into the sourcing of material to aid Stevenson. He was in contact with the Officer Commanding Troops in Kenya Colony for items relating to the King's African Rifleman, the Chief Native Commissioner for items for the Carrier Corps and Mr A Morrison, who had been in charge of the Arab Rifles depot in Mombasa in the war, regarding the Arab Rifleman items. He had also met with three senior ex-officers of the Carrier Corps to obtain photographs and was going to do the same in Tanganyika once he had collected what was needed in Kenya.²⁸ In December Cormack sent the head cloth, loin cloth, brass shoulder and turban badges of an Arab Rifleman leant by Mr FL Lewis, who had had a commission in the Arab Rifles; a leather belt and braces with

two pouches, a canvas haversack and water bottle from the Officer commanding the King's African Rifles in Nairobi; photographs of Arab Riflemen (borrowed from Lewis), photographs of King's African Riflemen and of porters.²⁹ Some of the photographs remain in the CWGC's archive, though curiously catalogued in a 1945 file.³⁰ Annotations on the backs of the photographs indicate where the subject was considered "typical" or "good", highlights those that should be used and those which should not. These annotations were made by the Deputy Director of Works in interviews with the Adjutant of the KAR and with Colonel Watkin[s] and Major Grey who served as officers in the Carrier Corps during the war. A selection of the photographs are reproduced on the following page with their original captions.



Photograph of "K.A.R. askaris with machine gun in action"

²² CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Principal Assistant Secretary to the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, 2.1.23.

²³ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Letter from JA Stevenson. 15.1.23.

²⁴ CWGC/1/1/9/D/33 Memorial to the Missing Native Troops. Letter from Deputy Director of Works to Chief Secretary of the Tanganyika Administration. 19.2.23.

²⁵ CWGC/1/1/9/D/33 Memorial to the Missing Native Troops. Letter from Deputy Director of Works to Commissioner of Lands, Nairobi, 6.3.23.

²⁶ CWGC/1/1/9/D/33 Memorial to the Missing Native Troops. Letter from the Deputy Director of Works to Director of works in London, 30.4.23.

²⁷ CWGC/1/1/9/D/33 Memorial to the Missing Native Troops. Walter Kerr to the Director of Works, 8.6.23.

²⁸ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Letter from the Deputy Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 15.11.1923.

²⁹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Letter from the Deputy Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 21.12.1923.

³⁰ CWGC/9/2/2/9/19 Photographs from Sir A Longmore's tour 1945

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT



"K.A.R. Group of Askaris, not safari dress. 1 Nubian Native Officer. 1 R.S.M. Soudanese types. Typical Askaris. X Best types of Soudanese – men recruited outside of Kenya. Good type porter."



"Askari with kit laid out for inspection"



"Front view of Askari. Nilotic not Soudanese recruited in Kenya same as D. Typical porter face. Safari kit."



"K.A.R. ¾ view of Askari. Bukedi (Uganda border type. Good typical specimen recruited in Kenya or Uganda. Is quite good type of Porter. Drill."



"K.A.R. Side view of Askari, Nilotic recruited in Kenya. Safari kit."



"Porter with load. Stick usually "shenzi" from tree or bush (pipe not usual)"



"Porter with load (sack) stick usually cut from bush or tree, blanket often worn loosely round body from shoulder. Nilotic type, probably Kavirondo, face not considered best... Bearing of porters not so smart as Askaris in K.A.R."

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3.3.7 Inscriptions

In April 1924 the Deputy Director of Works wrote to the Principal Assistant Secretary to ask what commemorative inscriptions were needed as the work of constructing the bases was about to start.³¹ He in turn asked the Director of Records for suggestions³² but a fortnight later, a letter was sent to Rudyard Kipling asking him to compose suitable inscriptions. The inscription on the Uganda memorial was sent with the letter.³³ Kipling's suggestion was:

'this is to the memory of the Native African Troops who fought; to the Carriers and Porters who were the feet and hands of the Army; and to all other men who served and died in the Great War in British East Africa, out of all these peoples and tribes (here give the list of tribes recruited from)

*'If you fight for your country, even if you die, your sons will remember your name.'*³⁴

At the end of June, Lord Arthur Browne visited Stevenson to discuss the inscription. Stevenson said that a lack of equipment in Africa and a *'desire to build up the memorial by native manual labour'* meant that small blocks of stone 10" by 7" would have to be used and this would create issues for a long inscription. He suggested either using bronze panels or using an alternative, much shorter inscription.³⁵ The Committee decided that Kipling's inscription was to be used.

Kipling's inscription required the inclusion of all the tribes involved and Lord Arthur Browne wrote to the Director of Works to instruct him to obtain a list from the Deputy Director of Works in East Africa.³⁶ In his letter to the Colonial Secretary in Nairobi requesting help with compiling the list of tribes, the Deputy Director of Works said it was hoped to have the memorial shipped to Kenya that year. His letter also referred to the request from the Municipal Authority to wait until a Town Planner had arrived to advise on the locations. The prolonged delay in the arrival of a Town Planner and the debates over the inscription, however, would mean that the memorials would not arrive in 1924.³⁷

The idea of including all the tribes in the inscription was swiftly dismissed by the Chief Native Commissioner on the grounds that the tribes are too numerous and it would be *'invidious'* to mention some and not others.³⁸ The local Native War Memorial Sub-Committee (which included the Bishop of Mombasa and the District Commissioner) proposed an alternative inscription:

*'In perpetual and grateful memory of the people of the African tribes of Kenya Colony and Protectorate who laid down their lives for their King and country in the Great War 1914-1918.'*³⁹

The Deputy Director of Works in reply advised that the phrase *'people of the African tribes of Kenya Colony and Protectorate'* should be modified in view of the special attention directed to the Arab Rifles through the placing of an Arab Rifleman on the pedestal. He also suggested that an Arabic inscription should be added.⁴⁰ As in the case of

the source material, he waited to write to Tanganyika until he had answers from the Kenyan authorities.

Language on the Memorials

Rudyard Kipling was a respected author and poet who wrote many inscriptions for the IWGC for memorials across the world. However, today, Kipling is seen as an imperialist and an association with him can be contentious. The language used on the three memorials is seen as offensive by many Africans today, particularly the word 'Native'. The colonial idea of *'fighting for their King and Country'* is deeply problematic and the idea of the Carriers as *'the hands and feet of the Army'*, whilst conveying their essential role, dissolves individuals into a collective, undistinguished mass. The epitaph *'If you fight for your country, even if you die, your sons with remember your name'* seems ironic when the names were not included on the memorials and can be seen as the IWGC passing its responsibility to commemorate to individual families.

As Stevenson finally returned the loaned rifles, bayonet, scabbard and webbing to the War Office in late September,⁴¹ the debate over the inscriptions continued. A letter to the Chief Native Commissioner, the same Lt Col Watkins who had organised the Carrier Corps during the war, noted that as the memorials represented people from the whole country, not one district, the inscriptions should be as similar as possible but conceded that Mombasa's inscription should reference the Arabs specifically. Watkins went on to write:

'I think we should have the inscription in English, in Swahili in Roman characters and in Swahili in Arabic characters. I see nothing to be gained by an Arabic inscription which not one person in 10,000 could read, since most of the Arab-speaking people are illiterate in their own language, and the

³¹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Deputy Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 28.4.1924.

³² CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Director of Records, 12.5.1924.

³³ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Chettle to Rudyard Kipling, 29.5.1924.

³⁴ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Director of Records to Principal Assistant Secretary, 27.6.1924.

³⁵ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Vice Chairman, 1.7.1924.

³⁶ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Director of Works, 4.7.1924.

³⁷ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Deputy Director of Works to Colonial Secretary, Nairobi, 10.8.1924.

³⁸ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. AW Wade (Department of Native Affairs) to the Colonial Secretary, Nairobi, 28.8.1924.

³⁹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. G Adams (District Commissioner) to the Colonial Secretary, Nairobi, 12.9.1924.

⁴⁰ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Deputy Director of Works to Colonial Secretary, Nairobi, 19.9.1924.

⁴¹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part I. Letter 27.9.1924.

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*'Coast Arab' does not as a rule even speak Arabic. I consider English should occupy the central pedestal. The memorial will be seen by thousands of visitors from ships who know no Swahili.*⁴²

This view was challenged by Lord Arthur Browne:

*'The Arab Rifles could hardly be classed as Coast Arabs as they were recruited from Arabia and to a great extent from the interior. Although of course illiterate many have a superficial knowledge of the Koran and could I think read the character. Moreover, their descendants, and the descendants of the Coast Arabs living in Mombasa and neighbourhood may be more literate and better educated.'*⁴³

On the 15th September 1924 Stevenson sent the Secretary a letter stating that the last two figures, the askari and carrier for Mombasa, were complete and awaiting inspection at the bronze foundry of Messrs. William Morris in Lambeth.⁴⁴ It had taken him a little over 15 months since the approval of his designs to produce the bronze sculpture. Kipling was invited to go and inspect them alongside Browne.⁴⁵

However, the debates over the inscriptions would continue for much longer. Browne wrote to the Director of Records in late October asking him to write to Kipling to ask for a revised inscription. He noted that a local committee, originally appointed to deal with the creation of a *'Native War Memorial Hall'*, had supplied an alternative inscription that they had planned to use and he suggested sending it to Kipling although the Commission would doubtless prefer Kipling's. He also emphasised the need for brevity because

of the number of languages that it would appear in.⁴⁶ The Director of Records declined to contact Kipling and said that the Kampala inscription included a list of tribes, the Arab Rifles were mostly Asian (Yemenis and Hadramauts) and that it was not fair to ask Kipling to prepare versions for the East African Governments to knock down.⁴⁷

Tensions were clearly rising. The Director of Works proclaimed himself *'perturbed'* by the amount of time taken on the inscription discussion when they needed to get on with the pedestals. He suggested the inscriptions be added on bronze panels, which, whilst more expensive, would allow the pedestals to be constructed.⁴⁸ Browne instructed the Deputy Director of Works to liaise with the Colonial Secretary and Chief Native Commissioner as the Commission would prefer Kipling's inscription. He suggested perhaps saying *'people and tribes of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda'* but worried that this perhaps should include Nyasaland and Rhodesia also and perhaps should not include Uganda as there was a publicly paid-for memorial in Kampala.⁴⁹ The Colonial Office in London also voiced its opinion that there were too many tribes in Kenya and Tanganyika to include a full list on the memorial.⁵⁰

In January, some progress seemed to be made. The Commission's Finance Committee approved the use of bronze panels.⁵¹ The Deputy Director of Works in East Africa received a suggested inscription from the Acting Chief Secretary of the Tanganyika Administration that simplified Kipling's inscription:

⁴⁶ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Director of Records, 21.10.1924.

⁴⁷ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Director of Records to Principal Assistant Secretary, 4.11.1924.

⁴⁸ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 12.11.1924.

⁴⁹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Deputy Director of Works, 19.11.24.

⁵⁰ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Director of Records, 18.11.1924.

⁵¹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/33 Memorial to the Missing Native Troops. Deputy Director of Works (London) to CFA, 8.1.25.

'This is to the memory of the Native African Troops who fought; to the Carriers who were the feet and hands of the Army; to all other men who served and died in the Great War in Eastern Africa.'

'If you fight for your country, even if you die, your sons will remember your name.'

Stevenson's commission had originally included the provision of the plinths but the Commission decided it would be better placed to do this itself and deduct the cost from Stevenson's expenses. This meant that the Deputy Director works oversaw the construction of the plinths.⁵²

With the bronze sculptures complete and the pedestals underway, the biggest challenge remaining was agreeing the inscriptions. The local committee in Nairobi *'considered it particularly advisable to emphasise to the Native mind that it was their King and Country that the Natives fought and died.'* They also insisted on the inclusion of the dates 1914–1918.⁵³ The version recommended for the Nairobi Memorial was therefore:

'This is to the memory of the Native African Troops who fought; to the Carriers who were the feet and hands of the Army; to all other men who served and died for their King and Country in Eastern Africa in the Great War 1914 – 1918.'

'If you fight for your country, even if you die, your sons will remember your name.'

For the Mombasa inscription, the first part would be *'This is to the memory of the Arab and Native African Troops who fought...'*

This text would become the agreed text for the inscriptions.

⁴² CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. GF Watkins to Hon Chief Native Commissioner, Nairobi, 9.10.1924.

⁴³ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Deputy Director of Works, 24.11.1924.

⁴⁴ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Letter from JA Stevenson to the Secretary 27.9.1924.

⁴⁵ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Letter from Principal Assistant Secretary to Rudyard Kipling, 24.10.1924.

⁵² CWGC/1/1/9/D/33 Memorial to the Missing Native Troops. Memo of meeting with Stevenson, 10.2.25.

⁵³ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Deputy Director of works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 30.5.1925.

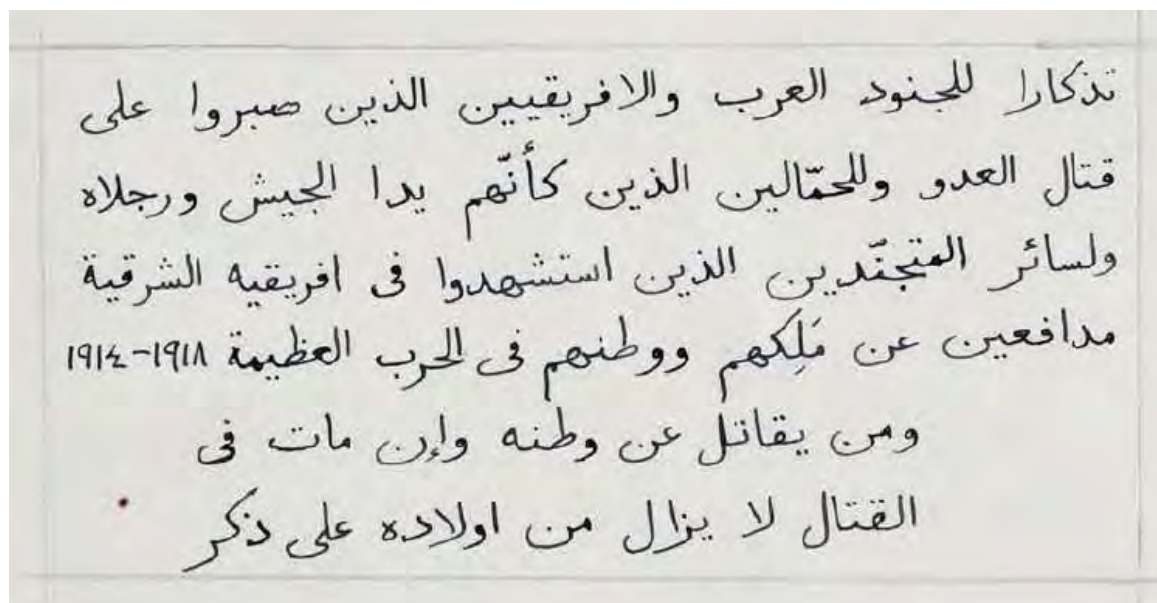
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3.3.8 Translations

In the middle of June 1925, Swahili translations provided by the Colonial Secretariat in Nairobi were sent to the Commission's Head Office. The Deputy Director of Works recommended that the Arabic version be obtained in London.⁵⁴

The Commission duly approached the Keeper of the Oriental department at the British Museum, Bennett, and were advised that one of the department, Fulton, would be able to provide an Arabic translation whilst Professor Alice Werner of the School of Oriental Studies (SOAS) could provide the Swahili in Arabic characters.⁵⁵ Bennett and Fulton met with Browne to discuss the panels.⁵⁶ Fulton duly sent through his translation on 22nd September⁵⁷ but Werner was having difficulties in that her calligrapher, Ali Reza Bey, was away. She also suggested some alterations to the Swahili to reflect the dialect in Dar es Salaam and raised some queries regarding the spelling.⁵⁸ Her revised translation for Dar es Salaam was accepted by the Zanzibar Civil Service.⁵⁹ However, the calligraphist had difficulties with the Swahili vernacular version and a meeting was arranged with Stevenson and Browne to agree an overrun to the sides and bottom. There was then a debate regarding the correct rendering of the dates in the Arabic versions: 1914-1918 or 1918-1914. Fulton argued the Arabic press wrote the former

but Werner argued for the latter.⁶⁰ Sir Denison Ross, the Director of SOAS, weighed in on Werner's side and Fulton capitulated.⁶¹ In late October another issue was raised about the word used by Fulton for king: malika was a tribal chief.⁶²



Photograph of the Arabic inscription sent by from Fulton

⁵⁴ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Deputy Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 13.6.1925.

⁵⁵ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Bennett (British Museum) to Frederic Kenyon, 17.7.1925.

⁵⁶ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Note by Principal Assistant Secretary 16.9.1925.

⁵⁷ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Fulton to Principal Assistant Secretary, 22.9.1925.

⁵⁸ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Note by Principal Assistant Secretary, 21.9.1925.

⁵⁹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Deputy Director of Works, 2.10.1925.

⁶⁰ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Note by Principal Assistant Secretary, 9.10.1925; Note by Principal Assistant Secretary, 14.10.1925.

⁶¹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Denison Ross to Principal Assistant Secretary, 15.10.1925; Fulton to Principal Assistant Secretary, 21.10.1925.

⁶² CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Note by Principal Assistant Secretary, 27.10.1925.

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At the beginning of November Werner confessed that she was very concerned about the Swahili inscription and suggested the Mombasa version was checked by Ali bin Salim, Liwali of Mombasa, and the Dar es Salaam version by Martin Kayamba so an *'educated native'* would have approved the text. Two days later she apologised for the difficulties caused but said she had understood that the Swahili inscription provided was approved and so she had done the Arabic characterisation as instructed but her unease had grown to the point where she could not withhold her concerns. To compound this, Denison Ross had also obtained an alternative Arabic translation from Sheikh Kadhim Dojaily.⁶³ Browne met with Fulton, who rejected the Sheikh's translation, arguing that the classical Arabic of the Koran should be used as this was unchanging, unlike modern Arabic. He could not suggest an alternative to 'malika'. Browne also asked him about the absence of vowel points and Fulton said they were not used in ornamental inscriptions but Browne was unconvinced⁶⁴ and arranged a meeting between Denison Ross, Fulton and the Sheikh. A new version was agreed and 'sultan' was substituted for 'malika'.⁶⁵ A frustrated Browne wrote to the Deputy Director of Works: *'I have had considerable difficulty about these inscriptions.'*⁶⁶

The revised versions were duly sent to Africa for checking. F Johnson, Editor of the *Swahili Newspaper* and a Swahili expert had reviewed the Dar es Salaam version and had also had it checked by Samik Chiponde and Benedict Madelito. The Director of Works assured Browne that he

could be confident that this was now the correct dialect.⁶⁷ He similarly had the Mombasa version reviewed and amended by the Hon. Seyyid Ali bin Salim, described as the highest authority in the district and the person recommended by Werner.⁶⁸ With the approval of Rivers Smith, Director of Education,⁶⁹ Browne sent the Dar es Salaam inscription to Werner for Ali Reza Bey to write out⁷⁰ and the Mombasa description shortly after.⁷¹

Meanwhile the Director of Works wrote to the Vice Chairman to confirm that the Africans who fell in Portuguese East Africa were deemed to be commemorated by the three Memorials.⁷²

In March 1926, Werner asked about the Nairobi inscription and Browne sent it to her and asked her to check it so that all three Roman Swahili versions could be sent to Stevenson, who was having the bronze panels manufactured.⁷³

In his letter sending the Roman Swahili versions to Stevenson, Browne was obliged to deliver a blow to Stevenson. The sculptor had been hoping to display the Mombasa figures at the Royal Academy but the repeated demands of those in Kenya and Tanganyika for their memorials to be completed meant the Commission was

obliged to deny him.⁷⁴ This was immediately followed by a letter to Stevenson from Fabian Ware extending his apologies and explaining *'My instructions are to bring all possible pressure to bear on everybody connected with the work to ensure their earliest completion.'*⁷⁵ Stevenson was bitterly disappointed, feeling it was a fine work at an important moment in his career: *'...the artistic success achieved by exhibiting the bronzes for Nairobi last year spurred me to greater effort with those for Mombasa - + this year particularly promised to be an important one for me in my career, hence my keenness to show the actual bronzes, which have a quality of their own.'* He said he had managed to repair the plaster models and colour them in imitation of bronze just in time to submit them to the Royal Academy.⁷⁶

In July Browne visited Stevenson's studio with Colonel Jarvis, who was concerned that there were holes where the lettering had been attached to the plaque and then changed. Stevenson assured them it would not be an issue and the panels were approved.⁷⁷ The last inscription panel to be approved was the one for Dar es Salaam in December 1926⁷⁸ and the figure panels were deemed *'very fine'* in March 1927.⁷⁹

⁶³ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Werner to Principal Assistant Secretary, 1.11.1925 and 3.11.1925

⁶⁴ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Note by Principal Assistant Secretary, 6.11.1925.

⁶⁵ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Fulton to Principal Assistant Secretary, 9.11.1925.

⁶⁶ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Deputy Director of Works, 10.11.1925.

⁶⁷ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 2.12.1925.

⁶⁸ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 19.12.1925.

⁶⁹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Director of Education to Principal Assistant Secretary, 14.1.1926.

⁷⁰ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Werner, 15.1.1926.

⁷¹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Werner, 20.1.1926.

⁷² CWGC/1/1/9/D/29 Memorial to the Missing: East Africa Part 2 From 1/9/25. Director of Works to Vice Chairman, 23.11.1925.

⁷³ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Werner to Principal Assistant Secretary, 11.3.1926; Principal Assistant Secretary to Werner, 13.3.1926.

⁷⁴ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Principal Assistant Secretary to Stevenson, 18.3.1926.

⁷⁵ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Fabian Ware to Stevenson, 19.3.1926.

⁷⁶ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Stevenson to Fabian Ware, 12.4.1926.

⁷⁷ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Note by Principal Assistant Secretary, 5.7.1926.

⁷⁸ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Note by Principal Assistant Secretary, 12.12.1926.

⁷⁹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Note by Principal Assistant Secretary, 18.3.1927.

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The Kenyan memorials were duly dispatched to Africa and erected in 1927 whilst the third memorial was completed in 1928. Despite the difficulties and delays, Stevenson wrote to Browne to express how much he had enjoyed the challenge of creating the memorials and his delight at their good reception is evident:

'I can surely say how much I have really enjoyed doing all this work for the Commission for in it I have found an opportunity – not always forthcoming – to put into it all me was capable of; + the kindly assistance and sympathetic interest of every representative of the Commission whom I have had the pleasure of meeting in connection with the work have sensed all the difficulties + made every bit of work a real pleasure + may I, through you, thus express my thanks.

*That our combined efforts have met with such warm approval abroad is surely all that could be hoped for.'*⁸⁰

3.3.9 Commemorating the Missing of the Second World War

Following the end of the Second World War, the IWGC sought the opinions of the generals who had led the campaigns against the Italian Empire in East Africa, Wavell, Platt and Cunningham, regarding how to memorialise the missing Africans. The Commission's preferred solution was to put memorials in existing cemeteries that included a full list of names on the basis that, unlike in the First World War, proper records had been kept and the names of the African missing were known. This accorded with the Commission's view that all should be treated equally.⁸¹

However, the generals sought more publicly visible memorials. As Platt wrote, *'If a memorial to the missing is placed there [N'gong Road War Cemetery, Nairobi], its existence will be known to the caretaker and the padre, but no one else.'* He went on to argue:

*'if a memorial is to fulfil the purpose of providing a memory of those who have gone, it surely should be where it can be seen most frequently by the greatest number of people moving about in the course of their daily lives.... They should be in a spot visible daily to the public and should not be hidden in a cemetery.'*⁸²

Wavell, Platt and Cunningham all thought that there should be two memorials for the different forces, one in Port Sudan and one in Mombasa. However, the Commission would create the memorials at the cemeteries in Khartoum and Nairobi. There was some debate over a number of years about the construction of a memorial in Mombasa with the 1914-1918 memorial at the centre and the walls of names from 1939-1945 flanking it but this was dependent on the Mombasa Memorial moving and, despite many years of discussion, this did not happen.

The Commission was pressed for change to the existing memorials. In 1947 the Tanganyika Government approached the Commission with regards to the addition of a plaque to commemorate the fallen of the Second World War.⁸³ A minute setting out the Commission's position makes it clear that this was not a welcome suggestion and also reveals how the unique nature of the memorials provided a challenge to the Commission's approach:

- 01 *'Those living in Tanganyika have come to look on the Dar es Salaam Memorial as specifically commemorating natives of Tanganyika.*
- 02 *In fact the memorial is one of three erected to commemorate all East Africans who lost their lives in the East African campaign. It is the equivalent of a Missing Memorial because it commemorates a campaign; it is dissimilar to a Missing Memorial in that it commemorates only a portion of the Forces employed and no names are inscribed. It is a compromise between a Missing Memorial, a territorial memorial and a unit memorial. The three memorials to East Africans are somewhat unique, and due more particularly to the lack of records of East African casualties which prevented the more usual form of Commission commemoration.*
- 03 *The circumstances now are very different. Records of East Africans are satisfactory and the dead will be commemorated by the Commission in the areas in which they fought and died. The commemoration will be by headstones, by special memorials in cemeteries, or on the Missing Memorials in various theatres of war for those who have no known grave.*
- 04 *The desire of the Tanganyika War Memorial Committee to commemorate in Dar es Salaam all natives of Tanganyika who died on service in all theatres of war is outside the sphere of responsibility of the Commission and is a matter for local decision.'*

⁸⁰ CWGC/1/1/12/32. Stevenson to Principal Assistant Secretary, 15.4.1928.

⁸¹ CWGC/1/2/A/369 Memorials to the Missing – Land Forces – East Africa – General File. Memorandum on Commemoration of those who fell during the East African campaign of 1940-41 and who have no known grave.

⁸² CWGC/1/2/A/369 Memorials to the Missing – Land Forces – East Africa – General File. Platt to TFG Carless, 4.2.1946.

⁸³ CWGC/1/2/A/571 Commemoration of Unmaintainable and Unlocatable Graves. Superintendent East Africa Ara to Director of Records, 2.4.1947.

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05 *However, a proposal to use the Commission's memorial does make it a Commission issue. 'In so far as this memorial has in the course of time come to be looked on by the local population as their own particular memorial, it might seem not only appropriate but also reasonable that the Commission should accede to the proposal as amended by the Tanganyika Government. There are however, several possible objections, some of which that immediately occur are:*

a If the work is carried out by the Commission as an addition of their own to the present memorial there would be duplicate commemorations as Africans are going to be commemorated as indicated by para 3.

b If the Tanganyika Government is given permission to use the present memorial for their own memorial for the 1939 – 1945 fallen, there would be technical complications of ideas and also of accounts. These difficulties are not insuperable.'

What was deemed important was that there is no duplication of commemoration and *'There must not be confusion of thought – commemoration by the Commission is one matter, commemoration by a Local Government of its own territorial force is quite a separate matter.'*⁸⁴

The Secretariat in Tanganyika replied that names would not be added to the existing memorial.⁸⁵ The Nairobi Municipal Authority, however, did not seek permission from the Commission and simply inscribed the dates on the memorial in Nairobi.

⁸⁴ CWGC/1/2/A/571 Commemoration of Unmaintainable and Unlocatable Graves. Director of Records to Superintendent East Africa Area, 29.5.1947.

⁸⁵ CWGC/1/2/A/571 Commemoration of Unmaintainable and Unlocatable Graves. Secretariat Tanganyika to Director of Records, 22.6.1947.

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3.4 NAIROBI AFRICAN MEMORIAL

3.4.1 Context

Nairobi was a new settlement at the outbreak of the First World War. The impetus for its creation was the establishment of a supply depot on the Uganda Railway between Mombasa and Uganda in 1899. Located in the cooler uplands, the capital of Kenya Colony was moved from Mombasa to Nairobi in 1905 and settlers, both Europeans and Asians, were encouraged to move there. The city grew up piecemeal until a Town Planning Consultant was appointed in 1926.⁸⁶

The road and rail network was extremely limited in 1914 and throughout the First World War, the British Allied Forces and King's African Rifles relied on the Carrier Corps to move supplies and equipment across the country. In Nairobi the district now known as Kariokor was where recruits for the Corps would sign up. The labour requirement was significant and it impacted on traditional patterns of life, stoking tensions that were expressed in resistance such as the uprising by the Giriama led by a woman, Mekatilili wa Menza, between 1913 and 1915.⁸⁷

3.4.2 Creation of the Memorial

The IWGC sought the recommendation of the colonial government in Kenya regarding the type of memorial and the response was for a cenotaph topped with statues of an askari and a porter. This provided the basis for the brief for the artist selected, JA Stevenson. There are no drawings of his proposals for the statues because he made models rather than prepared drawings. However, his drawing for the pedestal base does survive together with a photograph of the maquette.



Maquette for the Nairobi African Memorial

As noted above, Stevenson was supplied with photographs of soldiers, scouts and porters together with examples of their equipment to aid him with the creation of the sculpture. The Nairobi sculptures were the first to be completed and were exhibited at the Royal Academy summer exhibition in 1925 alongside a second sculpture by Stevenson, a bust of Grosvenor.⁸⁸ However, it was not until March 1926 that Stevenson received the final versions of the inscription translations in Swahili in Roman characters and it was December before the inscription panel, including the Swahili in Arabic characters, was complete.⁸⁹

The question of the memorial's location and the land that would be granted to the Commission was challenging in Nairobi. In March 1923, JN Cormack, the Deputy Director of Works wrote to the Commissioner of Lands seeking clarification on whether the Government would transfer the whole plot assigned for the memorial's location or just the land occupied by the Memorial itself. At this time, the proposed location was a plot adjacent to the District Commissioner's Office and opposite an African playing field. Cormack explained that an ample area of gardens was needed around the memorial and he also sought assurance that the amenity of the area would be assured. The idea was the memorial would be visible from the railway but he was concerned a factory or warehouse might be built adjacent, although the Chief Engineer of the Uganda Railway had assured him that this would not be the case. Cormack also wanted confirmation regarding the future maintenance of the memorial and whether it would be treated in the same way as the cemeteries, that the Commission would not be responsible for footpaths and roadways and whether the structure would incur any municipal taxation. The response was to the effect that the Municipal Authority would deal with the matter. Some of the questions regarding ownership and maintenance arrangements would arise later, suggesting that no clear agreement was ever made.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Nairobi City Council, 'History of Nairobi', <https://nairobi.go.ke/history/#:-:text=The%20name%20%E2%80%9CNairobi%E2%80%9D%20comes%20from,1899%20linking%20Mombasa%20to%20Uganda.,> accessed 3 July 2023.

⁸⁷ Njala, Josephine, African Soldiers in World War One: Uprising within a Global Conflict (<http://www.centenary.oucs.ox.ac.uk/?p=3898>) licensed as Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial-Share Alike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/uk/>), accessed 3 July 2023.

⁸⁸ *Royal Academy Exhibitors 1905-1970, Volume VI* SHERR-ZUL.

⁸⁹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. Stevenson to Principal Assistant Secretary, 31.12.1926.

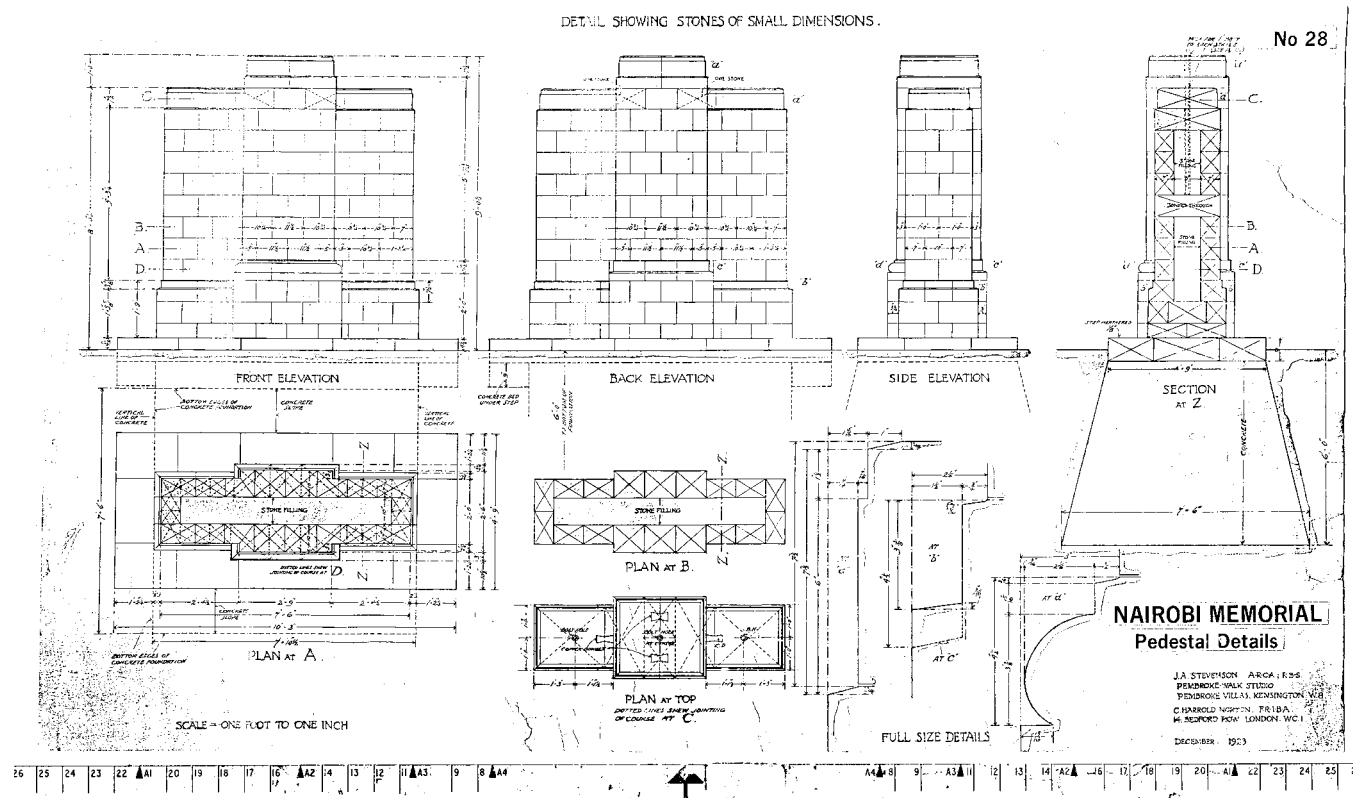
⁹⁰ CWGC/1/1/9/D/33 Memorial to the Missing Native Troops. Deputy Director of Works to the Commissioner of Lands in Nairobi, 6.3.1923.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The memorial was erected on the junction of Hardinge Street and Government Road. Construction on the foundations and pedestal were started in September 1925 by a South African called Johnson and the bronze sculptures were shipped out by Stevenson at the same time.⁹¹ The inscription panel was added afterwards.

The site had apparently been unanimously approved by the Municipal Council and the Government in June 1923 but the Commission was asked in April 1924 not to begin construction until the Town Planning Expert, who was expected in September, had been consulted and the site confirmed. Cormack advised Headquarters of this delay but also said that the Government would bear the cost of relocating the memorial if the Commission went ahead

and built it. The Commission did not want the criticism that would arise from further delay and instructed the Deputy Director of Works to approach the Government. A year later the Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon, died and an acting governor assumed his duties until Sir Edward Grigg arrived in October. In August the Deputy Director received a telegram from the Colonial Secretary agreeing to the Commission having the site and beginning immediate construction.



Drawing by JA Stevenson and C. Harrold Norton, December 1923, showing the proposed pedestal



The completed statues

⁹¹ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 1.9.1925.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

There was a slight delay because of obtaining the stone from the quarries but by the end of 1925, the foundations had been laid. In December 1925 Colonel Durham had met the Governor in Nairobi and the site for Nairobi was agreed. However, on 8th February 1926, Sir Edward Grigg, the Governor sent a telegram:

'Native War Memorial has been erected here. Totally unsuitable site stop Work has been carried out without my knowledge and against orders given by me to Colonel Durham who has now left the country and Memorial has been displayed to public without any previous warning to Government or Town Council stop Presume that Commission will bear expense of moving memorial to site determined by Town Planning Committee stop'.

Durham and Cormack denied any orders were given to suspend work although the Principal Assistant Secretary speculated there may have been confusion regarding the Memorial in Nairobi and that in Mombasa.⁹²

In February 1927, the Deputy Director of Works wrote to the Director of Works to say that the Town Planning Committee had recommended that the Memorial remained where it was but they were awaiting Government confirmation, the Governor having sailed for England three weeks earlier.⁹³ At this point, the memorial was covered in canvas and the bronze inscription plaque was handed to the Director of Public Works.

In July 1927 *The Standard* in Nairobi noted that the Memorial had yet to be unveiled and dedicated. It opined that the Memorial should not be moved to the '*native quarter*' but that common brotherhood should be celebrated.⁹⁴

A letter in February 1928 from Robinson, Director of Works, to the Controller and Financial Advisor stated the memorial had been erected with Government agreement but the Governor had since informed the Commission that he did not realise permission had been given for the site to which '*he was always opposed*'.

The Commission agreed to accede to the Governor's request to take the Memorial down and rebuild it opposite the Obelisk that formed the War Memorial to British soldiers at the Commission's cost, estimated at £250. The Governor was anxious that it should be done in time for Empire Day, 24th May.⁹⁵ The Memorial was duly removed and rebuilt.

The Memorial was only officially unveiled once it was in its new position. On 20 May 1928, Princess Marie Louise, a granddaughter of Queen Victoria, unveiled the memorial in the presence of the Governor, Sir Edward Grigg, and '*numerous tribal chiefs*'.⁹⁶ In November later that year the Prince of Wales (the future Edward VIII) laid a wreath on Armistice Day as part of his tour of East Africa. He laid a wreath of poppies and blue flowers at the cenotaph or obelisk, which had a mixed guard of a European police constable, a King's African Rifleman and a European NCO of the KAR. The Prince then laid a similar wreath at the African Memorial, which had a guard of King's African Riflemen.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ CWGC/I/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. *The Standard*, 4.7.1927.

⁹⁵ CWGC/I/1/9/D/33 Memorial to the Missing Native Troops. Director of Works to Controller and Financial Advisor, 29.2.1928.

⁹⁶ *The Scotsman*, Monday 21 May 1928, p9.

⁹⁷ 'Prince at Nairobi Cenotaph' in *The Yorkshire Post*, Monday 12th November 1928, p11.

⁹² CWGC/I/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. Memorandum on the Nairobi Memorial, Principal Assistant Secretary, 23.5.1927.

⁹³ CWGC/I/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. Deputy Director of Works to Director of Works, 18.2.1927.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.4.3 Transition

The site of the two memorials was the location for the annual Armistice Ceremony until Kenya gained its Independence. In the wake of the Second World War, without asking the Commission, the local authority had the dates 1914–1918 inscribed on the left pedestal and 1939–1945 inscribed on the right pedestal in time for the Armistice Day ceremony in 1946.⁹⁸

Photographs from the 1950s show the memorial on Sixth Avenue protected by low painted timber bollards and chains with neat low hedges.



The memorial, 1950s



A closer photograph of the figures on memorial



Photograph dated 1959



The memorial in front of the Standard Bank in the 1950s

⁹⁸ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-1 Nairobi African Memorial Part 1. Superintendent (East African Area) to Secretary. 12.5.1948.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

In 1962, a trip to Malta and Kenya by the Duke of Gloucester was being planned and the Commission was providing advice on cemeteries he might visit. In a letter to his private secretary, Major Michael Hawkins, the Commission advised that if the Duke were to lay a wreath at Nairobi Cemetery, it would be politic to lay one at the African Memorial also as, whilst there are also African graves in the cemetery, the African Memorial is solely for Africans. *'His Royal Highness may feel that the gesture of laying a wreath in honour of African war dead in the centre of the City would receive very considerable publicity and be greatly appreciated by the African community.'*⁹⁹ On 17th February the *Daily Nation* included a photograph of the Duke laying a wreath at the African Memorial on Delamere Avenue, as it was then known.¹⁰⁰

On 12 December 1963 Kenya gained its independence and Delamere Avenue was renamed Kenyatta Avenue.

3.4.4 Maintaining the Memorial

In September 1971, the Area Works Officer wrote that there were no suitably skilled workers available to carry out repairs to the Memorial and that the Commission's own team would need to undertake this. Afterwards, he hoped that the Nairobi City Council would be able to resume its duties in maintaining the memorial.¹⁰¹

The works were duly carried out but the *East African Standard* reported on 11th May 1972 that the memorial had been restored by the City Council. The clipping in the CWGC's archive contains a covering note that it was not the Council but the Commission that undertook the works.¹⁰²



The Memorial in 1972 after the renovation

⁹⁹ CWGC/1/2/E/12/10 Visit by HRH Duke of Gloucester to Malta and Kenya Feb 1962. Letter to Sir Michael Hawkins, 11.1.1962.

¹⁰⁰ CWGC/1/2/E/12/10 Visit by HRH Duke of Gloucester to Malta and Kenya Feb 1962. *Daily Nation* 17.2.1962.

¹⁰¹ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-1 Nairobi African Memorial Part 2. Area Works Officer, 9.9.1971.

¹⁰² CWGC/7/4/2/19900-1 Nairobi African Memorial Part 2. *East African Standard*, 11.5.1972; Memorandum 23.5.1972.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

There is a second *East African Standard* clipping from 1972 in the CWGC's archive. From July, this clipping reported that the City Council had approved changes to Kenyatta Avenue. The covering note on this clipping makes it clear that the Council had not consulted the Commission regarding the proposals, which would see the Memorial effectively engulfed in a car park with a one-way street down each side.¹⁰³ The Director of Works wrote that the Commission could not plan until the proposals were confirmed and if necessary, the Memorial would have to be relocated to a more suitable site.¹⁰⁴ His restrained response seemed justified as, in October, it was confirmed that the proposed changes to Kenyatta Avenue would not be implemented after all.¹⁰⁵

Various inspection reports from the mid to late 1970s recorded the Memorial was in good condition so it would seem that the City Council was maintaining it well after the renovation in 1972.¹⁰⁶



Undated photograph possibly from the 1980s



Undated photograph possibly from the 1980s

In 1984, a controversy arose when it was proposed to replace the Memorial. In late March, the MP for Embakasi, Muhuri Muchiri, asked if the Minister for Local Government would ask the Nairobi City Council to replace the three statues of Second World War veterans with a statue of Dedan Kimathi, the leader of the Mau-Mau. An Assistant Minister for Local Government, Njenga Mungai, replied that as soon as money was available, a statue of Kimathi would be erected. Gedion Mutasa, MP for Yatta, challenged the idea and said that the removal of the statues would be obliterating history. He suggested the Kimathi statue should be erected elsewhere. However, there were some MPs who supported the relocation of the Memorial to the National Museum.¹⁰⁷

The President, Daniel arap Moi, intervened with a directive that the Memorial would not be removed. An editorial in *The Standard* on 2 April praised Moi's 'timely' directive that had 'set the hearts of many Kenyans at rest'. It described the Memorial as 'the historically invaluable monument, which symbolises the bravery and transitional military prowess of our soldiers' and reminded its readers that Kimathi and other freedom fighters were Second World War veterans. It also noted that Moi, like his predecessor, Jomo Kenyatta, always paid homage on appropriate occasions to the country's freedom fighters. The editorial concluded: 'Some monuments, being part and parcel of the country's history, should remain perpetually respected and protected.'¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-1 Nairobi African Memorial Part 2. *East African Standard*, 5.7.1972

¹⁰⁴ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-1 Nairobi African Memorial Part 2. Director of Works. 26.7.1972

¹⁰⁵ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-1 Nairobi African Memorial Part 2. *East African Standard*, 28.10.1972

¹⁰⁶ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-2 Nairobi African Memorial.

¹⁰⁷ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-2 Nairobi African Memorial. Ndirangu, Irungu, 'Kimathi Statue Planned' in *Daily Nation*, 29.3.1984.

¹⁰⁸ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-2 Nairobi African Memorial. *The Standard*, 2.4.1984.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The incident caused a flurry of activity at the Commission's Headquarters. The Director-General wrote a letter to the British High Commissioner in Nairobi, Sir Leonard Allinson, enclosing a letter that he asked him to give to the President. The letter to the President, which reminded him that the Commission's Agency in Kenya sat within his own department, was not delivered.¹⁰⁹ Allinson wrote back to the Director-General explaining that the matter had blown over and he did not want to reignite it. Moreover, it was important that Moi did not appear to be acting under British pressure.¹¹⁰

Meanwhile the Commission had clearly been reviewing its records and trying to ascertain its legal position. It appeared that the intention had been to invest the Commission with the original site but there was no record of the transfer having taken place. The Memorial had been moved and there had been no transfer of ownership to the Commission.¹¹¹ Moreover, whilst it was assumed the Government of Kenya was responsible for its maintenance, the agreement with the Government only specified the cemeteries and not the Memorial.¹¹² It does not appear that the matter was taken any further.

The following year, the Director of Works reported that the Memorial was in good condition but there was some erosion of the stone around the inscribed "1945".¹¹³ In 1993 the Deputy Director General noted that the bronze and upper stonework were in good order but the paving around was used as a toilet and the roadside verge was scruffy.¹¹⁴

The following year a plan was drawn up for railings around the memorial (see following page). It was noted in correspondence that the railings were also to prevent car damage. In a veiled letter from the Director of Works to the Outer Area Director, there is a reference to the Director General's views on fencing and also the associated problems since the Architect has been involved. It is not clear what either of these were but it was agreed that nothing would be done before the Director of Works visited in January 1996.¹¹⁵ As there is no further correspondence on the matter, it would seem that the railings were not installed.

Over 20 years later, as a precursor to any restoration work, 3D scanning of the Memorial was undertaken during November 2017. The 3D scanning methodology was prescribed by Annemarie LaPensee and undertaken by 3D Scanners UK Ltd.

This enabled restoration work to be undertaken in 2019. Annemarie LaPensee assessed the damaged and missing pieces and reverse-engineered solutions for the Commission to create new parts. In some cases this involved 3D printing of sculptural elements, which allowed craftspeople to accurately shape and sculpt new pieces (such as straps). The restoration work onsite was undertaken by Mark Davidson, Martin Kiarii (CWGC) and Joe Kimani (CWGC).

In June 2024, the memorial was included as a site of demonstration by protesters who were protesting against taxes proposed under a new Finance Bill. This was withdrawn by the president. Protesters scaled the memorial and attached masks to the figures.



Nairobi Protests (various media outlets)

¹⁰⁹ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-2 Nairobi African Memorial. Director General to HE Sir Leonard Allinson, British High Commissioner, Nairobi, 18.4.1984.

¹¹⁰ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-2 Nairobi African Memorial. HE Sir Leonard Allinson, British High Commissioner, Nairobi to Director General, 4.5.1984.

¹¹¹ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-2 Nairobi African Memorial. Deputy Director General to Legal Advisor, 24.4.1984.

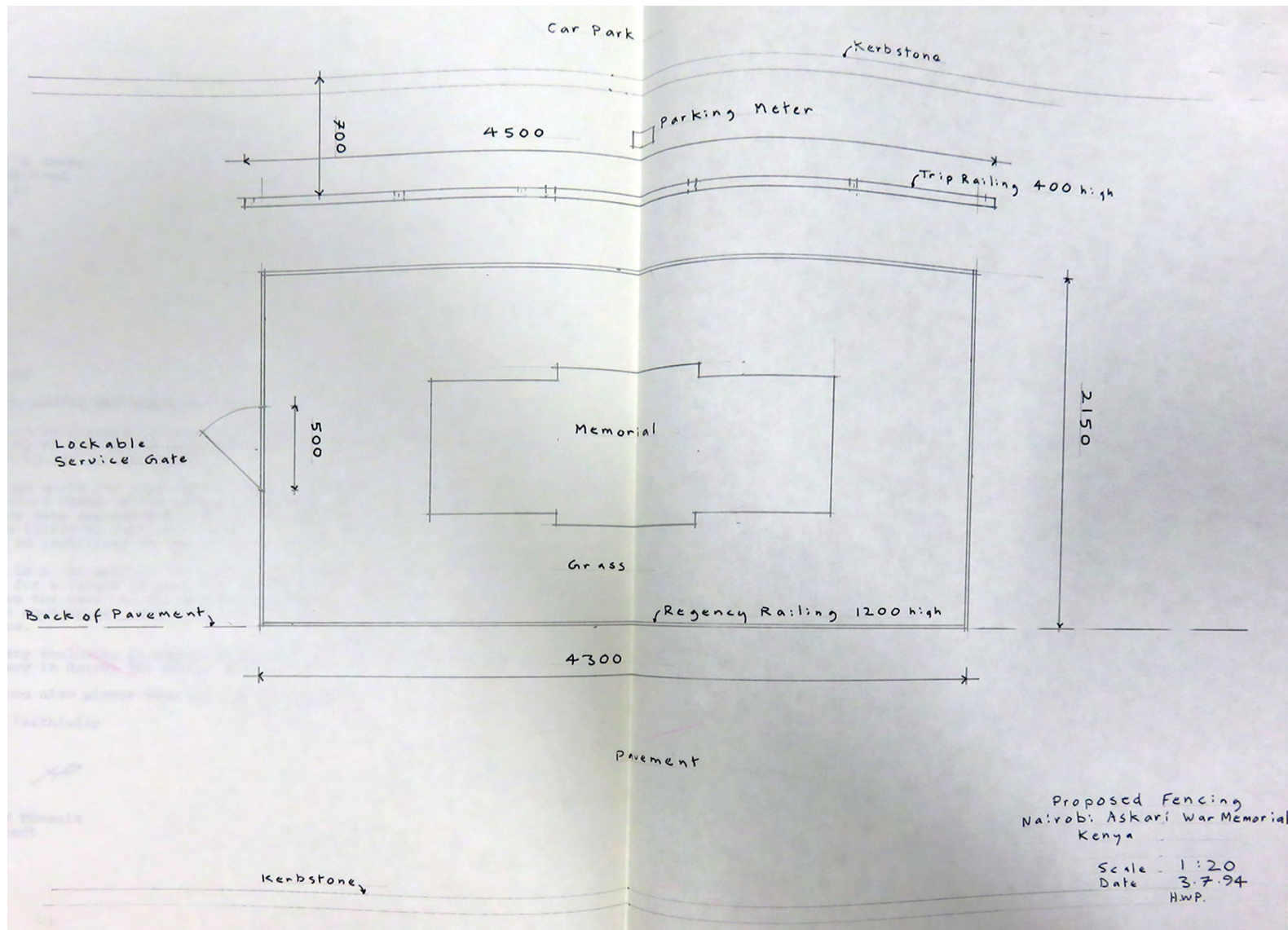
¹¹² CWGC/7/4/2/19900-2 Nairobi African Memorial. Legal Advisor to Outer Area, 4.5.1984.

¹¹³ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-2 Nairobi African Memorial. Director of Works Tour Report, 3-23.11.1985

¹¹⁴ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-2 Nairobi African Memorial. Deputy Director General Tour Report, April-May 1993.

¹¹⁵ CWGC/7/4/2/19900-2 Nairobi African Memorial. Director of Works to Outer Area Director, 5.9.1994.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT



Plan of proposed railings, 1994. These appear not to have been executed.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.3 MOMBASA AFRICAN MEMORIAL

3.3.1 Context

Until 1905, Mombasa had been the capital of British East Africa and in 1914 it remained not only the colony's economic heart but the most important port on the East African coast. It had a diverse population of the Swahili and Mijikenda peoples of the coast, other African migrant communities from the interior, Arabs that had formed the precolonial elite, Indians and Europeans. The First World War reinforced Mombasa's position as an important imperial port as troops of the Indian Army arrived to fight in the campaign in East Africa, and African troops were shipped to other theatres of war. There was huge immigration from the hinterland as war created a labour shortage in the city; some migrants sought better opportunities whilst others were avoiding being called up as porters. Famine in 1917/18 also propelled migration. The Indian population mostly actively supported the Allies but the Indians resented the curtailment of their attempts to align themselves with the Europeans, whereas the Europeans aligned them with the Africans. The anti-colonial movement in India had a minor following in Mombasa and caused the authorities concern. The British also used propaganda to keep the Arab population on side.¹¹⁶ By the end of the War, Mombasa's population had doubled to 56,000.¹¹⁷ Wages had, in some cases, quadrupled, and the colonial administration was struggling to maintain its sense of pre-war order.¹¹⁸

In 1923, the Devonshire White Paper declared Kenya a primarily African territory, to the annoyance of the white settlers who had hoped that Kenya would become primarily a white settler colony. Where the interests clashed, the Paper gave pre-eminence to the interests of the Africans over the Europeans, Asians or Arabs. The Paper was principally an attempt to limit the influence of the Indians, rather than advocate for the Africans.¹¹⁹

3.3.2 Creation of the Memorial

The Director of Works, FR Durham, reported that the Kenya Government had recommended a cenotaph with a statue of an askari, a porter and an Arab Rifleman for the African Memorial in Mombasa. No further archival evidence has been found to reveal why they made this recommendation beyond a justification that statues would provide a more meaningful memorial to Africans than a plain cenotaph.¹²⁰

The sculptor JA Stevenson was appointed to create the Memorial in December 1922. As described above he used photographs of the different riflemen, scout and porter together with borrowed items of their dress and equipment to enable him to create accurate depictions. Over the subsequent year he prepared designs and prepared a drawing for the pedestal on which the figures were to stand. The CWGC archives record that the Principal Assistant Secretary made regular visits to Stevenson to assess progress. When he saw the King's African Rifleman in December 1924, he deemed it too West African in appearance.¹²¹ The Arab, however, was approved in March 1925.



Maquette

¹¹⁶ Steinbach, Daniel, 'Shifting Tides: the Port City of Mombasa and the First World War' in *Journal of Indian Ocean World Studies*, 5,1 (2021), pp 7-24.

¹¹⁷ Lonsdale, John, 'East Africa' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. Judith M Brown and Wm Roger Louis (Oxford University Press, 1999), pp530-544.

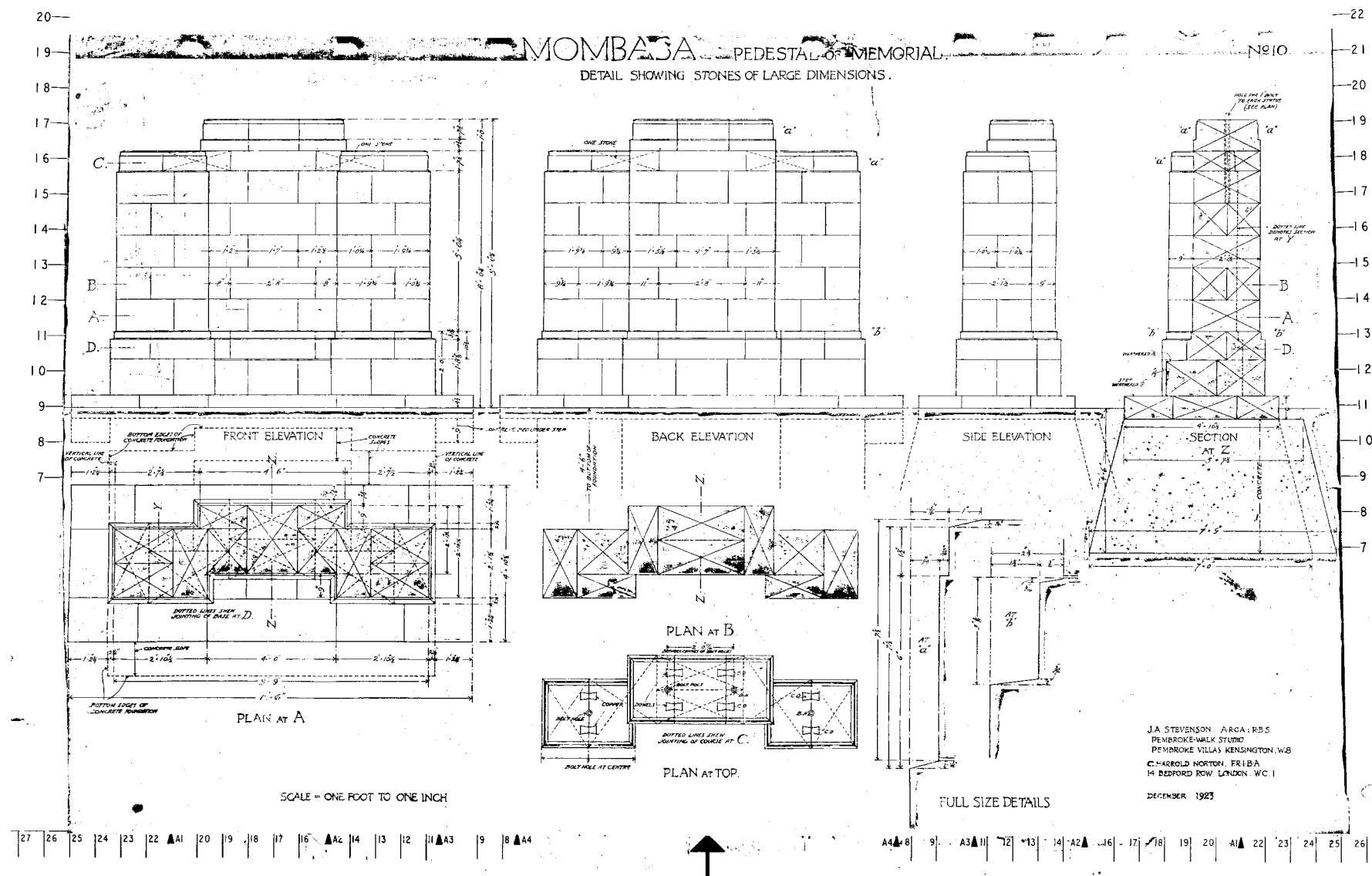
¹¹⁸ Steinbach, Daniel, 'Shifting Tides: the Port City of Mombasa and the First World War' in *Journal of Indian Ocean World Studies*, 5,1 (2021), pp 7-24.

¹¹⁹ Lonsdale, John, 'East Africa' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. Judith M Brown and Wm Roger Louis (Oxford University Press, 1999), pp530-544.

¹²⁰ CWGC/I/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Minute from Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 14.1.1922.

¹²¹ CWGC/I/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. Note by Principal Assistant Secretary, 13.12.1924.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT



Drawing by JA Stevenson and C. Harrold Norton, December 1923, showing the proposed pedestal

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

Meanwhile, the Commission was having difficulty in securing an agreed site for the Memorial. In May 1921 the Acting Colonial Secretary had indicated a site but Mombasa's rapid population expansion had necessitated a revised layout of the township and, in February 1923, the Deputy Director of Works was still seeking confirmation from the Land Officer in Mombasa.¹²² The site still had not been confirmed two years later when he wrote to the Colonial Secretary in Nairobi. His letter records that the late Governor had asked for works to be put on hold in March 1924 but that it was necessary for works to be put in hand and he asked for the site to be confirmed and handed over to the Commission.¹²³ The Town Clerk and Town Engineer again asked at the end of March 1925 that no work be undertaken until the arrival of the Town Planning Expert, James Jameson, who had been appointed and whose arrival was awaited from South Africa.¹²⁴

The Commission was deeply unhappy at the continued delay. The Principal Assistant Secretary wrote to the Deputy Director of Works:

'the Commission could not face the criticism which would be evoked by further considerable delay in erecting these Memorials and asked if you could not take steps to arrange for the intervention by the Government with a view to the early fixing of the sites.

You will appreciate that the Commission have expensive contracts for the construction of these Memorials, parts of which are now being exhibited at the Royal Academy, and in view of the consequent publicity which has been given to the matter in this country it is very desirable that any considerable delay should be avoided. As far as I am

*informed, the Town Planning Expert's arrival in East Africa has been expected for the past two years and there seems no certainty that he will arrive or formulate his scheme in the near future.'*¹²⁵

The Deputy Director of Works explained that the visit of the Duke of York and the death of the late Governor had created more work for those who were meant to be helping the Commission. Also that it was the late Governor who had asked for the Town Planning Expert's involvement and he had been expected to take up his post in September 1924 but had yet to arrive.¹²⁶

In August 1925 the Deputy Director of Works confirmed he had found a first class mason, a man called Johnson from South Africa, who would supervise the foundations and pedestals for both the memorials in Nairobi and Mombasa. He was to supervise a team of Indian or African masons and borrow equipment from the Public Works Department.¹²⁷ The long awaited Jameson was also due to arrive at the end of the month.

In December 1925 Jameson met with Mr Baker, of the Land Department, and his brother, one of the Commission's architects, Herbert Baker. The three selected a site *'in the midst of the native quarters and directly in relationship with the old native Cemetery. It is an island site flanked by Mango Trees and will be in the axis of the new main avenues opening up the whole of this native district of the town. I do not think a better site or one more appropriate can be found.'* Durham said he was liaising with the District Commissioner, Mr Dickson, that Herbert Baker would select the precise site of the memorial and the angle at which it

would stand. A wooden pedestal had been constructed to facilitate this. He also reported that the stone quarrying would now proceed.¹²⁸ The stone was to be grey Mazeras stone.¹²⁹ It was also at this point that the much-debated inscriptions were approved by Seyyid Ali bin Salim.¹³⁰

In January 1926, Herbert Baker sent a letter describing his proposal and including a sketch plan. Unfortunately the original is not included in the archives but a copy is (reproduced on the following page). He proposed a circular wall with seating behind the memorial to demarcate its setting separately from the Muslim cemetery behind. His design also necessitated more land and a slight diversion of the road, which his brother had assured him would be possible. It appears that Baker's design was executed much as he had drawn it despite concerns raised in April that there was no funding for the seat feature.¹³¹

¹²² CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. Deputy Director of Works to Land Officer, Mombasa, 17.2.1923.

¹²³ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. Deputy Director of Works to Colonial Secretary, Nairobi, 18.2.1925.

¹²⁴ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. Deputy Director of Works to Director of Works, 11.4.1925.

¹²⁵ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. Principal Assistant Secretary to Deputy Director of Works, 27.5.1925.

¹²⁶ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. Deputy Director of Works to Director of Works, 30.5.1925; Deputy Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 13.7.1925.

¹²⁷ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. Deputy Director of Works to Director of Works and Principal Assistant Secretary, 21.8.1925.

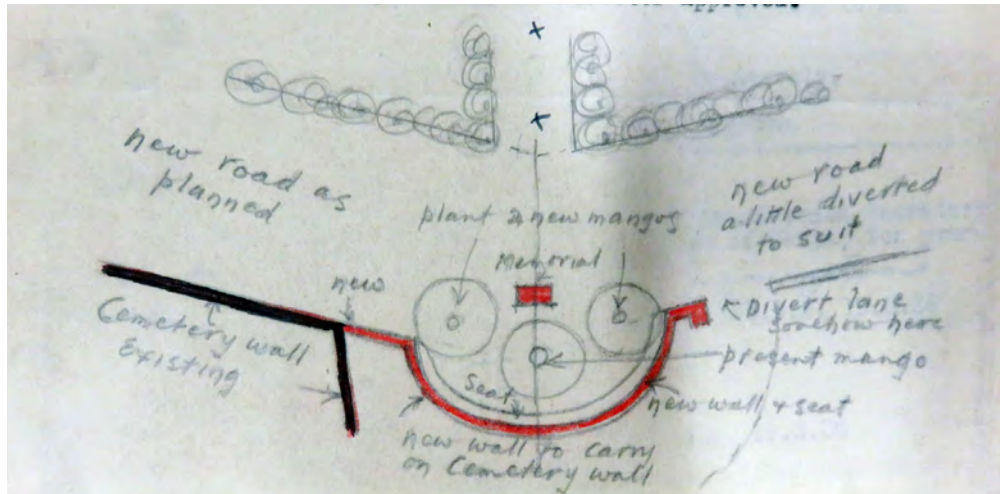
¹²⁸ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. FR Durham to Vice Chairman, 19.12.1925.

¹²⁹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/33 Memorial to the Missing Native Troops. Deputy Director of Works to Major Dutton, Government House, Nairobi, 4.4.1926.

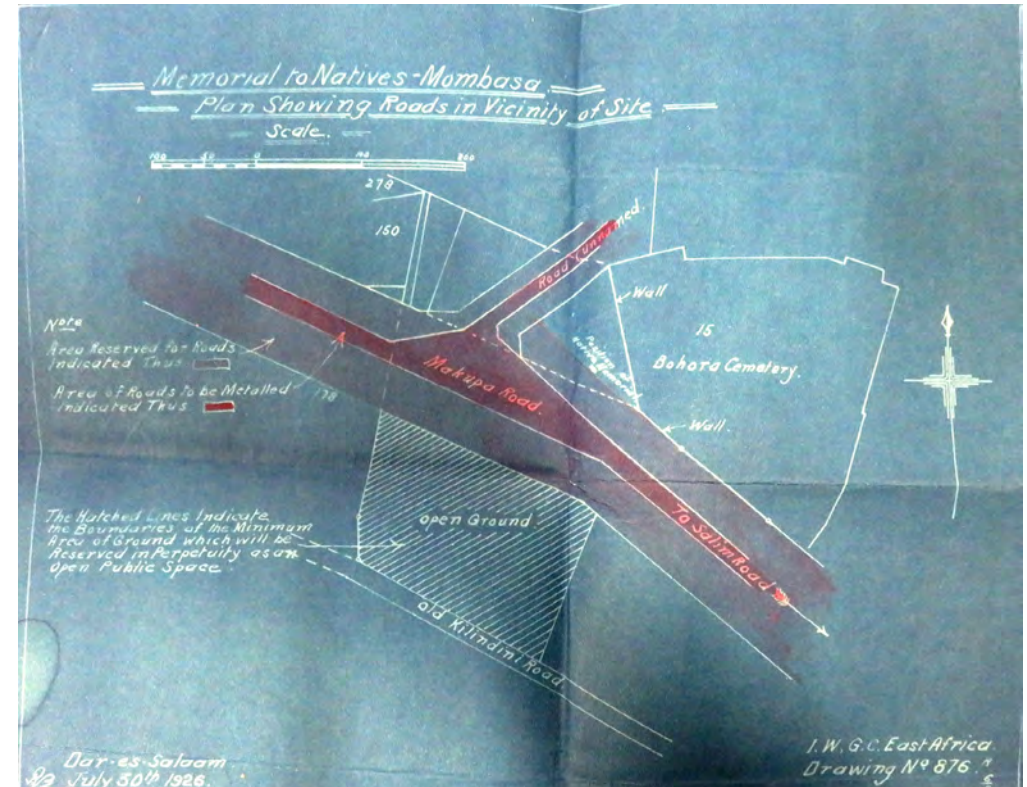
¹³⁰ CWGC/1/1/9/D/32 Memorial to the Missing – Inscriptions. FR Durham to Vice Chairman, 19.12.1925.

¹³¹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/33 Memorial to the Missing Native Troops. Deputy Director of Works to Major Dutton, Government House, Nairobi, 4.4.1926.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT



Copy of a sketch plan of Sir Herbert Baker's design for the arrangement of the Memorial



Drawing showing the roads in the vicinity of the Memorial site and the capacity for their expansion, 30 July 1926¹³²

¹³² CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT



Drawing showing the exchange of plots of land suggesting that there may have been a relocation of the much-debated Memorial site. The drawing also shows an area opposite the Memorial that the Government agreed to keep as Open Public Space in perpetuity, 3 August 1926¹³³

¹³³ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial.

It appears the sculptures were erected early in the autumn of 1926. In October the *Tanganyika Times* reported a story printed in the *East African Standard* in Mombasa of an African woman crying and beating her breast beneath the statues. She believed that that one of the figures was her son who had been turned to iron so he could not speak to her or see her.¹³⁴

The Memorial was unveiled on the 24th May 1927, Empire Day by the Acting Governor, EB Denham. There was a last-minute fix as very heavy rains washed away a temporary culvert in front of the memorial the day before and a hurried replacement had to be made. A temporary wire fence had been erected to enclose the planted open space behind to prevent stray goats and other animals from eating the plants.¹³⁵

Denham used the unveiling of the African Memorial to make a statement about the unity of the races within the Empire, which would have been made in the face of ongoing tensions between the white settlers, the Indians and the Africans. In his long speech he pronounced 'These figures well represent those qualities which have gone to make the Empire great as it is today – courage, self-sacrifice, infinite patience, steadfastness, endurance, good fellowship and obedience...' After extolling the contributions in turn of the 'intelligence man', the Arab Rifleman, the King's African Rifleman and the carrier, he concluded, 'It was a combination of the races which won these successes.'¹³⁶

In October 1928, the Prince of Wales (the future Edward VIII) visited the Memorial as part of his tour of East Africa.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ CWGC/1/1/9/D/34 Mombasa Memorial. *Tanganyika Times*, 11.10.1926.

¹³⁵ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 1 Mombasa African Memorial. Deputy Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 4.6.1927.

¹³⁶ CWGC/1/1/9/D/34 Mombasa Memorial. *Mombasa Times*, 26.5.1927.

¹³⁷ *Daily Mirror*, Thursday 18 October 1928, 7.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.3.3 Proposed Expansion and Relocation

In the aftermath of the Second World War, which had seen considerably fighting in East Africa, there were once again discussions regarding the creation of a memorial to the missing African troops. Unlike after the First World War, the Commission had a list of their names and wanted to create an appropriate memorial inscribed with all the names. The preferred option of the three generals involved in the discussion was that the memorial should be on the waterfront in Mombasa. Simultaneously there were discussions for the relocation of the existing African Memorial and it was considered that the two projects might perhaps be combined by moving the existing memorial to the waterfront and flanking it with walls with inscribed panels commemorating those who were missing from the Second World War.

However, by May 1949 it was clear that this idea had hit a stumbling block. The Municipal Council made it known that the waterfront was not available as it was set aside in the town plan for hotel gardens. It was perhaps this which spurred that Commission to build the Memorial to the African Missing of the Second World War in the Nairobi War Cemetery instead. The Council had two other options for the Commission to consider for the relocated African Memorial. The first was the Mackinnon Memorial Park, also known as the Municipal Gardens. The second was outside the proposed new railway station. The Commission felt the Mackinnon Memorial Park had the statue of Mackinnon as its focus and therefore it would not be appropriate for the War Memorial. It therefore preferred the railway station location as this would be seen by many people each day.¹³⁸



Photographs of the Memorial in 1949



Photographs of the site for the proposed relocation of the Memorial outside the proposed railway station, 1949¹³⁹

¹³⁸ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Secretary to Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 30.5.1949.

¹³⁹ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

In 1950, the Commission had an exchange of letters with the Mombasa branch of the British Legion, which was keen for a memorial for those with no known graves from the Second World War.¹⁴⁰ In 1954 the issue was still being discussed with the Government's preference still for the memorial to be in Mombasa.¹⁴¹ However, the Commission had already begun work on the memorial in the Nairobi War Cemetery. It agreed, however, that an inscription could be added to the existing Mombasa Memorial.¹⁴²



Undated photograph probably from the early 1950s



Undated photograph probably from the early 1950s



Undated photograph probably from the early 1950s



Undated photograph probably from the early 1950s showing the seating designed by Herbert Baker



Undated photograph probably from the early 1950s with a lady admiring the memorial

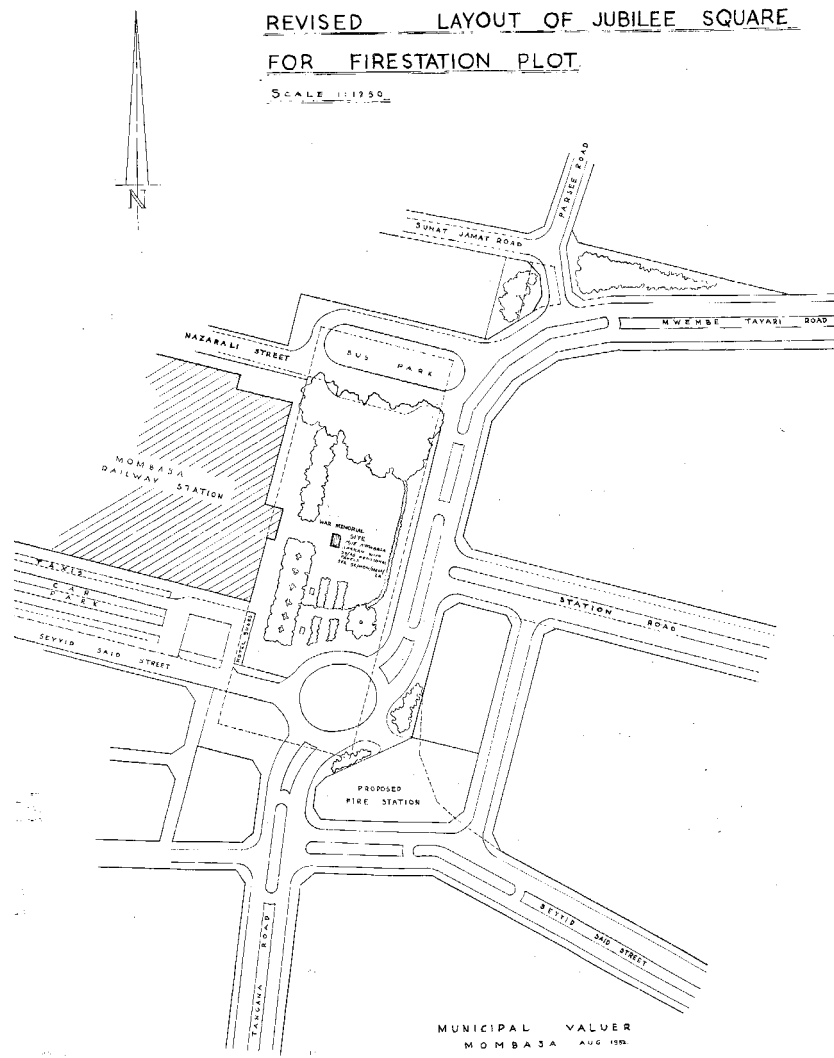
¹⁴⁰ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial.

¹⁴¹ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Chief Secretary, Secretariat, Nairobi to Secretary, 29.3.1954.

¹⁴² CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Secretary to Chief Secretary, Secretariat, Nairobi 26.4.1954.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

In late July 1954, Commission representatives met with the Town Clerk and Municipal Engineer regarding the proposed relocation of the Memorial, which the Municipal Council still wanted to happen. It was proposed that the Memorial was relocated in front of the proposed railways station in the new Jubilee Square. The Commission representatives felt it was suitable and would be appropriate for ceremonies.¹⁴³



Plan showing the proposed new location of the memorial, 1952

¹⁴³ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Chief Secretary, Secretariat, Nairobi to Secretary, 29.3.1954. Relieving Area Superintendent to Chief Administrative Officer, Middle Eastern District, 29.7.1954.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The Council wanted the Commission to pay the estimated £500 relocation costs. The Commission, however, felt that as the Council had agreed to the current location and the Commission was not responsible for the deterioration of the area around it since, that it was not for the Commission to pay the costs.¹⁴⁴

The Town Clerk of Mombasa wrote to the Commission at the end of 1956 to say that there had been no progress on the proposal to add a commemorative tablet to the Memorial and that there was 'a good deal of feeling in Mombasa'. When he received no reply, he sent another letter in February of 1957.¹⁴⁵

The Commission began to grapple with options for the inscription. Sheets in the archives show variations: '*of their successors who fought and died in the same cause*', '*who came after them*', '*who followed their example*'. '*Here also are remembered those who in the years 1939–1945 gave their lives in the Allied cause for their country during the fighting in East Africa*'. On the 22nd February the Secretary wrote to the Town Clerk proposing: '*Here also are remembered those who died in East Africa serving the cause of freedom during the years 1939 – 1945*'.¹⁴⁶

The Town Clerk responded that unlike in the First World War when most East Africans had fought in East Africa, in the Second World War most East Africans died in North Africa, India, Burma and elsewhere. He therefore suggested: '*Here also are remembered those who died in East Africa and those from East Africa who died in other lands for the cause of freedom during the years 1939 – 1945*'.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Minute of the Secretary's Conference, 17.11.1954.

¹⁴⁵ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Town Clerk, Mombasa to Secretary, 6.12.1956; 6.2.1957.

¹⁴⁶ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Secretary to Town Clerk, Mombasa, 22.2.1957.

¹⁴⁷ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Town Clerk, Mombasa to Secretary, 7.3.1957.

The Commission's usual policy was to commemorate the missing at the site where or close to where they died, rather than in their home country. However, the Secretary seems to have been eager to resolve the matter and replied with the suggested wording: '*Here also are remembered those who during the years 1939–1945 gave their lives in East Africa or left their homes in this country to serve and die in other lands*'.¹⁴⁸ The Town Clerk urged the use of the words agreed by the Council.¹⁴⁹ The Secretary tried to persuade him that by moving the years of the war earlier in the inscription that it would finished on 'a higher note' but said he would not push for the change if it really was not wanted.¹⁵⁰ A note on the file recorded the more candid thought that the Town Clerk's version meant the spirit would '*wind away and disappear into the grass like a snake's tail*'.¹⁵¹ The local press also waded into the debate with the *Mombasa Times* claimed that the Municipal Board was minded to inform the Commission that it did not want the inscription added unless it was clear that it referred to African and Arab troops.¹⁵²

As with the original inscription plaque, the Commission was now faced with the challenge of obtaining three translations of the English text. The Town Clerk obtained the translations but this caused a further headache for the Commission, which had been planning once again to ask the School of Oriental and African Studies to assist. The Director of Works was concerned that SOAS would certainly provide a different set of translations and the Town Clerk would be offended if the SOAS versions were used.¹⁵³ Nonetheless the

¹⁴⁸ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Secretary to Town Clerk, Mombasa, 25.3.1957.

¹⁴⁹ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Town Clerk, Mombasa to Secretary, 5.4.1957.

¹⁵⁰ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Secretary to Town Clerk, Mombasa, 10.4.1957.

¹⁵¹ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Notes.

¹⁵² CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. *Mombasa Times*, 3.4.1957.

¹⁵³ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Director of Works to Regional Director, 29.10.1957.

Commission duly approached Miss Faragher of the Middle East Department at SOAS, explaining '*The Commission do not feel that a literal translation of the English is necessary or desirable; a scholarly and dignified rendering conveying the general sense of the English, is what is required*'.¹⁵⁴

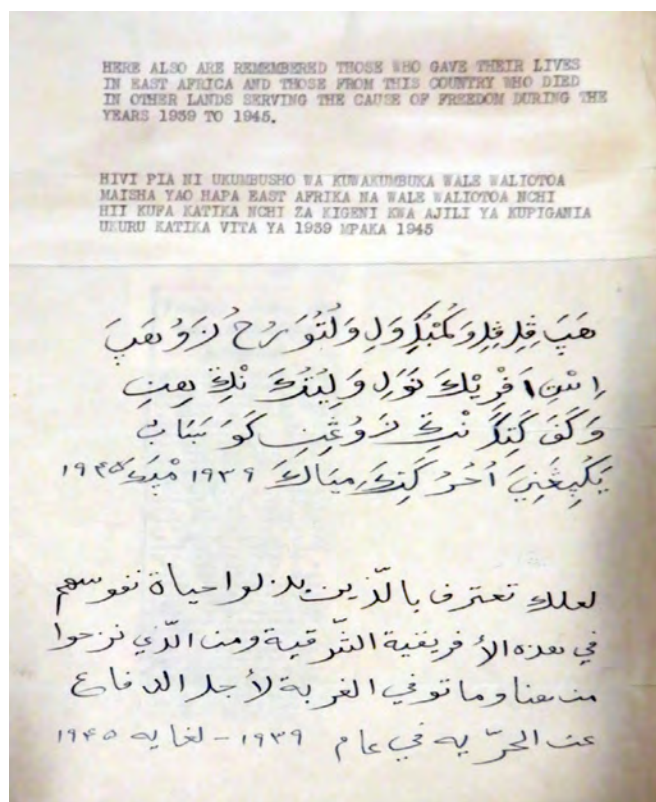
The agreed English version was: '*Here also are commemorated those who gave their lives in East Africa and those from this country who died in other lands serving the cause of freedom during the years 1939–1945*'.¹⁵⁵ The text was duly translated and the new panels drawn up. Tenders were gathered from three companies: Birmingham Guild £113.5.0; C Henshaw & Sons £159; Morris Singer Co £201.10.0. The commission had hoped to use Morris Singer, who had produced the original panel but they were the most expensive and the Birmingham Guild was appointed.¹⁵⁶ The panels were completed and added to the memorial in 1959.

¹⁵⁴ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Letter to Miss Faragher, 7.1.1958.

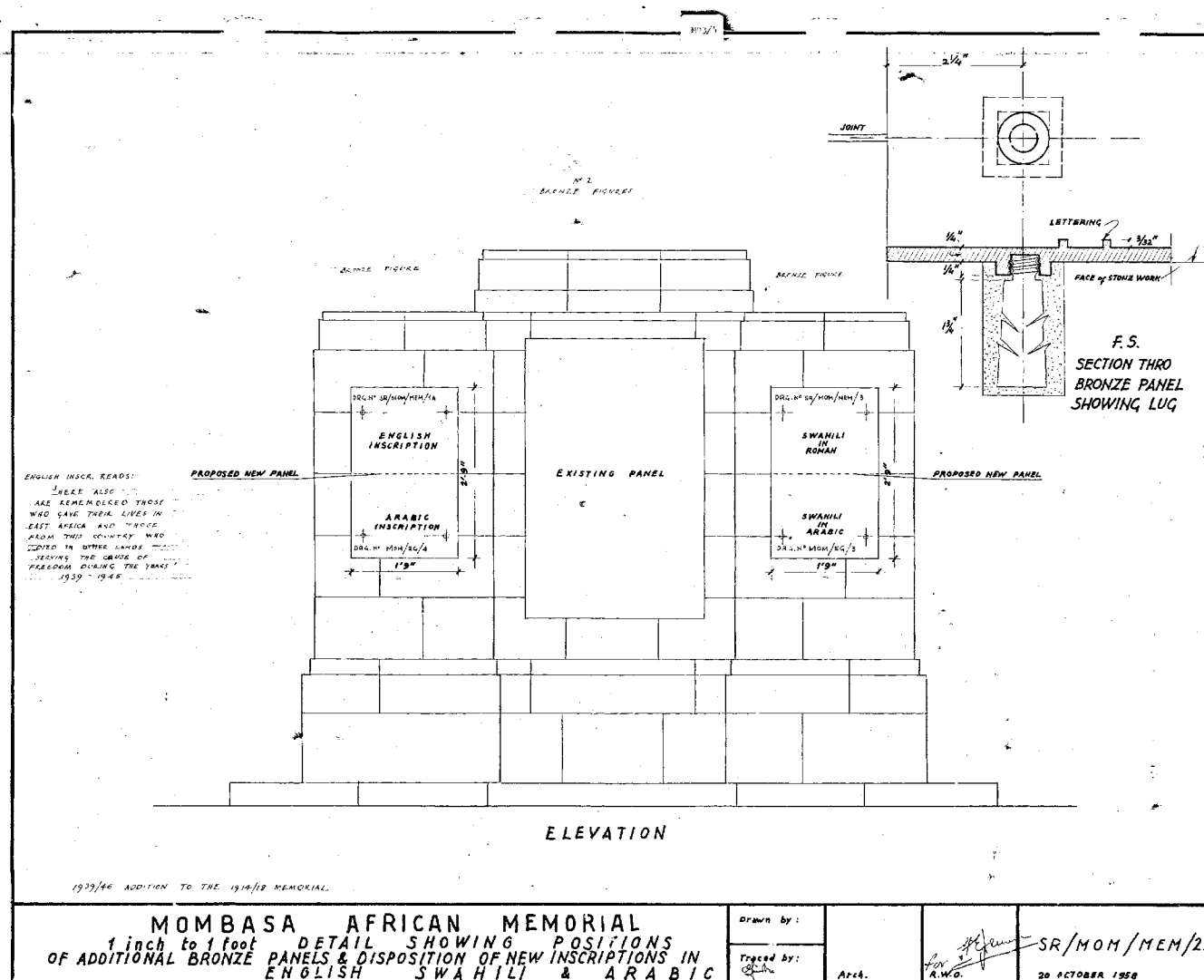
¹⁵⁵ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. 4.8.1959..

¹⁵⁶ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018), Director of Works to Assistant Secretary, 22.9.1959.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

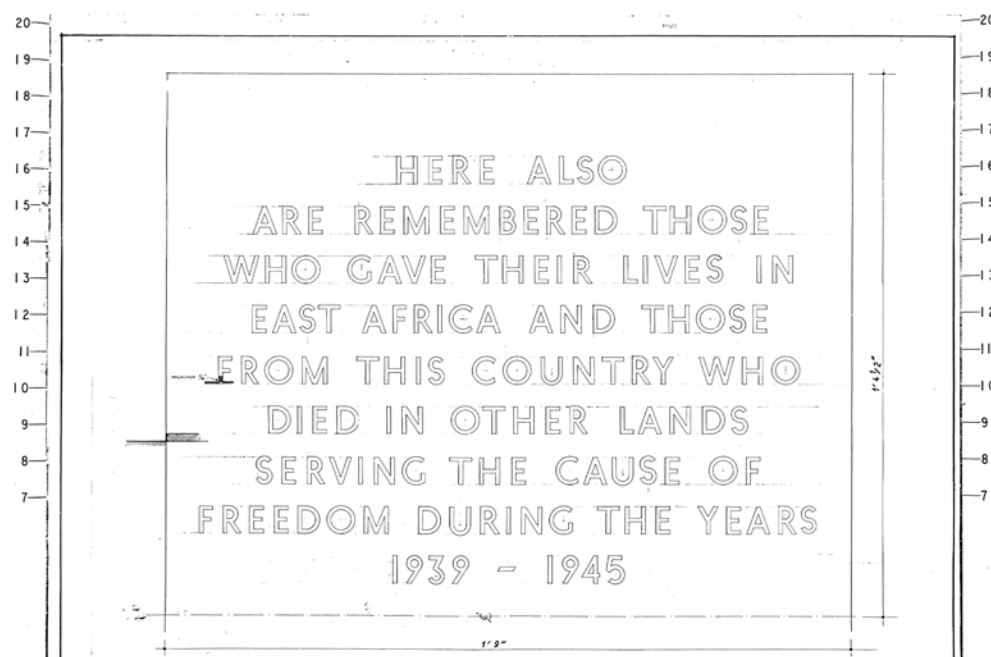


The four versions of the 1939–1945 inscription¹⁵⁷

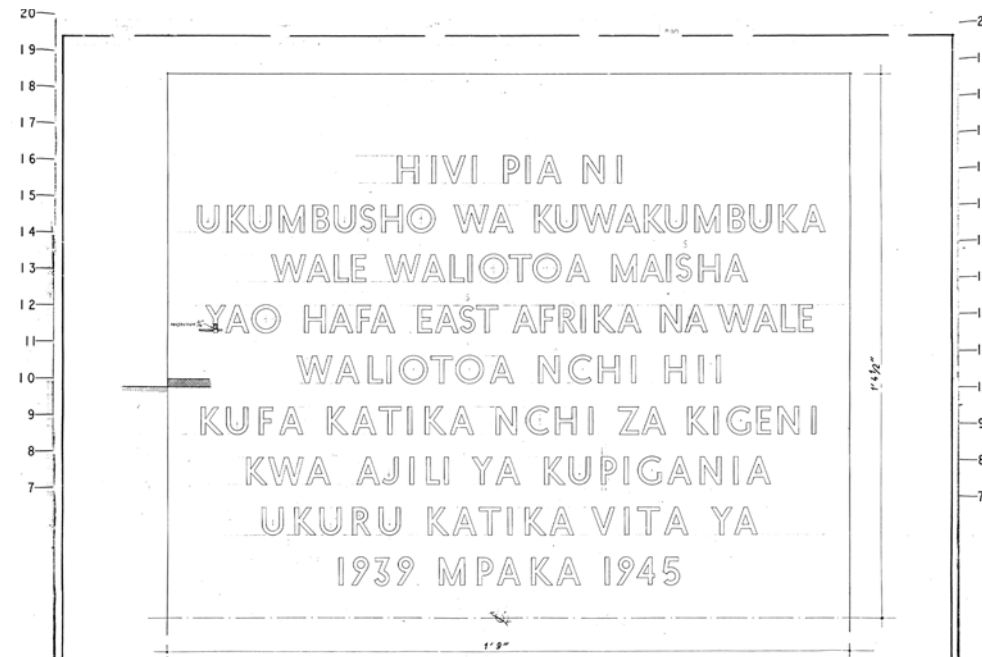


Elevation showing the proposed additional panels, 1958

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT



Drawing of the proposed English inscription, 1958



Drawing showing the proposed Swahili inscription, 1958

At the same time as the discussions over the addition of new panels was happening, another discussion was had regarding the addition of steps to the Memorial. It was begun in late 1956 when Com. GP Codrington-Ball, Secretary of the Coast Branch of the British Legion, Member of the Municipal Board and Chairman of the Highways Committee, wrote to the Commission suggesting a small plinth would help with the placing of wreaths at the annual Remembrance Day ceremony.¹⁵⁸ The Secretary's view was that the plinth might improve the Memorial but, if it was wanted, the Municipal Board should pay for it.¹⁵⁹ It does not appear the plinth was added.

¹⁵⁸ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Area Superintendent to Regional Director, 5.1.1957.

¹⁵⁹ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Secretary to Regional Director, 12.3.1957.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.3.4 Transition

In July 1963 the Director of Works visited the Memorial and deemed it *'dirty and in an unsavoury neighbourhood.'* He was told by the Town Engineer that it was cleaned annually before Armistice Day.¹⁶⁰

On 12th December that year, Kenya gained its independence and there were clearly concerns about its implications for the Mombasa Memorial at the Commission's Headquarters. On 18th December the Director of External Relations and Records wrote to the Director of Finance and Establishments to set out the current position: that the Memorial had been erected but in 1949 the local authorities said it was impossible to keep clean because it was in the *'native quarter'* and the Commission accepted the idea of moving it and combining it with a 1939/45 memorial but by 1953, with no likelihood of the new railway buildings being constructed in Mombasa, the Commission built the new memorial in Nairobi and in 1954 agreed to pay for a tablet to be added to the Mombasa Memorial; this was delayed because of ongoing discussions regarding the location and finally completed in 1959.¹⁶¹ In January he wrote to the Regional Director to say that the Area Superintendent was making discreet enquires about the possible future development around the memorial but *'It is not, however, desirable to raise the matter again officially with the local authorities since in the new circumstances which have arisen following the achievement of independence in Kenya it might well be found to be in the Commission's interest to leave the memorial in its present site.'*¹⁶²

By the middle of August the Area Superintendent had met with the Town Clerk and received the impression it was unlikely the plans for development would be carried out soon. The new railway station was to be surrounded by car parks. Development was proposed near the Memorial on what was now called Jomo Kenyatta Avenue (formerly Sir Mbarak Road) included a bus station and a market. It was felt that it was best *'to watch and wait developments.'*¹⁶³

A note in 1965 stated that it was agreed that the Commission's work in Africa would be aided by calling the memorial by its proper name, the Mombasa African Memorial, and not the Mombasa Memorial or the War Memorial.¹⁶⁴

3.3.5 Relocation Discussions Continue

Proposals for the town planning of Mombasa continued to develop and in 1967 it was confidentially revealed to the Commission that the Municipal Council was considering placing the African Memorial at the centre of a roundabout near Fort Jesus in the new Treasury Square as part of a scheme to improve the main route to the State House.¹⁶⁵

In 1967 the Director General visited the Memorial and reported it was in good order, as was a space ten feet around it but the site was in a slum area that had become unsuitable.¹⁶⁶ In his tour notes he recorded that city officials had showed him and the Regional Director plans to move the statue to a roundabout, a suggestion that was opposed by some members who argued the wars were between colonial powers *'and that the 'war memorial' was no concern of modern Africans and should be removed along with other relics of colonialism and not re-erected.'* The Commission explained that the correct title was the Mombasa African Memorial and it commemorated not war but honoured the memory of brave men who had died for their country. They also argued that the inscriptions were not offensive to modern African thinking and the bronze figures were especially fine. Other similar memorials were found in Nairobi and Dar-es Salaam, the latter being where President Nyerere had laid a wreath recently.¹⁶⁷ The Director General subsequently asked the Minister of Defence as the Kenya Agency of the Commission to intervene with the Minister of Municipal Affairs. The British High Commissioner was also to have lunch with both ministers. The result was confirmation that the memorial would be resited *'as the centrepiece of a formal garden within a new traffic roundabout.'*¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁰ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Director of Works Tour Report 30.6-19.7.1963.

¹⁶¹ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Director of External Relations and Records to Director of Finance and Establishments, 18.12.1963.

¹⁶² CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Director of External Relations and Records to Regional Director, 14.1.1964.

¹⁶³ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Regional Director to Director General, 10.8.1964.

¹⁶⁴ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Director-General's Conference, 4.3.1965.

¹⁶⁵ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Regional Director to Director General, 23.2.1967; Director of External Relations and Records to Regional Director, 6.3.1967.

¹⁶⁶ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Director General Tour Report 14-21.6.1967.

¹⁶⁷ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Director General Tour Notes 14-21.6.1967.

¹⁶⁸ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Director-General's Conference, 16.11.1967.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT



Proposed location plan for the Memorial¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The Regional Works Officer, however was unconvinced and after a tour in March 1968 wrote: *'Before consulting any local authority on this matter, I visited the present site. The Memorial stands now in the very midst of the people whose brothers, fathers and grandfathers are represented by the four bronze figures. If it is moved and placed in the midst of government buildings, to my mind, it will lose part of its significance. It is true that a tea vendor has his place of business behind the Memorial, but it did not look to me to be a particularly untidy stall. I do not think by local standards, we can describe the present site as squalid; it is typically urban African and indeed colourful. The Memorial is in excellent state; it will take a first class contractor with his heart in the job to take it down carefully, remove it and re-erect it to the same high standard of craftsmanship.'* He went on to say that before the Commission consented, it should make sure the local or central government could fund the relocation and discreet enquiries would be made.¹⁷⁰

In April 1968, the *Daily Nation* reported the proposed relocation of the Memorial to Treasury Square and stated that the Council was seeking funding from the Ministry of Defence.¹⁷¹

As ever, the Commission was concerned about the tenure of the new site. The preference at Headquarters was for a formal agreement, as there were concerns the Kenyans might claim the Memorial as their own.¹⁷² The Regional Director's view was more pragmatic: that perhaps the Commission should just consent to the move without claiming a formal agreement of tenure or else the Commission might be asked to pay for the relocation.¹⁷³

The new island in Treasury Square was nearly complete when the Director of Works visited in September 1969. His assessment echoed the Regional Director's of the previous year:

*'Although the site is unattractive, it is at a bus stop and constantly in the eye of the African crowd. It is surprisingly clean, though the four bronze figures need treatment, and the panels have some dirt adhering to them. The stonework is good. One of the bronze rifle slings had become detached from the sling swivel on a rifle, but the Area Works Officer effected a repair at once in front of an admiring crowd.... We also inspected the proposed new site. Although a very good site for a memorial of this design, it is of course much more remote from the African pedestrian traffic, and I see no benefit in the move.'*¹⁷⁴

At the end of 1970, it seemed that the opportunity to relocate the Memorial to Treasury Square had passed. The sum of £500 to cover the costs had not been sent by the President's Office to the Municipal Council so the site of Treasury Square was developed without the Memorial.¹⁷⁵ Days later a letter was published in the *Daily Nation* under the heading 'War Memorial Ruined'. Ex-Sgt Soud Suleiman Mirza complained about the proliferation of stalls. *'The cement benches surrounding it are broken and the place looks filthy and an eyesore to the wananchi, visitors and tourists.'*¹⁷⁶

At the beginning of 1971 the Area Works Officer met Mr Kitololo, the Municipal Engineer, who expressed his preference for the Memorial to remain where it was and the area around it to be cleared and relandscaped when

the new market was built and the new road constructed.¹⁷⁷ This suited the Commission as it had security of tenure on the site and would not have to contribute to any relocation costs.¹⁷⁸

3.3.6 Maintaining the Memorial

Although the possibility of moving the Memorial remained in the background of discussions in the early 1970s, it was not relocated and eventually the focus turned to improving the site. The Municipal Engineer informed the Area Superintendent in February that the Town Planning Committee on 22nd January 1971 had resolved to recommend to Council that Municipal Engineer be instructed to demolish and remove unauthorised structures within vicinity of the Memorial.¹⁷⁹ However later in the year nothing appeared to have been done. The Area Superintendent reported that the area around the Memorial was in that same state and he had met with Mr Mai, the Deputy Municipal Engineer. He said he would see what he could do but removing the kiosks was difficult because they had been agreed by some of the councillors and their removal might create a political problem. Reflecting the racial tensions in the city, the Area Superintendent observed:

*'I do not think we shall get an improvement to the Area surrounding the Memorial until the return of Mr Kitololo, the Municipal Engineer who is on one year's course in Nairobi. Mr Mai is an Asian and has very little authority. He is extremely careful in avoiding giving offence to the African Councillors at Mombasa.'*¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁰ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Regional Works Officer Tour Report 4-27.3.1968.

¹⁷¹ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. *Daily Nation*, 5.4.1968.

¹⁷² CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Chief External Relations and Records Officer, Note for File, 8.2.1968.

¹⁷³ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Regional Director to Director General, 13.8.1968.

¹⁷⁴ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Director of Works Tour Report 2-15.9.1969.

¹⁷⁵ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Municipal Engineer to Area Superintendent, 13.11.1970.

¹⁷⁶ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. *Daily Nation*, 2.12.1970.

¹⁷⁷ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Area Works Officer to Director General, 8.1.1971.

¹⁷⁸ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Minute from Director General, 12.1.1971.

¹⁷⁹ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Municipal Engineer to Area Superintendent, 5.2.1971.

¹⁸⁰ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Area Superintendent to Director General, 9.8.1971.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

A year later, the situation remained unchanged and, on 7th February, the Director General and the Area Superintendent met with the Mayor, the Town Clerk and the Municipal engineer. The Mayor said that the Council of Mombasa had passed a by-law to give Council the authority to clear the immediate area around the Memorial of 'all the dismal and dilapidated tea shops.'¹⁸¹ In his tour report, the Director General noted that it was now not just the surrounding area that was an issue but also the bronzework, which had not been maintained:

'It is a pity that the surrounds of this splendid Memorial should still be so squalid and that the bronzework should be so ill-maintained. The area behind the Memorial, enclosed by a low stone seat-wall, is invaded by debris from neighbouring market stalls and is used for burning rubbish. When I saw the Mayor of Mombasa, he made it clear that the proposal to move the Memorial to another site had been dropped and that his Council considered that its present site was the right place for it, where great numbers of Africans collected. He agreed, however that it was necessary to improve the surroundings... The council intended to build a huge, new, modern market nearby so that the whole character of the area would be altered. The Mayor and the Town Engineer

*both welcomed my suggestion that Commission personnel might renovate the Memorial and give instruction to the Town Engineer's staff on the maintenance of bronze. One can only hope that such instruction will be effective but I fear that it may be necessary for Commission personnel to renovate the bronze from time to time.'*¹⁸²

There were delays to the promised renovation of the bronzework but it was finally undertaken in May 1973. There are several photographs showing the Memorial before, during and after renovation.



Pre-renovation detail of the back of the King's African Rifleman, 1973



The 1939-1945 panel before renovation, 1973



The Memorial during renovation, 1973



The front of the Memorial after renovation, 1973

¹⁸¹ CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Area Superintendent to Director of External Relations and Records, 22.2.1972.

¹⁸² CWGC/1/2/A/371 Part 2 Mombasa African Memorial. Director General Tour Report 1-14.2.1972.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT



Back of the Memorial after renovation, 1973



Detail of the backs of the Arab Rifleman and the King's African Rifleman after renovation, 1973



The 1914-18 panel after renovation, 1973



The 1939-1945 panel after renovation, 1973

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The Director of Works reported that the renovation was successful. He noted that some of the letters were missing from the Swahili panel but suggested they may have been removed deliberately as there were multiple spellings of the same word.¹⁸³

Although the bronzework had been restored, the surrounding area was still less than satisfactory. In 1979 the Director wrote to the Honorary Secretary of the Kenya Agency that *'this has always been a problem site'*. The Park Superintendent had advised in 1975 that the site could be planted with more colour and given more protection but nothing has been done.¹⁸⁴ The dismal state of the site was captured in a series of photographs that showed damaged walls and seating, piles of rubbish and weed-covered dirt where there should have been planting.



The setting of the Memorial was in poor condition with no planting, only weeds and rubbish, 1979



The low wall and seat were chipped and there was no planting, 1979



Rubbish in the corner of the site, 1979



View of the side road adjacent to the Memorial looking back towards the main road, 1979



The nearby bus stop meant that there were many people near the Memorial, 1979¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Director of Works Tour Report 5-25.10.1975.

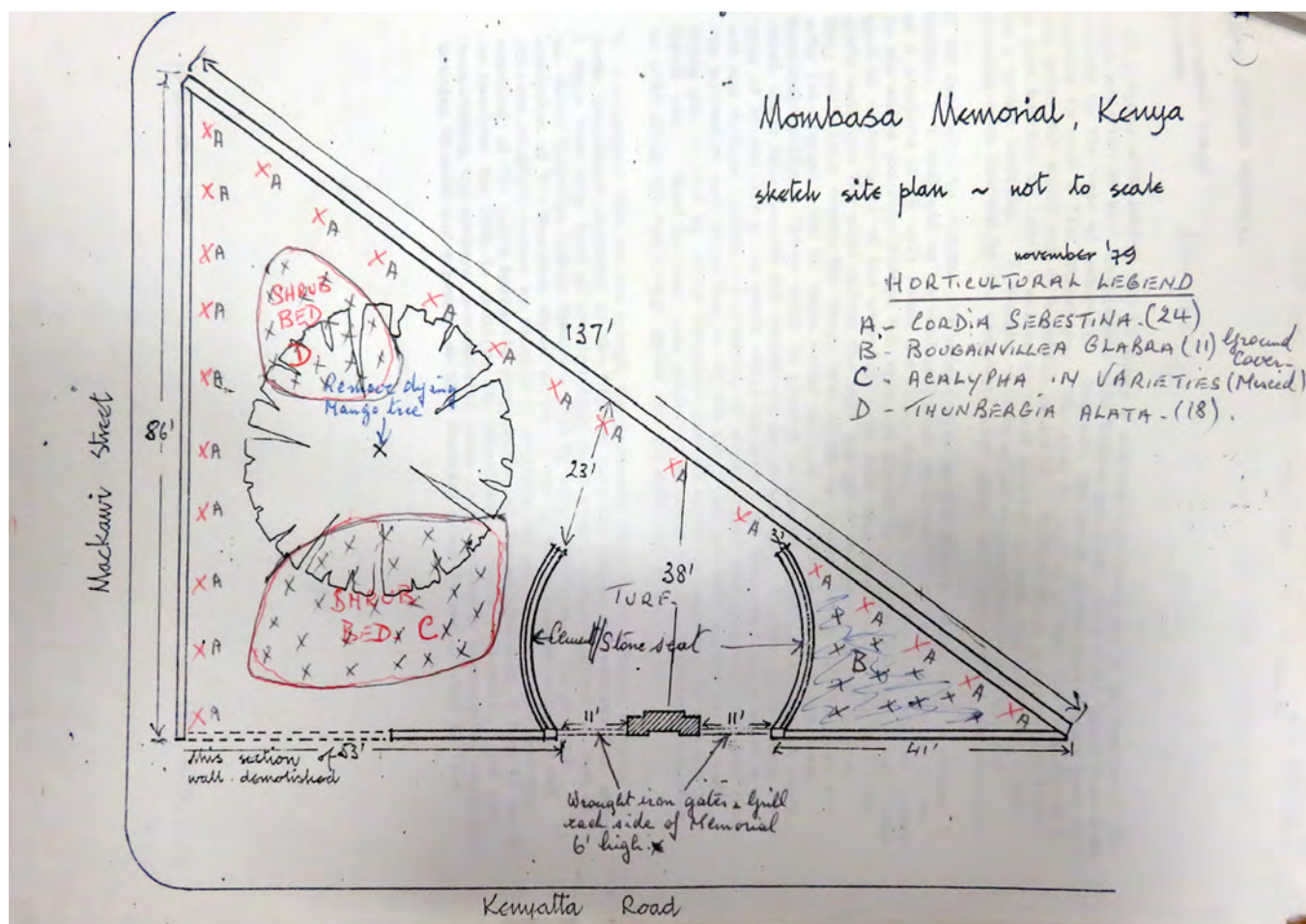
¹⁸⁴ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Director General to Honorary Secretary of Kenya Agency, 16.2.1979.

¹⁸⁵ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018).

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The Director of Horticulture reported that in 1980 there was graffiti on the rear of the memorial whilst the area around is a dump for rubbish and used for taking snuff and as a public lavatory. He asserted that it need a boundary and that the Park Superintendent, Mr Mikaya, had proposed a concrete block wall with openwork at the top and gates. He showed examples to the Director of Horticulture who agreed this was the right approach. He felt that, given the number of people represented by the Memorial, the costs were very reasonable.¹⁸⁶

It was proposed that a six foot wall with open lattice work at the top would be constructed with wrought iron grilles and gates. The half circle seats were to be renovated and the dying mango tree removed. The whole area would then be landscaped. The graffiti would also be removed at the same time.¹⁸⁷



Plan of proposed boundary wall and landscaping, 1980

¹⁸⁶ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Director of Horticulture Tour Report 30.10.1980.

¹⁸⁷ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Form B, 16.1.1981.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The walls were constructed in 1982 and captured in photographs.



Photograph showing the completion of the boundary wall, c.1982



Photograph showing the completion of the boundary wall, c.1982



Photograph of the Memorial 1982

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

In February 1983, the Director General reported that the site had dramatically changed since his previous visit. The new walls and gates had been erected and bougainvillea planted up the new and old rear walls. The area had been landscaped with lawn and spot planted shrubs. The seat, however, needed biocidal treatment and the four large water drums inside the gates were deemed to detract from the appearance of the site. It was agreed that a water pipe would be paid for and a new tool chest.¹⁸⁸



Photograph by the Director of Area, 1983



Photograph by the Director of Area showing Baker seat and later walls and gates, 1983

In late 1985, the water pipe had still not been connected despite the Commission having paid the Municipal Council for it. The Park Superintendent thought it was unlikely to happen soon as the Municipal Council was in financial difficulties but the City Treasurer assured the Commission that the funds paid had been set aside and there was no reason to delay the installation.¹⁸⁹ A year later, it still had not happened and there were repeated reports of the grass being inadequately watered.¹⁹⁰

There were other issues too. The mild steel gates that had been installed were flimsy and had little protective paint. As a result they were corroding at the bottom. The bronze statues were also covered with bird droppings. The Municipal Council proposed erecting an iron sheet but the Commission said bird repellent gel would be sufficient.¹⁹¹ Red paint had appeared on the bronze panels, which anyway needed retoning and highlighting, and once again stall holders had set up with licences given for political reasons that could not be withdrawn.¹⁹² The Park Superintendent explained there was a lack of funds and therefore a lack of staff for the upkeep of the war cemeteries and memorials and the Director General undertook to write to the Mombasa Town Clerk.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Director General Tour Report February 1983.

¹⁸⁹ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Report, 10.11.1985.

¹⁹⁰ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Director of Horticulture Tour Report 27.1-13.2.1986; Director General Tour Report 20.10-10.11.1986.

¹⁹¹ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Report, 10.11.1985.

¹⁹² CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Director of Horticulture Tour Report 27.1-13.2.1986; Director General Tour Report 20.10-10.11.1986.

¹⁹³ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Director General Tour Report 20.10-10.11.1986.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

In 1990 the gates had deteriorated to the point of needing replacement. Some of the trees had been removed to improve light levels and allow the lawn to recover.¹⁹⁴ However, the issue of the stalls had not been resolved and Mr Kilambyo, the Parks Superintendent, said the local authority would arrange the removal of the temporary stalls and permanent bus shelters. He also suggested the addition of large flower boxes between fence and memorial to deter use for trade or meetings. Further, he proposed planting bougainvillea outside the fence to enhance appearance and prevent intrusion.¹⁹⁵



Planting in front of the site and the replacement gates, 1994



Undated photograph showing the corroding gates and rubbish in front of the Memorial



Photograph showing graffiti on the front of the memorial in January 1995¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Director General Tour Report, February 1990.

¹⁹⁵ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Report, Apr-May 1993.

¹⁹⁶ CWGC/7/5/2/402 DOW Tour (Photographs)

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The issue of the vendors' stalls arose again in the late 1990s. The Director of Horticulture reported, *'Outside the Memorial garden is a concreted forecourt enclosed by barriers and a gate and lined with vendors' stalls. But within the forecourt is a stall and benches for the sale of coffee. I suggested to the Parks Superintendent who accompanied us that it would be desirable if this was removed, together with wooden benches and concrete supports.'* He also noted *'Two rather tatty gates (I believe erected by the local municipality) enclose the inner garden which is turfed and used as a nursery for grass 'runners' when replanting the Mombasa cemeteries.'* In terms of planting there were eight *Cordia sebestena* trees, one of which was half dead, *'colourful and effective' Bougainvillea*, and self-seeded papaya trees that he recommended for removal.¹⁹⁷

Attention turned to the bronze panels in the twenty first century. The 1939-1945 panels were noted to have been poorly manufactured (perhaps reflecting the Commission's selection of the cheapest price). The issue was said to have been the subject of a report in 1975 but no further action had been taken.¹⁹⁸ A quotation was sought for 17 individual letters to undertake repairs but it is not clear whether they were made and installed.¹⁹⁹



Undated photograph, possibly 2001

In 2002, permission was granted for the removal of the seats behind the Memorial. Perhaps unaware of the connection with Herbert Baker, it was said that the *'seats have no architectural significance'*.²⁰⁰



Undated photograph with the seating removed

¹⁹⁷ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Director of Horticulture Tour Report 21.2-6.3.1999.

¹⁹⁸ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Email Duncan Povey to Barry Norris, 21.8.2001.

¹⁹⁹ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Duncan Povey to Morris Singer Foundry, 3.4.2002.

²⁰⁰ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Email Alan Coombe to Brian Davidson, 22.5.2001.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

In 2009 the bronze 1939–1945 panels were stolen and although they were recovered, they were so badly damaged and had lost so many letters that replacements were needed. It was suggested they should be replaced with black granite.²⁰¹ Another suggestion was that they were replaced with slate.²⁰² There followed further thefts and vandalism. Thieves attempted to take the original panel but it was left hanging by a single bolt so it was removed for safe keeping. The left leg of the Carrier was partially sawn through, a gate was stolen along with the Carrier's walking stick, the rifle slings and any elements that could be easily removed. Night security was put in a place and it was suggested welding the gates shut. The local media reported the damage.²⁰³

Details of the damage caused by thieves:-

Soldier 1

Rifle strap stolen

Soldier 2

Two sections of rifle strap stolen

End of rifle barrel bent

Soldier 3

Rifle strap stolen

End of rifle barrel sawn off and stolen

End of holstered bayonet broken off



Annotated photograph of the damage²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). William MacPherson to Barry Edwards, 17.3.2010.

²⁰² CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Email Barry Edwards to William MacPherson, 8.2..2011.

²⁰³ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Email exchanges June and July 2011.

²⁰⁴ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018).

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

With the need to replace the panels came the opportunity to edit the text on the panels. It was decided that the word “native” was to be removed and Eastern Africa was simplified to East Africa. This necessitated a fresh round of translation. However, the changes to the wording do not seem to have been carried out.

In November 2017 a complete three-dimensional scan was taken of the memorial as a precursor to any restoration work. The 3D scanning methodology was prescribed by Annemarie LaPensee and undertaken by 3D Scanners UK Ltd. The resulting scan provides high-resolution information about every detail of the monument and as such, forms both an important record and a useful tool for any future repairs.

Restoration work took place in 2018. Annemarie LaPensee assessed the damaged/ missing pieces and reverse-engineered solutions for us to create new parts. In some cases this involved 3D printing of sculptural elements, which allowed craftspeople to accurately shape and sculpt new pieces (such as straps). The damaged WWI panel in Mombasa was restored by Bronze Restoration specialist Andy Mitchel who was also

responsible for creating the replacement bronze parts which were shipped to Kenya. The new bronze elements were fabricated at the Morris Singer foundry (the original company but now based in Lasham, Surrey) and the original 1914-1918 panel was sent to them for refurbishment. The RAF assisted CWGC by transporting the panel from Kenya to the UK and back again once the work was completed. A stone mason with bronze working skills, Mark Davidson, oversaw the works and trained up a two-man local works team, Martin Kiarri (CWGC) and Joe Kimani (CWGC).²⁰⁵ The works were completed at the end of October. The sum of £32,315.58 was spent to restore the rifle strap on the Arab Rifleman, the water bottle strap and staff on the Carrier, the scabbard and rifle strap of the King's African Rifleman, the repointing of lime joints and the restoration and reinstatement of the original panel. The latter was recessed to avoid future theft attempts.²⁰⁶



Image from the 3D scanning project showing the Carrier



Restored Memorial



Photographs of the new rifle strap



Photographs of the new water bottle strap



Photograph of the new scabbard tip



Photograph of the new walking stick²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Form B, 9.4.2018.

²⁰⁶ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018). Form B, 30.10.2018.

²⁰⁷ CWGC/7/4/2/19891 Mombasa African Memorial (From 9.4.2018).

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.5 DAR ES SALAAM AFRICAN MEMORIAL

3.5.1 Context

Tanganyika was known as German East Africa at the outbreak of the First World War and it experienced ongoing warfare from the start of the war in July 1914 until the surrender on 25 November 1918, two weeks after the Armistice in Europe. Germany also held what is now Burundi but otherwise it was surrounded by Allied forces: British East Africa and Uganda to the north, Belgian Congo to the west, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (British Empire) to the south-west and Portuguese East Africa to the south. As a result, the Germans in East Africa, under General von Lettow-Vorbeck, were both on the offensive and the defensive. Africans served as troops on both sides and carriers for the Allies. The civilian population suffered not only from the direct impacts of the conflict but also the requisitioning of food and cattle, which was compounded by a famine in 1917 and the Spanish flu epidemic in 1918 and resulted in hundreds of thousands of civilian deaths.

In 1920, German East Africa was mandated to Britain (Zanzibar, however, had been part of the British Empire since 1890). Most of the German settlers had fled and many of the remainder soon left with the result that trade and revenue had halved compared with 1913. Tanganyika's first British Governor, Sir Horace Byatt, took an approach to governing the territory based on doing what would benefit the Africans, as instructed by the Colonial Office. Whilst there were some positive changes, Whilst there were some positive changes, many of his policies were criticised and he was moved to Ceylon after two years.²⁰⁸ His replacement, Sir Donald Cameron, was similarly opposed to imposing policies that were detrimental to Africans or which he thought were heavy-handed. Cameron consequently disagreed with the Governor of Kenya, Grigg, who allowed land to be taken from the Africans for the settler community and who tried to stamp out traditional African practices, such as female

circumcision. Cameron refused to take Africans' land from them for white settlers and, whilst opposed to some of the traditional African practices, believed that armed opposition to them reflected badly on the British.

3.5.2 Creation of the Memorial

The Director of Works, FR Durham, reported that the Tanganyika Government and Lt Col Filsall, the Officer Commanding Troops in Tanganyika, were in agreement that one memorial would be sufficient and they suggested it took the form of a sculpture of an askari on a pedestal with panels below showing the King's African Riflemen and the carriers in action.²⁰⁹ Unfortunately the early correspondence with the Government has not been found and it is not known from where the Government drew its inspiration in making this recommendation. This was the brief given to the selected sculptor, JA Stevenson.



Maquette

²⁰⁸ Furley, Oliver, 'Byatt, Sir Horace Archer' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38477>, accessed 30 June 2023.

²⁰⁹ CWGC/1/1/9/D/28 Memorials to the Missing, East Africa Part 1. Minute from Director of Works to Principal Assistant Secretary, 14.1.1922.

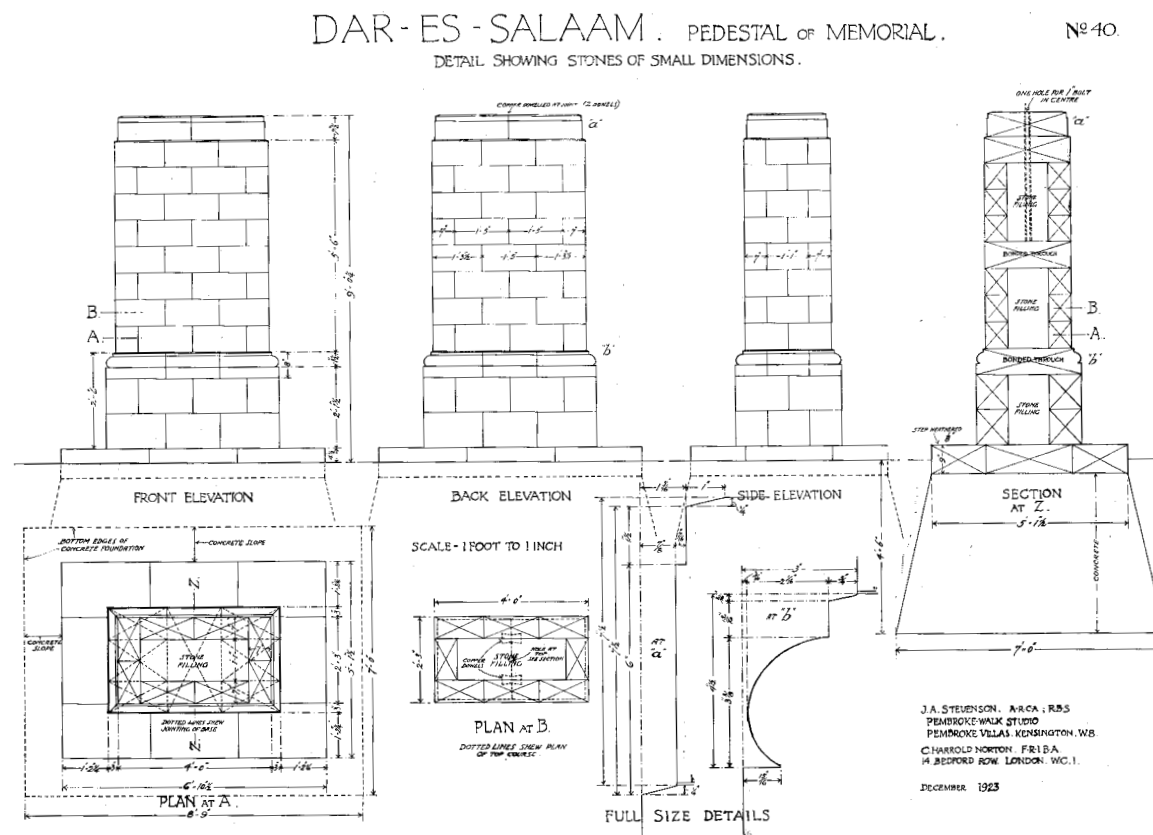
HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The site selected for the memorial was also the recommendation of the Government: it was to replace a memorial to Hermann von Wissman,²¹⁰ which had sat at the junction of Unter Den Akazien, Wissman Strasse, Bismarck Strasse and Becker Strasse. These streets were renamed and the IWGC's Register of the Memorials in Dar es Salaam, published in 1930, describes the new memorial as standing at the junction of Acacia Avenue, Versailles Street and Park Avenue (the latter two were later renamed Windsor Road and Ingles Road). Durham, the Director of Works, initially had reservations about the strong political statement of replacing the Wissman statue but, after it was sent back to Germany, the Commission was more comfortable with the use of the site. It did have to pay for the removal of the existing granite pedestal. Unlike the two Kenyan memorials, there are no records of ground investigations being done in Dar es Salaam so it may have been the case that the foundations of the older memorial were reused.

As described above, JA Stevenson used photographs and loaned items to create an accurate and life-like bronze statue of a King's African Rifleman and panels showing riflemen and carriers in action. The statue is the most dynamic of the ones Stevenson created for the three memorials, depicting an askari with bayonet mounted on his rifle in a striking pose suggestive of action. One of the panels illustrates seven carriers, mostly with their loads on their heads but two are sharing a long box or post carried on their shoulders. They are accompanied by a rifleman. The other panel shows seven soldiers, two of whom are manning a machine gun. One of the soldiers has his hand raised to his brow and appears to be looking out. A single carrier bears a box on his shoulder. The memorial was the last of the three to be completed. The sculpture was displayed at

the 1927 Royal Academy summer exhibition alongside a bust of Sir Frederic Kenyon. The panels, titled "The Range" and "The Trail", were displayed the following year.²¹¹ If these were the bronze panels, then they must have been added later to the monument in Dar es Salaam, which was already erected by autumn 1927. Alternatively the exhibited panels may have been plaster versions painted to imitate bronze.

The bronze elements were shipped out to Tanganyika, where it is thought the pedestal had been assembled by the Commission. A drawing survives by Stevenson and the architect C Harrold Norton for the design of the pedestal. The bronze inscriptions were also prepared by Stevenson but it is noticeable how, with the three versions, the text spilled far over what Stevenson planned when he made the maquette.



Drawing by JA Stevenson and C. Harrold Norton, December 1923, showing the proposed pedestal

²¹⁰ Wissmann (1853-1905) travelled from Angola to Tanganyika to explore river routes between 1880 and 1882 and later for King Leopold II of the Belgians in 1884 and 1886. As an imperial commissioner, he suppressed and Arab rebellion and established German control of Tanzania in 1888. From 1895 he was imperial governor. 'Hermann von Wissmann', <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hermann-von-Wissmann>, accessed 30 June 2023.

²¹¹ Royal Academy Exhibitors 1905-1970, Volume VI SHERR-ZUL.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT



Photograph of the front of the completed memorial in place, 1928



Photograph of the back of the completed memorial in place, 1928



Photograph of the side of the completed memorial in place, 1928



Photograph of the side of the completed memorial in place, 1928

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

By 1927, there had been a change of Governors and Sir Donald Cameron was keen to gain a greater understanding of what had been decided by his predecessor. His Chief Secretary corresponded with the Commission's Deputy Director of Works, East Africa. The Chief Secretary asked if the memorial was intended to commemorate the South and West Africans who had fought in Tanganyika and if so, how many casualties did they suffer. The Deputy Director replied that *'The Commission is not in possession of the details of the various tribes and races engaged in the war, but information furnished by the courtesy of the Adjutant of the K.A.R. Dar es Salaam indicates that the soldiers and followers who took part in the hostilities in Tanganyika Territory were drawn from the following tribes Wasukuma, Wanyamwezi, Wahehe, Wangoni, Wamanyema, Wazaramo and Swahili.'* There was also further information that Mr. Hollis (Chief Secretary) informed the Graves Registration Unit in September 1921 that of the carriers and followers *'probably 50% would be from the Wanyamwezi, Wasukuma and the remainder from the Wangoni, Konde and Shamba or Chago [sic] tribes.'*²¹² In answer to the Chief Secretary's question, the response was:

*'I have the honour to inform you that the memorial is dedicated to the Memory of African Native troops and followers who lost their lives in the campaign in East Africa and whose graves have not been individually commemorated by the erection of headstones supplied by this Commission. The dedication therefore indicates a general commemoration and although the number of dead is more largely comprised of East African natives, South and West African natives are not excluded, the exception being South African Cape Corps, the members of which are classified for commemoration in the same manner as Europeans.'*²¹³

²¹² TNA File No. 23428, Askari statue in Dar es Salaam /10203/3, Letters exchange between Deputy Director of Works, East Africa and K.A.R official.

²¹³ TNA File No. 23428, Askari statue in Dar es Salaam "West African Frontier Force were Nigeria regiment, Gold Coast regiment, Sierra Leone Battalion, Gambia Company who served in Togo Land, Cameroon and after operations proceed to East Africa; TNA File No. 23428, Askari statue in Dar es Salaam /10203/16 Letter from Imperial War Graves Commission to the Chief Secretary, Dar es Salaam [Ref.No.12.829](#) .

This suggests a certain fudging of the issue: in principle the IWGC memorialised people where they fell but the West African governments had elected to create memorials to their dead in their own countries.

The memorial was completed and due to be unveiled in a grand ceremony on Armistice Day 1927. Officers commanding the first, second, third and fourth battalions of the King's African Rifles had been asked to participate. However, shortly before the ceremony, at the end of October 1927, Mr Howe Browne visited the Chief Secretary to make representation of those who felt that the location of the memorial was an insult to the German community. The Chief Secretary reported to the Governor:

'He said that there was a considerable body of opinion which was opposed to a ceremony designated to commemorate our dead, concentrating on native soldiers or porters to the exclusion of our own who had died in France and elsewhere[...]. He also said that there was a strong body of opinion which held that it was most unnecessarily insulting to the memory of Dr. von Wissman, who might be regarded as a great and distinguished German, that a statue of a native soldier should be put up in the place where his statue had stood. Those he represented regarded it as right and proper that the von Wissman statue should be removed, but considered it most improper and insulting to replace it by a statue of a native askari, when there was all the rest of Tanganyika in which to erect such a statue. He expressed the hope that, before the statue was unveiled, it might be removed to a more appropriate site e.g. in front of the Boma.'

*[...] I too had no idea that any such feelings as Mr. Howe Browne refers to existed [...] it must have been known by most people for some time that this statue was proposed to be erected there.'*²¹⁴

²¹⁴ TNA File No. 23428, Askari statue in Dar es Salaam/TNA/ 11334/8 Letter (Confidential exchanges) 31st 10.1927.

The report also states *'He did not know that the ceremony had been postponed'*, which suggested that the ceremony had already been postponed by the time of his visit. For some reason, the Dar es Salaam memorial was not accorded an official unveiling ceremony. The Chief Secretary simply wrote to the IWGC on 14th March 1928 that *'the memorial to natives-Dar es Salaam has been completed and is now revealed.'*²¹⁵

The lack of ceremony caused upset amongst the officers of the King's African Rifles. On the 28th March 1928, the Lieutenant Colonel Commanding Troops in Tanganyika wrote to the Chief Secretary to express his concern that four battalions had been invited to participate in the ceremony and moreover, had been asked to raise donations to fund wreaths to lay at the memorial only for a letter announcing the postponement to be sent on the 1st November. He was concerned that individuals had made donations to wreaths that had not been laid.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ TNA File No. 23428, Askari statue in Dar es Salaam/ TNA 10203/26 letter from Imperial War Graves Commission.

²¹⁶ TNA File No. 11239, European War 1914-1918, Armistice Day Celebrations, File Volume VIII, IX, And X.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

In 1928 the Prince of Wales's (future Edward VIII) toured East Africa and the last place he visited before sailing for home was Dar es Salaam. It is not known whether he visited the memorial but a photograph of it, surrounded by local people, was published in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* on 30 November 1928 as part of its reporting of the end of the prince's tour.

There are few documents in the CWGC archives detailing the first decades of the newly erected statue but some records survive in Tanzania. On 6th January 1930, the *Tanganyika Times* published an article calling for protection for the memorial. It stated that the 'base has already been splashed with tar from road repairing. It looks unwashed. Survey parties lean their instruments against it. Native firewood-carriers lean their loads against it whilst resting, or examining the monument. The bayonet of the askari is already bent.'²¹⁷ The matter was escalated through the District Office to the Provincial Commissioner of the Eastern Province. The Commissioner of Police's opinion was also sought.²¹⁸ Whilst the District Officer suggested a railing around the memorial, the Commissioner of Tanganyika Police and Prisons, GH Kirkham, argued that, although it was not an ideal location for such a memorial, it had the effect of slowing the traffic and was not a police issue. He

personally suggested moving it so that Africans could study its inscriptions in greater safety.²¹⁹

The Township Authority agreed with the principle of moving the memorial and identified three options:

- '(1) the present car-parking ground opposite the National Bank of India,
- (2) at the junction of Acacia Avenue and Winsor St., near the present position of the statue, and
- (3) at the southern end of the Cenotaph plot'.²²⁰

The Chief Secretary then advised the Township Authority that it should consult with the IWGC.²²¹ The Governor, however, did not approve of the statue's removal and it remained where it was. However, by 1936, when the issue resurfaced, the Police view was no longer that the

memorial helped slow the traffic.²²² The Governor proposed a solution which was 'not the removal of the statue but the enlargement of the area which traffic could not use i.e. by putting a small garden with low hedge round it. The result would be that traffic would automatically be deflected into its proper channels. It will be necessary however, to insist that traffic should go round the statue and garden, e.g. a car coming from Ingles Street would go round the statue before going up Acacia Street'.²²³

The Governor was keen to understand local opinion and the Chief Secretary met with representatives of the Police, Major Nicoll and Mr Bartholomew. The Chief Secretary recorded that:

'There will be no difficult apparently in arranging suitable traffic arrangements, the question of where to put the statue is not so easy. Both thought the Cenotaph grounds opposite the Cenotaph the only suitable place as this would enable people after the ceremony to place wreaths on either memorial, on other hand, as I pointed out there maybe people who will object to any other kind of memorial being in the grounds. I said that His Excellency was most anxious to get the views of the general public and to this end, I suggested that I should write anonymously to the paper, I have shown the draft to Mr. Partridge who concurred in its terms'.²²⁴

²¹⁷ 'Dar Es Salaam's Askari Statue: Protection Needed' in *Tanganyika Times*, 6 January 1930.

²¹⁸ "TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam Ref. No. Z.20/8 Administrative office, Dar es Salaam District.) "I have the honour to inform you that the question of moving the K.A.R. War Memorial to a more suitable site was discussed at the Township Authority meeting, I append an extract from the minutes of that meeting Captain Ingles referred to the question of the Askari statue in relation to traffic in Versailles St. and Acacia Avenue and Park Avenue and the Authority agreed that in its present position, the statue is a menace to the public safety whether travelling by vehicles or on foot. Capt. Ingles suggested three alternatives sites: (1) the present car-parking ground opposite the National Bank of India (2) at the junction of Acacia Avenue and Windsor Street near the present position of the statue and (3) at the other end (southern end) of the Cenotaph plot and recommended that the question be put up to the Chief Secretary. It was eventually agreed however that the Executive Officer communicate with the Commissioner of Police and ask for his support before the Chief Secretary is approached." 20th January 1930

²¹⁹ NA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam; Re: HQ.110/4/63 letter from the Office or the Commissioner of Police and Prisons in Tanganyika Territory to Executive Officer, Township Authority Health Office, Dar es Salaam, 17.01. 1930.

²²⁰ TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam: "the question of the site of Askari monument has lately been brought to the notice of the Township authority, and after considerable discussion, the following decision was arrived at a meeting of the Authority held on the 8th January 1930; the Authority agreed that in its position, the statue is a menace to the public safety, whether travelling by vehicles or on foot". Ref. No. T.A 1202/10", letter from the Executive Officer, Township Authority, Health office Dar es Salaam to Chief Secretary, u.f.s the Provincial Commissioner, Dar es Salaam, 30th January 1930.

²²¹ TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam: "The control of the site on which the Askari statue is situate has been vested in the Imperial War Graves Commission, and it would, therefore be necessary to approach the Commission before the statue could be moved as suggested by the Township Authority and endorsed by the Central Town Planning and Building Committee". 24.1.1936.

²²² TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam: "The Township Authority in 1930 recommended that the statue should be moved but Sir Donald Cameron did not approve the proposal. The Commissioner of police at that time reported that the statue had a steadying influence on drivers which tended to reduce the risks of accidents, the Police authorities no longer share this view." Ref. No 10203/103 Letter from the Chief Secretary to Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province Dar es Salaam 24.1.1936.

²²³ TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam: Ref. No 10203/103 Letter from the Chief Secretary to Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province, Dar es Salaam 24.1.1936.

²²⁴ TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

Although the anonymous letter has not been preserved, several of the public responses published in the newspaper as letters to the Editor have done so. One published on the 17th March 1936 written by “Light Infantry” references a leading article “A Traffic Problem” in the 14th March edition, which stated: *‘it has long been a source of wonder... why this very fine statue, with all the memories and meaning that it conveys, was ever placed in its present position away from its obviously correct place along with the main Cenotaph.’* (The Cenotaph is located in a small park at the end of the street south of the African Memorial.) “Light Infantry’s” response was:

‘The Cenotaph surely stands as a Memorial to members of all races of the Empire who fell in the Great War, the underlying idea being that it is a type of memorial suitable for all creeds and races. Would it, therefore really be appropriate to place a military memorial, representing the Askaris, in the Cenotaph Grounds? Would anyone suggest that the Brigade of Guards’ Memorial be removed from St. James’s Park to a site adjacent to the Cenotaph in Whitehall?’

*In any case would it be suitable to have a monument of an admittedly purely military character in juxtaposition with a memorial signifying an empty tomb?’*²²⁵

The following day another letter was published which also argued against the relocation of the statue from an “old Resident”:

‘As a constant user of these thoroughfares I have never considered it a dangerous crossing. If there are those who find it dangerous could not the immediate surround of the Statue be enlarged into a traffic island? Most people feel that an island is needed there.

²²⁵ Tanganyika Standard, 17 March 1936.

*As the Statue has stood where it is for so many years it seems desirable to ascertain whether its removal would convey an unfortunate impression to the mind of natives.’*²²⁶

However, there were others who suggested that the Statue should be removed. A “Private Citizen” argued the Cenotaph grounds were inappropriate because *‘the statue is posed in a more bellicose attitude than is suitable for the peace that was won’* and suggested it should be moved to the barrack square or KAR quarters. The writer acknowledges this would not allow its inclusion in the Armistice Remembrance service but he suggested instead giving African troops and veterans a more prominent part in this at the Cenotaph. He concluded that a traffic island was needed in the location.²²⁷ Mahomed Ally NE Jivanjee put forward the suggestion that to avoid blocking the view of drivers and to provide safety to those examining the memorial, it should be moved to a garden in the city and mooted the site of the Old Market in Bagamoyo Street if this was to be pulled down.²²⁸

Whilst views were expressed by members of the public in the press in 1936, the Township Authority began an experiment to understand the best shape of island. Concrete posts were used to mark out an island, which was monitored and then the posts were moved and it was monitored again. This took place for several months, with the concrete posts earning the local moniker, “Stonehenge”.²²⁹ With the value of the island in improving traffic safety demonstrated, the Eastern Provincial Commissioner then recommended the creation of permanent island of the same shape and size to the Chief Secretary, which was also supported by the Township

²²⁶ Tanganyika Standard, 18 March 1936.

²²⁷ Tanganyika Standard, 20 March 1936.

²²⁸ Tanganyika Standard, 20 March 1936.

²²⁹ Tanganyika Standard, 4 November 1936.

Authority.²³⁰ Endorsing the works, the Chief Secretary further suggested the installation of a lamp standard with bright light and sign posts on the island.²³¹ A town planner, Mr Pashen, prepared a scheme that was submitted for approval by the various parties in November 1936. The design aimed to prevent accidents and make the area safer whilst also protecting the memorial. The Deputy Director for the IWGC commended the design to the Chief Secretary: *‘I consider that Mr. Pashen’s proposed treatment of the area involved could not be improved upon. He has stressed the importance of special care in the selection of materials and general finish of the works proposed...’*²³² On 13th March 1937 the Provincial Commissioner provided costs of £40 to the Chief Secretary,²³³ who in turn replied on 22nd March that the Municipal Authorities road maintenance budget should be used. The Municipal Authority, however, objected on the grounds that the proposed costs of £40 represented too much of a strain on their annual budget, which already had to find £60 for a new kerb to the north of the Secretariat.²³⁴ The Chief Secretary therefore instructed the Treasurer to give the Provincial Commission the required sum and told the Provincial Commissioner that the works were not to exceed £40.²³⁵

²³⁰ TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam; Ref: No 355/44 Letter from Eastern Province Dar es Salaam to Chief Secretary 4th July 1936.

²³¹ TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam; Ref: 23428/71 Letter from Chief Secretary to Commissioner of Police, Dar es Salaam 12.08.1936.

²³² TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam; *‘the design were prepared by Mr. Pashen Town Planning Adviser, together with a memorandum dealing with the various aspects of the scheme’* Re: No HT/2/227, Letter from the Director of Works IWGC to C.S, 24 11.1936.

²³³ TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam.

²³⁴ TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam, Ref. No 355/61 Letter from Eastern Province to Provincial Commissioner, 3rd April 1937.

²³⁵ TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue In Dar es Salaam; Ref: 23428/97 Letter from Chief Secretary to Provincial Commissioner Eastern Province Dar es Salaam 10th April 1937.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The Township Authority duly undertook some site works including collecting and planting the grass around the statue while the Divisional Engineer, John Brown, presented the budget for excavation, manufacture of the kerb, concrete blocks for markers, stone foundation to kerb, laying and joining the kerb, transport and supervision, alteration to an existing inspection chamber and laying paths round base of statue.



Plan of a proposed traffic island at the junction of Ingles Street and Acacia Avenue, May 1937. National archives: TNA File No 23428 Askari statue in Dar es Salaam

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

The *Tanganyika Standard* reported with delight the proposed creation of a permanent circular traffic island. It went on to state:

*'The "Herald" stands for a policy of pacifism and therefore would dislike all "bellicose" remnants of the War. But the removal would be a gratuitous insult to the memory of those that fell in the War and had been the "hands and feet of the Army" during that unhappy period. The present residents of Dar es Salaam may think that those who were responsible for the erection of the Statue where it stood made an initial blunder. There are certain mistakes in the world which need not be rectified too soon. We are sure that the people who advocate the removal are in a minority in this case. If a civic referendum were to be taken the statue should stand on the present site by an overwhelming vote.'*²³⁶

Given this, it is perhaps surprising that on 4th May 1938, the *Tanganyika Standard* had published an article suggesting that a new African Memorial should be created in the grounds of the Cenotaph and the fine statue of the Askari moved to the KAR Lines.²³⁷ Perhaps having misjudged the situation, it later collected and published views from the white and Indian communities, though notably not the Africans. Again claims of the statue being too bellicose were raised but the Chairman of the British Legion in the city replied that no soldier would agree with that idea. Another issue that was raised was the funding of any relocation and the fact that there had been other recent fundraisers for the George V Memorial Fund and St Dunstan's Appeal and others so this was not an auspicious time to ask the public for more money. Furthermore, the instability of European politics was also raised as a reason not to do anything now.²³⁸

This provoked a stinging letter from John Owen Shircore, a doctor who had served at the Naval Base in Mombasa during the war and became the Deputy Principal Medical Officer in Tanganyika from 1919 until he was promoted to Principal Medical Officer in 1924, a role he held until 1932:

'It seems regrettable that the African War Memorial should be used, periodically as a public flogging horse.

To one who, during the early months of the war in East Africa, had the honour of attending the carriers, before the Carrier Corps was organised, the sick and wounded Askari of the King's African Rifles, from the outbreak of hostilities until the Armistice, and saw misery that they suffered, it would be unthinkable to agitate for the removal of the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior [in Westminster Abbey in London], or any other memorial sacred to the dead, as that of the Askari Statue.

The Askari Statue emanates something vital which has arisen out of the ashes of the past: it commands reverence; it should not be made a pastime for the exhibition of mawkish and flabby sentiment.

It has been placed, rightly or wrongly, where it is, and should not be desecrated by removal to another site.

*In my opinion, the attitude is not provocative, but represents what the King's African Rifles' Askari is: a first class fighting man, in a position which portrays, magnificently, that he can be depended upon to provide, and in no uncertain manner, namely, a resolute efficient force, in the face of the enemy – an attribute which should appeal to every patriot.'*²³⁹

Whilst the Askari Memorial was being debated, on the 16th December 1936, the Provincial Commissioner presented a report to Chief Secretary reflecting an application from the Germany community to Morogoro Township authority for permission to erect a war memorial in the Morogoro cemetery.²⁴⁰ The Morogoro Authority had no objection to the request and proceeded to select a site near the German graves outside the military portion of the cemetery.²⁴¹ The proposed plan for the memorial and inscriptions were forwarded for approval.²⁴² It included the inscription in German: 'Our Heroes who died for the greatness of Germany' with an image of the German Iron Cross medal.

²³⁶ *Tanganyika Standard*, 19 May 1938.

²³⁷ 'The Askari statue in Dar es Salaam' in *Tanganyika Standard*, 4 May 1938.

²³⁸ *Tanganyika Standard*, 11 May 1938.

²³⁹ *Tanganyika Standard*, 19 May 1938.

²⁴⁰ TNA File No. 23428: 23428 Askari Statue in Dar es Salaam: Ref No 109/218 Letter from Eastern Provincial Office, Dar es Salaam, to Chief Secretary, 16th December 1936.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.5.3 Transition

In January 1959 the memorial was visited by “CQS” on tour. He reported that the memorial was in good condition. *‘The local authority has treated the site with low planting which is tidy and well kept but if it is a Commission responsibility it could be improved upon.’*²⁴³

It is possible that this is the wedged shaped planting arrangement within a roundabout arrangement. This was certainly in place by 1965, when President Julius Nyerere laid a wreath at the memorial. Photographs survive depicting the occasion.



President Nyerere laying a wreath in front of ranks of the army and crowds, 1965



President Nyerere bowing in front of a wreath laid at the memorial, 1965

²⁴³ CWGC 7/4/2/21274 Dar es Salaam African Memorial. Extract from Tour report by CQS, January 1959.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

By the time that Nyerere laid the wreath, Tanganyika had gained its independence in 1961 and become a democratic republic under a president in 1962. In 1964, Tanganyika and Zanzibar combined to form the new state of Tanzania. The streets flanking the memorial were once again renamed following independence. Today the memorial stands at the junction of Samora Avenue, Azikiwe Street, Maktaba Street and Makunganya Street.

The memorial played its part as a focal point for Independence Day celebrations, when it was garlanded with branches and large crowds gathered around it.



Memorial photographed in 1966



Memorial photographed in 1966 showing the evolving streetscape around the statue



Memorial photographed in 1966

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

3.5.4 Maintaining the Memorial

In June 1974 it was reported 'Askari gets a facelift'²⁴⁴ with the local authority undertaking a cleaning of the memorial in time for the forthcoming 20th anniversary celebrations of TANU. However, reflecting the changing times and tensions, another newspaper reported that the cameraman who took the photograph thought the memorial was being dismantled because 'perhaps...the Local Authorities in Dar es Salaam had discovered that this monument had no Historical meaning in the present day revolutionary Tanzania.'

In July 1978 the Director of Works noted in his tour report that there was uneven paving around the memorial. However, by 1985 the Director of Works reported that the memorial was in good condition, suggesting the paving had been relaid in the interim. A photograph labelled "renovated site" further suggests works had been carried out. The Director of Horticulture's tour report of October to November 1980 noted there was a low *Pithecellobium dulce* hedge with wedge-shaped beds of *Alternanthera* with concrete paving. By January/February 1986 Groups of *Crotons* and *Acalyphas* had also been planted.²⁴⁵



Undated photograph, probably 1970s



View of the renovated site, June 1979



Memorial photographed in November 1986

²⁴⁴ CWGC 7/4/2/21274 Dar es Salaam African Memorial. Undated newspaper clipping and newspaper clipping dated 11 June 1974.

²⁴⁵ CWGC 7/4/2/21274 Dar es Salaam African Memorial.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

In March and April 1993, the Duke of Kent carried out a tour and noted that the memorial was well maintained. However, he observed that people and occasionally vehicles cut across the roundabout and suggested introducing bollards and chains to prevent this.²⁴⁶



Memorial photographed in May 1993

²⁴⁶ CWGC 7/4/2/21274 Dar es Salaam African Memorial.

However, by November 1993, it was reported that the blade of the bayonet had been broken off the statue. A replacement blade was commissioned and fixed in place in 1995.

In 2015 during the Independence Day cleanup, the memorial was painted including the bronze. The CWGC then removed the paint. In May 2017 a project was completed by Green Waste Pro Ltd that saw the base of the statue painted and a new garden created around it. The garden was designed by Masaimara Gardening.²⁴⁷ Green Waste Pro invited guests to the opening of the new garden who included leaders of the ruling political party, leaders of Uhuru torch race and regional and municipal leaders.

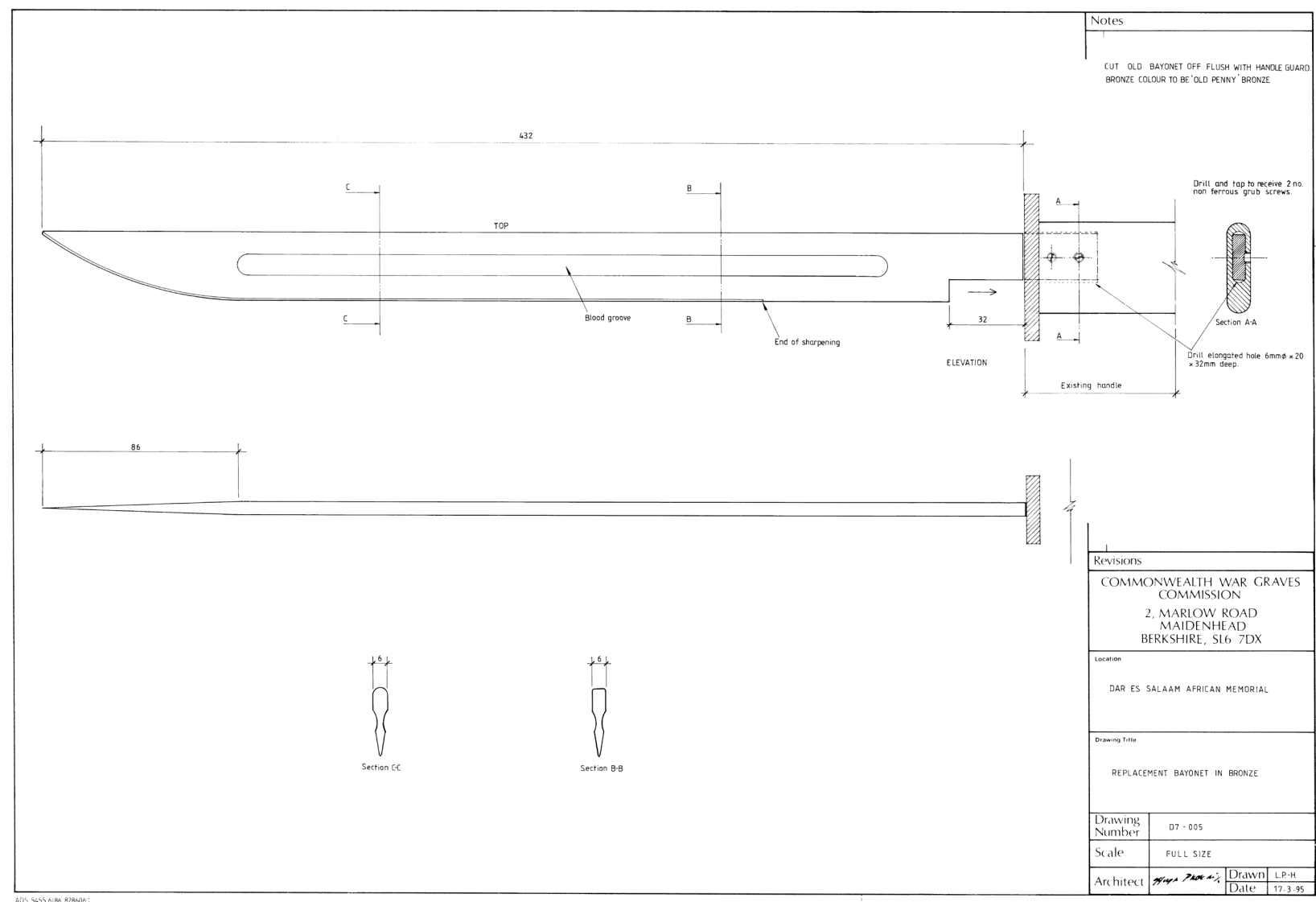
Annemarie LaPensee recommended a complete three dimension scan of the Memorial, which was undertaken in November 2017 by 3D Scanners UK Ltd. The bronze statue and bronze relief and text panels were included with the exception of the Swahili/Arabic inscription panel, which could not be recorded due to time constraints due to delays on site. The precision of the original sculpture allowed a real bayonet held in the CWGC archive to be 3D scanned and a newly cast bronze replica to be made and fitted to the Dar es Salaam memorial.

In late 2022, the Dar es Salaam African Memorial was subject to vandalism and the Swahili/Arabic text panel was stolen from the plinth. Since that date, access to the site has become increasingly restricted due to increased security from the local authorities.

In 2024 major roadworks were undertaken to alter the road layout and streetscape around the memorial. In June 2024 TANROADS was forced to issue a clarifying notice denying rumours that the Askari monument was being removed as part of the works.

²⁴⁷ Hayduk, Daniel, 'Askari monument gets pampered' in Dar Post, 31 May 2017, <http://www.darpost.com/2017/05/gallery-askari-monument-gets-pampered/>, accessed 19 January 2024.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT



Drawing detailing the replacement bayonet blade, 1995

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT



Memorial photographed in 2001



Memorial photographed in 2001



Image from the 3D scanning project (2018)

SECTION 4.0: STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

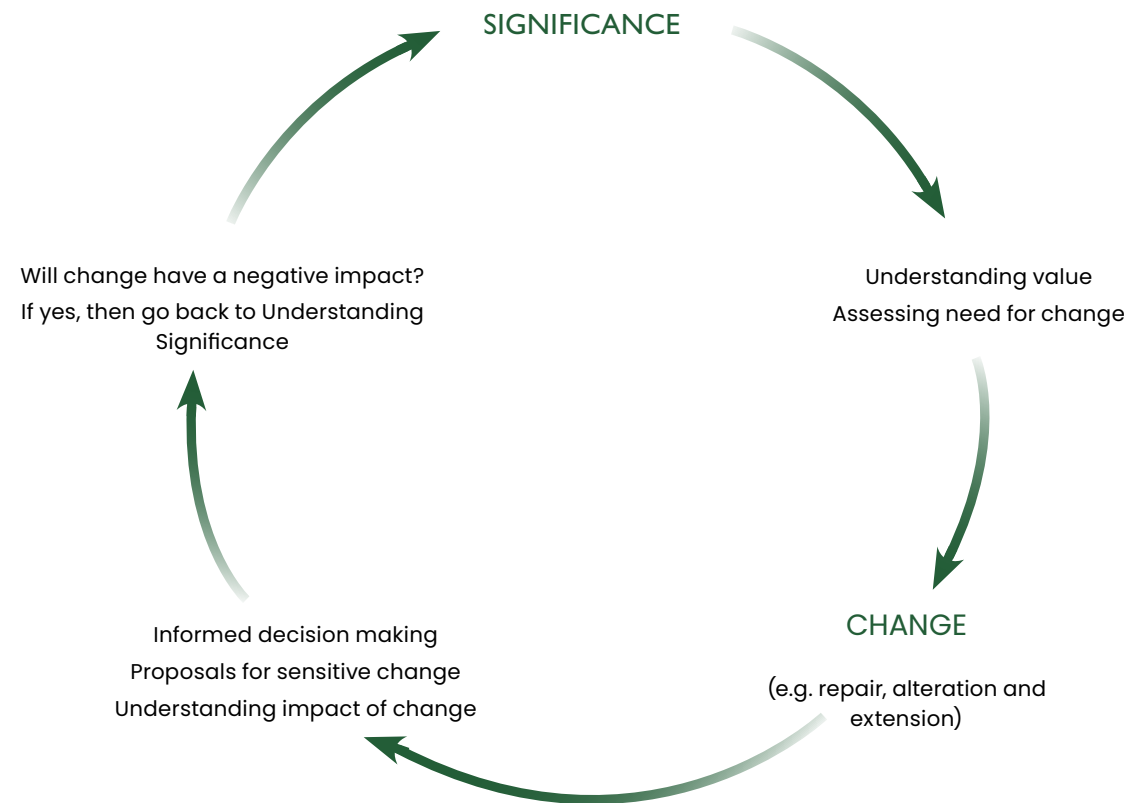
4.1 ASSESSING SIGNIFICANCE

4.1.1 Why understanding significance is important

The philosophy of conservation is centred on significance, making it a vital part at the core of any substantial repair, maintenance and development of special historic sites. It helps to define what contribution various aspects of a place make to a wider understanding and appreciation of history, society and culture. Decisions about the day-to-day management and long-term potential development of the memorials should take account of all the values that contribute to its significance.

Managing Change within the Historic Environment

The process for managing change for the memorials and their settings, showing the importance of significance within the decision making process:



STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

4.1.2 What is significance?

In general terms, 'significance' has been defined as *'the quality of being important: the quality of having notable worth or influence'*,⁰¹ with the Burra Charter further defining cultural significance as being *'aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations.'*⁰² What this largely equates to is that significance is an understanding of what makes a place special to all manner of people.

The significance (often referred to as 'cultural significance' or 'heritage value') of a place is derived from a wide range of perspectives and values, encompassing not just the physical fabric, but also the setting, spirituality, contents, use, associated history, tradition and local distinctiveness. Consequently, cultural significance is unique to each place and the relative significance can vary from element to element.

This includes outlining what makes the physical site (e.g. its structures, pedestals, landscaping and planting), its place within the surrounding setting, its historical value and its association to people and events important. In understanding what makes the memorials significant, it is easier to understand what the potential threats to its heritage value are, as well as the opportunities to enhance it and where there is scope to make changes to the site and its structures.

4.1.3 How Significance of the Memorials has been Assessed

While the significance of the African Memorials in Nairobi, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam has been assessed and discussed with regards to factual and/or tangible characteristics such as its architectural qualities or association with battles and regiments, a very key and important additional element of significance is what makes the memorial important to the people who experience, relate to and appreciate it. In this way assessing significance can be very emotive and subjective. It is therefore important to combine a set of varying principles to the understanding of significance. Therefore, a variety of guidance has been used in forming the assessment of significance. This includes the following, which are described in more detail in the coloured box:

- **The Conservation Plan**
(James Semple Kerr, 2014, 7th edition)
- **Guidelines to the Burra Charter**
(Australia ICOMOS, 1984)
- **Conservation Principles**
(Historic England, 2008)
- **Florence Charter**
(ICOMOS, 1982)⁰³

⁰³ Particular attention should be given to Article 2: *'The historic garden is an architectural composition whose constituents are primarily vegetal and therefore living, which means that they are perishable and renewable.'* Thus its appearance reflects the perpetual balance between the cycle of the seasons, the growth and decay of nature and the desire of the artist and craftsman to keep it permanently unchanged. This charter identifies the importance of the tacit knowledge of gardeners. www.icomos.org/charters/gardens_e.pdf

The Conservation Plan

(James Semple Kerr, 2014, 7th edition)

Semple Kerr outlines a set of criteria which he notes is 'only one of a number of possible approaches'. Within it are defined:

- *Ability to Demonstrate – the survival or potential survival of evidence which contributes to a wider understanding of philosophies or customs, designs, functions, techniques, process, styles, uses and associations with events or persons.*
- *Associational links with surviving evidence*
- *Formal or aesthetic qualities*

Guidelines to the Burra Charter

(Australia ICOMOS, 1984, para. 2.6)

[A] categorisation into aesthetic, historic, scientific, and social value is one approach to understanding the concept of cultural significance. However, more precise categories may be developed as understanding of a particular place increases.

Conservation Principles

(Historic England, 2008)

Heritage value is described as 'an aspect of worth or importance...attached by people to qualities of place' and separates heritage values into four categories:

- *Evidential: The potential of a place to yield evidence about past human activity.*
- *Historical: The ways in which past people, events and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present. This can be both illustrative and associative.*
- *Aesthetic: The ways in which people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from a place.*
- *Communal: The meanings of a place for the people who relate to*

⁰¹ Merriam-Webster Dictionary; <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/significance>

⁰² Burra Charter, 1988 revision

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

In order to understand what contributions that various elements, characteristics and concepts make to the overall significance of the site, a scale of various value levels has been developed and applied. These are outlined below:

Exceptional	This represents the most valuable elements of the memorial. These are considered to be essential to the understanding and appreciation of the place and as being key contributors to its overall character and setting. Elements of Exceptional Significance can be considered of international importance. Elements of Exceptional Significance should not be altered except under outstanding circumstances. All care should be taken to retain and enhance these elements.
Considerable	This represents elements which have a high cultural value and form an essential part of understanding the historic value of the site, while greatly contributing towards its character and appearance. Elements of Considerable Significance should not be altered without reasonable justification or necessity. All care should be taken to retain and enhance these elements.
Some	This represents elements which have cultural importance that helps to define the historic value, character and appearance. These elements are often important for only a few values – for example it may be either the survival of physical built fabric or association with an historic use, but not both. Elements of Some Significance can be altered or changed if it is for the enhancement or benefit of the wider site.
Little	This represents elements which has minor cultural value and which, to a small degree, contribute towards the character and appearance of the place. Elements of Little Significance can usually be altered or changed, but with consideration to wider impact of change to the site.
Detrimental	These are elements that detract from the overall significance, character and setting of the site. Detrimental elements are encouraged to be removed or altered for the betterment of the overall significance of the site.

Although conceived as a whole, this report has been designed to have the information relating to the different memorials easily extracted into separate documents for future use. Consequently there is some repetition in the assessment of heritage values, which reflects the values shared across all three sites.

4.2 Context: Other Memorials

There are an array of memorials to the fallen Africans of the two world wars in countries across the African continent. Many of these were not designed or constructed by the IWGC and they vary from a tall, multi-tiered structure to the King's African Rifles in Zomba, Malawi and a clock tower in Ibadan, Nigeria to simpler obelisks, cairns and lists of names.

There is only one other comparable war memorial in the former British Empire and that is the Abuja War Memorial, which was originally built in Lagos, Nigeria, and moved in 2016 to Abuja, Nigeria. This bears two bronze figures of African soldiers atop of pedestal with an inscription. These figures were created by JA Stevenson in 1931, after he had completed the East African memorials. However, monuments incorporating figures are much more common in former French territories, such as the memorials in Casablanca, Morocco; Dakar, Senegal; Bamako, Mali; Saint-Louis, Senegal; Algiers, Algeria; and Antananarivo, Madagascar. Memorials including figures are also found in other countries, such as Luanda, Angola; and Kinshasha, Congo.

On the following page is a table of memorials in Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) that commemorate Africans who died in the First World War. This list is not exhaustive. It should be noted that there are also other memorials that commemorate the fallen from the Second World War.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Name	Location	Casualties Commemorated	Names Included	War/Campaign	Image	Built by IWGC	Cared for by CWGC
Abercorn Memorial	Mbala, Zambia	1,467 Northern Rhodesian carriers	N	WWI		N	Y
King's African Rifles War Memorial	Zomba, Malawi	Unspecified	Y	WWI	 By Burgert Behr - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=49556729	N	N

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Name	Location	Casualties Commemorated	Names Included	War/Campaign	Image	Built by IWGC	Cared for by CWGC
Abuja Memorial	Lagos, Nigeria	947 Nigerian casualties of the Inland Water Transport, Royal Engineers and Nigeria Carrier Corps	Y (added later)	WWI		Y	Y
		1158 Nigerian casualties (no known graves/ graves not maintained)		WWII			
Ibadan Memorial (Clock Tower)	Ibadan, Nigeria	British Officers and African NCOs and men of 14th Btn Nigeria Regiment	Y	WWI		N	Y

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Name	Location	Casualties Commemorated	Names Included	War/Campaign	Image	Built by IWGC	Cared for by CWGC
Lokoja Memorial	Lokoja, Nigeria	345 of 2nd Btn Nigeria Regiment	Y	WWI		N	Y
Calabar Memorial	Calabar, Nigeria	407 3rd Bn. Nigeria Regiment and No.2 Artillery Battery, Nigeria Regiment	Y	WWI	For an image, see https://www.wwicemeteries.com/nig-calabar-memorial.html	N	Y
Zaria Memorial	Zaria, Nigeria	330 1st and 5th Battalions of the Nigeria Regiment and No.1 Artillery Battery, Nigeria Regiment	Y	WWI		N	Y

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Name	Location	Casualties Commemorated	Names Included	War/Campaign	Image	Built by IWGC	Cared for by CWGC
St Saviour's Church Memorial	Lagos, Nigeria	39 Nigerian Mercantile Marine (no known graves)	Y	WWI		N	Y
Kumasi Memorial	Kumasi, Ghana	768 West African Frontier Force (no known graves/ graves not maintained)	Y	WWI		N	Y

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Name	Location	Casualties Commemorated	Names Included	War/Campaign	Image	Built by IWGC	Cared for by CWGC
Freetown War Memorial	Freetown, Sierra Leone	Royal West African Frontier Force 1,118 247	Y	WWI WWII		Y	Y
Livingstone Camp Memorial	Livingstone, Zambia	102 Northern Rhodesian Police Force	Y	WWI		N	Y

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Name	Location	Casualties Commemorated	Names Included	War/Campaign	Image	Built by IWGC	Cared for by CWGC
Harare Memorial	Harare, Zimbabwe	38 British South Africa Police 28 Rhodesia Native Regiment	Y	WWI		N	Y
Monument to the Dead of Algiers (Le Pavois)	Algiers, Algeria	c.10,000 Algerians	Y – on flanking blocks	WWI	https://www-paul--landowski-com.translate.goog/en/portfolio/monument-aux-morts-dalger-ou-le-pavois/?_x_tr_sl=fr&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=sc Note, after Independence the sculpted part of the memorial was entombed in concrete to create a new memorial.	N	N
Monument de l'Ange Noir	Antananarivo, Madagascar	Dead of Malagasy battles	N	WWI	 David Ashley, UK Ambassador to Madagascar and Comoros	N	N

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Name	Location	Casualties Commemorated	Names Included	War/Campaign	Image	Built by IWGC	Cared for by CWGC
Monument du Souvenir	Kinshasa, Congo	Unspecified	N – and removed from its pedestal	WWI	https://kosubaawate.blogspot.com/2012/02/leopoldville-1924-monument-des.html	N	N – now displayed at the National Museum, Kinshasa
Monument aux héros de l'Armée noire	Bamako, Mali	Unspecified	N	WWI		N	N
Praça dos Trabalhadores	Maputo, Mozambique	Portuguese and Mozambicans	N	WWI		N	N

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Name	Location	Casualties Commemorated	Names Included	War/Campaign	Image	Built by IWGC	Cared for by CWGC
Dupont and Demba	Dakar, Senegal	French and African soldiers	N	WWI	 Inextre — Cropped from File:Statue - Place du tirailleur sénégalais - Dakar.jpg, Creative Commons Licence	N	N
Monument aux Morts,	Saint-Louis, Senegal	French and African soldiers	N	WWI	 HaguardDuNord, Creative Commons Licence	N	N

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Name	Location	Casualties Commemorated	Names Included	War/Campaign	Image	Built by IWGC	Cared for by CWGC
Mont-Fleuri Memorial	Seychelles	289 Seychelles Carrier Corps with no known grave. Also Seychellois who fell in World War Two	Y	WWI		?	Y
Lesotho Memorial	Maseru, Lesotho	African Pioneer Corps – over 400 named from WWII and 40 Lesotho soldiers whose grave is unknown or not maintained from WWI	Y	WWI and WWII		N	Y
Giza Memorial	El Giza, Egypt	Egyptian Labour Corps and the Camel Transport Corps whose graves are not known	N	WWI		Y	Y

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Name	Location	Casualties Commemorated	Names Included	War/Campaign	Image	Built by IWGC	Cared for by CWGC
Casablanca Memorial	Originally Casablanca, Morocco, now Senlis, France	Moroccan soldiers	N	WWI	 Collection Dahan-Hirsch, Bruxelles	N	N
Monumento aos Mortos da Grande Guerra	Luanda, Angola	Unspecified	N	WWI	 LUANDA - MONUMENTO AOS MORTOS DA GRANDE GUERRA.	N	N - demolished 1974

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

4.3 NAIROBI AFRICAN MEMORIAL

4.3.1 Summary Statement of Significance

The Nairobi African Memorial is of exceptional significance as a commemorative monument for the missing Africans of the East Africa campaign of the First World War and Second World War and as a very fine artwork. However, this memorial has a complex history, and its origins and commemorative shortcomings are widely misunderstood and, in many cases remain completely unknown to many modern-day Kenyans.

The Nairobi African Memorial has high historical and commemorative value to those who recognise it as a memorial to the Africans who lost their lives in the two World Wars. However, many Kenyans believe it represents all Kenyans who have fought in wars or relates to freedom fighters, particularly given its location on Kenyatta Avenue, and they value it as such. The monument is also drawn into academic debates regarding the nation's history.

The provision of memorials to all the fallen after the First World War was a significant change and the Nairobi African Memorial is one of the many memorials created by the IWGC to remember the fallen. However, against the founding principles of the IWGC, names were not included on the memorial.

The Nairobi War Memorial is also an important artwork: it is an exceptionally fine set of sculptures by JA Stevenson and the composition, including the stone pedestals and the bronze inscription panel, is balanced, elegant and arresting. The setting of the War Memorial on a tree-lined avenue which retains some of its historic buildings and lies opposite another war memorial contributes to the significance and understanding of the memorial.

The Nairobi War Memorial is one of three that form a group in Mombasa and Dar es Salaam that commemorate the fallen Africans of the East Africa campaign and which take the form of bronze sculptures on stone plinths. It is also part of a group of cemeteries and war memorials in Nairobi. The memorial is thus part of a wider landscape of commemoration.

Significance of the Elements

Bronze Statues:	Exceptional
Bronze Inscription Panels:	Exceptional
Stone Plinth:	Considerable
Inscribed Dates:	Considerable

4.3.2 Assessment of Heritage Values

Introduction

The Nairobi African Memorial is of exceptional significance as a commemorative monument for the missing Africans of the East Africa campaign of the First World War. However, this memorial has a complex history, and its origins and commemorative shortcomings are widely misunderstood and, in many cases remain completely unknown to many modern-day Kenyans.

Commemorative

Although some of the public understand the memorial's purpose to commemorate Kenyans who died during the First World War, the details of the memorial's origins and the extent of its commemorative shortcomings are much less known. For many others, the memorial has been assigned other heritage values, many completely unrelated to the commemoration of First or Second World War casualties.

The commemoration of all the fallen after the First World War was unprecedented and reflected the huge psychological impact of the First World War on both survivors and families. The Nairobi African War Memorial was one of hundreds of such memorials. With no names or numbers of the dead inscribed on it, the memorial clearly does not conform to the IWGC's founding principles. At present there is no way for an uninformed member of the public to understand or interpret the contested aspects of the memorial's history.

In the 1950s, CWGC reluctantly accepted a motion from local stakeholders to add engraved lettering to the memorial and

extend its commemorative remit to include also those who lost their lives during the Second World War. Unfortunately, this decision further confuses the original intention of the memorial's creation and makes it less straightforward for the public to understand the commemorative landscape of the post First World War period.

Until the 1960s, remembrance ceremonies took place at the Nairobi African Memorial and the adjacent First World War Obelisk. The combination of the busy urban setting and a shift in priorities of the Kenyan government in the wake of Kenyan independence in 1962 means today Remembrance ceremonies are typically held at Nairobi War Cemetery on Ngong Road. These are led by the Kenya Defence Force and various international Diplomatic Missions. The location on the periphery of the city means that these ceremonies are much less visible to the public and as a result less high profile.

The value of the monument was perhaps most keenly in focus in the post-independence period when, in March 1984, it survived a proposal made in parliament to remove the monument and replace it with a statue of Mau Mau freedom fighter, Dedan Kimathi. The removal of the memorial was opposed by many MPs and the media and so, the Nairobi African Memorial was left untouched whilst a number of other colonial monuments were removed.

The historical significance of the Nairobi African Memorial as well as the mixed emotions that it evokes are encapsulated in some of the commentary around this debate. One media commentator stated that *"under no circumstances should we destroy sites of historic significance simply because we want to replace them with what we feel should be the 'right' monuments. History remains history however bitter it may be to us". Another added that the memorial "clearly depicts the social, political and economic history of this country and it should be preserved as a living testimony to our people's forcible participation in that ugly war".*⁰⁴

⁰⁴ Quoted by Laragh Larsen, *"Shaping the Symbolic Landscape: Public Monuments in Nairobi, 1899-1992"* (PhD diss., Trinity College Dublin, 2007): "Kenya Times, 31 March 1984; see also Daily Nation, 30 March 1984; DN, 31 March 1984; Sunday Nation, 1 April 1984; Sunday Times, 1 April 1984; DN, 2 April 1984 DN, 6 April 1984."

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Nairobi African Memorial was gazetted under the Antiquities and Monuments Act in 2000 reinforcing the status of the memorial as an important heritage feature of enduring national significance.

Perceptions

Whilst some groups are familiar with the memorial's history, most stakeholders consulted were less certain. A number of community members believed the memorial to represent the bravery of all Kenyan soldiers throughout history and others see the memorial as representing the Mau Mau Freedom Fighters who fought for Kenya's independence during the 1950s, which is perhaps reinforced by its location on Kenyatta Avenue.

For some communities, such as the Kibra Nubian community, the memorial evokes contrasting feelings. On the one hand, it is seen as a deserved recognition of their ancestors' contribution to war efforts and inspires pride. On the other hand, it is also linked to the community's sense of injustice over their current political status where they cannot yet claim Kenyan citizenship.

With other statues around the city and many historical and cultural places of interest, the Nairobi African Memorial has rarely been singled out to be promoted as a destination of interest by the tourism and heritage authorities. Its location on a main street means it is much seen but rarely visited.

As a country with an extremely proud military history, the memorial is generally seen as significant by the community of military veterans or families of descendants. Due to the historical omission of names, the memorial does not currently provide a means for a descendant with a limited knowledge of their family history to find out more about their deceased relative. Until more research is done, the memorial often raises more questions than it answers.

Amongst the academic and heritage communities, the contested aspects of the memorial are more often drawn to the fore and discussions on the memorial's shortcomings are continuously reinterpreted in line with modern academic and social debates.

Historical

The principal historic connection is with the East African campaign of the First World War, which is reflected in the inscription and also the dress of the soldiers and carrier depicted. The King's African Rifles, who were raised from across East Africa, the scouts and the carriers were all essential in enabling the war effort. The East African campaign, is not as widely known internationally as other theatres of war in Northern Europe. However the campaign has had a lasting impact in Kenya as just one of many examples where colonised people suffered at the hands of the coloniser, in this case by forced participation in a war which was not felt to be theirs.

This memorial represents thousands of individuals but it also represents the regiments and corps to which they belonged, particularly those represented in the statues. The King's African Rifles had existed before the war, but the war gave the regiment a more prominent role in the social hierarchy of the time. This is in part because the KAR and other colonial regiments containing African troops are generally seen to have had greater success in the East African theatre than their European and Indian counterparts, who struggled to cope with the challenging climate and terrain. The KAR would go on to form part of the Kenyan Army (KDF) after independence and many KDF personnel have a long-standing familial association with the regiment dating back to the KAR years.

The Carrier Corps, by contrast, was created to serve a particular need that arose from the way that the colonial armies chose to fight the war in East Africa and their formation and ongoing service was a huge undertaking.

Many of those who served in the Carrier Corps were conscripted, often against their will and to the distress of their families. The high number of casualties suffered by the Carrier Corps reflects the harshness of the conditions under which they laboured. The inclusion of the figure of the Carrier Corps was a conscious recognition of their contribution but, then and today, it is a reminder of the harsh realities of colonial rule.

The memorial has additional inscribed dates that also proclaim the connection with the Second World War, commemorating the Africans who fell in East Africa and the East Africans who died overseas. The dates were not part of the IWGC's intended commemoration as the African missing of the Second World War were given a memorial at Nairobi War Cemetery but they were sought by local stakeholders.

Throughout its history, the central location of the Nairobi African Memorial in the proximity of several government buildings, has meant that the memorial site generally becomes a space of interaction for groups who are celebrating or protesting on mass. This is evidenced by the many photographic records showcasing the memorial as the focal point for celebration by Nairobians, such as on Victory Day at the end of the Second World War, and in many other political rallies or protests in the years since, most recently the anti-government protests in June 2024.

On a more day to day level, during weekends and holidays the area around the memorial is a place where young people gather to socialise, the memorial is often favoured as the background for social media posts and creating video content.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Architectural and Artistic

The Nairobi African Memorial has architectural and artistic significance. It is an extremely rare example of statuary sculpture that depicts African subjects during this period of colonial history in Kenya.

The series of three Memorials to the Missing in East Africa is arguably sculptor JA Stevenson's most accomplished work. The sense of dignity and nobility conveyed by the fine forms of the sculptures has been lasting and, although the memorial's original meaning has in many ways been lost to a significant proportion of the public, the enduring aesthetic values of the memorial ensure that the site is a focal point for gathering, creative expression and protest to this day.

The Memorial is a dramatic and well-balanced composition of sculpted figures. Each figure was carefully modelled based on painstaking research and borrowing of key items of dress and equipment so that they are incredibly lifelike. The quality of the sculpture reflects not just the skill of the artist but also conveyed a respect for the contribution of the African soldiers, carriers and scouts. The idealised image of the African soldier and carriers is in keeping with other statues of the period but in doing also masks the reality that many of these men faced in the field of operations where equipment and even rations were at times severely lacking.

JA Stevenson, who signed himself 'Myrander' on his work, was an accomplished sculptor, who had demonstrated his ability to create a powerful memorial with his earlier Curepipe War Memorial in Mauritius. Stevenson not only created the figures but also meticulously laid out the bronze inscription panel, which has an elegance and balance that is easily overshadowed by the fine figures. Stevenson designed the stone pedestal and this too is well-proportioned. It was built of locally quarried Nairobi Blue stone, which connects the memorial to the area where it sits, a typical preference of the Commission.

The form and materiality of the memorial were distinctly European in character. Although the design intentions of the IWGC were made with a view to creating a monument which was clearly a site of remembrance for the African community, the records suggest that the affected communities were not widely consulted in its design. As a result, the memorial bears little to no resemblance to any traditional forms of mourning or remembrance practiced by the communities from which the fallen came.

As well as the sculpture, the inscription by Rudyard Kipling, a poet and author of considerable repute, was also intended to enhance the quality of the memorial. However, the connection with Kipling today is seen as more problematic today, given his imperialist attitude, and his language is deeply controversial for this particular memorial (see Language section below).

Whilst the commemoration of colonial troops in this way was unprecedented at the time, and there seems to have been a sincere intention to recognise the service and loss of members of the African community, this intention is contrasted by the very conscious efforts of the colonial authorities to use the creation of the monument as a means of justifying the cost of the war to the African community in the spirit of the common Imperial cause. This dynamic of blending commemoration with an ideal of shared purpose is a common theme which links the vast majority of First World War memorials to colonial troops across the African continent.

Language

Perhaps the most frequently contested element of the Nairobi African Memorial is the dedicatory text written by Rudyard Kipling, the language of which is seen as offensive by many Africans today.

The language and colonial ideas, such as *"fighting for their King and Country"*, are deeply problematic in the post-

colonial era and are a barrier to people's appreciation of the memorial. The Arabic form of the Swahili inscription is also redundant and reflects a presumption on the part of the IWGC regarding how people would use the language in the future.

The refrain *"to the carriers who were the feet and hands of the army"* were certainly intended by Kipling to suggest the war could not have been fought without the efforts of these men. Some descendants suggest that this phrasing only reinforces the "collective" way in which the carriers were treated in life and in death. It offers the individual casualty or their family no sense of closure or personal acknowledgement.

Against IWGC policy, the names of the dead were not listed on this memorial or in an associated register. It is difficult to challenge the argument that the choice of wording to end the epitaph could be seen as the IWGC passing on the responsibility for remembering the names of these men to the families themselves: *"If you fight for your country even if you die, your sons will remember your name"*.

Setting/Context

The original intention of the IWGC was that the Nairobi African Memorial would be seen by the African community during day-to-day life. For this reason, the memorial was initially constructed at the junction of Hardinge Street and Government Road, a location which was soon proposed to become the setting for a new community hall for use by the African community.

The memorial's relocation by the local authorities to Kenyatta Avenue in 1928 meant it could stand alongside the Obelisk erected to members of the Settler community who also lost their lives during the war. This part of the city, which

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was the setting for annual remembrance parades, was not as immediately accessible to members of the African community and thus the priorities and commemorative customs of the colonial administration once again took precedence over the community for which the memorial was intended. However, today the change in the dynamic is reflected by the fact that the Nairobi African Memorial is relatively well maintained whereas the Obelisk is comparatively dilapidated and even less is known of its history amongst the general population.

As Nairobi City Centre has become increasingly urbanised with roads widened and a much higher pedestrian footfall than when the streets were first laid out, the Nairobi African Memorial is increasingly lost amongst the busy streetscape.

In Nairobi the memorial exists alongside other associated heritage locations to create a network of First World War sites of memory and remembrance in the city. CWGC Nairobi South Cemetery was the principal European cemetery in Nairobi during the First World War. It contains the burials of 155 WWI casualties. The cemetery also holds the Nairobi British and Indian Memorial which records the names of 1,234 casualties of British, East African and Indian regiments and demonstrates examples of the IWGC's founding principles which were not accorded to African casualties of the war.

On a Pan-African level, the memorial is one of a wider network of memorials which commemorate African colonial soldiers and labourers who lost their lives during the First World War. This shared experience of often forced participation in a war that was not their own is also echoed in the memorialisation of these men by the various colonial governments of the time. The memorials to commemorate the losses of African participants were typically utilised by those holding power, as a means of seeking to unite the peoples of Empire in a shared grief for a perceived common and worthwhile cause.



STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

4.4 MOMBASA AFRICAN MEMORIAL

4.4.1 Summary Statement of Significance

The Mombasa African Memorial is of exceptional significance as a commemorative monument to the fallen Africans and Arabs of the East Africa campaign of the First World War and of all Africans and Arabs who died in East Africa or who left East Africa and died overseas. It is also of exceptional significance as a very fine artwork. However, this memorial has a complex history and its origins and commemorative shortcomings are widely misunderstood and, in many cases remain completely unknown to many modern-day Kenyans.

The memorial has high historical and commemorative value to those who recognise it as a memorial to the Africans who lost their lives in the two World Wars. However, many Kenyans believe it represents all Kenyans who have fought in wars or relates to freedom fighters and they value it as such. The monument also is seen as having value as part of the city's heritage, especially contributing to tourism, and it is drawn into academic debates regarding the nation's history.

The provision of memorials to all the fallen after the First World War was a significant change and the Mombasa African Memorial was part of this. However, against the founding principles of the IWGC, names were not included on the memorial.

Alongside its historical and commemorative values, the Mombasa African Memorial is a very fine work of art. The bronze sculptures, central bronze panel and, the stone pedestal were all designed to an extremely high standard by sculptor JA Stevenson with a resulting balance of composition and sense of enduring dignity. The immediate setting of the memorial was originally designed by Sir Herbert Baker. However, his seating has been lost and, with long-standing concerns for the memorial, a gated and walled enclosure with a garden was created that sets the memorial apart from the people who might engage with it.

The Mombasa Memorial is part of a wider landscape of commemoration. Together with those in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, the memorial is one of three similar memorials to the missing of the East Africa campaign. It is also part of a wider group of cemeteries and memorials in Mombasa, including the memorial to the Arab Rifles outside Fort Jesus.

Significance of the Elements

Bronze Statues:	Exceptional
Bronze Plaques:	Exceptional
Stone Plinth:	Considerable
Wall and Gate:	Little

4.4.2 Assessment of Heritage Values

Introduction

The Mombasa African Memorial is of exceptional significance as a commemorative monument for the missing Africans of the East Africa campaign of the First World War. However, this memorial has a complex history and its origins and commemorative shortcomings are widely misunderstood and, in many cases remain completely unknown to many modern-day Kenyans.

Commemorative

Whilst a portion of the public understand the memorial's purpose to commemorate Kenyans who died during the First World War, the details of the memorial's origins and the extent of its commemorative shortcomings are less known. For many others, the memorial has been assigned other heritage values, many completely unrelated to the commemoration of First or Second World War casualties.

The commemoration of all the fallen after the First World War was unprecedented and reflected the huge psychological impact of the First World War on both survivors and families. The Mombasa African Memorial was one of hundreds of memorials erected by the IWGC. That

the memorial physically bears no names or numbers of the dead clearly means that the memorial does not conform to the IWGC's founding principles. At present there is no way for an uninformed member of the public to understand or interpret the contested aspects of the memorial's history.

In the 1950s local stakeholders sought to add engraved lettering to the memorial and extend its commemorative remit to also include those who lost their lives during the Second World War. Unfortunately, this decision further confuses the original intention of the memorial's creation and makes it less straightforward for the public to understand the commemorative landscape of the post First World War period.

Although the monument remains today a focal point of remembrance and memory of loved ones who died in the World Wars, unlike the memorial in Nairobi, the Mombasa African Memorial does not appear to be a space where remembrance ceremonies have consistently taken place. Similarly it has not been a place of sporadic celebrations and protests like those which take place in the capital city. The siting of the Mombasa memorial is such that it is a more transient space where people are moving by, as opposed to congregating. This dynamic has been further compounded by the permanent closure of the memorial gardens' gates since 2009.

The Mombasa African Memorial sits alongside the other memorials in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam which comprise the CWGC memorials to the missing Africans in East Africa. On a Pan-African level, the memorial is one of a wider network of memorials which commemorate African colonial soldiers and labourers who lost their lives during the First World War. This shared experience of often forced participation in a war that was not their own is also echoed in the memorialisation of these men by the various colonial governments of the time. The memorials to commemorate the losses of African participants were typically utilised by those holding power, as a means of seeking to unite the peoples of Empire in a shared grief for a perceived common and worthwhile cause.

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Perceptions

Whilst some groups are familiar with the memorial's history, other stakeholders consulted were less certain. A number of community members believed the memorial to represent the bravery of all Kenyan soldiers throughout history, and others see the memorial as representing the Mau Mau Freedom Fighters who fought for Kenya's independence during the 1950s.

As a country with an extremely proud military history, the memorial is generally seen as significant by the community of military veterans or families of descendants. Due to the historical omission of names, the memorial does not currently provide a means for a descendant with a limited knowledge of their family history to find out more about their deceased relative. In this context close interrogation of the memorial can raise more questions than it answers. Nevertheless, despite these obstacles, during the 2018 memorial restorations members of the public came forward voluntarily to share personal stories with the restoration team about how they come to the memorial to remember their relatives who died during the First World War.

In Mombasa, the memorial is seen as a valuable heritage asset for the heritage tourism sector. The memorial is regularly promoted on social media channels and by tour guides who bring visitors around Mombasa's historic old town.

Amongst the academic and heritage communities, the contested aspects of the memorial are more often drawn to the fore and discussions on the memorial's shortcomings are continuously reinterpreted in line with modern academic and social debates.

Historical

The principal historic connection is with the East African campaign of the First World War, which is reflected in the inscription and also the dress of the soldiers and carrier depicted. The King's African Rifles, who were raised from across East Africa, the Arab Rifles, the scouts and the carriers were all essential in enabling the fight on land and protecting the port city of Mombasa.

This memorial represents thousands of individuals but it also represents the regiments and corps to which they belonged, particularly those represented in the statues. The King's African Rifles had existed before the war but the war gave the regiment a more prominent role in the social hierarchy of the time. This is in part because the KAR and other colonial regiments containing African troops are generally seen to have had greater success in the East African theatre than their European and Indian counterparts, who struggled to cope with the challenging climate and terrain. The KAR would go on to form part of the Kenyan Army (KDF) after independence and many KDF personnel have a long-standing familial association with the regiment dating back to the KAR years. The Arab Rifles, however, were raised solely for the First World War.

The Carrier Corps, by contrast, was created to serve a particular need that arose from the way that the colonial armies chose to fight the war in East Africa and their formation and ongoing service was a huge undertaking. Many of those who served in the Carrier Corps were conscripted, often against their will and to the distress of their families. The high number of casualties suffered by the Carrier Corps reflects the harshness of the conditions under which they laboured. The inclusion of the figure of the Carrier Corps was a conscious recognition of their contribution but, then and today, it is a reminder of the harsh realities of colonial rule.

The memorial is distinguished from its companion in Nairobi by its inclusion of a member of the Arab Rifles. The Arab Rifles were unique to Mombasa and theirs is a memorable story of a short-lived regiment who were founded to protect Mombasa from the threat of German incursions over the border from Tanzania during the early stages of the war. Like much history written of the period, their story is often told through the lens of their enigmatic founder Arthur Wavell but much less is known of the men who made up the regiment, who were a mix of local Muslim men from the Kenyan Coastal region interspersed with a number of career soldiers from along the Arab coast as far north as Yemen.

This story, along with that of the wider East African campaign, is not as widely known internationally as other theatres of war in Northern Europe. However the campaign has had a lasting impact in Kenya as just one of many examples where colonised people suffered at the hands of the coloniser, in this case by forced participation in a war which was not felt to be theirs.

The memorial has additional panels that also proclaim the connection with the Second World War, commemorating the Africans who fell in East Africa and the East Africans who died overseas. The panels were not part of the IWGC's intended commemoration as the African missing of the Second World War were given a memorial at Nairobi War Cemetery but they were sought by local stakeholders.

The Mombasa African Memorial survived multiple municipal suggestions to relocate the memorial and also seems to have escaped removal for political reasons that was suggested for the Nairobi African Memorial in the 1980s. It remains in its original location and many people know it as the Mwembe Tayari Monument after the district in which it is located.

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Architectural and Artistic

The Mombasa African Memorial is undoubtedly architecturally significant. It is an extremely rare example of statuary sculpture that depicts African subjects during this period of colonial history in Kenya.

The series of three Memorials to the Missing in East Africa are arguably sculptor JA Stevenson's most accomplished works, and of the three, the Mombasa monument is perhaps the finest artistically. In his design, the sculptor has achieved a captivating realism to the bronze figures and, although the memorial's original meaning has in many ways been lost to a significant proportion of the public, the enduring aesthetic quality of the memorial ensures that the site has remained a valued heritage asset in the city.

The group of four figures (a KAR soldier, an Arab Rifleman, a carrier and a scout) is a balanced composition whilst each of the four is easily distinguishable by the different items they carry and the dress they wear because the sculptor borrowed the items to copy to ensure accuracy. Stevenson also designed the stone pedestal, which was made from locally quarried, grey Mazeras sandstone, and this too contributes to the poise and elegance of the overall composition. Stevenson was responsible for the design and making of the original bronze panel, which also has a careful balance to it. The bronze panels added to the left and right after the Second World War were not designed by Stevenson but were commissioned by the Commission and are of similar character.

As well as the sculpture, the inscription by Rudyard Kipling, a poet and author of considerable repute, was also intended to enhance the quality of the memorial. However, the connection with Kipling today is seen as more problematic today, given his imperialist attitude, and his language is deeply controversial for this particular memorial (see Language section below).

Whilst the commemoration of colonial troops in this way was unprecedented at the time, and there seems to have

been a sincere intention to recognise the service and loss of members of the African community, this intention is contrasted by the very conscious efforts of the colonial authorities to use the creation of the monument as a means of justifying the cost of the war to the African community in the spirit of the common Imperial cause. This dynamic of blending commemoration with an ideal of shared purpose is a common theme which links the vast majority of WWI memorials to colonial troops across the African continent.

Language

Perhaps the most often contested element of the Mombasa African Memorial is the dedicatory text written by Rudyard Kipling. The language of the inscription is seen as offensive by many Africans today.

The language and colonial ideas, such as "fighting for their King and Country", are deeply problematic in the post-colonial era and are a barrier to people's appreciation of the memorial. The Arabic form of the Swahili inscription is also redundant and reflects a presumption on the part of the IWGC regarding how people would use the language in the future.

The refrain "to the carriers who were the feet and hands of the army" was certainly intended by Kipling to suggest the war could not have been fought without the efforts of these men. Some descendants suggest that this phrasing only reinforces the "collective" way in which the carriers were treated in life and in death and offers the individual casualty or their family no sense of closure or personal acknowledgement.

The names of the dead were not listed on this memorial or in an associated register, which was against IWGC policy. It is difficult to challenge the argument that the choice of wording to end the epitaph could be seen as the IWGC passing on the responsibility for remembering the names of these men to the families themselves, "If you fight for your country even if you die, your sons will remember your name".

Setting/Context

The original intention of the IWGC was that the Mombasa African Memorial would be seen as a place of commemoration by the African community during day-to-day life. Whereas this principle was somehow lost with the ultimate siting of the monument in Nairobi, it was achieved with greater success in Mombasa.

The setting of the Memorial was carefully considered at the time of its construction with the chosen site located in what was then the African district of Mombasa. One of IWGC's principal architects Sir Herbert Baker was involved in the selection of this location and the landscape design of the immediate area around the memorial. The site was chosen because it lay close to an existing African cemetery, at a junction of main avenues, therefore would be easily seen, and it was an island site flanked by mature mango trees. Although many elements of the immediate setting have changed since that time, the creation of a transport hub adjacent to the Memorial means that it remains readily seen by passersby to this day.

Whilst the later creation of a gated and walled area enabled the memorial to be given a suitably landscaped setting, subsequent interventions appear in retrospect to have been less considered. The removal in 2002 of the circular seat feature designed by Sir Herbert Baker and in 2019 the last remaining of the original mango trees, which gave Mwembe Tayari its name, has altered the original setting further.

The permanent closure of the walled garden since 2009 means that, despite the memorial's prominent location, the public has only been able to observe the memorial from the roadside in the years since this decision was made. The resulting feeling of "you can look but cannot touch" has built a considerable barrier between the public and the memorial. This commemoration from a distance exacerbates the contentious aspects of the memorial further still and certainly runs counter to the original intention that the memorial would be seen and interacted with on a day-to-day basis by the descendants and communities of those it commemorates.

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In Mombasa the memorial sits alongside other associated heritage locations to create a network of First World War sites of memory and remembrance in the city. CWGC Mombasa (Mbaraki) Cemetery was the European cemetery in Mombasa during the First World War. It contains the burials of 51 WW1 casualties, and the Mombasa British Memorial which records the names of 81 officers and men of British, East African and West Indian regiments and demonstrates fine examples of the IWGC's founding principles which were not accorded to African casualties of the war. A memorial to the Arab Rifles Regiment was constructed outside the entrance to Fort Jesus in Mombasa, a testament to the esteem in which the regiment was held at the time. There are also two Second World War cemeteries (a European Cemetery in Mbaraki and African cemetery in Manyimbo) in Mombasa which are also maintained by CWGC.

The Mombasa African Memorial is one of three memorials to missing Africans of the First World War East Africa Campaign (and by extension, the Second World War) that were located in Nairobi, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam. Beyond there are many other memorials mostly in capital cities across Africa, including a very similar design of memorial in Abuja, Nigeria. These reflect a continent-wide landscape of commemoration.



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4.5 DAR ES SALAAM AFRICAN MEMORIAL

4.5.1 Summary Statement of Significance

Dar es Salaam African Memorial is of exceptional significance as a unique monument to commemorate the fallen Africans of the East Africa campaign in the First World War, as an iconic statue in Dar es Salaam, and as a fine artwork. However, this memorial has a complex history, and its origins and commemorative shortcomings are widely misunderstood and, in many cases remain completely unknown to many modern-day Tanzanians.

The memorial is valued by most local people in Dar es Salaam as a familiar landmark and tourist attraction because of its prominent location and its distinctive form. This has both become a symbol of the city and the nation, and has inspired new artworks and cultural objects. The memorial has very high commemorative and historical value to those who feel it symbolises and respects the Africans who lost their lives in the First World War. This is especially true of veterans and their families as well as serving military personnel. However, it is also valued as a place that represents Tanzania's complex twentieth century history and is seen as symbolising the strength and resilience of the Tanzanian people, partly because no statues were erected depicting African figures after Independence.

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial is a unique artwork comprising not only a bronze sculpture but also two relief panels that depict soldiers of the King's African Rifles, carriers and a scout in imagined wartime scenes. The vitality that resonates from it perhaps contributes to its enduring popularity. The use of local stone to build the elegant pedestal provides a further link with the area and was typical of IWGC commissions. The form of a statue was, however, unusual in IWGC memorials. Furthermore, the absence of names, either on the memorial or in a register, does not conform with the IWGC's founding principles.

The memorial is one of three African memorials erected in the late 1920s bearing the same inscription and comprising bronze statuary on stone plinths by sculptor JA Stevenson, with the others being in Nairobi and Mombasa in Kenya. There are also other war cemeteries and memorials in Dar es Salaam, notably the nearby Cenotaph, as well as ones elsewhere across the continent that place the Dar es Salaam African Memorial within a wider pan-African landscape of commemoration.

Significance of the Elements

Bronze Statue:	Exceptional
Bronze Relief Panels:	Exceptional
Bronze Plaque:	Exceptional
Stone Plinth:	Considerable

4.5.2 Assessment Of Heritage Values

Introduction

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial is of exceptional significance as a commemorative monument for the missing Africans of the East Africa campaign of the First World War. However, this memorial has a complex history, and its origins and commemorative shortcomings are widely misunderstood and, in many cases remain completely unknown to many modern-day Tanzanians.

Commemorative

Whilst some of the public understand the memorial's purpose to commemorate Tanzanians who died during the First World War, the details of the memorial's origins and the extent of its commemorative shortcomings are much less known. For many people, the memorial has been assigned other heritage values which may be completely unrelated to the commemoration of First or Second World War casualties.

The commemoration of all the fallen after the First World War was unprecedented and reflected the huge psychological impact of the First World War on both survivors and families. In what was then Tanganyika, the commemoration was further complicated by the fact that there were still Germans living in the country. The memorial is inscribed with no names or numbers of the dead and this clearly means that the memorial does not conform to the IWGC's founding principles. At present there is no way for an uninformed member of the public to understand or interpret the contested aspects of the memorial's history.

Faced with the absence of the fundamental list of names, the IWGC had to devise an alternative type of memorial to the missing Africans of the East African campaign. The use of bronze statuary was not part of the usual IWGC repertoire, but the suggestion seems to have come from the Kenyan colonial government. Although the statues for the East African Memorials were deemed expensive, the IWGC could justify this because of the large number of people represented by the memorial and therefore it was seen at the time as offering good value for money. That attitude reinforces the IWGC's failure to commemorate the fallen Africans equally with the fallen of other nations after the First World War. Whilst the memorials incorporated statues as these were said at the time by the colonial governments to be more readily understood by Africans, the memorials today are seen by some as having been constructed for the Europeans, not for the Africans. There is some truth in this in that the IWGC was simply anxious to fulfil its remit of creating some sort of memorial to all the fallen whilst the opinions of the Africans themselves do not seem to have been consulted, with the exception of the Swahili wording of the memorial plaques.

Throughout the colonial period, the memorial formed part of the annual Remembrance Day commemorations, which focused on the Cenotaph to the south. These were major events with roads closed, guns fired and all the senior officials, including the Governor, the mayor and

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the officers in charge of troops and the police, gathered with representatives from the KAR, boy scouts, girl guides and the police alongside the public. Today the annual Remembrance Day is on Heroes Day and commemorates those involved with fighting for independence and it occurs at the Uhuru memorial. The British and German High Commissions organise Armistice commemorations at the site on 11th November each year, during which wreaths are laid to remember the fallen Africans. These events are typically attended by high level Tanzanian officials, often the Minister for Defence.

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial was originally protected alongside other historical buildings and Monuments by the Antiquities Declaration of Conservations Areas Notice No. 2006 but this appears to have been revoked in 2013 and the status is no longer clear.

Perceptions

The primary perception of the Dar es Salaam African Memorial is as a symbol of the city, and indeed the country. The prominent location of the memorial and the iconic silhouette of the monument mean that it is instantly recognisable. The memorial's fame transcends its origins and intended purpose as a place primarily for commemoration.

Whilst some groups are familiar with the memorial's history, most stakeholders consulted were less certain. A number of community members believed the memorial to represent the bravery of all Tanzanian soldiers throughout history or specifically the struggle towards independence.

As a monument to fallen soldiers, the memorial is generally seen as significant by the community of military veterans and families of descendants. Due to the historical omission of names, the memorial does not currently provide a means for a descendant with a limited knowledge of their family history to find out more about their deceased relative. Until more research is done, the memorial often raises more questions than it answers.

The memorial is a physical symbol of the entangled colonial history of the site with its layers of meaning as the location of a German monument and then a British-made memorial to the Africans and then its place in a post-colonial landscape, set at a junction of roads whose names have changed both after the First World War and after Independence. It attracts both academic and non-academic interest and features in numerous articles, books and reports about Tanzania's history. This educational value contributes to its significance.

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial is hugely popular as a symbol of Dar es Salaam and is part of the city's iconography. Its distinctive form is a well-known landmark, which is seen regularly by local residents and workers and which is an important part of the tourist circuit in the city. It consequently features in much tourist promotional literature and is even adopted as a logo for some private tour companies.

As an icon of both the city and the country, the memorial's image is regularly used to represent these both on the national and international stage. An example that illustrates this is Tanzania's most popular sport, football. The Tanzanian Premier League is one of the fastest growing leagues on the continent and it regularly uses an image of the Askari Monument in advertising when a league game is to be played in the City. The two largest teams Simba and Young Africans originate from the Kariakoo District and the latter have featured the Askari Monument on their shirts in recent years. At the continental level, the Askari Monument is often used by the African Champions League organisers to represent Tanzania. This illustrates how the memorial has taken on heritage value far beyond its original commemorative purpose and add another layer to the significance of the monument.

Historical

The memorial was erected by the IWGC to commemorate the Africans who had fallen in the East Africa campaign. The figures depicted belong to the Allied side: the KAR and the Carrier Corps. However, over the decades as the distinctions between colonial powers have faded, the memorial has come to be seen as simply a memorial to all the Tanzanians who fell in the war, regardless of which side they fought on, and a representation of a shared history between different nations during times of war.

The memorial was constructed in a time of change. Before the First World War, Tanganyika had been a German colony and, whilst many Germans left during or after the war, there were others who remained. They and some of the other colonial settlers were upset by the fact that the site selected for the memorial was the location of the statue of Hermann von Wissmann, a celebrated German explorer and colonist. This challenging of the perceived racial hierarchies of the time was somewhat unprecedented. Moreover, the removal of a statue of a white man and its replacement with a black African figure valiantly defending his country reflected the British approach of indirect rule in Tanganyika, which encouraged African involvement in the governance of the country. The memorial could be seen as an attempt by the British to generate a sense of African participation in an international war within African culture and identity. It is not known why Stevenson's brief was to create a statue that was more "aggressive" in style than the ones he designed for Kenya but it is possible that the circumstance of the British having taken over (as a mandate) Tanganyika from the Germans may have influenced the style of memorial. The statue's position facing the sea is seen as reflecting the connection between the askaris and the defence of the nation.

Whilst the memorial was erected to commemorate the fallen of the First World War, today it is seen as part of the story of the struggles for independence, post-independence reforms, pan-African liberation struggles across southern

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Africa and post-socialist (Ujamaa) identity. Some of the First World War veterans were early members of the workers' association Tanganyika African Association (TAA), which later transformed into the political party Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). There were no monuments depicting Africans erected after independence and as a unique statue within the city, it was garlanded as part of the Independence celebrations in 1961 and survived the post-Independence changes to sweep away the names and symbols of colonialism. It is seen by many as a symbol of the strength of the people of Tanzania. Its orientation towards the sea is also seen as signifying the continuous protection of Dar es Salaam's harbour.

The monument represents both the thousands of individual missing Africans and also the regiment and corps to which they belonged: the King's African Rifles and, to a lesser extent, with the Carrier Corps. The King's African Rifles had existed elsewhere in East Africa before the war but with the British takeover of the formerly German colony of Tanganyika, a new battalion, the 6th Battalion, was raised from men in Tanganyika. There is a sense of honour attached to the regiment, which would go on to form part of the Tanganyika Rifles after independence, although it was later disbanded with many of the troops incorporated into the Tanzanian People's Defence Force.

The Carrier Corps, by contrast, was created to serve a particular need that arose from the way that the colonial armies chose to fight the war in East Africa and their formation and ongoing service was a huge undertaking. Many of those who served in the Carrier Corps were conscripted, often against their will and to the distress of their families. The high number of casualties suffered by the Carrier Corps reflects the harshness of the conditions under which they laboured. The inclusion of the figure of the Carrier Corps was a conscious recognition of their contribution but, then and today, it is a reminder of the harsh realities of colonial rule. However, unlike in Kenya, the Carrier Corps are not given such prominence on the memorial. The Carrier

Corps are also remembered in the name of the Kariakoo in Dar es Salaam, a legacy of the people who served and a district that continues to this day to be historically significant.

The memorial is also associated with senior political figures in Tanzania. Julius Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania, who laid a wreath at the memorial in 1965, a custom which has often been repeated by politicians to this day.

Architectural and Artistic

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial is of great architectural and artistic significance, both for its quality and as an extremely rare example of sculptural statuary in Tanzania.

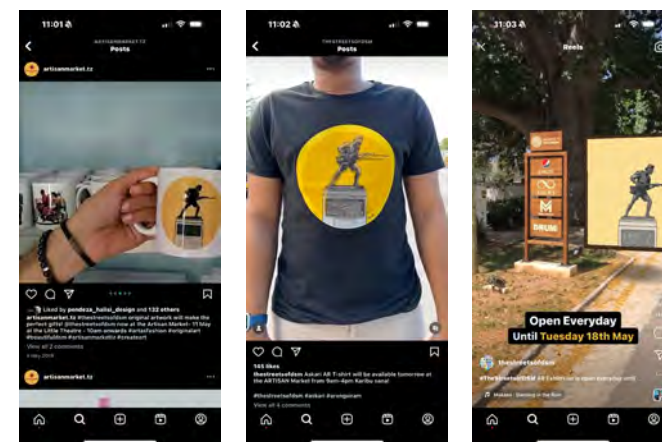
The series of three Memorials to the Missing in East Africa are arguably sculptor JA Stevenson's most accomplished works. Although the memorial's original meaning has in many ways been lost to a significant proportion of the public, the enduring aesthetic values of the memorial ensure that the site has become an iconic symbol of Dar es Salaam and Tanzania in the subsequent years.

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial is an accomplished monument with bronze reliefs depicting KAR soldiers, carriers and a scout on its two bronze relief panels and an attacking KAR soldier in bronze surmounts the pedestal. Stevenson borrowed items from both the British Museum and the KAR as well as using photographs to create the lifelike figure. The bronze statue is carefully observed with all the detail of dress and equipment. It has a great sense of movement and action as though the soldier is caught mid-action, which contrasts with the stillness and solemnity of the figures on the Nairobi and Mombasa African Memorials. The Dar es Salaam askari bears more similarity to the Curepipe War Memorial in Mauritius, where a French and a British soldier hold aloft a wreath of victory. The reliefs appear comparatively wooden but they bring to life vignettes of warfare: the carriers in a line with their loads

and the KAR soldiers in action with a scout looking out. The materials of bronze and stone give the monument a sense of permanence and quality. It is distinctive in an area where many of the buildings are painted concrete.

Stevenson also designed the stone pedestal and created the bronze inscription panels. The pedestal is elegant in its form and proportions and was made of local stone, as was typical of IWGC commissions. The bronze inscription panels are less fine than those on the Kenyan memorials he created. Whilst still using the same font and using the same material, the two panels have varying spacing to accommodate the three versions of the inscription: the English spread out on one panel and the two Swahili versions squashed on the other. The inscriptions were much longer than Stevenson had anticipated and spill from their originally designed border in an unsatisfactory way.

The form and materiality of the memorial were distinctly European in character. Although the design intentions of the IWGC were made with a view to creating a monument which was clearly a site of remembrance for the African community, the records suggest that the affected communities were not widely consulted in its design. As a



Examples on social media of the use of a stylised image of the African Memorial (Instagram post- the streetofds account)

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result, the memorial bears little to no resemblance to any traditional forms of mourning or remembrance practiced by the communities from which the fallen came.

As well as the sculpture, the inscription by Rudyard Kipling, a poet and author of considerable repute, was also intended to enhance the quality of the memorial. However, the connection with Kipling today is seen as more problematic today, given his imperialist attitude, and his language is deeply controversial for this particular memorial (see Language section below).

Whilst the commemoration of colonial troops in this way was unprecedented at the time, and there seems to have been a sincere intention to recognise the service and loss of members of the African community, this intention is contrasted by the very conscious efforts of the colonial authorities to use the creation of the monument as a means of justifying the cost of the war to the African community in the spirit of the common Imperial cause. This dynamic of blending commemoration with an ideal of shared purpose is a common theme which links the vast majority of First World War memorials to colonial troops across the African continent.

How individuals see and value the Memorial from an aesthetic perspective today is often determined by their cultural and social perspectives. The Memorial has been adopted as symbolic of Dar es Salaam and its distinctive form has been used in street art works and in popular cultural artefacts, such as t-shirts and mugs. Whilst the detail of Stevenson's original statue is not replicated, the form is immediately identifiable in a stylised depiction. As an attractive and distinctive image, it appears on websites and advertisements.

Language

Perhaps the element of the Dar es Salaam African Memorial which is most often contested, is the dedicatory text written by Rudyard Kipling. The language of the inscription is seen as offensive by many Africans today.

The language and colonial ideas, such as "fighting for their King and Country", are deeply problematic in the post-colonial era and are a barrier to people's appreciation of the memorial. The Arabic form of the Swahili inscription is also redundant and reflects a presumption on the part of the IWGC regarding how people would use the language in the future.

The refrain "to the carriers who were the feet and hands of the army" was certainly intended by Kipling to suggest the war could not have been fought without the efforts of these men. Some descendants suggest that this phrasing only reinforces the "collective" way in which the carriers were treated in life and in death, offering the individual casualty or their family no sense of closure or personal acknowledgement.

Against IWGC policy, the names of the dead were not listed on this memorial or in an associated register. It is difficult to challenge the argument that the choice of wording to end the epitaph could be seen as the IWGC passing on the responsibility for remembering the names of these men to the families themselves, "If you fight for your country even if you die, your sons will remember your name".

Setting/Context

The original intention of the IWGC was that the Dar es Salaam African Memorial would be seen by the African community during day-to-day life. A more prominent and, at the time, symbolic location could not have been found.

The memorial was deliberately located in a prominent position at a junction of major roads to maximise its accessibility to people on a day to day basis. Within a short space of time, as road traffic was increasing in the 1930s, it became clear that a traffic island was needed both to manage the traffic and to protect the memorial and its viewers. The arrangement of low planting did not impede the view of passersby whilst also providing a pleasant setting for the memorial. The island was recently re-landscaped with planting that partially obscures the memorial from the south-east. At the time of writing, the roundabout is being reduced in size and the landscaping may change again. Although not original, the landscaped traffic island compliments the memorial and provides a better setting to appreciate it.

The immediate surroundings of the memorial are mixed but there are still some low-rise, colonial-era buildings that convey a sense of the city that existed when the memorial was constructed.

The memorial also sits in a wider context of both the other war memorials in Tanzania and the group of memorials to the missing Africans in East Africa. The CWGC cares for graves in three cemeteries in Dar es Salaam (the Dar es Salaam War Cemetery, Dar es Salaam (Upanga Road) Cemetery, and Dar es Salaam (Kinondoni) Municipal Cemetery) with most of the graves relating to the First World War. There are also four other memorials created by the IWGC in Dar es Salaam: the Dar es Salaam British and Indian Memorial in Dar es Salaam War Cemetery, which records the names of over 1,500 British and Indian men who died during and after January 1917 and have no known grave; the Dar es Salaam Hindu Cremation Memorial, which

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

commemorates 14 cremated Indian Hindu soldiers, also located in the Dar es Salaam War Cemetery; the Tanganyika Memorial, which commemorates over 300 African soldiers whose graves could not be maintained, which is in Dar es Salaam (Upanga) Cemetery; and the Pugu Road 1914-18 Memorial in the Dar es Salaam (Upanga) Cemetery, which commemorates 124 Christian burials from the Pugu Road Cemetery that could not be maintained. The stark contrast between the careful recording of every name of the British and Indian missing in the First World War and the African Memorial that has no names is precisely the issue that the CWGC is currently seeking to address.

There are also other war memorials that are not cared for by the CWGC: there is the Cenotaph located in a park to the south of the African Memorial and which commemorates the fallen of the First World War. It is now looked after by the NBC Bank opposite, which has painted it in its brand colours and which also uses it as a fire assembly point. The garden in which it stands was used for training German colonial troops (schutztruppe) in the early part of the war. There is also a World War One Roll of Honour at the Post Office, which is cared for by the Tanzania Postal Office. Thirdly there is the memorial at Morogoro to the German war dead.

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial is one of three memorials to missing Africans of the First World War East Africa Campaign that were located in Nairobi, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam. The memorials share an aesthetic design in that they all comprise bronze figures of African soldiers and, in Kenya, carriers, mounted on stone pedestals with bronze inscription panels by JA Stevenson but each is unique. They were intended to be understood collectively as representing the Africans who were missing in the East African campaign. They were intended to also represent those lost in Nyasaland and Rhodesia also whilst those were missing from Uganda are memorialised in Kampala.



STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

On a Pan-African level, the memorial is one of a wider network of memorials which commemorate African colonial soldiers and labourers who lost their lives during the First World War. This shared experience of often forced participation in a war that was not their own is also echoed in the memorialisation of these men by the various colonial governments of the time. The memorials to commemorate the losses of African participants were typically utilised by those holding power, as a means of seeking to unite the peoples of Empire in a shared grief for a perceived common and worthwhile cause.

The Dar es Salaam African Memorial has also been something of a template for establishing similar monuments, such as to commemorate the fallen of the Uganda-Tanzania war of 1978. There are monuments that seem to have used this inspiration in Kilimanjaro, Ruvuma, Bukoba and Mtwara, amongst others



Cenotaph in Dar es Salaam



Cenotaph with NBC Bank beyond



Post Office Roll of Honour, Dar es Salaam

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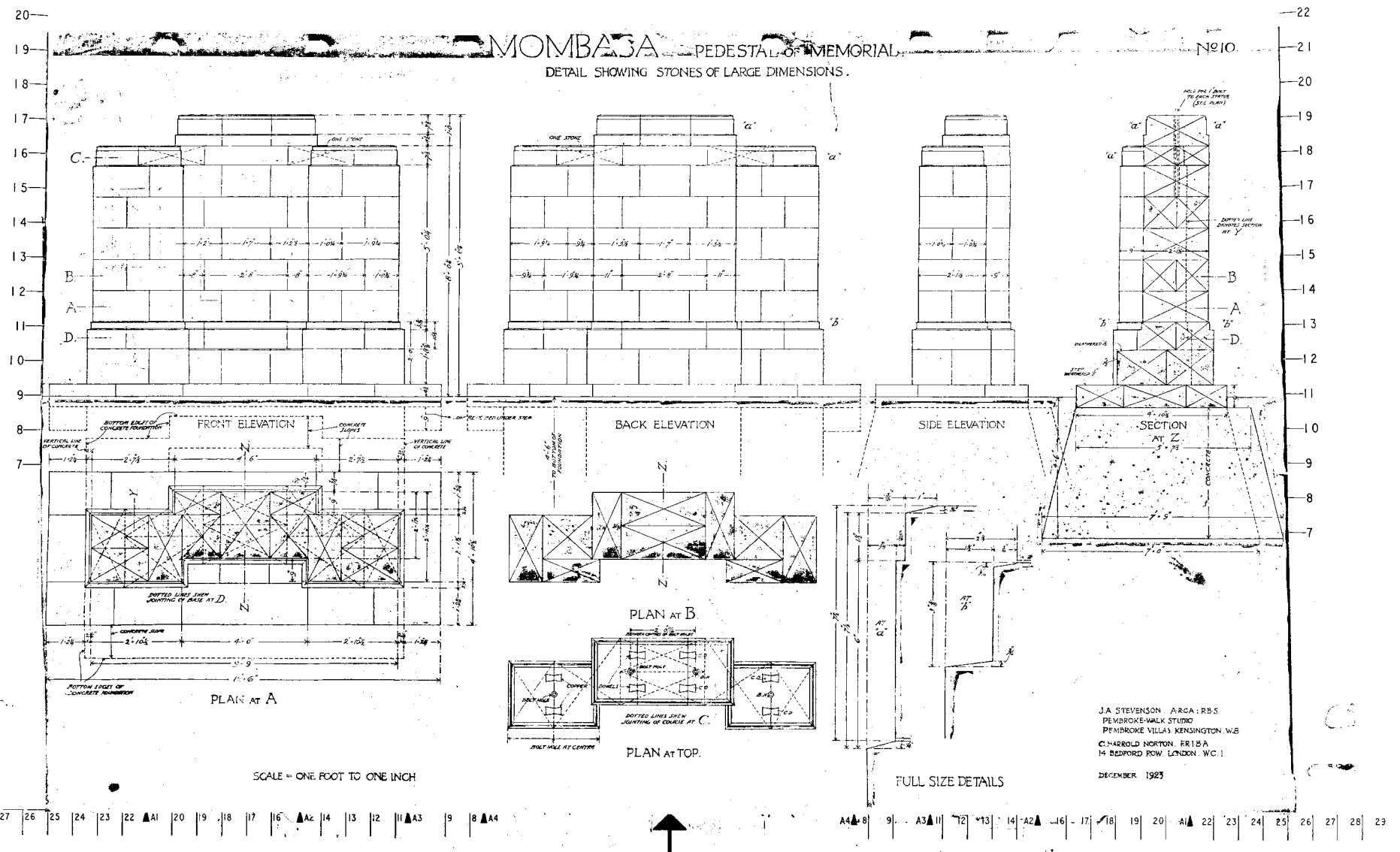
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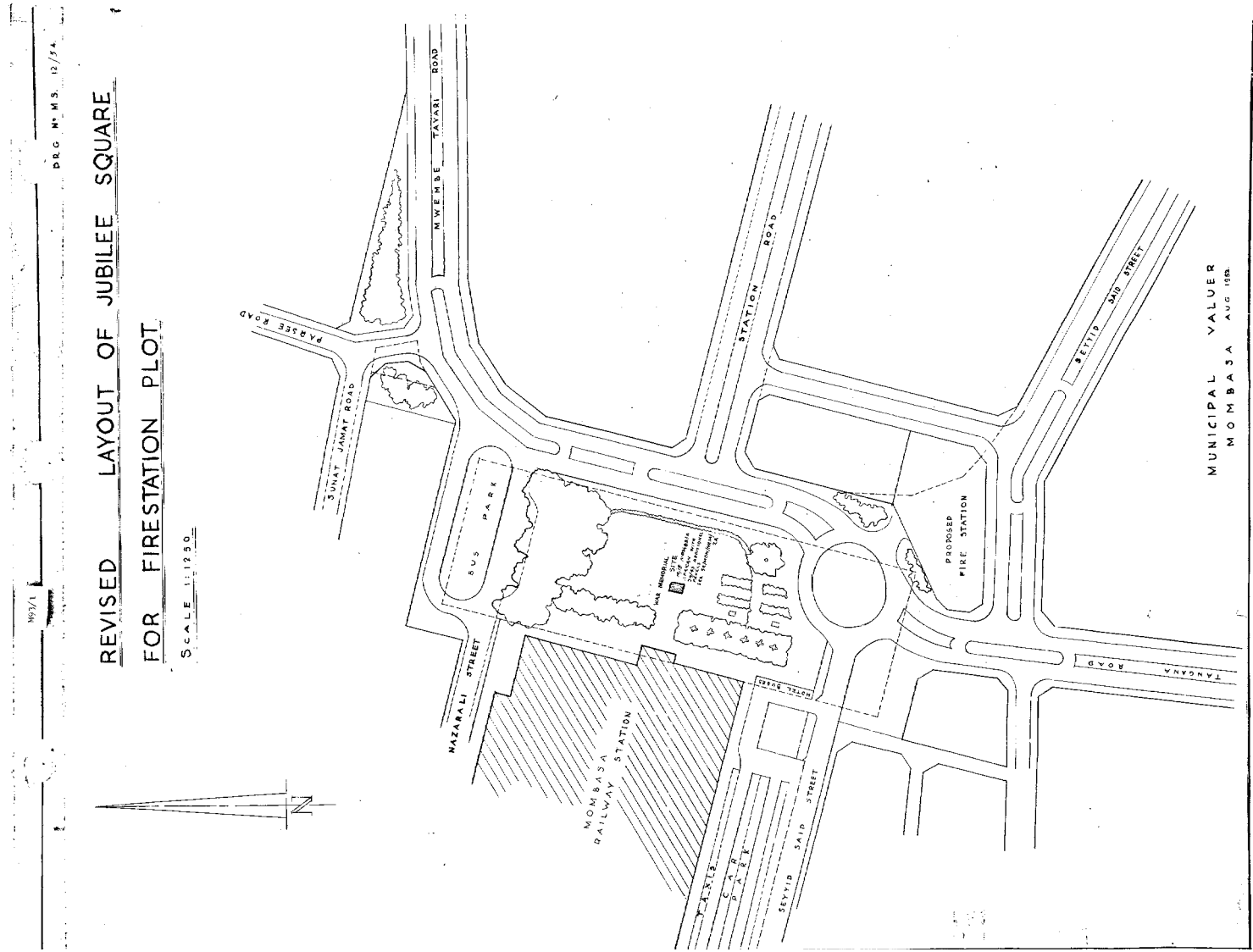
APPENDIX A

HISTORIC DRAWINGS

MOMBASA

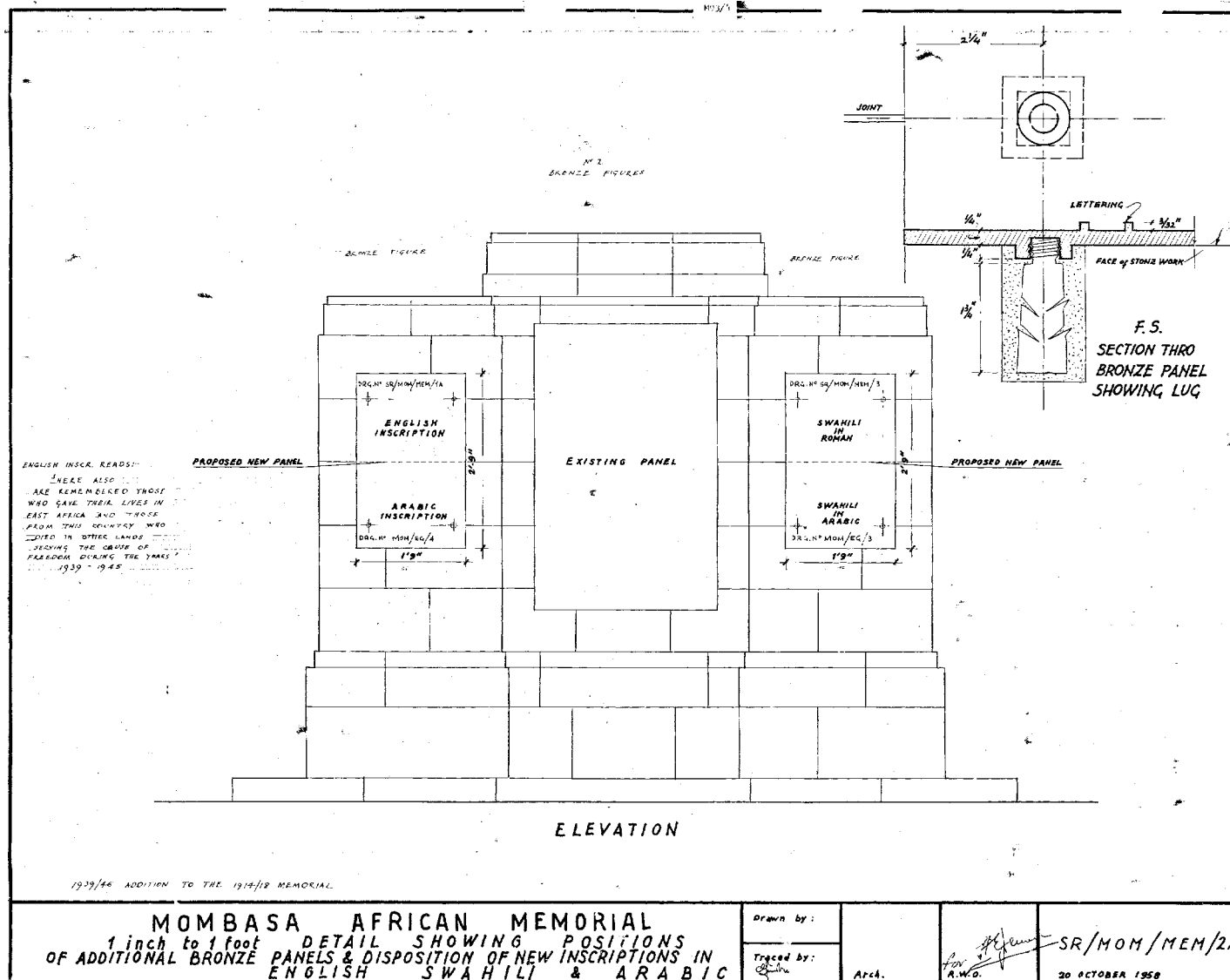


Drawing by JA Stevenson and C. Harrold Norton, December 1923, showing the proposed pedestal



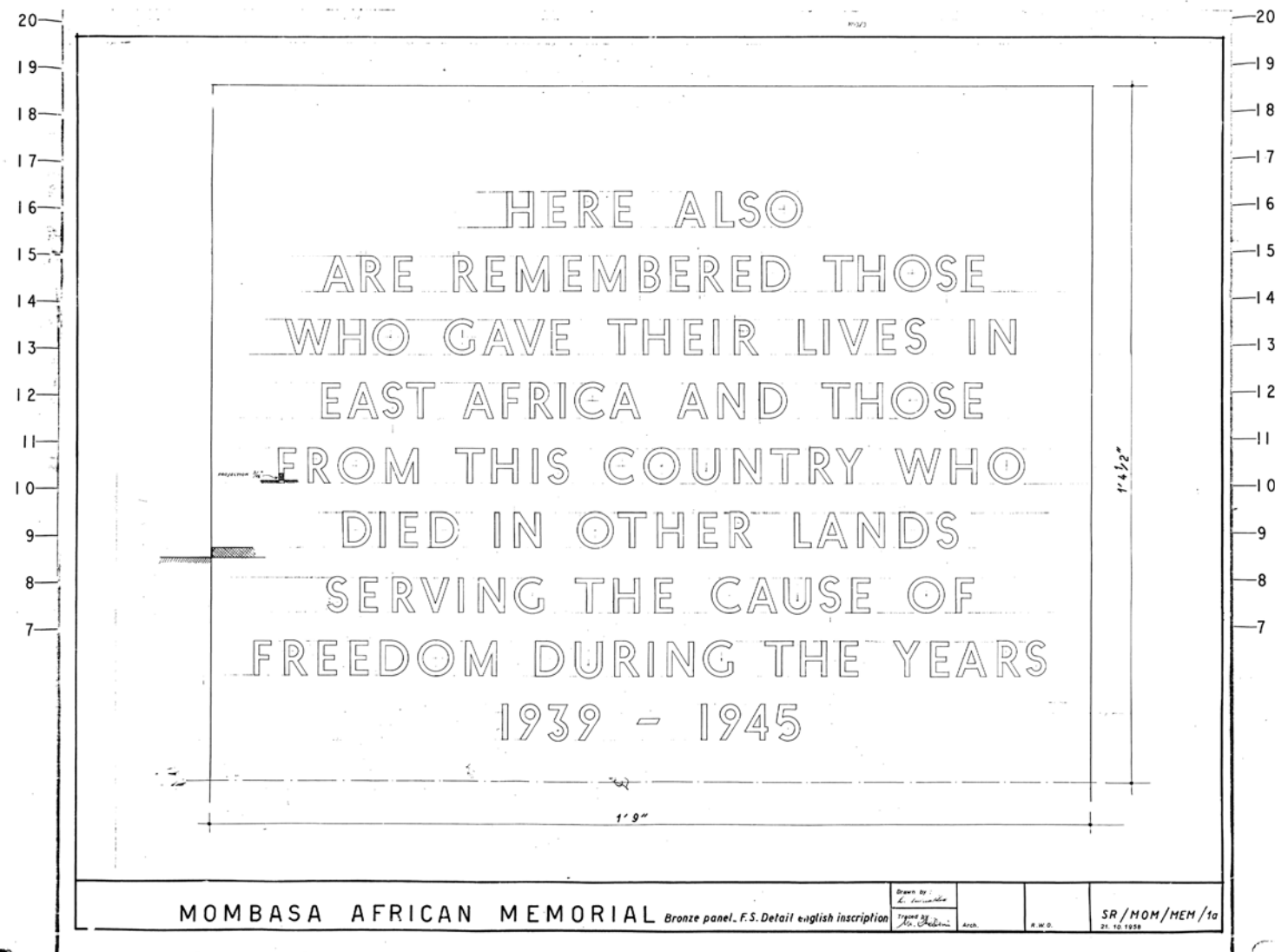
Plan showing the proposed new location of the memorial, 1952 [Note: the Memorial was not moved]

APPENDIX A: HISTORIC DRAWINGS



Elevation showing the proposed additional panels, 1958

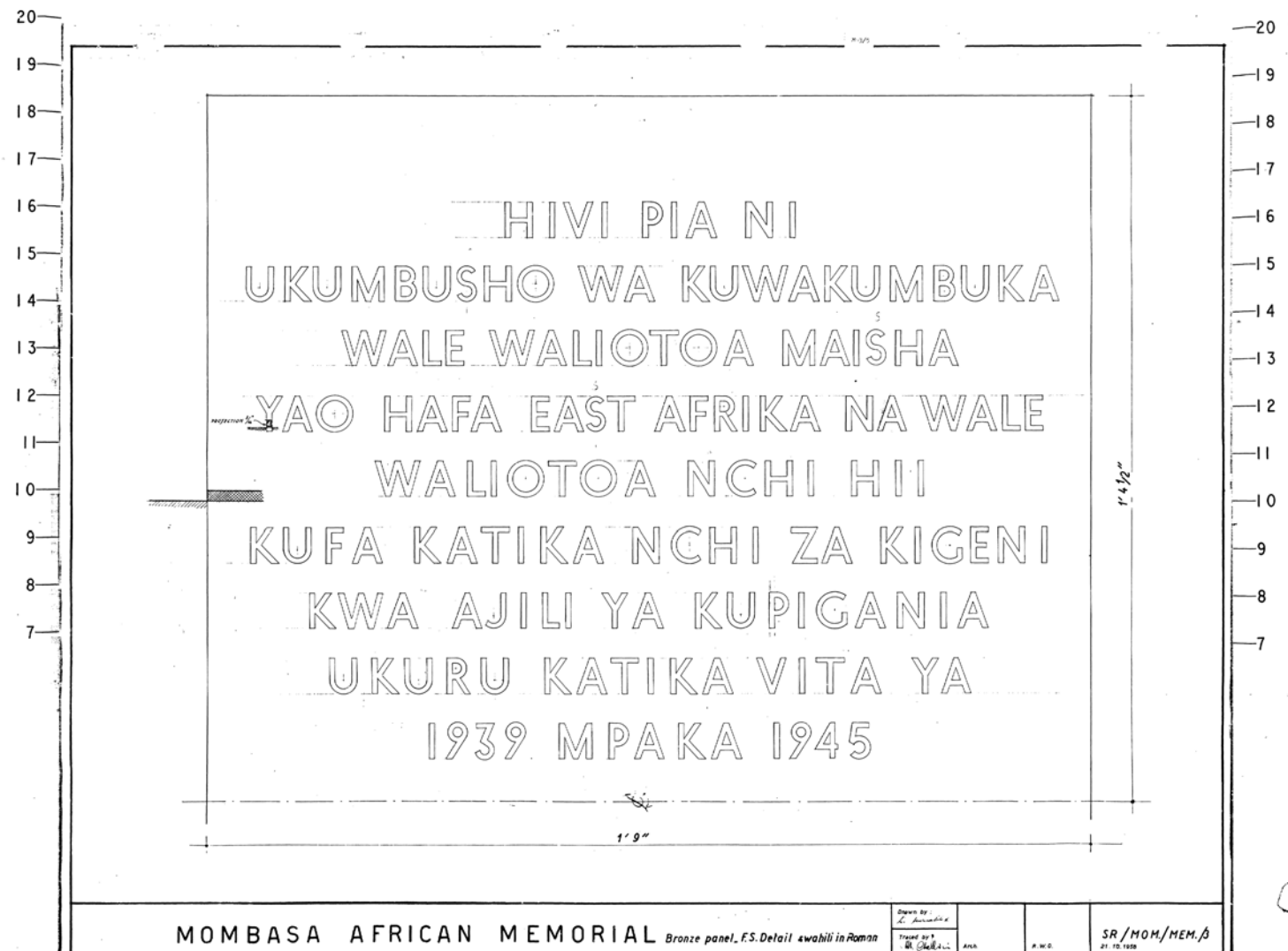
APPENDIX A: HISTORIC DRAWINGS



23 22 A1 20 19 18 17 16 A2 14 13 12 11 A3 9 8 A4 A4 8 9 A3 11 12 13 14 A2 16 17 18 19 20 A1 21

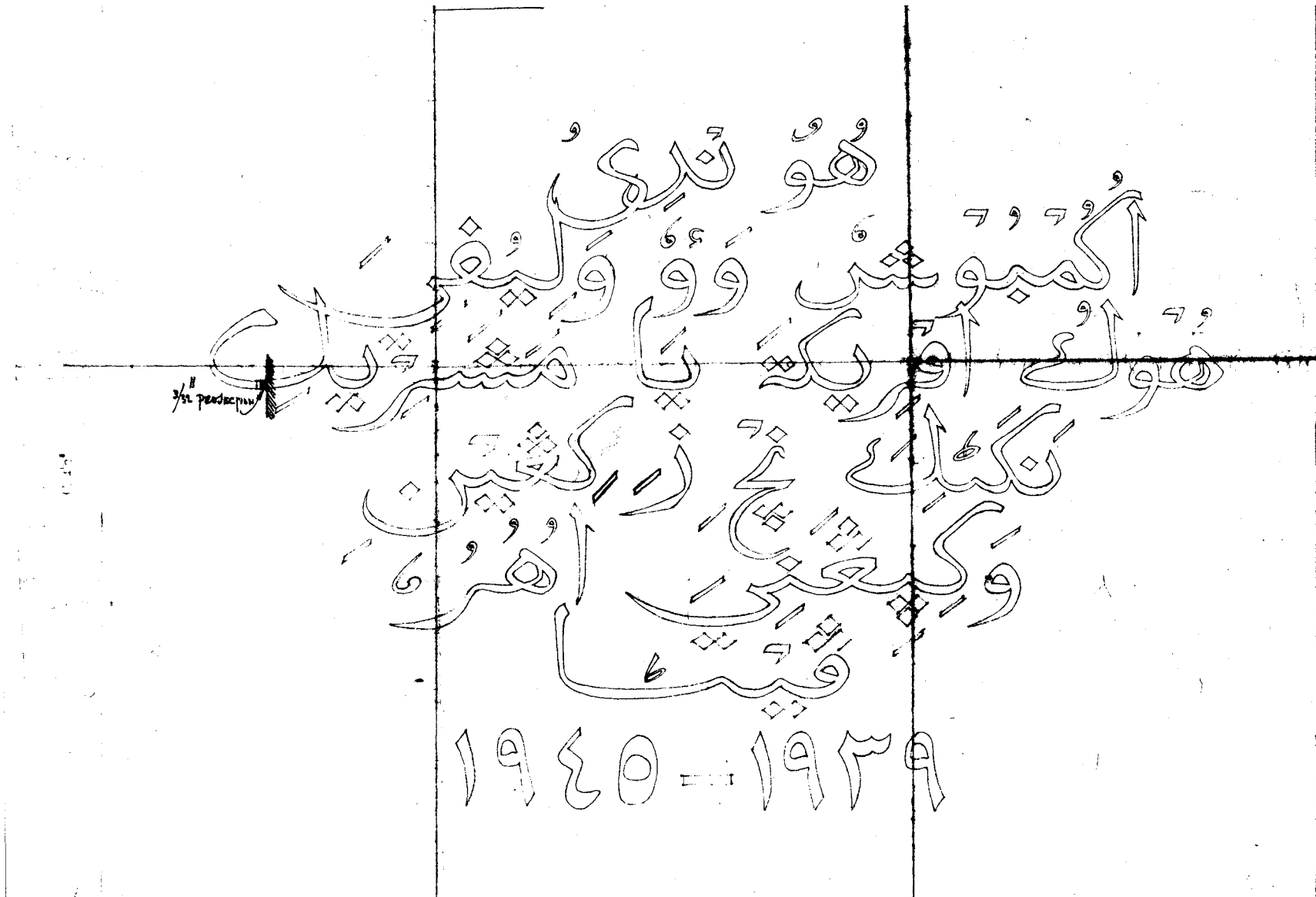
Drawing of the proposed English inscription, 1958

APPENDIX A: HISTORIC DRAWINGS



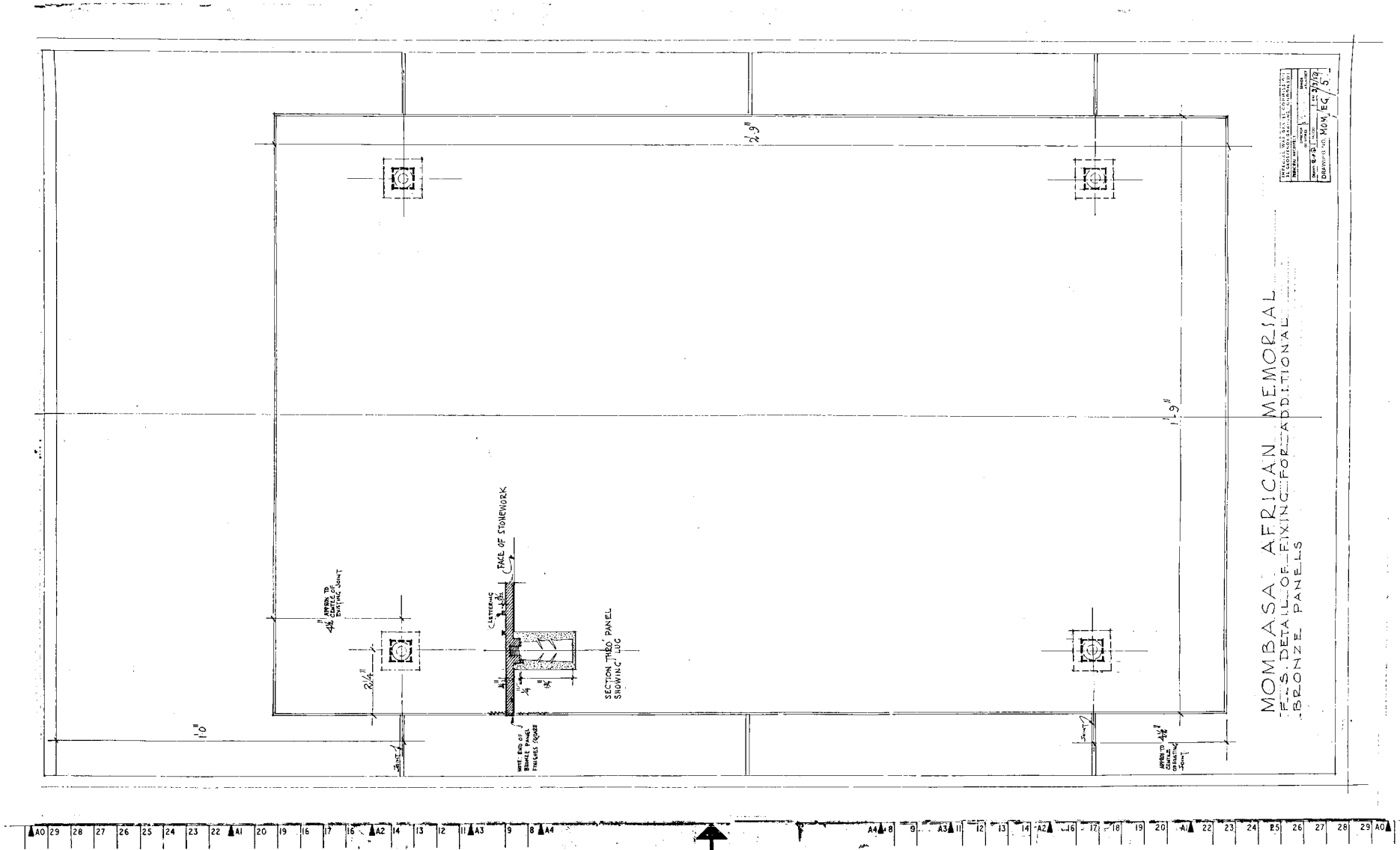
Drawing showing the proposed Swahili (Roman) inscription, 1958

APPENDIX A: HISTORIC DRAWINGS



Drawing showing the proposed Swahili (Arabic) inscription, 1958

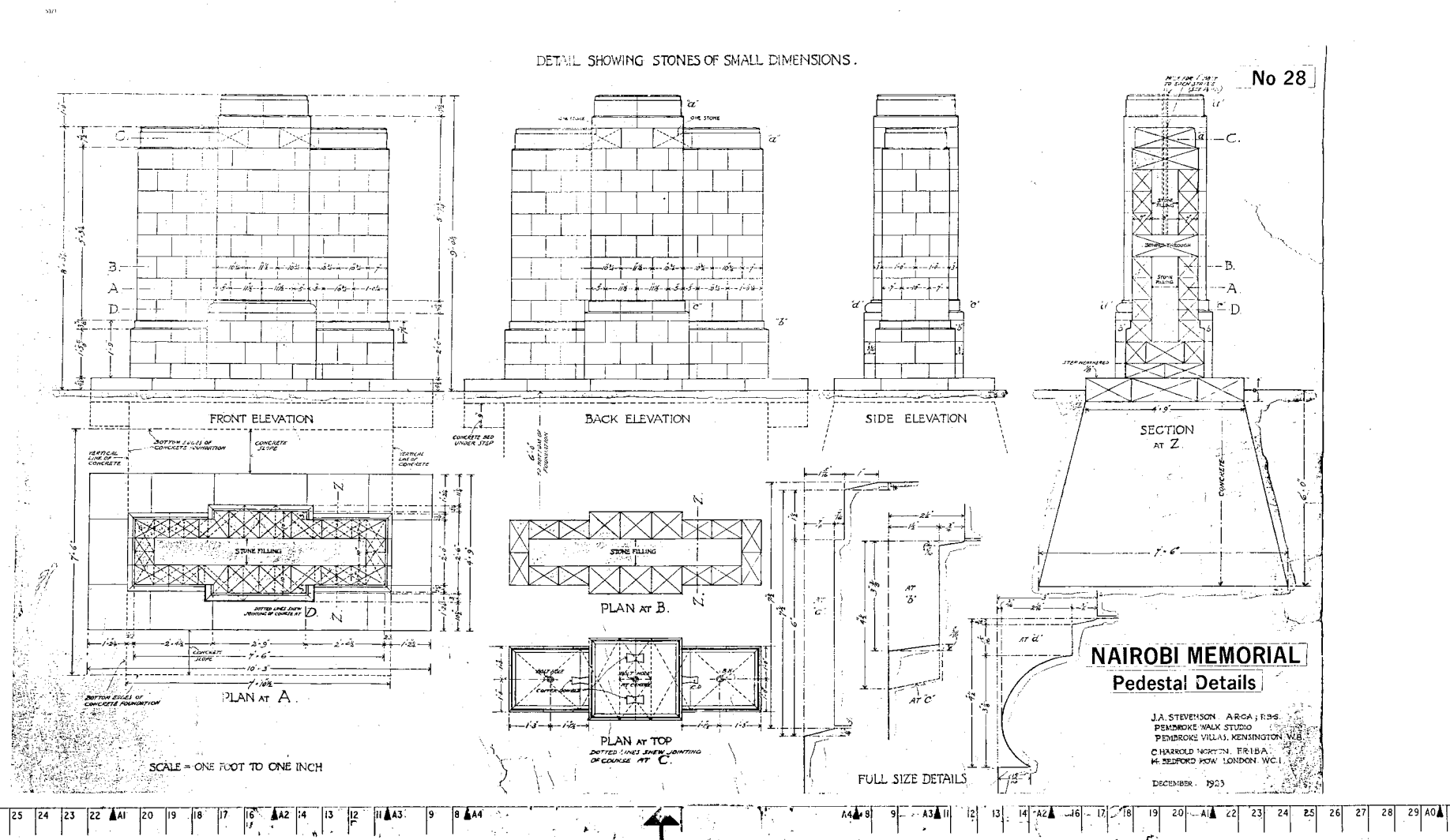
وَهُنَا أَيْضًا
 نُخَلِّدُ زَكَرِيَّ الزَّيْنِ اسْتَشْرَهُوا
 فِي أَفْرِيقِيَا الشَّرْقِيَّةِ
 وَزَكَرِيَّ مُوَاطِنِي هَذِهِ الْبِلَادِ
 الَّذِينَ مَاتُوا فِي أَقْطَارِ أُخْرَى
 رَفَاعًا عَنِ الْحَرَّةِ
 بَيْنَ عَامِ ١٩٣٩ وَعَامِ ١٩٤٥



1958 Drawing showing detail of the fixings of the new panels

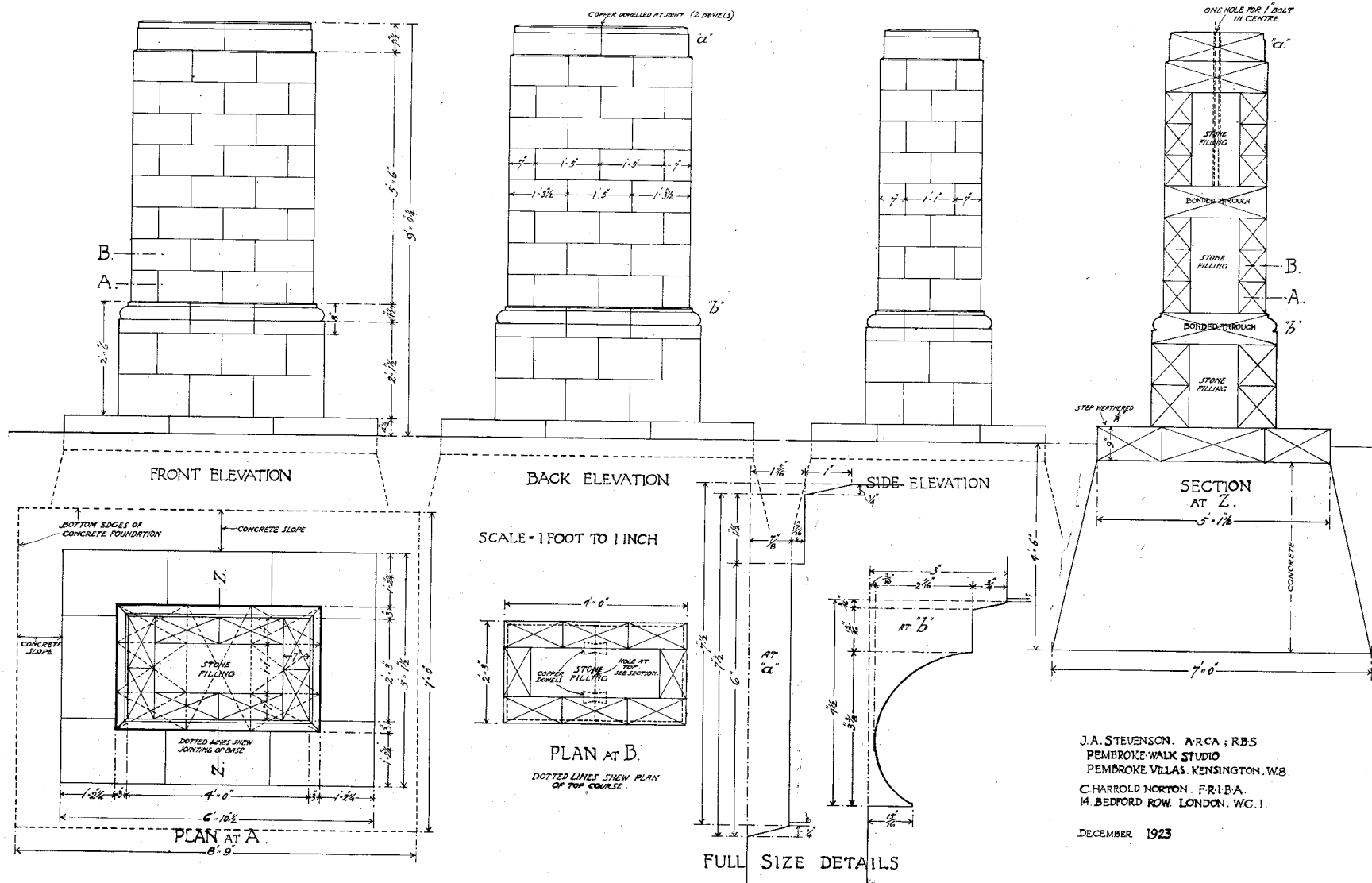
APPENDIX A: HISTORIC DRAWINGS

NAIROBI



APPENDIX A: HISTORIC DRAWINGS

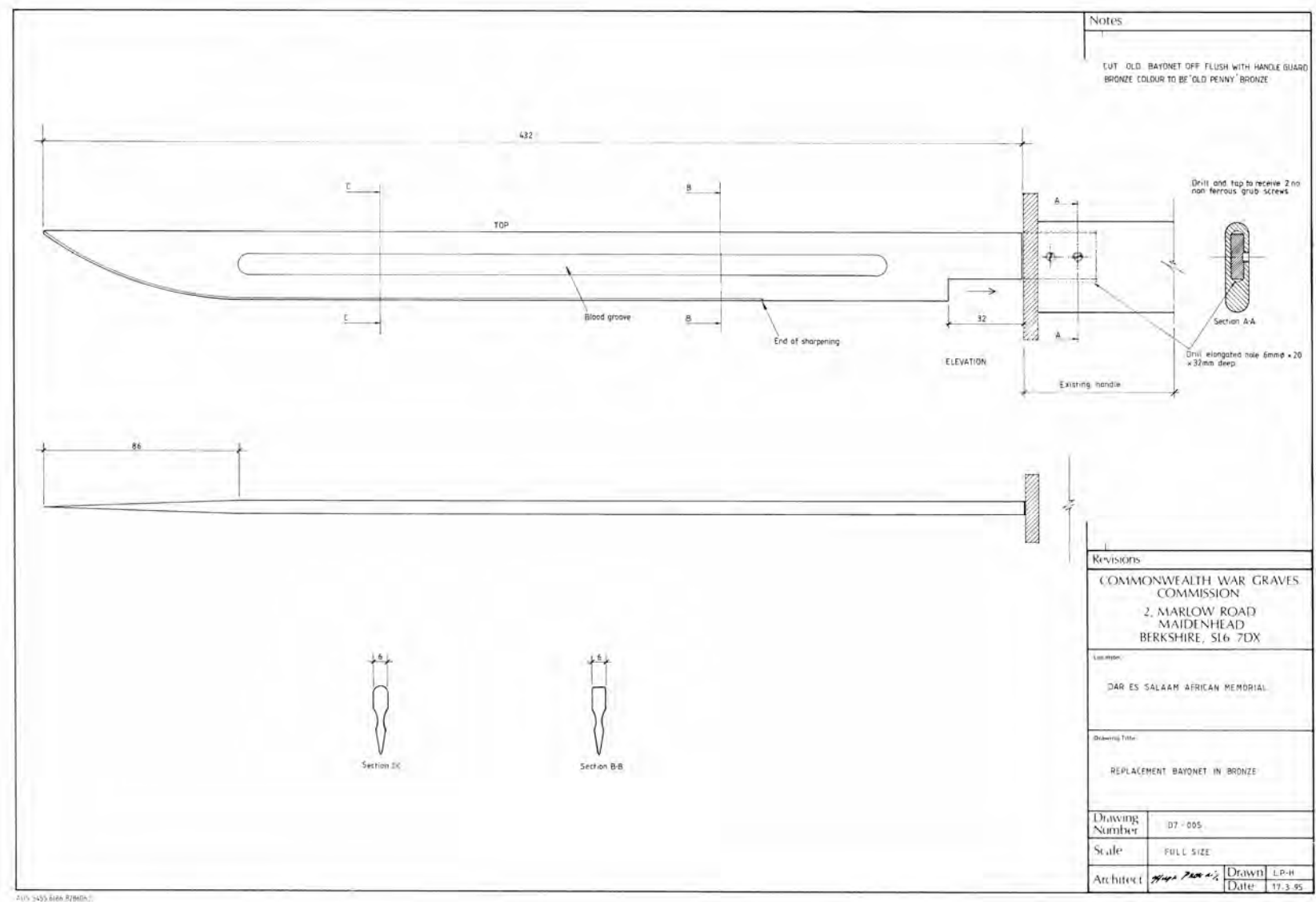
Dar es Salaam



J.A. STEVENSON. A.R.C.A.; R.B.S.
 PEMBROKE WALK STUDIO
 PEMBROKE VILLAS, KENSINGTON, W.8.
 C. HARROLD NORTON. F.R.I.B.A.
 14, BEDFORD ROW, LONDON, W.C.1.

DECEMBER 1923

APPENDIX A: HISTORIC DRAWINGS



1995 drawing showing detail for replacement of the bayonet

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWS (KENYA)

B.1 Interviews at the Nairobi African Memorial

On 1st August 2023, Sarah Kassim and Ochieng Nyamanga, Researchers for the project, spent two hours in the afternoon from 3–5 pm observing and speaking with those who interacted with the World War I memorial monument, both local Kenyans and foreign visitors at the Jomo Kenyatta Avenue in Nairobi. Among them were three German citizens who recently came into the country, who were willing to speak to the researchers. The team also spoke to six Kenyan youth who were having a leisure time at the monument.

Among the Kenyans was Andrew Munialo from Bungoma, in Western Kenya who stated that he was very fascinated by the War memorial monument and that he felt was very relevant to Kenyans. He stated that people can learn about the past war history from the monument. When asked how the monument could be made known to other Kenyans, Mr. Munialo said this can be done by encouraging Kenyans to visit the monument by not only *'sharing our experiences but also our self-taken pictures with them'*. The visual impression and information would trigger desired interest and knowledge about the monument according to him.

Another local resident from Fedha Estate in Nairobi who was accompanied by his cousin when interviewed about the War Memorial stated that that he had seen the monument in a Secondary School History Textbook. They were very glad to see the monument live and would not forget the tangible experience. *'We have taken pictures around this monument so that we can remember we were at the site of the monument. We know that our independent country is no longer under colonial impulse and influence. We will share our picture with our friends and relatives to recognize the sacrifices African forebears made on behalf of our country'* they stated. They further stated that *'modern technology has become very handy and so we will use WhatsApp, Facebook among others to share our experiences at the monument.'*

The researchers also interacted with a group of three Kenya School of Aviation students from Kitui and Makweni who are studying Journalism (Media and Mass Communication) at the institution. They stated that *'as media enthusiasts we got attracted to this monument and have taken interactive pictures here just to share with our colleagues and friends later on. The monument reminds us of the grave dangers of war and we must find ways and means of encouraging members of the Kenyan society to strive to avoid war as much as possible.'*

Finally, the researchers interviewed three German citizens (Jones, Luca and Luisa) who only recently came to Kenya from Rwanda. In their own words, *'we are always worried to see such war monuments everywhere. In our own country, Germany, we have several statues that depict war and its effects and it is the intention of the German government to discourage everyone from allowing war to happen again owing to its grave impacts in global economy and human lives. Every school going German must interact with such war mementos, portraying how easy war can erupt and its devastating impacts, but more importantly, how modern society should strive to avoid it. As such war monuments and other statues of other historical events form a big part of the German education system aims at building German solidarity against global war'* they stated.

B.2 Community Interviews: Kibra Nubian Community

The Research team visited Kibera on the 3rd August 2023 to speak to the descendants of the Nubian soldiers who are said to have been actively involved in the First and Second World Wars. Dividing themselves into two, Sarah went to Karanja and Makina while Ochieng' was in DC area. A total of seven key informants were interviewed.

Interviewee One:

'When I pass by this statue, it raises in me some kind of mixed feeling, I can best describe this as pride and sadness, Nubians were revered by both the colonial and regular people because of the role they undertook in the First World War. Our forefathers told stories of engaging in golf sport with the mzungus (people of European descent) here in Woodley. The whites were regular clients of our infamous Nubian gin. We were the only blacks allowed in hotels and clubs all over Nairobi. Our forefathers left us under the protection of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta (the first President of Kenya) who did everything in his power to make sure we were looked down upon, despite us playing a major role in the struggle for Kenya's independence including hosting him for weeks during the emergency period. Our rights as Kenyans have been ignored and the shamba (farm) pass that was supposed to secure the land handed over (Kibra) as compensation for having participated in the war dismissed after Kenya attained independence. We are now stateless in our own country.'

A statement by Mr. Bashir Hussein, a local Sports Administrator and a great grandson of Suleiman Ajack a KAR soldier.

Interviewee Two:

'The statues invoke in me a feeling of sadness. The British government should have taken us back where they found us. I hear our grandfathers asked to be taken back to Kismayu but the administration would hear none of that. I would want the Commission on War Graves to help us understand our origin and the roles our forefathers played in the army so that we are recognised by something else other than being foreigners in our own country. They know exactly where each of our forefathers were picked from.'

A statement from Mr. Rehan Said, a retired Muslim Cleric and a grandson of Rehan Said, a KAR soldier (Rank: Signaler)

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEWS (KENYA)

Interviewee Three:

'I am not happy with the Kenya government, because there has been no effort made towards recognizing Nubians as Kenyans, I get nostalgic every other time I go near the War Memorial statues. These people did not have much saying with regard to being enlisted as well as where they ended up after war. They were basically slaves of the Egyptians and later on became slaves of the British government and now we are slaves of the Kenya government. I am asking who will fight for us?'

A Statement from Mr. Saleh Abdikadir a retired Carpenter, and grandson to Saad Said a KAR soldier (Rank: Coplo/ corporal)

Interviewee Four:

'We speculate that one of the people who are engraved as statues in the war memorial is a Nubian. I have photo evidence of the same and we have also done our own research. There is need for recognition of these brave soldiers in a museum space so that even my grandchildren will be able to feel pride when the names of the Nubian unsung heroes are mentioned. There is a museum in Taveta called Salt leak that depicts World War I stories and Nubian soldiers' stories is told here only. I think it is biased, skewed to fit into a narrative that presents Africans as servants. Whenever I see the statues at Kenyatta Avenue, I mostly feel helpless, since the war that our people fought was not theirs to be involved yet they were courageous enough giving it their all.'

A Statement from Mr. Abeyd Anyanzwa, Lobbyist whose grandmother and grandfather fought in the World War I. He also said that his grandfather Abed Kafe was the first Nubian Head Teacher after the Kibera school was opened to the public in 1958.

Interviewee Five:

'The statues invoke in me mixed feelings, mostly pride mixed with anger. Nubians are part of a legacy because of their contribution in the war. Only we got a raw deal. We were forcefully decommissioned to Kenya and even after that we formed the first Kenya Army yet today, we will be lucky if even one son of a Nubian is enlisted. We have been intentionally excluded from Kenya matters. We would like the Commission in charge of war graves to help us come up with a data base of Nubians who fought in the war. Help us document their origin and why they were chosen over many other groups and their culture. We would also love to have more monuments depicting Nubian roles as soldiers in the world war, one complete with names and ranks. We should probably install them here in Kibra'

A Statement from Mr. Ibrahim Yunis, a key informant / interviewee, who is also a great grandson to Sheikh Ibrahim Rizik, a KAR soldier (Rank: Major and a Muslim army cleric)

Interviewee Six:

'My father was not only a Forest Officer in charge of Freedom Corner in Nairobi, but he had worked as an askari in many places. At Kodiaga Prison, at PWD, at Limuru Bata Shoe Company, and Muthaiga Golf Club (before becoming a Forest Officer, where he retired). My father and his father, my grandfather both served in the World War in Burma. They were assembled first at Bulakam, near present-day Kenyatta National Hospital before being taken away to the war.'

It was the Nubi, the Kamba and Kalenjin who served largely as askaris during the colonial period. They must have been the three individuals represented in the Askari Monument erected by the British after the First World War. Male members of these three communities served during the War in Somalia, Tanganyika, Uganda and Burma. The Nubi also served as guards for the Indians who were building the Uganda Railway and Swahili traders. Other Africans served as carriers (watu wa kubeba misigo) and were closely connected to Kariokor'.

A Statement from Mr. Mohamed Tubi a Health Officer whose father and grandfather served in the KAR

Interviewee Seven:

'In Kibera the Nubi had villages and farms but their land has been reducing owing to increased influx from upcountry individuals from various other Kenyan communities.'

The Nubians are very closely connected to the war memorials in Langata, and on Kenyatta Avenue. Each year in November, the elders visit the memorials to commemorate their fathers and forefathers whose lives were claimed by the war. While they remained wary of their dwindling land fortunes, they are glad that the government recently granted citizenship as a recognised Kenyan community. While a large majority of the Nubian live in Kibera, many other members of the community are resident in Mazeras, Kibigori, Kisumu, Kisii. Eldama Ravine and Meru where they largely engage in business'.

A Statement from Mr. Mohamed Saad, a Kibera elder.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEWS (KENYA)

B.3 Other Interviews: NMK and Nairobi County Staff

The research team had useful reflections from the National Museums of Kenya staff and the staff of the County government of Nairobi, both institutions are in one way or the other responsible for the management of monuments. The two staff from NMK interviewed were Hoseah Wanderi and Josephine Gitu from the Department of Antiquities, Sites and Monuments staff who informed team about the gazettement and recent conservation activities undertaken to safeguard the monument. Wanderi said that the Askari monuments on Kenyatta Avenue were gazetted in 2001 for the national importance. He added that the NMK and the County Government of Nairobi collaborate in the conservation of the World War monuments. The NMK gives technical advice while the County Government carries out the administrative roles (providing labour and the related logistics). In 2016, for instance, Wanderi noted the large umbrella tree was affecting the monument and reported this to the County Government which took action by cutting the branches of the tree.

The team interviewed three staff members at the County Government of Nairobi namely Susan Mukuhi, the Deputy Director of Tourism, Cecilia Patrick, the Principal Tourism Officer and John Mulima, the Senior Tourism Officer. Mr. Mulima was not sure when the War Memorial Monuments on Kenyatta Avenue were erected. He was however aware that the monuments were established to celebrate the warriors/soldiers who died in the First and Second World Wars. According to him the Kenyan warriors had different roles, including those who carried supplies (Carriers) and those who engaged in combat (the Kenya Rifles). Mr. Mulima felt that the most important lesson that could be derived from the war was firstly the discovery that the white man could die just like the African and secondly the agitation for freedom that followed. The research team were informed that the County Government takes care of certain

monuments in the city and that its Tourism Department is currently developing a tourism product within the Nairobi City Circuit in collaboration with the national Museums of Kenya encourage a rise in visitor numbers to the city attractions including the World War I monuments. The County has also embarked on training of tour guides to support this circuit.

B.4 Interviews on the Kenyan Coast concerning the Mombasa African Memorial

Reactions from various members of the public on the construction of the War memorial to honour the African unnamed soldiers and Carrier Corps were varied and as follows:

There is a sense of bias on the gender representation of the soldiers and Carrier Corps. Women are not represented in the statues, yet they took part in the World War. Women should have been honoured as well. *(Interview with Sarah Salama, a 54-year-old Mijikenda woman and County Commissioner's Secretary, Kwale County. She was passing by the site on her way to Kwale.)*

Ramadhan Kaingu, an 81 old man from Rabai and a former security officer with Concorde Ltd, associates the Monument with bad memories about the First and Second World Wars. *'Most local Africans were captured and forcefully made to join a war that subjected them to harsh climatic conditions while carrying heavy loads of war material in a war that was not even theirs. Those who lost their lives were not compensated'* he stated. He went further to say that there was a Band called the *watu wa scotie* band, who were Africans. They portrayed themselves as Europeans when doing their parades and performances. Their songs were in praise of the British colonial government. According to him this reinforced the belief that this memorial site is for the Europeans and not for the Africans.

Elly Tsaka from Mazeras, who is a former Navy Officer, met at the Matatu stage had information that Africans were buried in mass graves. This information still disturbs many families who had to fake burials to appease the spirits of their loved ones. After receiving communication from the spirit of the fallen soldiers or Carrier Corps, through dreams, the aggrieved families were made to simulate burials of their loved ones and perform burial rituals as a way of appeasing the dead and to keep the memories alive. This was achieved by burying a pestle or a banana stem in a grave.

There is also the perception that African rifle corps were Zulu originating from South African. According to Elly Tsaka this was demonstrated by the dancing parade and performances that honoured them as good fighters at Mwembe Tayari open market.

Another perception from Mzee Ali Juma, a Namibian from Mazeras, and a long-time driver and Inspector with Kenya Bus Services in Mombasa, now retired, was that the monument was constructed by and for Europeans to celebrate winning their war against the Germans. It was a sign to also demonstrate they won the land, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda against the Germans, which was not theirs, and from this they had the right to use and control it.

In terms of challenges, there were also different views expressed including the fact that the site lacks adequate information. There is inadequate information on the interpretation panel to appreciate the history of the World War. For example, there is no indication of where the war did actually take place? Another element was whether there is any relationship with Mama Ngina military landscape where bunkers, pillboxes are clearly evident. Also, its relation to the remains of military ware at Jasini near Vanga at the border of Kenya and Tanzania. Among the suggestions made were by among others Mr. Taibali, the Chairman of Friends of Fort Jesus who suggested that a World War information centre

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEWS (KENYA)

should be built in Mombasa preferably at the Mama Ngina Waterfront Public Park (*Taibali Hamzali and the Researcher's personal observation*).

The site lacks vital introductory information and directional signage. The public seem to mistake the site to be of military purpose and therefore do not regard it to be for the general public (*according to Willian Tsaka, Curator Jumba and the researcher's Personal observation*)

In an interview with Mohamed Gulani, a 70-year-old man interviewed at Mazera and formally with Mombasa Municipal Council, he stated that Africans should have been honoured, remembered for their act of heroism, sacrifice and lives that were cut short for participating in the two World Wars.

In an interview with two people at Mwembe Tayari they stated that many local African families where children had been captured became depressed from uncertainty of their well-being, not knowing whether they will return back alive or not. Questions lingered into people's minds as to who would be the next victim to be captured to join the army. Many families lost hope for losing their daily bread winners. A whole village could converge and weep as they lamented the capture of their own child, as many were uncertain of what could happen to them, as corps. Interestingly, though with a lot of pain, they referred the service to the army as "Kazi ya Lazima", no one could ever object joining the army if identified (*interviews with Ramadhan Kaingu and Mzee Ali Juma, sitting at Mwembe Tayari matatu stage, talking about a narrative passed on to them, that one member of their family was captured to join the first World War*).

Said Charo Kadenge – a resident of Roka, Kilifi and working in Mombasa as Mason stated in an interview that 'Africans served the army in many roles. They served in artillery, Carrier and scouting corps. Devastating combats took place in places lesser known to them and suffered heavy casualties. Many of them who were admitted to hospitals with injuries, diseases and, in some occasions, hunger, sadly never recovered or came out of hospitals paralysed. Many women were widowed'

Eric Kalume Daniel, a young man met by the researcher at the site had been told to look for a button to press if he needed more information about the site. According to him, 'the statues are not for local Africans; and if they were, obviously local communities could organize rituals or anniversaries (sadaka) there to remember their loved ones and celebrate the victory. People like me are less concerned with the monument. There is a lot of misinformation and conception about the statues. Some believe there is a button to press and listen to the war story from the statue's themselves'. To correct this unfortunate experience, the Gardener or any other employee on site should always be available to give information briefs about the Memorial site to visitors who have interest in history.

B.5 General Observation

Each figure on the monument was sculpted and mounted as a representative of a Unit in the regiment and not based on race or ethnic group. Many people claim the carrier corps representative is a Mijikenda but this cannot be established as no relevant information as to its identity is provided. Diverse African men from South Africa, West Africa and now East Africa comprised the group. Further, it is difficult to justify if the without the shoes representing the Carrier Corps was a Kenyan called Kapombe wa Kigongo as per the belief by the Mijikenda people. Kigongo, in Kigirima, is the stick the statue of the carrier corps is holding. The name may have been derived from the stick and the personality of a Mijikenda developed around the figure.

However, for Rashid Mohamed, a 72-year-old resident of Mwembe Tayari whom the researcher met when walking away from the Memorial site, 'the monument was erected by the British to appreciate the engagement of African soldiers in the war. It's a big honour to the African men who participated in the war' he stated.

APPENDIX C

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS (TANZANIA)

The research has consulted the public (stakeholders) to gain an understanding of people's knowledge about memorial today. The people's views were collected through a set of designed questionnaires. The main objective of the interview was to gain public understanding of the memorial value/significance, challenges and suggestions/opinions. The perceived local knowledge, understanding and views of the Askari monument memorial are incorporated below in bullet points/format.



Figure 19: Closer photograph of the Askari monument site with the missing panel written in Kiswahili and Arabic

List of Interviewees

- President of Architectural Association of Tanzania (AAT), Archt. Mike Tchawe
- Mkuki na Nyota publishing house in Tanzania and TPH bookshop creative Director in Dar es Salaam – Mr. Mkuki Bgoya
- Dar es Salaam City council –Tourism officer (Joshua Mhogoro), Forest Officer (Matilda Mbega)
- Dar es Salaam Centre for Architectural Heritage (DARCH) – (Bernard Ntahondi)
- Tanzania art space and galleries – Karibu Art gallery owner (Mr. Uiso)
- Dar es Salaam City Tour guides –Mr Vumbi Kibwana Alliy, Antony Augustino and Justin Mbena
- Tourist operators companies in Dar es Salaam– Mejah Fred Mbuya (Director of AFRIROOTS Company)
- Tanzania People Defense Force (TPDF) Military Officer
- Commonwealth War Graves Commission –Dar es Salaam office (Mr. Stanley I. Ngobei)
- National Museum of Tanzania– Simon Odunga (Principal Curator) and Rachel Kisusi (Senior Antiquity Officer), Justin Nkungwe (Assistant Curator),
- African Liberation Heritage Centre – Pascal Joachim (Cultural Officer), Nyangi Range museum curator
- Institute of Finance Management (IFM) –Assumpta Karia, Vicent Kimaro and John Kombe
- College of Business Education (CBE) students – Munisi Njovu, Francis Mollel and Juliet Meckie
- University of Dar es Salaam (ICT Postgraduate)– Mariam Gichan and Assistant Lecturer– History Department (Alma Simba)
- Dar es Salaam Cultural Tourism Enterprise–Mr. Prince/Thobias Mugisha
- Independent city tour guides and cultural officers– Miss Tetura Okama
- Co-Director of Dar es Salaam city festival and independent photographer– Mr. Andrew Munuo
- General public (passers and runners of small business) at the Askari monument– Mzee Singa Mohamed, Ally Hassan, Miriam Mushi, Fredy Temba, Mwajuma Kilongoro, Benjamin Kimaro.
- Interview with Mr. Othman Suleiman Kusaga– Gardener at Askari Monument
- Interview with Mr. Kunambi Ally former employee of Green Waste Pro Company and currently the General Director of WEJISA waste collecting company in Ilala municipality.
- Interview with Mr. Michael Page, Mr. Henerico and Mr. Soud Barakat from the British High Commission Dar es Salaam.
- Mr. Ngaira Mandara (memorial artworks #streetofdar artist) was informed of the research project.

APPENDIX C: SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS (TANZANIA)

B.1 Values and significance of the Askari monument

- 1 Re-orientation of the city and offering directions at personal level (pin drop for Dar es Salaam city), more recognised as a city landmark (or iconic monument)
- 2 The monument orientation towards the sea symbolizes the connection between African soldiers (Askaris) and the naval aspect of the war efforts, also signifies continuous protection of Dar es Salaam peaceful harbor. As a symbol of the city the monument has appeared in multiple art works customised designs i.e. T-shirts, mugs, augmented reality (AR) videos.
- 3 Historical values

Quote from Antony Augustino....

"symbol for our forefathers courage, sacrifice and contributions to world war history, tangible reminder of the complex history and the role that African soldiers played in global conflicts, it serves as a tribute to those who served and lost lives , fostering a sense of remembrance and appreciation for their contributions, the monument is a connection to the past, a symbol of resilience and representation of the shared history between different nations during times of war"[...]

Quote from Justin Mbeni:

"The monument reminds us of our forefathers who actively participated and perished during the First World war, supporting the British cause mainly driven by the assurance of better treatment from British as colonial rulers, the monument represents the resilience and courage in their enduring struggle" [...]

- 4 Askari monument is a symbol of colonial struggle to the people of Tanganyika (Tanzania). It appears as an African monument from colonial times making it to survive removal after Tanzania independence. The monument shows the history of Dar es Salaam and is historically linked with Dar es Salaam harbor (peaceful harbor), thereby is part of colonial evidence and the WWI history in Tanganyika.
- 5 The Askari monument is a centre for Tanzania history when it comes to re-writing African history during colonial period. The monument evokes some emotions connected to identity and service which one cannot determine whether it was willing service or forced labor in military service. However, some of veterans are looking up to the monument with the sense of pride and war remembrance and sometimes connecting to lost relatives hence creating sorrow for family. The monument historical context creates a link between the past and present generation, serving as tangible evidence thereby fostering understanding of historical global dynamics of WWI events and Africans' contributions.
- 6 Inspirations for street culture and Artworks custom designed products i.e. T-shirts, mugs, films or short documentaries.
- 7 The monument is connected to liberation movement in Tanzania (i.e. after the first world war some of Africans veterans were motivated to join the freedom movements i.e. some WWI veterans were early members for workers association (TAA) which was later transformed to political party (TANU) and after Tanganyika independence and union with Zanzibar, TANU was transformed to CCM, the currently ruling party in Tanzania hence making the Askari to be connected with independence of Tanganyika (now Tanzania mainland).
- 8 Representation of Africans (there's no monument of colonial times in Tanzania that was erected to represent African races, the Askari monument serves as one of its kind and historical monuments.
- 9 Aesthetic value: the monument has aesthetic values which attract the public appreciation and international tourists visits to the site, for the purpose of learning about the Tanzania history (See https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g293748-d12147241-Reviews-Askari_Monument-Dar_es_Salaam_Dar_Es_Salaam_Region.html). Also, the details of the monument i.e. artworks and accompanied detail have aesthetic significance attracting on some occasions people with mental disabilities to pay their visit to the site and appreciate the artworks, by standing and looking at it for a long time or spending time at the monument during sunset. The interesting aesthetic value of the monument was on marriage proposal (engagement) that occurred at the memorial site in December 2023.
- 10 The monument has become a city landmark as compared to Dar es Salaam city icon symbol (nembo ya jiji), people are less aware of Dar es Salaam city icon (nembo ya jiji). The Askari monument features in publications as a historic landmark for recognition of the city.
- 11 Askari monument is part of tourist attraction and also the garden at the memorial site beautifies the city.
- 12 Economic value i.e. tour guides are charged by the Dar es Salaam city council for the guiding permits to visit the tourist sites including accessing the Askari monument site and other historical sites in the city. The monument site could only be accessed for tourism purposes once the guides have paid permits. The money is used to maintain the garden and employ contractual labourers for taking care of the garden.

APPENDIX C: SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS (TANZANIA)

- 13 The monument is still part of Armistice commemorations among the British and Germany high commissions, each of 11th November annually, wreaths are laid to the Askari monument and invited European/African military and public pay respect to fallen African soldiers and followers at the WWI 1914/1918 cemeteries and the Askari monument site.
- 14 The Askari monument is considered as a national historical site by private sector companies i.e. Green Waste Pro company initiated and funded renovation of the site out of historical significance to the nation. The invited guests to Askari monument garden opening were leaders of ruling party (CCM) formerly known as TANU, leaders of Uhuru torch race, Dar es Salaam regional and municipal leaders and public.
- 15 Askari monument acts as a model for establishing similar monuments following the Uganda -Tanzania war in 1978 for patriotic reasons. For instance, in regions such as Kilimanjaro, Ruvuma, Bukoba, Mtwara etc.
- 16 Askari monument is regarded as a sacred place during Remembrance Day on 11th November as it's an integral part of commemorations and hosts military parade (last posts).



Figure 20: Opening of the renovated Askari Monument Garden by the Ilala District Commissioner Sophia Mjema. May 26, 2017. (Source Green Waste Pro Website <https://www.greenwastepro.co.tz>)

B.2 Challenges

- 1 Vandalism incident occurred in 2023 as the monument panel of Swahili and Arabic inscription was stolen.
- 2 No free access to the monument due to security reasons (at the moment the site is a restricted area).
- 3 Lack of parking area) for tourists and locals visiting the site with cars.
- 4 The monument site is at the center of multiple roads junction making its access dangerous from roadside.
- 5 Lack of funding for maintenance and protection of the monument.
- 6 Sometimes there's restrictions from the City council on tour guides, but the public believe that the Askari monument is a public open space.
- 7 No resting area (benches) and no shades from sun for visitors accessing the site and reading the panels at midday.
- 8 No organized education programs to schools and public about the monument.
- 9 Lack of monument awareness resulting in lack of collective responsibility of community to protect and respect the monument.
- 10 Preservation issues the monument is exposed to environmental challenges i.e. climate change, pollution, sun, touching from people, unwelcomed painting of the monument by unprofessional people (or people without the knowledge of the monument).

APPENDIX C: SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS (TANZANIA)

- 11 People are not aware of the monument value.
- 12 People are not aware of other monuments connected to Askari monument i.e. cenotaph, WWI garden, roll of honor wall etc.
- 13 People are not aware of the responsible institution managing the monument i.e. on the occasion of occurred incident of vandalism the police were seeking for responsible institution.
- 14 Some elders at the city center still call the monument as mnara wa bissman (Wissman monument), connecting the Askari monument with Wissman monument which had another askari, this signifies lack of proper information and knowledge about the monument history.
- 15 Dar es Salaam City council is undertaking protection and security of the memorial site while the maintenance of the monument is done by the British High Commission/British Council.
- 16 There is a wrong belief connected to vandalism act that a stolen panel was taken out for political and religious reasons i.e. Islamic people were connected to the removal of the monument panels with Arabic and Kiswahili, during investigations some people mentioned the Islamic people might have been against what is written on the monument panels (as some of them are saying the Quran (Arabic letters) were written on the panel).
- 17 Lack of sustainable maintenance costs for the memorial garden i.e. water bills, labors, purchasing plants species, security, etc.
- 18 The monument site has no lights and it's dark during the night, which makes it easier for people to temper with monument panels or garden.
- 19 No clear direct supervision of the monument under Dar es Salaam City Council, for instance, the Askari monument garden is maintained by the Forest Officer under City Council offices while all matters related to monument history and tourism are under the city Tourism Officer and the security or monument guides are regulated under the Legal Officer Unit.
- 20 There is no institution responding to critical comments from some visitors' comments on the monument panels i.e. Some visitors are asking for the change of the wording on the monument panels since majority of Africans were forced to go to war and there's evidence for that, hence the monument should balance such stories to avoid bias and generalisation of the history. Others are calling for Afrocentric views over the Eurocentric historical narratives that have been displayed for nearly 100 years.
- 21 No clarity about the memorial management, it appeared the British High Commission/British Council makes decisions about monument maintenance and the involvement of Tanzania institution is limited. The Tanzania institution was mentioned to be consulted only when there's a European delegation visiting the monument, the Dar es Salaam City Council will then be informed to clear or clean the site. Most of British delegations visiting the monument are military officers or veterans). Sometimes TPDF is informed during such visits.
- 22 Some of the people think the Askari monument belongs to Tanzania People's Defense Force (TPDF).
- 23 Lack of awareness of what is happening at the monument and sometimes there is no coordination or unity among actors connected to the protection and maintenance of the Askari monument.
- 24 Lack of awareness of the WWI (1914-1918) history and associated historical sites in Dar es Salaam and Tanzania.
- 25 Some tour guides are complaining about paying the fee to access the Askari monument, others mention about paying the fee twice i.e. annual guiding fee and regular fees , while others are not aware of the tour guiding fee imposed by the Dar es Salaam City Council, and some are against the fee to open public spaces i.e. Askari monument site.
- 26 Some tour guides reported the self-guided tourists are sometimes restricted from taking photographs of the monument.
- 27 There is no regulation of how the Askari monument site could be accessed as open space (at the moment the access is problematic as it opens a corruption window).
- 28 Bureaucracy (at Dar es Salaam City Council) particularly for tour guides and tour operators looking for access to the site i.e. sometimes tour guides are directed to write letters to access the Askari monument site.
- 29 The monument appeared abandoned prior to renovation of the Askari monument garden by Green Waste Pro company. The renovation project of the garden intended to protect the monument and surrounding environment as well adding to city beautification.

APPENDIX C: SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS (TANZANIA)

- 30 The WWI (1914-18) veterans are rarely found and the British High Commission of Tanzania is aware of registered WWII veterans living out of Dar es Salaam city i.e. in Mwanza, Lindi and Mtwara. However, accessing them requires formalities and sometimes contacting the Tanzania People's Defense Force (TPDF).
- 31 The veterans' contribution to World Wars has been forgotten and there are no incentives to support them as it was in the past as compared to other veterans in Europe who are still paid by the British Government.
- 32 The Askari monument reminds veterans and families about traumatic World Wars memories.
- 33 Lacking WWI experiences, objects and detailed information's in the National Museum of Tanzania permanent exhibition about Tanzania history.
- 34 Existence of disconnection of national commemorations with World Wars commemorations. For instance, the World Wars commemorations (Remembrance Day on 11th November) are hosted by British High Commission and sometimes partnering with Germany Embassy in Dar es Salaam or Indian High Commission. On other hand national commemorations i.e., Uhuru happens in December and 'Mashujaa day' in July and all are hosted by the Government.
- 35 Lack of connection between the Askari monument and world wars cemeteries which are all cared by CWGC and are part of world wars Remembrance Day
- 36 The Askari monument was isolated several years in the past during Remembrance Day, where the focus was to cemeteries. Until four years ago BHC re-introduced the commemorations at the Askari memorial.

B.3 Suggestions

- 1 To raise awareness of the public about the monument value and significance to ensure sustainable monument protection and security by public themselves.
- 2 Connection of the monument with other historical monument at the city centre thereby forming a clear concise WWI (1914-1918) history and associated historical sites.
- 3 To document all of the WWI (1914/1918) sites in digital format and allow virtual access to widen accessibility and reduce bureaucracy to access.
- 4 To re-write the history by adding another panels with historical information's fitting in postcolonial discourse (balanced stories i.e. editing the existing mockery language (*African askaris and followers were feet's, fighting for their King etc.*), adding or balancing the issue of gender for instance the women are not mentioned despite their role during the war and adding historical facts i.e. mentioning the aspect of forced labor in military services during colonial times) and raise awareness about the general knowledge of the monument site.
- 5 To make the site more visible and accessible for self-guided tours or tourists wishing to access the site.
- 6 Due to critical suggestion to remove the monument and replace it with liberation leaders or fighters. The monument should not be removed since it forms part of the national history and already is found as a historic landmark for city identification.
- 7 Monument protection (fencing the monument and reworking the garden by planting flowers that do not block the monument).
- 8 General public awareness campaign i.e. educating the people on importance of the monument, how to interact with monument, law enforcement, sensitising about preservation and protection of the monument.
- 9 Opening the monument site to be accessible to the public, i.e. at the moment the site is inaccessible after vandalism incident, the city council should partner with the police to re-open and create access to the monument site.
- 10 The City Council should be informed of other WWI (1914/1918) monuments in the city i.e. cemeteries under CWGC which are freely accessible to the public.
- 11 Attracting youths to research and understand about the monument i.e. hosting prizes competitions (i.e. essays, poetry, artworks) about the Askari monument.
- 12 Starting the awareness campaign in schools (having the young ambassador for the monument).
- 13 Hosting small pop-up events at the monument site to raise awareness and normalise access to the monument (distributing fliers, and monument information's during pop up events and allow dialogues.
- 14 Hosting stakeholders' meetings that unite all stakeholders from Public and Private institutions.

APPENDIX C: SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS (TANZANIA)

- 15 Organize and host the Radio programs and short documentary films for awareness and education.

For instance, there's personal initiatives about Askari monument historical information's in YouTube channels:

- o i.e. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=adifYhxZggc>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mtuqzzKQ2Lc>
- o <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EYdy2N6hiMU>
- o <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G3Dlw4OSE7c>

- 16 The stakeholders' meetings should come up with a strategy of general community engagement aimed at making the monument history widely known to people.

- 17 Publication of a diverse book format about the Askari monument-for awareness to people of all ages i.e. cartoon books, comic books, research paper/books etc. (any preferred format).

- 18 Funding for Askari monument documentary and exhibition.

- 19 Developing information center for askari and other historical sites, signage to the site, brochures, website, social media, tours to the site, events and workshops

- 20 Funding a researched digital trail tours of WWI (1914-1918) memorial sites i.e. African cemeteries in all regions and Askari monument.

- 21 The British High Commission (BHC) is funding the research of collecting oral histories for World wars from veterans, the CWGC should further consult BHC and the University of Dar es Salaam regarding the research findings records (oral histories) and developed connection to the Askari memorial.

- 22 The CWGC should contact the British council regarding WWI records and interviews shared on the reported podcast (source <https://allafrica.com/stories/201503170377.html>).

B.4 Dar es Salaam African memorial priorities

- 1 The CWGC should organise workshops with key stakeholders to share the report and discuss future possibilities about memorial care.

- 2 The CWGC should collaborate with local institutions to discuss and clarify matters of management and care of the Askari memorial and cenotaph, addressing issues of ownership and access to the memorial, local responsibilities vs CWGC position and responsibilities.

- 3 The CWGC should consider opening of the office and operations in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)

- 4 The CWGC should consider adding new employment opportunities to experts in Tanzania to work under their office in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) to liaise with government, private companies, public and other stakeholders on matters related to care and protection of the WWI and WWII memorials and cemeteries.

- 5 The CWGC should partner with local institutions to raise awareness among the public about the monument's value and significance.

- 6 The CWGC should consider extending the care to the Cenotaph since it was also built by the British colonial government in Tanganyika following the Askari monument. The Cenotaph was mentioned to serve as the memorial to the missing (to all races).

- 7 To document all of the WWI (1914/1918) sites in digital format and allow virtual access thereby widening accessibility and reducing bureaucracy to access.

- 8 Adding information to the site (statue) and rewriting the WWI (1914-1918) history of Africans contribution displayed on the memorial plaques.

- 9 Sensitisation campaigns i.e. using artworks, publications, youths' competitions etc.

- 10 Opening the monument site to be accessible to the public (renovation of the garden).

- 11 Start new communication and improving existing communication between the CWGC and local stakeholders.

- 12 Public dialogues and programs about the Askari monument.

- 13 Partnership between the CWGC, Private and Public sector in monument protection and preservation.

- 14 Organise and host the Radio programs, short documentaries or films for awareness and education.

- 15 Funding of a co-curated Askari monument mobile exhibition.

APPENDIX C: SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS (TANZANIA)

- 16 Developing information center for WWI (1914–1918) memorial sites in Tanzania i.e. cemeteries, cenotaph and Askari memorial.
- 17 The CWGC should collaborate with local partners, contacts and institutions and associations.
- 18 The CWGC should partner with the National Museum in sharing the available researched information and objects about the World Wars to the permanent exhibition currently missing i.e. importance and relevance of Askari memorial to the national history.
- 19 The CWGC should establish sustainable partnership with City Council, Ilala Municipal and Regional Offices in caring of the monument.

