

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

9

**‘Heritage, Letters, and Public History: Dorothea Fairbridge
and Loyal Unionist Cultural Initiatives in South Africa,
circa 1890-1930’**

Peter James Merrington, MA

**Thesis Presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of English,
University of Cape Town,
August 2002**

**The financial assistance of the South African National Research Forum is
gratefully acknowledged.**

Abstract

The study of the life and work of the 'nation building' author Dorothea Fairbridge is framed by the concept of the inventing of heritage for the Union of South Africa, circa 1910. The thesis begins with a historicizing of the concept of heritage, which is shown to have enjoyed a complex and wide range of social and cultural implications during the period roughly 1880 to 1930. This heritage paradigm or heritage discourse is reflected in the narrative dynamics of the contemporary novel, and samples including Fairbridge's fiction are discussed. The heritage paradigm is then applied in a survey of the Fairbridge family and its contribution to public culture. This paradigm is turned to the idea of the inventing of heritage for the Union, with a study of the rise of a 'Cape vernacular' architectural style and related topics, at the time of Union. The 'Van der Stel controversy' of 1909 plays a central role in Fairbridge's literary and historical work. The place of Van der Stel's farm, Vergelegen, as a cultural centre at the time of Union, is discussed, along with Fairbridge's classic studies of old Cape architecture and history. The exportation of the Cape vernacular building style as a national architectural idiom for South Africa at large is explored in a case study of the Tongaat-Hulett sugar estate in KwaZulu-Natal. The role of genteel anglophone Englishwomen in defining Cape identity at the time of Union is explored, and Fairbridge's Guild of Loyal Women is shown to have been the origins of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Questions of archivism, memory, history and memorialism are linked. The significance for literary production, of British immigration schemes, is discussed. The idea of national identity is then pursued in terms of the period genre of the 'new pageantry' where national and ethnic identity are performed. This is compared with mural painting in public buildings, and a case study is made of the 1908 Quebec Tercentenary pageant and the 1910 South African Union pageant. The study of Fairbridge and her milieu closes with a reconstruction of the cultural matrix with which the 'Cape-to-Cairo' idea was sustained for three decades, including an examination of the concept of the Cape as 'Mediterranean'. Thus, Fairbridge's contribution to South African public culture and identity is traced through her thirteen books and in the context of heritage, Africana, archives, colonial book production, architecture, gendered interests and activities, public performances, cultural geography and travel writing.

Contents

Introduction and acknowledgements	1
1. Heritage	8
2. Fairbridge Legacies	37
3. Cape Vernacular	61
4. Nothing New Under the Sun	90
5. From Vergelegen to Tongaat	120
6. Home and Garden: the Gentlewoman's Colony	142
7. Public History and the Elizabethan Revival	173
8. The Cape Town and Quebec Pageants	196
9. Cape-to-Cairo: A Staggered Orientalism	222
10. The Pilgrim's Way	252
Conclusion	280
Appendix I 'From the Cape to Cairo'	283
Appendix II 'Dorothea Fairbridge' (obituary)	284
Bibliography	287

'Heritage, Letters, and Public History: Dorothea Fairbridge and Loyal Unionist Cultural Initiatives in South Africa, circa 1890-1930'

Introduction

This thesis is a study of the life and work of a long-forgotten Cape writer, Dorothea Fairbridge, in the context of what was known, in the early twentieth century, as Loyal Unionist politics and culture. She was a member of an elite Cape Town family, with connections to all influential Cape Victorian cultural circles and to leading figures in the establishment of South African Union in 1910. Notable among her Unionist circles were Cecil Rhodes and Viscount Milner, as well as members of Milner's 'kindergarten' of Oxford-educated young administrators, founders of the modern concept of the Commonwealth. She belonged to some particularly active cultural coteries that enjoyed the patronage of people such as Florence Phillips, wife of the Randlord Sir Lionel Phillips. She worked with the empire architect Sir Herbert Baker and his colleagues, with archivists, historians, antiquarians, journalists and artists. Fairbridge published thirteen books on South Africa, between 1910 and her death in 1931, including novels and documentary studies of aspects of Cape and South African culture. She was described by Thelma Gutsche (1966) as a 'nation builder', and the aim of the thesis is to explore the implications of this epithet.

Fairbridge's reputation did not last beyond the early 1960s, with the vast shifts in world culture, fashion, and politics brought about in the long global aftermath of World War II. Her writing is dated, and squarely Edwardian. Her view of society is elitist and genteel, her politics conservative. However, the range of material in her work is considerable and it refracts a remarkably rich variety of activities undertaken by her circles. These activities are termed, in this thesis, the 'inventing of heritage' for the new polity of the Union of South Africa. Individuals are forgotten, their special pleading is no longer apt, but the substance of their work has persisted in many ways, overt or covert, which have contributed to a long-standing set of images and impressions, all of which remain embedded in the elusive set of meanings which we call 'South African-ness'. In particular, a detailed reconstruction of her work, its dominant tropes and emphases, and its context in the leading ideas and practices of the pro-imperial public sphere of her circles and her day, goes far to explain the peculiar contents of that old racial forum of assumed meaning, of tacit power, of occluded self-construction, which awkwardly is termed 'whiteness'.

The thesis uses for its method a threesome of concepts, at times literal in their application, at times variously figurative, which are drawn from period discourses and practices, and turned, through the argument, against themselves as a means of analysis. These three are the idea of heritage itself, the concept and practice of a period public performance genre known as the 'new pageantry', and the idea of the archive. The thesis argues that Fairbridge and her circles undertook the broad task of inventing a heritage for the new nation, that this was enacted in various ways, with a strong ethnographic slant, through the genre of 'new pageantry', and third, that the rise of *Africana* and antiquarianism, along with formal archive-keeping, evinced a need to construct a public memory.

Each of these three concepts engages with a sense of history, or historiography -- ways of canonizing and publicizing an appropriate history of the new nation, with appropriate senses of origins, and of end-causes. There is a close connection, in this study, between fiction, other forms of writing such as journalism and documentary writing, and history. It is argued that all these were far more closely bonded in the early twentieth century than is possible now; that the concepts of a public sphere, civil society, and civic values, were driven by historical-philosophical narratives with which the fictional and conventional narrative cause and effect in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century literature were readily oriented.

The main emphasis is on white Anglophile and pro-imperial culture and politics, but the thesis takes into account the comparative efforts by early Afrikaner nationalists in forging their alternative sense of public cultural identity and heritage, as well as the work of the few published black writers at the time, notably Sol T. Plaatje. Some of the key issues in public or civic discourses at the time of Union were strikingly similar to those which have been prominent in the years following South Africa's first fully democratic election in 1994, in particular the topics of reconstruction and reconciliation. The symbolism with which the concept of reconciliation was propagated is discussed at various points in this thesis. Further, while the field is predominantly conservative, this is set at times within the broader western cultural context of modernism. 1910, the year of South African Union, was for instance the year in which E.M. Forster published *Howard's End*, and when Roger Fry mounted the watershed Post-Impressionist exhibition in London.

Modernism, especially in the British sphere, was not a hermetically contained movement but responded in various ways to the more conservative perspectives and practices of early twentieth-century literature and culture. The Arts and Crafts Movement,

for instance, has been demonstrated to be one of the roots of English modernism in the field of fine arts (Tillyard, 1988); T.S. Eliot wrote his doctoral dissertation on the neo-Hegelian philosophy of F.H. Bradley, who was one of the influential tutors of a generation of colonial administrators educated at Oxford, including most of Milner's 'kindergarten'. Oxford neo-Hegelianism is a continuing theme in this thesis. The 'primitivism' which emanated from the colonial British experience in West Africa was a powerful influence on D.H. Lawrence, and the link between Lawrence and Jan Juta, one of Fairbridge's junior Cape Town contemporaries, is discussed. Virginia Woolf draws on the topics of heritage and pageantry in her fictional treatment of modern British culture. (Equally, of course, did popular conservative authors such as Rudyard Kipling, John Buchan, and Sir Arthur Quiller Couch.)

Thus, while Fairbridge herself is largely a product of Victorian colonialism, the thesis attempts to set her work and the broad project of the forging of a national heritage in the context of a generational shift between the old and the new. She writes, in her fiction, of the new trends; and while she and others such as the Cape impressionist painter Gwelo Goodman (who illustrated some of her books) and the architect Herbert Baker are at times scathing of modernism, it is argued that there needs to be a readiness to identify closer links and reciprocity in the decades of transition between 1900 and, roughly, 1930. The work of Joseph Conrad is a case in point, where from a conservative political standpoint he engages in radical narrative innovations and a critique of colonialism. *The Inheritors* (1901), the collaborative novel written by Conrad and Ford Madox Ford, is discussed in terms of its literary engagement with the period understanding of heritage.

The first focus in the thesis is on heritage, and in particular the historicizing of this concept. It is argued that 'heritage' enjoyed a particularly rich range of meanings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which in turn informed the task of forging a sense of public heritage for the new nation. For reasons which the primary material makes evident, the idea of heritage is also taken up as a means of approaching Dorothea Fairbridge's identity and her family background. There is an exemplary link between public and private concepts of heritage, genealogy, legacy, and bequest. This is followed by a discussion of the idea of 'Cape vernacular', related to the vernacular movement in England and its roots in the Arts and Crafts movement, and how a 'Cape vernacular' came to be seen as a broadly South African set of images and concerns. Linked to this is a chapter, 'The Gentlewoman's Colony', on the preoccupations of genteel colonial women, and how Fairbridge contributes to this, particularly through the agency of the Guild of Loyal Women which she began, in support of Milner's war effort from 1899 to 1902. The

topics of Africana, the archive, and the role of architecture in providing a kind of symbolic or monumental archive, are discussed in these chapters. Two chapters then address the topic of the 'new pageantry' and its many variants and derivative applications, in literature and in fine art. The final two chapters deal with travel writing and the cultural matrix of the 'Cape to Cairo' idea, relating the Loyal Unionist imagination to an imagining of the entire continent, and exploring the grounds for the longstanding idea of the Cape as 'Mediterranean'. The discussion of Fairbridge's publications is organized thematically according to these topics rather than by strict chronological order. In any event most of her interests span the extent of her writing career, which is largely concentrated within a twenty-year period.

The core of this thesis is a literary biography of Dorothea Fairbridge, but the main emphasis is on her publications, her network of friends and colleagues, and the variety of practices, societies, magazines, records, and collections which constituted 'heritage' for the new nation circa 1910. She was reticent about her own life, and this is reconstructed largely through the memoirs and letters of others, such as Violet Maxse, who became Lady Edward Cecil and later the wife of Viscount Milner, Herbert Baker, John de Moleyns Johnson, her publisher at Oxford University Press and her literary executor, the Durban bibliophile Killie Campbell, and various others.

Literary biography is a mixed genre, which ranges from inchoate genealogies and anecdotal material, to current literary theory. A very great deal has been written over the past two decades concerning the constructed nature of society and culture, and the positionality of history-writing, taking a lead from post-structuralist literary theory and practice and strategically orienting this with post-colonial revisionism. The writerly gap between 'history' and 'fiction' has been closed in theory. This thesis stands on the shoulders of Hayden White, Benedict Anderson, Hobsbawm and Ranger, Edward Said, Robert Young, John Mackenzie, and all who have led this trend, either as theorists or as empirical scholars, in scrutinising the idea of history and allowing a new dialogue between literary studies, historical studies, popular culture, and public culture.

There is no space in the thesis for close theoretical engagement, but the material exemplifies these arguments. The primary intention is to reconstruct an ethos, and to indicate between the lines the ways in which Fairbridge as historian, novelist, and lobbyist engaged with varying kinds of material in her contribution to the shaping of a particular public history. There is a large amount of quotation for the reason that this ethos, and this public history, are discursively based and that the passage of time has rendered these discourses historical and even foreign. For the same reason the bibliography contains an

unusually large amount of titles from the first half of the twentieth century, which constitute – along with Fairbridge's own work – primary material. Styles of writing, frames of reference, choice of subjects, the rich Edwardian use of symbolic metaphor, the imitation of speech patterns, the attempt to recreate verbally a 'painterly' aesthetic for South Africa are not mere incidentals but the articulate mortar with which a cultural superstructure is built.

The huge shifts in the discursive features of this superstructure in South Africa over the century since Fairbridge's day, which can be noticed partly as a generational pattern linked to changing fashions, tastes, and styles of journalism and fine art, partly as political and ethnic trends in the public sphere, implicitly argue the grounds for a detailed reconstruction. There are many aspects of the social base from 1910 which remain embedded in South African life, but the discursive overlay is more than just ornament. It is a mind-set, an awareness, a consciousness which may not always be high or critical consciousness with the import, say, of Olive Schreiner, or Laurens van der Post, or Alan Paton, but which is, in its day, a contemporary understanding of the meaning of 'South Africa'. Some may be disappointed that this study does not reveal much in the way of diurnal detail but the grain is tested, to good purpose it is hoped, in terms of such constitutive discourses.

Acknowledgements

I owe a very special debt of gratitude to the South African cultural historian and author Phillida Brooke-Simons, Dorothea Fairbridge's grand-niece, as well as to Brooke-Simons's aunt Rona Currey of the Isle of Man, who married Fairbridge's nephew Admiral Harry Currey. Tracking Fairbridge's life, work and connections has been something similar to the temporal and geographical quest in Thomas Pynchon's *V*, taking me to many and varied places: St John's College, Cambridge, where I was given a year's visiting scholarship, thanks to Ray Jobling, Senior Tutor; to the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London (with the support of Liz Gunner), where I enjoyed an Oppenheimer Fellowship as well as a research grant from the South African National Research Foundation, and an Oppenheimer grant at Oxford University through the assistance of Professor William Beinart; as well as a fellowship at the American University in Cairo, hosted by Cy Reed and Carol King Reed. I am also immensely grateful to Professors Ivan Karp and Corey Kratz of the Center for the Study of Public Scholarship at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, for a Rockefeller Fellowship which

enabled me to track down material pertaining to Jan Juta and his work with D.H. Lawrence, at Princeton University archives and the archives of the Harry Ransom Humanities Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

I have a huge debt of gratitude to Karel Schoeman and Jacque Loos for their generous help in the South African National Library, Cape Town; to the ladies of the Victoria League, South Africa, as to the administrator of the Victoria League in London; to Maryna Fraser of the Barlow Limited Archives, Johannesburg and the librarians of the Harold Strange Africana Collection in the Johannesburg Public Library, and the Killie Campbell collection in Durban, as well as Louis Rood of the old Cape Town legal firm of Fairbridge Arderne and Lawton, and Anne Dean, the archivist of Tongaat Estate, Natal; my colleagues at the University of the Western Cape, in particular Professor Stan Ridge, Andrew Nash, and David Bunn for material contributions to this thesis, historians Les Witz, Ciraj Rassool, Andrew Bank, and Saul Dubow of Sussex, and colleagues and friends who in many ways greater or lesser have helped with suggestions, stimulation, support, and generous amounts of research leave over the past seven years. Among these I should mention in particular Marian Robertson. I have enjoyed the stimulating company of colleagues Peter Kohler and Lannie Birch on archival expeditions.

There are many other individuals and institutions who must be thanked: the owners of the Manor House, Sibford Gower, Oxfordshire (home of the empire pageant master Frank Lascelles); the keeper of the Modern Manuscripts Room at the Bodleian Library, Peter Foden the archivist of OUP at Walton Street, archivists and historians at the *Archive Nationale de Québec*, Vida Allen of the McGregor Museum, Kimberley; Paul Mills and Henrietta Dax of Clarke's Bookshop, Cape Town, and Rodney Constantine and George Curtis, antiquarian booksellers; the librarian of the Balliol College library and Terry Barringer of the Royal Commonwealth Society collection in the University Library, Cambridge; Covent Garden Theatre Library; the Thomas Cook archives, London; the staff of the Rhodes House library, and Sir Anthony Kenny, Warden of Rhodes House, Oxford; staff of South Africa House, London; Donal Lowry of the Oxford Brookes University; Richard Grove and Vinita Damodaran of Cambridge and Sussex for tremendous support and warm friendship. Thanks to the organisers of the annual Fairbridge Festival at Pinjarra, Western Australia, for digital recordings of this folk music event.

I have been able to test this material since 1994 at a stimulating variety of conferences from Bratislava in the Slovak Republic, to York, Oxford, New Brunswick in Canada, Germany, and in the form of public seminars in London, Cape Town, Stellenbosch, and at Emory University. Again, I am grateful to colleagues who have

accepted papers in their journals or in edited books on this work in progress, particularly Professor John Mackenzie, Leon de Kock, Loren Kruger, Gary Minckley, and Gail Fincham; Lesley Marx and Loes Nas of the Cape American Studies Association who published an article on the Cape Town and Quebec pageants which subsequently won the 2000 Pringle Prize of the English Association of Southern Africa. Temple Hauptfleisch of Stellenbosch University has given me much encouragement with regard to the 'new pageantry' as an aspect of theatre history, as has Professor Denis-Constant Martin of the *Centre d'Etudes et Recherches*, Paris.

My supervisors at the University of Cape Town, successively Professors Dorothy Driver, Martin Hall, and Andre Brink, have given valued support, and I must thank the SA Institute of Race Relations for a very helpful bursary over the past three years. Finally, once again, my special gratitude to the South African National Research Foundation for a scholarship as well as a prestige overseas doctoral bursary. Very special thanks to my brothers, mother, and late father Eric Merrington, for encouragement and latitude over the past few years.

Solvitur ambulando

Chapter One: Heritage

'It is permitted to no man to break with his past, with the past of his kind, and to throw away the treasure of his future.'

Joseph Conrad, *The Inheritors* (1901)

God has lent us the earth for our life. It is a great entail. It belongs as much to those who come after us, and whose names are already written in the book of creation, as to us; and we have no right by anything that we do or neglect, to involve them in unnecessary penalties, or deprive them of benefits which it was in our power to bequeath.

John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849)

This thesis is a study of the 'inventing of heritage' for the new nation state of the Union of South Africa of 1910, taken from a particular point of view, which is that of the loose grouping known as 'loyal unionists', or those who supported Union from the dual perspective of colonial allegiance and British imperial affiliation. These numbered, inevitably, the most articulate, most powerful, and wealthiest parties in South African society. They were individuals and coteries with manifold links to England, to British and European continental culture, to the cosmopolitan world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For obvious political reasons this imperial-cosmopolitan faction has been downplayed in the making of South African history since World War II, the past fifty years seeing primary emphases on the partisan movements and liberation struggles, first of the Afrikaner people and then of black South Africa.

There is a return at present (partially motivated by centennial memory) to issues connected with British South Africa, the British imperial influence in the sub-continent, and the role of the influential loyal-unionists in the making of modern South Africa. Partly too because the dual nationalist and anti-colonial struggle of the Afrikaners and black South Africans is largely past, it is now feasible to revisit the very significant activities and the very distinct legacy of loyal-unionist South Africa from the last years of the nineteenth century to the Edwardian period, and to acknowledge these activities and this legacy, which for a long time have been deliberately eclipsed by the same liberal conscience that is partly entailed in this legacy; eclipsed for good reason by the overwhelming concern with the anti-apartheid struggle, and by the accompanying recognition that the dated cultural discourses entailed in this legacy could no longer be entertained at face value.

During the period roughly 1880-1920, in the late Victorian and Edwardian world, and the milieu of the 'new imperialism', the terms 'inheritance' and 'heritage' came to embrace a wide and diverse range of meanings. This chapter argues that these terms and their various applications epitomize public culture during that period -- with some implications for the history of literary value and the literary representation of values. From questions of gender roles to eugenics, land ownership to cultural property, personal bequests to national destiny, narrative strategies to spiritual discourses, the idea of heritage was held before the public eye in novels, sermons, and social dynamics in a multitude of ways during this transitional epoch. Paradoxically this trend was most evident even as the old Tory land-owning milieu came to be acknowledged as finally gone. This Tory world was then belatedly held up as the epitome of national heritage, and it continued to be enacted in a variety of social simulacra; by the South African Randlords for instance, who bought themselves into the favour of English society with the acquisition of property in fashionable counties, followed by titles in the Honours Lists; or by the various 'back to the land' movements during the same epoch.¹ David Cannadine explores similar questions of inheritance and acquisition in the formation of a British landed elite, referring to the 'surviving aristocracy as the live-in self-appointed guardians of the "national heritage"'. (Cannadine, 1994: 243)

David Lowenthal (1996) argues that the obsession with heritage is a late twentieth-century phenomenon. It seems, rather, that this obsession has its roots in the late nineteenth century, and has been re-inflected at various times during the twentieth century, in particular at moments of reaffirmed conservatism, such as in the 1950s, and again in the 1980s, particularly in the anglophone world. As Lowenthal indicates, the current preoccupation with heritage concerns a sentimental or nostalgic 'retro-chic' (to use a term coined by Raphael Samuel [1994]). The Edwardian usage was more immediate, more internalized than this very consciously recuperative stance taken by conservators in our contemporary world. The late Victorians and the Edwardians acted out the idea of heritage — either literally, as complex legal questions of legacy and bequest relating to the colonies and dominions, or as a naturalized and internalized metaphor, part of the narrative of the nation's (and the empire's) faith, roots and destiny.

It is part of this thesis that the idea of heritage needs to be historicized, and that, then, it may be understood to be a dominant trope within the field of public culture during the period of the so-called 'new imperialism', which is a period that brackets Fairbridge's life. Further, the idea of heritage is then adopted in this study as a working trope with which to set out not only the ideological and discursive aspects of Fairbridge's work, but also the social facts of her life. The first task for a biographer is to find the death certificate and last will and testament of the subject; and so the reconstruction of the life has its beginning in its end. Establishing Dorothea Fairbridge's personal legacy, her bequest, broaches the most literal dimension of the heritage trope.

Historicizing Heritage

The death of the Randlord Sir J.B. Robinson in Cape Town in 1929 was the occasion for a severe philippic on the relationship between personal estates, civic duty, and public bequests. An entire page of the *Cape Times* was devoted to an analysis of his last will and testament. Under the barbed heading of *Nil Nisi Malum*, the editor of the *Cape Times*, Basil Kellet Long, wrote as follows:

His immunity against any impulse of generosity, private or public, was so notorious that the name of J.B. Robinson became during his life-time proverbial for stinginess Any newspaper which has a claim to represent the public opinion of South Africa is under a stern duty not to mince words in condemnation of such a will as this. and those who in the future may acquire great wealth in this country will shudder lest their memory should come within possible risk of rivalling the loathsomeness of the thing that is the memory of Sir Joseph Robinson.²

This extraordinary editorial in South Africa's leading English-language morning newspaper provoked a sensation. There are specific political reasons behind the unpopularity which was attributed to Robinson by remnants of the old loyalist circles, but at the same time the preoccupation with public bequests carried a dynamic all of its own within the public sphere. Long - educated at Benjamin Jowett's neo-Hegelian Balliol College in the Oxford of the late nineteenth century -- was, at the time of Union, legal advisor to the National Convention, when he compiled a work published in 1908 by the Closer Union Society comparing the constitutions of the United States, Canada, Australia, Switzerland and other federal states. He was editor of the magazine *The State*, which existed to propagandize the 'imaginary community' of Union. As an attorney and later the editor of the *Cape Times*, Long had a protracted commitment to what was meant by the Hegelian idea of 'civil society', an idea that demands of its citizens what Hegel called *sittlichkeit*, or an ethics based on mutual need and respect. This marked background in social and constitutional ethics, linked to a local political history, explains his concern with the civic duty of such hugely endowed legatees as Robinson.

For Hegel, 'civil society' is one leg of a social triad composed also of his conceptions of the 'family', and of the 'state'. Civil society is a stage in the dialectical development from

the family to the state. The concept of 'heritage' depends for its full force on its root associations with the family structure and the idea of property as patrimony or family bequest. Where these root associations are so frequently turned into metaphor during the period in question, in such popular formulations as 'brother races', 'sister states', or 'family of nations', we may consider that the contemporaneous reformulation of Hegelian social ethics by the Oxford school of philosophy as practised by T.H. Green and F.H. Bradley at Jowett's Balliol provides us with an influential intellectual model for a reconstruction of the period meanings of 'family' and of 'heritage'. The recurring emphasis on the idea of the state by Long and his fellow neo-Hegelians in the 'kindergarten' takes into account these ideas of the family and of civil society³. Thus, it is argued here, the common usage, at the turn of the century, of the idea of the family to describe society (not only the internal structures of a particular society but also relations between 'races' and 'nations' and 'dominions'), is underpinned by a major contemporary school of ethical and social philosophy which had direct links with administration in parts of the British empire.⁴ The idea of 'heritage' appears to have enjoyed its most robust range of associations during the period in question, and these are given a particular social and ethical inflection by the contemporaneous neo-Hegelian philosophy which was imported to the Cape by men like Lord Milner and his team of administrators, and in particular by the appointment of R.F.L. Hoernle to the first chair of philosophy at the South African College, in 1908⁵.

Viscount Milner, the 'Architect of Union', recruited his 'kindergarten' (so named by John X. Merriman because of their youth) for the task of rebuilding civil society in Southern Africa after the war of 1899-1902. As British High Commissioner for South Africa during the SA War, and in the four years immediately following the war, his policy was to direct events towards the achieving of a political union, under the aegis of imperial Britain, of the British colonies and former Dutch republics that made up South Africa. He and his kindergarten set about reconstructing the war-ravaged region with a continual eye to the political opportunity of bringing about 'loyal Union'. Their application of neo-Hegelian philosophy was in terms of public ethics, and of the idea of the state, the nation, and civil society as being 'organic' (on the model of the 'organic' family), a concept taught by the neo-Hegelian T.H. Green, whose 'gospel' 'of the organic nation ... opened the door to social reform and to positive state action in all areas' (Semmel, 1968: 20).

To this end, members of the Kindergarten published the magazine referred to in chapter three below, precisely titled *The State*, which ran from 1908 to 1912 in order to propagandize the concept of a United South Africa loyal to a greater Empire. The contents of *The State* were intended to explore and create a new unified South African cultural identity. The leading members of the Kindergarten (notably Lionel Curtis) went on, after the conclusion of their South African experiment, to enact the same principles of organic unity and civic identity on the greater platform of the British Commonwealth, which was itself

largely defined by their initiatives. The Commonwealth journal *The Round Table*, organ of their Round Table movement (the Commonwealth think-tank which they founded after their South African experience), evolved out of their editorship of *The State*.⁶

Alongside this Oxford-originated combination of politics and philosophy we find, at the time, a host of more or less popular expressions of social responsibility couched in terms of 'heritage'. It needs to be argued more extensively elsewhere that this very marked trend at the turn of the century towards the idea of a family-based concept of the state is indeed a popular distillation of the influential Oxford school of idealist philosophy. Popular student guides to political philosophy explored T.H. Green's 'roots of morality in family affection', and the idea, that by Hegel and his followers, 'the State [absorbed] into itself the whole of freedom and morality'. (Mabbot, undated: 33) Evolution and social Darwinism had of course already generated a common usage of 'inheritance' as a biological metaphor. The *Cape Times* printed the text of a lecture on evolution titled 'Facts of Inheritance' in Cape Town, in the Darwin centenary year of 1909, under the auspices of the recently established South African Society for the Advancement of Science.⁷ A considerable number of books appear in this period with titles such as *A Goodly Heritage* (a popular title taken from Psalm 16.6), *The Heritage of the Spirit* (1896), *The Common Heritage* (1907), or *Our Heritage: Individual, Social and Religious* (1903). Three quotations from this last work (which specifically refers to all then-current interpretations of the theme, from orthodox Christian doctrine to Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Lamarck, and Galton) offer a sense of the urgency and cogency, and the ethical flavour, with which this new organic vision of society was proffered:

We are but links in a great continuous chain of ancestry. We are part of a society and a nation. We are members of a state. We belong to a people who have a national genius of their own which is partly the creation of their past history as well as part of their original endowment. (Bruce, 1903: 14)

Thus we are born into a nation, into a great heritage of national history, national temperament, national privilege, as well as into a family and a home. (ibid)

Every generation leaves to its successors a valuable legacy. That inheritance is stored up in some institution, in some Art, in some accumulated wealth of Utility, in some Inheritance of History, or Poetry, or Science, or Literature, which make the world richer than they found it.... As there is a natural and spiritual family, so there is a natural and religious heritage, ... a natural Brotherhood, constituted by bonds of blood, by ties of family, clan, nation, and race. And a spiritual Brotherhood, constituted by bonds of love The Church is no longer content to possess her inheritance. She

wants to make the wide world share in her Heritage. To North, South, East and West the gates of the City of God by day and night stand open. (ibid: 93)

The chapters in this book are titled 'Our Individual Heritage', 'Heredity and Responsibility', 'Our Social Heritage', 'Our Educational Heritage', 'Our Civil and Political Privileges' ('the patrimony of civil and political privilege'), and 'Our Trusteeship of the Great Heritage'.

To what degree professional neo-Hegelianism (and this kind of popular distillation of it) found itself to be consonant with social evolutionary theories needs more analysis. The eschatological image of the City of God, certainly, was the guiding motif in Lionel Curtis's monumental world history *Civitas Dei* (1934-1950, also published as *The Commonwealth of God*, 1938) which argued a teleology that leads towards the British Commonwealth as a form of world government. Hegel's notorious dismissal of Africa as merely 'on the threshold' of 'history' finds ready articulation in the period motif of Cape Town as the 'cradle' from which the new nation was to be 'born', or the 'gateway' to Africa. A Hegelian world-history imported to South Africa at the turn of the century serves, as Andrew Nash (1985) has argued, to occlude local (pre-eminently Afrikaner) histories⁸. Its spiritual-evolutionary dimension, furthermore, was expressed in such eccentric though popular period fads as the movement called the British Israelite Truth, which published works with titles such as *The Covenant or Jacob's Heritage* (1877), *Our Great Heritage, With its Responsibilities: How and Where to Find the Title Deeds* (1927, 1937), and *The Heritage of the Anglo-Saxon Race* (1941), in which Britain was made out to be the lost tribe of Judah, and her imperial mission to be a spiritual destiny⁹. Here we encounter a distinct attempt not only to claim a heritage, but also to fashion a genealogy that would legitimize this claim. At this point the contemporaneous preoccupations about national or racial origins, 'stock', and the implications of, for instance, Galton's eugenics, take on a rather more sinister inflection than is encountered in the work quoted from above.

'Heritage', then, is a loosely-employed concept with distinct metaphorical connotations, primarily legal, secondarily spiritual, and subsequently to do with public ethics, and the cultural property (material, spiritual, and moral) of the nation, race, or ethnome. It might be possible in fact to speak of a heritage discourse that was operable in the decades of late imperialism, a discourse in which – inevitably – not all these semantic categories or dimensions are always in play or explicitly intended; but in which each of these predicates the others or makes them possible. The concept of heritage is currently in use in the 'New South Africa' as a controlling motif for the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. A 'Heritage Commission' now regulates and funds what was the National Monuments Council, as well as national museums and the cultural needs of particular interest groups. The idea of heritage needs to be analyzed, however, for its discursive historical dimensions which,

predominantly, indicate a sense of patriarchal imperial genealogy. As a partial synonym for public history the idea of heritage needs to be understood to entail a legacy of meanings that is not only far from neutral but, in fact, remarkably dated and, by and large, conservative.

It has been suggested that the first distinct usage of the concept of heritage to refer not simply to legal questions, or to Biblical prophecy, but to the idea of the common ownership of common social values is by Edmund Burke, in his conservative document *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, of 1789-90.¹⁰ Burke asserts the following:

It has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties as an *entailed inheritance* derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity ... The people of England well know that the idea of inheritance furnishes a sure principle of conservation, and a sure principle of transmission without at all excluding a principle of improvement.

Burke had already introduced into British political currency, in his speech to the House of Commons on the East India Bill of 1783, the idea that government, of any form, is a kind of trusteeship. Trusteeship, which is an aspect of laws of succession and inheritance, came to be used specifically to describe British colonial and imperial governance over colonised peoples and nations well into the twentieth century, until the less loaded concept of partnership was taken up. The concept of trusteeship was, in general, invoked by liberal politicians who argued the need for responsibility and accountability in the governing of British protectorates, colonies and dominions. Here is a good late example of this, with an explicit comparison between the legal and the political usage, by Colonel Stanley, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1943:

Many years ago we declared that it was our intention to act as trustees for our Colonial Empire, and we have fully lived up to that promise. But in the very conception of trusteeship there are limitations with which I do not believe we can in future be content. I am myself trustee for a number of people. I set out to do for them on a small scale what we set out on a large scale to do for the Colonial Empire. I try and safeguard their estate from exploitation, to preserve it intact, to improve it as far as possible, and to see that the income of the estate is enjoyed by the recipient of the trust. But as trustee I feel no obligation to go further than that. I feel no call to make up out of my pocket any deficiency in the income of the beneficiary, to risk my money to improve the beneficiary's estate. Can we be satisfied in future with such a negative conception of trusteeship? (cited by Bennet, 1962: 414-5)

The customary usage of the term was, however, not altogether as liberal as this. Lord Lugard in his important work, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922), is more concerned with a reciprocal advantage:

[Great Britain] recognised that the custodians of the tropics are, in the words of Mr Chamberlain, 'trustees of civilisation for the commerce of the world'; that their raw materials and foodstuffs – without which civilisation cannot exist – must be developed alike in the interests of the natives and of the world at large, without any artificial restrictions.... *The tropics are the heritage of mankind*, and neither, on the one hand, has the suzerain Power a right to their exclusive exploitation, nor, on the other hand, have the races which inhabit them a right to deny their bounties to those who need them. The responsibility for adequate development rests on the custodian on behalf of civilisation – and not on behalf of civilisation alone, for much of these products is returned to the tropics converted into articles for the use and comfort of its peoples. (Lugard, 1922:60-1, emphasis added)

Reverting to the field of public culture, in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), John Ruskin applies Burke's philosophical interpretation of inheritance to the material question of the conservation of landscape and buildings, speaking of the environment as a 'great entail' to be held in trust for forthcoming generations¹¹. His concern with environmental conservation led to the founding in 1895, by disciples of his, of the English National Trust¹². One of the three founders was Canon Hardy Rawnsley, who had been tutored by T.H. Green at Balliol and, as Ruskin's pupil, worked alongside the young Milner in the famous 'mending of the Hinksey Road', a project of Ruskin's Guild of St George. In the same year, the English magazine *Country Life* was founded by Edward Hudson, friend of the architect Sir Edwin Lutyens and of Gertrude Jekyll, the pioneer of the idea of the vernacular garden. These personalities and their interests have a direct bearing on the subsequent development, in the late 1890s, of a South African vernacular architectural revival, and, in the first decade of this century, the activities of the SA National Union (a forum for the promotion and improvement of local industry) and the National Society (the forerunner of the SA National Monuments Council).

These groups, made up of devotees of the cause of imperial loyalist 'Closer Union', were dedicated to what in retrospect might be termed the inventing of heritage for the Union of South Africa, where 'heritage' may then point to at least three broad topics: 'history', 'cultural resource management' or conservation practices, and a social ethics based on an organic conception of society. This inventing of heritage is largely connected with the loyal unionist political and social desire to rebuild the post-war society in terms of Anglophile and

imperial sentiment. Trusteeship would then presumably accrue a tiered significance, first in the sense that the Crown had paternal care for the interests of its 'sons and daughters' and its adopted or engrafted offspring in South Africa, and second, that the locals would emulate this grand responsibility in immediate practical terms. In other words, our rather more flattened idea of heritage was anticipated by the loyal unionist 'progressive' coteries as a means of imagining and propagating a new South African national identity within the international context of the British empire. Due to the nature of South African society at the time, their work is largely elitist. It is manifested in antiquarianism, in aesthetics, and in patrician gestures which include attitudes to nature, land, and landed values.

One of the primary emphases in this invention of heritage was the Cape Dutch architectural revival, discussed in chapters three, four and five below, where the old Cape homesteads were interpreted in the spirit of the English Queen Anne vernacular movement, and their gardens developed in a fusion of local horticultural and botanical traditions with the new tradition inspired by Gertrude Jekyll, Edward Hudson, and *Country Life*. The Cape homesteads came to be seen as local versions of English country estates, with a range of valencies associated with this interpretation, which had further implications for the idea of heritage¹³: various Randlords and wealthy politicians or entrepreneurs embraced the idea of ennoblement by means of the English Honours List, dynastic pretensions, and a graceful country seat — and at the same time these baronial pretensions were regarded as a means of symbolically marrying South African Dutch heritage and English loyalist influence¹⁴. The homesteads carried a dual symbolism, of Cape Dutch history and English landed nobility, which was promoted for the purpose of reconciliation in the aftermath of the SA War.

Returning to the root application of 'heritage', we find plenty of precedents in which wealthy South Africans left bequests to the nation. Cecil Rhodes, Sir Abe Bailey, the Beit brothers, and Sir Max Michaelis are four outstanding examples, as is William Fehr some decades later.¹⁵ The Rhodes bequests were publicized at length by W.T. Stead in 1902 and Sir Alfred Beit's son produced a book in 1957, on the Beit Trust. This, less known to the public mind than the Rhodes Trust, bequeathed £500,000 for the establishment of the University of Cape Town among many other causes in South Africa and in the then Rhodesia, as well as the Beit Chair in Commonwealth History at Oxford. Bailey, a delightful enthusiast, wanted to emulate Rhodes and had to be dissuaded from inappropriate excesses of public spirit. Dorothea Fairbridge served on the committee of the Michaelis Trust. The idea of 'heritage' as the public control of public cultural property may thus be found to have distinct roots in these customs, which rose in connection with the practice of laws of succession during an epoch when personal fortunes were often achieved by means of 'empire building'. Rhodes's second will and testament, made on the Kimberley diamond fields in 1877, is an exemplary case, where he leaves his fortune to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies in order to bring about a new Anglo-centric world-order:

.... the establishment, promotion and development of a Secret Society the aim and object whereof shall be the extension of British rule throughout the world, the perfecting of a system of emigration from the United Kingdom and of colonisation by British subjects of all lands ... and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the valley of the Euphrates, the islands of Cyprus and Candia, the whole of South America, the islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain, the whole of the Malay Archipelago, the sea-board of China and Japan, the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire, the inauguration of a system of colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament, which may tend to weld together the disjointed members of the Empire, and finally the foundation of so great a power as hereafter to render wars impossible and promote the best interests of humanity¹⁶.

Laws of property and succession in the colonies had material and religious implications, as in the passing, in Westminster in 1899, of the 'Deceased Wife's Sister' Bill. The purpose of this Bill was to legalize in the United Kingdom colonial marriages with a 'deceased wife's sister' (proscribed in the 'Table of Kindred and Affinity' in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer), in order that 'children of such marriages in the colonies might succeed in the United Kingdom to the personal property of their parents'. One motivating factor here would seem to have been the shortage of marriageable women in the colonies.¹⁷ Again, the differences between Cape Roman-Dutch law and British law had to be reconciled during the nineteenth century, and one area where the distinctions were most notable was that of laws of succession.¹⁸

Heritage and the English Novel

The idea of heritage implies a narrative — a life-story with a teleological emphasis on the value of patrimony. This narrative structure is fundamental to the classic English novel from the eighteenth century on, but seems to emerge as a particularly self-conscious theme in the late nineteenth century even as the old Tory tradition of landed gentry becomes patently a thing of the past. It is taken to task by Thomas Hardy in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891) and by Samuel Butler in his Lamarckian satire *The Way of All Flesh* (1903). It appears as social fantasy in Mark Twain's *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882) and his tale of racial heritage *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894). As Anne McClintock has demonstrated, it is a motivating factor for Alan Quatermain in Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885)¹⁹. It emerges in 1901 in Kipling's *Kim*, and in *The Inheritors*, a fantasy by Joseph Conrad and Ford Madox Ford

which satirises King Leopold of Belgium and Cecil Rhodes. The topic of land and family is central to E.M. Forster's *Howard's End* (1910), it is the theme of Victoria Sackville-West's first novel *Heritage* (1919), and it appears as a belated coda to this epoch in the elegiac pessimism of Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* (1945).

Besides these well-known authors and classic texts, a host of pot-boilers and thrillers enters the new mass readership market for consumable romance in Britain during this period, with titles such as *The Heir Without a Heritage* (1887), *Gilbert Freethorne's Heritage: A Romance of Clerical Life* (1888), *Frank Horton's Heritage, or, A Yoked Bondage* (1889), *The Heritage of Langdale* (1894), *An Unsought Heritage* (1896), *The Dual Heritage* (1908), *An Empty Heritage* (1908), or *The Persistent Heritage* (1925) and *The Inheritance* (1928), this last by Florence Young, an expatriate South African writer of romances. *The Heir of Brendiford* (1909) is set in the colony of Natal and in England, and its mean cautionary tale dwells on the consequences of marriage between white and black. Apart from these overt references, a great deal of English literature of the turn of the century celebrates a sense of 'Englishness' through the motif of the country house, the vernacular tradition, the Elizabethan or Stuart house set in mellow lawns, gardens, and woods. Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) and *Rewards and Fairies* (1910) represent English history and heritage in terms of the English countryside. Cannadine, writing on the 'Cult of the Country House', comments on this same literary trend:

Only since the turn of the century has the worship of the country house become a national obsession. One way it can be traced is in the writings of such novelists as Francis Brett Young, D.H. Lawrence, Evelyn Waugh, P.G. Wodehouse – and Vita Sackville West. In many of their books, it is the mansion, rather than the inhabitants, which dominates the story (Cannadine, 1994: 243)

In South Africa the concept of 'heritage' in literature takes on a distinct racial interpretation in the novels of Sarah Gertrude Millin. *God's Step-Children* (1924) and its companion novels mercilessly exploit the period obsession with eugenics in relation to family dynamics and interracial marriage. The topic of inheritance and the family structure had already been raised, notably, in Olive Schreiner's *The Story of an African Farm* (1883), which deals critically with women's rights and marriage. The principle male character, Waldo, is systematically stripped of his patrimony and lives on a farm which, typical of many South African farms, is run by a Dutch widow according to the Roman-Dutch laws of inheritance.²⁰ Other fiction, such as Vera Buchanan-Gould's *Vast Heritage* (undated, c.1952), celebrates the cultural heritage and the ethnic genealogy of specific social groupings, in Buchanan-Gould's work this being the 1820 Settlers. Francis Carey Slater's *Settlers'*

Heritage was published by the Lovedale Press in 1954. Both these two books reflect a later wave of colonialist South African publications that signalled the moment of the Van Riebeeck Tercentenary of 1952. Dorothea Fairbridge's novels *Piet of Italy* (1913) and *The Uninvited* (1926) centrally explore questions of cultural and racial heritage.

It is suggested here that the role of the novel in reinforcing a contemporary popular sense of the meaning of history needs a central place in the question of the propagation of public history. Public history (where this might mean the popular idea of history in a hypothetical collective public imagination) is enabled and defined by popular cultural practices (such as, at present, large-scale sporting tournaments, or tourist theme-parks). In the age of empire, the novel was an influential (if demographically limited) form of popular cultural practice. It serves as a historiographical or sociological gossip column, informing opinions, shoring up prejudices, and rehearsing desirable alliances and narrative sequences. Further, novelistic form reflects social philosophies. The ubiquitous romantic demand in Victorian and Edwardian fiction for a good marriage and a good inheritance expresses a contemporaneous understanding of the nature of society, and indeed of the nation itself. When South Africa achieved Union in 1910 this was referred to as a 'consummation'; immigrants to South Africa were spoken of as going out from their paternal home to meet their bride, as if their actions symbolized a gratifying narrative closure.²¹

The Inheritors, by Joseph Conrad and Ford Madox Ford, is a good example of this link between public history and fiction at the beginning of the twentieth century. In this *roman à clef*, the virtues of a respectable English county family are exhibited in comparison with the veiled personalities that serve as the agents of various social, economic and political enterprises. The Duc de Mersch, modelled on King Leopold of Belgium (but quite probably also on the South African mining magnate Cecil Rhodes), is a self-styled nation-builder, the founder of a state. In conversation with the first person narrator who is a scion of that English county family, de Mersch (whom the narrator laconically teases as a 'new Solon, a latter-day Aeneas'), claims the following:

'... It has been the dream of my life to leave behind me a happy and contented State - as much as laws and organisation can make one. This is what I should most like the English to know of me.' (Conrad and Ford, 1925 [1901]: 98)

The Rhodes will of 1877 is an extreme version of a kind of document that gained considerable currency during the later age of empire, that is, the entrepreneurial prospectus intended to attract public support for colonizing schemes. This is a discourse that lies at the centre of *The Inheritors*: the narrator, Granger, is employed as a journalist to write hack approbations of such schemes, which he sketches as follows, in the words of his enthusiastic patrons and mentors:

'Ah, yes,' Callan rhapsodised, 'it has a great future in store, a great future. The Duke is a true philanthropist. He has taken infinite pains - infinite pains. He wished to build up a model state, *the* model protectorate of the world, a place where perfect equality shall obtain for all races, all creeds, and all colours. You would scarcely believe how he has worked to ensure the happiness of the native races. He founded the great society to protect the Esquimeaux, the Society for the Regeneration of the Arctic Regions - the S.R.A.R. - as you called it, and now he is only waiting to accomplish his greatest project - the Trans-Greenland railway. When that is done, he will hand over the System to his own people. That is the act of a great man.'

(ibid: 92)

'We have increased the exports by so much; the imports by so much. We have protected the natives, have kept their higher interests ever present in our minds. And through it all we have never forgotten the mission entrusted to us by Europe - to remove the evil of darkness from the earth - to root out barbarism with its nameless horrors, whose existence has been a blot on our consciences. Men of good-will and self-sacrifice are doing it now - are laying down their priceless lives to root out ... to root out' (ibid: 110)

He furnished me with statistics. They had laid down so many miles of railways, used so many engines of British construction. They had taught the natives to use and to value sewing-machines and European costumes. So many hundred of English younger sons had gone to make their fortunes and, incidentally, to enlighten the Esquimeaux - so many hundreds of French, of Germans, Greeks, Russians. All these lived and moved in harmony, employed, happy, free labourers, protected by the most rigid laws. Man-eating, fetich-worship, slavery had been abolished, stamped out. The great international society for the preservation of Polar freedom watched over all, suggested new laws, modified the old. The country was unhealthy, but not to men of clean lives - *hominibus bonae voluntatis*. It asked for no others. (ibid: 98)

These mock prospectuses echo the words of John Ruskin's famous 1870 inaugural lecture as Slade Professor of Fine Art, which in fact was an inspiration for Rhodes's ambitious early will. Ruskin exhorted his Oxford audience as follows:

There is a destiny now possible to us — the highest ever set before a nation to be accepted or refused. We are still undegenerate in race; a race mingled of the best northern blood. We are not yet dissolute in temper, but still have the firmness to govern, and the grace to obey. We have been taught a religion of pure mercy, which we must either now betray, or learn to defend by fulfilling. *And we are rich in inheritance of honour, bequeathed to us through a thousand years of noble history, ...*

And this is what [England] must either do, or perish: she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed of her most energetic and worthiest men; — seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on, and there teaching these her colonists that their chief virtue is to be fidelity to their country, and that their first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea: and that, though they live on a distant plot of ground, they are no more to consider themselves therefore disfranchised from their native land, than the sailors of her fleets do, because they float on distant waters. [emphasis added] (Boehmer, 1998: 17-18)²²

The bitter irony in all this, of course, was the concomitant stripping of black South Africans of their own patrimony by means of the 1913 Natives Land Act. Fairbridge's *Piet of Italy*, published that same year, is centrally concerned with alternative South African racial identities and cultural inheritances, but (as is by no means uncommon at the time) is wholly silent on the question of the black African experience, for which one turns definitively to Sol Plaatje with his eloquent and ironical quizzing of settler tropologies in *Native Life in South Africa* (1916)²³.

Piet of Italy

Piet of Italy dramatizes the typical colonial dilemma of dual allegiance and dual identity: an indigenous South African identity and one that derives from western Europe. The central character is at once Piet, an Afrikaans-speaking 'Cape Malay' or person of Indonesian descent, trained in the Koran, and Pietro, a Catholic Florentine. This novel exemplifies a sense of 'public history', discussing the idea of a new South Africa, and referring, as a *roman à clef*, to various Cape personalities and practices of the time.

A Cape Moslem family finds a young child washed up from the sea at Kalk Bay. Piet, as he is called, is adopted into their Schotsche Kloof home (the 'Malay Quarter' in the city of Cape Town) and into 'Cape Malay' culture and faith. He exhibits a natural talent for fine art — sketching, painting and sculpture — which is noticed by a pair of young men working for

the *Cape Times* (evidently modelled on G.S. Smithard and Ian Colvin of the *Cape Times* who, as described in the following chapter, took a major part in drawing attention to Cape lore and antiquities in the late nineteenth century), and they arrange for him to be apprenticed to a stonemason and builder. This mason's work includes building a stone church that is clearly based on the contemporary project of Herbert Baker at Cecil Rhodes's fruit farms in the Klein Drakenstein district. The firm is contracted to erect a monument on Signal Hill in memory of a noble Tuscan family that was drowned some years earlier in a shipwreck off the Cape coast²⁴. The monument incorporates an obelisk that has been shipped down from Egypt. Piet hits his head against this and lapses into a coma, out of which he emerges as Pietro, scion of that self-same House, saved by fate from a watery death. Once the curious history of his provenance has been established he is taken to Italy to meet his relatives, returning to Cape Town at the end.

Piet of Italy was published simultaneously by J.C. Juta in Cape Town and Mills and Boone in London. This latter company had not yet entered its present occupation of providing gendered commuter fodder. Fairbridge's novel provides a sympathetic insight into the lives of the Cape 'coloured' people and the Islamic community in particular. She imitates the patois of vernacular Afrikaans, and gives vivid descriptions of the Cape working-class. A dominant theme in the novel is the universality of religious faith, with parallel emphasis on Islam and Roman Catholicism. Piet's mentor is a Catholic priest from Italy, Father Caldesi, whose career suffers due to the 'modernizing' tendencies (the liberalism and scientific interests) of his family in Florence. The intolerance shown by Islamic fundamentalism is also criticized, with a zealot on board ship exposing his extremism.

The novel is a blend of personal fortunes and romance, and the idea of nation-building for the Union of South Africa. At one point Piet, who is betrothed at an early age to Nissa, a young Malay girl (who becomes his shirt of Nessus once he discovers his true identity and his ultimate romance), works on an allegorical clay figurine while sitting with her on the flanks of Table Mountain:

Carefully removing the covering, he stood erect, holding in his hands a roughly-modelled clay statuette – the figure of a woman.

From the shoulders to the bare feet her drapery fell in rigid folds, crudely but powerfully suggestive of the archaic period of Greek art. Restraint showed in every line, the hands hung straight down at her side – not loosely, but with strong tenacity of purpose. But the chin was uplifted, the eyes fixed on some far distant horizon, and the poise of the lovely head was instinct with vitality, and tense with nobility of purpose.

A light that Nissa had never seen before shone in Piet's eyes, as he looked at the rough figure in his hands.

'She is South Africa,' he said softly. 'She sees what is yet to come.'

Dead silence fell for the space of some minutes. Then Nissa sprang up with a choking cry.

'Take me away – I want to go home. You frighten me when you look so. I don't know what for you bring me here to show that silly, ugly thing.' (Fairbridge, 1913: 85-6)

Fairbridge's father's celebrated book collection contains a curious volume on the subject of changelings and lost patrimony which might well have influenced her imagination in the writing of this novel. A.M. Lewin Robinson, late Librarian of the South African Library, summarizes the narrative:

Maria Stella, ou Échange criminel d'une demoiselle du plus haute rang, contre un garçon de la condition la plus vile, published in Paris in 1838, was written by Maria Stella Petronella Chiappini, Baroness Newborough. In it she claimed to be the legitimate daughter of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, changed at birth (1773) for a male child who afterwards became Louis-Philippe, king of France (1830-1848). She was in fact the daughter of Lorenzo Chiappini, an innkeeper and former gaoler of Modigliana in Tuscany. Her brother, Antonio Chiappini, settled at the Cape with the financial assistance of Lord Newborough [and founded the long-standing merchant dynasty of the Cape Chiappini clan]. (Lewin Robinson, 1955: 83)

The Uninvited

The Uninvited is a more problematic narrative. It deals with the unexpected irruption into English culture and society of elements from the colonial periphery, and with questions of 'degeneracy' and 'miscegenation'. It also sets up a contrast between landed values and myths of English family heritage, and the kind of 'intrusive' and 'foreign' aesthetic modernism associated with Roger Fry's 1910 post-impressionist exhibition.

The Uninvited, published by Edward Arnold, has two inter-linked plots.²⁵ Both deal with colonial interlopers who invade the privacy of two English county households. In one, a modern young South African woman artist (masquerading as the niece of the novel's first-person narrator) arrives to spend a long and disruptive holiday with the narrator — a conservative rural parson — and his sister. In the other, a minor member of the landed aristocracy finds his title, lands and ancestral home the legal property of a South African 'coloured' lad: 'Barend, now eighth Lord Comers, of Comers Abbey, in the county of

Sussex'. Barend is the recently-discovered legitimate issue of a long-dead oldest son who had gone to South Africa as a 'degenerate' remittance man and married a 'coloured girl'. When this offspring is discovered (by the unlikely means of accidental recognition of a casual portrait in an impressionist painting of a South African farming scene), the narrator is led to speculate as follows on the topic of ethnology:

I could have spent a very profitable half-hour in an analysis of this wonderful portrait. Leaving out the revelation of the boy's soul, we could have traced the proportion of European influence as compared with that of the original Hottentot, together with the considerations of surroundings and their influence on the mother, as distinguished from heredity. Then, taking the Hottentot as a starting point, we should have pursued our investigations into the history of that curious race, debating whether the theory which links them (through the Bushmen) to the Cave Dwellers of ancient Spain, is tenable, and whether there is anything to be said in favour of those who assert that the Hyksos Kings of Egypt were in reality Hottentots, and that the so-called Egyptian type may be traced throughout Africa from north to south. (Fairbridge, 1926: 128)

The Uninvited is set in England and in Egypt, and this geographical choice reinforces such ethnographic speculations. South Africa is contextualized, in terms of life histories, as a country which enjoys a particular kind of heritage, partly associated with English roots that reach back to Elizabethan seafaring adventures (one chapter is a yarn set in the Indian Ocean in the late sixteenth century, about the provenance of a particular heirloom which has brought a legacy of ill fortune to its owners) and partly associated with the Mediterranean seaboard of the African continent. This reminds us of the point that questions of heritage sooner or later entail questions of land and landscape, and that these find distinctly material answers that depend on interpretations of laws of testate and succession. Despite such specificities, of course, 'heritage' is fraught with popular historical myths and ideas of folk 'destiny'. Returning to Conrad's and Ford's *The Inheritors*, this novel will be discussed as a wry counterpoint to the national, colonial, and imperial heritage discourse of the time.

The Inheritors

Like the Freemasons and the British Israelites there is a secret society in *The Inheritors*, and the members of this society propose to 'inherit the earth'. However, in diametric opposition to the British Israelites or the Freemasons, this secret society (known as the Fourth Dimensionists) is dedicated to the overthrow of everything pertaining to tradition,

sentiment, and social stability. They appear to be a quasi-mystical combination of anarchists and futurists. They are the 'Inheritors' of the novel's title; but their mission is to destroy anything remotely resembling normal patrimony or heritage as these are to be understood in the sense of their Edwardian context. Going against the grain, they represent a comprehensive inversion of these ideas.

The main thread of this novel is a political conspiracy to persuade the British government into lending its weight to a grandiose, commercially motivated colonization scheme. The elusive Fourth Dimensionists intervene as a shadowy influence that manipulates these manipulators; and their spokesperson is a young *femme fatale* who also emotionally exploits the narrator, a confused but well-intentioned young man. Between him and the Dimensionist young woman is an ill-fated and one-sided romance which constitutes a parallel narrative sequence to that of the political plot. The role of the Dimensionists, the 'Inheritors' (who remain to the end a wholly enigmatic and elusive force), appears in novelistic terms to be very uncertain — an imperfectly integrated and awkwardly 'modern' narrative device that is derived from science fiction, which was an emerging genre at the time.

The ideological significance of their avowed role as 'inheritors of the earth' becomes clear, however, in the light of a late Victorian and Edwardian heritage discourse. The narrator recounts as follows the discourse of the young Dimensionist woman, who is a type of the 'New Woman' figure of the period:

I heard the Dimensionists described; a race clear-sighted, eminently practical, incredible; with no ideals, prejudices, or remorse; with no feeling for art and no reverence for life; free from any ethical tradition; callous to pain, weakness, suffering and death, as if they had been invulnerable and immortal. She did not say that they were immortal, however. 'You would - you will - hate us,' she concluded. And I seemed only then to come to myself. The power of her imagination was so great that I fancied myself face to face with the truth. I supposed she had been amusing herself; that she should have tried to frighten me was inadmissible. I don't pretend that I was completely at my ease, but I said, amiably: 'You certainly have succeeded in making these beings hateful.'

'I have made nothing,' she said with a faint smile, and went on amusing herself. She would explain origins, now.

'Your' - she used the word as signifying, I suppose, the inhabitants of the country, or the populations of the earth - 'your ancestors were mine, but long ago you were crowded out of the Dimension as we are today, you overran the earth as we shall do tomorrow. But you contracted diseases, as we shall contract them, - beliefs, traditions; fears; ideas of pity ... of love. You grew

luxurious in the worship of your ideals, and sorrowful; you solaced yourselves with creeds, with arts - you have forgotten! (Conrad and Ford, 1925 [1901]: 9-10)

This is very much like the following more specifically gender-oriented sentiments expressed by a character of George Egerton's in a collection of short stories published in 1893. This passage from Egerton has been cited by Laura Chrisman as an example of the 'potential imperial superwoman, held back from full global realisation of her powers by her susceptibility to the bonds of love and affection':

'... if it were not for [affection], we women would master the world. I tell you men would be no match for us. At heart we care nothing for laws, nothing for systems It is a wise disposition of providence that this untameableness of ours is corrected by our affections. We forge our own chains in a moment of softness The qualities that go to make a Napoleon — superstition, want of honour, disregard of opinion and the eternal I — are oftener to be found in a woman.' (Ledger and McCracken, eds., 1995: 46)

Without the exclusive emphasis on gender, the 'anti-idealism and eugenicism' attributed here by Chrisman are equally applicable to Conrad's Dimensionist character, who seems to suggest that there is another kind of lineage that overrides ordinary human 'legacies' of 'ethical traditions', 'creeds, arts', and so forth. She speaks in terms of eugenics, racial superiority, and racial degeneracy. Her systematic contempt for 'ordinary' ties of blood and heritage is made emblematic when, as an expedient, she brashly impersonates the role of a long-lost sister to the narrator (similar to the usurpation of family ties by a representative of the 'New Woman' in Fairbridge's *The Uninvited*). She accepts no beliefs, no traditions of belief-systems, and no cultural interpretation of what might be meant by heritage. In the case of the Fourth Dimensionists the application of this term to the most reductive sense of genetic continuity, devoid of positive value, is evidently intended by the authors as a provocative counterpoint to the accepted cluster of meanings attributed to the idea of heritage at the time.

The extreme opposite in *The Inheritors* is the narrator's aunt, an elderly upper class Englishwoman living in Paris, who provides sanctuary and support for lost causes, 'a sort of *Salon des Causes Perdues* in the Faubourg Saint Germain', 'a menagerie [of] Carlists, and Orleanists, and Papal Blacks, the White Rose League, and the divine right of kings'. (Conrad and Ford, 1925: 82) In other words, this character pursues to an absurd degree the principle of dynastic continuity which the narrator himself represents as quaint and eccentric. The idea of the 'divine right of kings' is presented as a parody of the idea of eugenics.

The narrator, Granger, is the son of a disinherited heir to a county family and estate. In the course of the novel Granger recovers his connections with his family, principally the eccentric aunt in Paris; and regains his proper inheritance from which his father had been cut off:

‘This is Etchingham’, Churchill said.

It was a pleasant commentary on the course of time, this entry into the home of my ancestors. I had been without the pale for so long, that I had never seen the haunt of ancient peace. They had done very little, the Grangers of Etchingham - never anything but live at Etchingham and quarrel at Etchingham and die at Etchingham, and be the monstrous important Grangers of Etchingham. My father had had the undesirable touch, not of the genius, but of the Bohemian. The Grangers of Etchingham had cut him adrift and he had swum to sink in other seas. Now I was the last of the Grangers and, as things went, was quite the best known of all of them. They had grown poor in their generation; they bade fair to sink, even as, it seemed, I bade fair to rise, and I had come back to the old places on the arm of one of the great ones of the earth. (ibid: 60)

At the same time Granger finds himself acting as amanuensis for an old-world statesman (the ‘Churchill’ mentioned above) who is writing a book on Oliver Cromwell - a topic that emblemizes the nineteenth-century English hagiography of protestant and parliamentary tradition and values. (1899 saw the tercentenary of Cromwell’s birth, and the erection of the statue of Cromwell outside Westminster Hall. [In the same year Rhodes granted to the City of Cape Town a statue of the ‘founding figure’ Jan van Riebeeck]) Thus doubly this self-conscious and slightly bohemian young writer finds himself drawn into what would be regarded as essentially English heritage. The estate of Etchingham is described in terms of a perpetual Tudor June, like the country houses in Kipling, in John Buchan, in all contemporary authors who sought to characterize ‘Englishness’ even at the presumed moment of its passing:

I woke back in the world again, in a world that contained the land steward and the manor house. I had a sense of recovered power from the sight of them, of the sunlight on the stretches of turf, of the mellow, golden stonework of the long range of buildings, from the sound of a chime of bells that came wonderfully sweetly over the soft swelling of the close turf. The feeling came not from any sense of prospective ownership but from the acute consciousness of what these things stood for. (ibid: 156-7)

Three differing interpretations of what might be meant by heritage are set against each other in this novel. The first is the Fourth Dimensionist woman's totalitarian discourse on the topic of the inheriting of the earth by the new, the cynical, and the racially 'superior'. Her usage of 'inheritance' is a challenge to the accepted meaning of the term. Her arrogance is far removed from the original spirit behind the idea of 'inheriting the earth' (which in the Sermon on the Mount requires proper humility, as Kipling reminded his nation in his poem, 'Recessional', in 1897); and her attack on sentiment and tradition is, within accepted contemporary notions of the idea of heritage such as this chapter has sought to reconstruct, an attack on a collective 'legacy' of social values. The second interpretation of the idea of heritage in this novel is the idea of family inheritance and personal legacies, and the social implications of continuity and stability. The third is the transference of the second interpretation, from the private into the public sphere, where (ideally) it serves as a model for social stability and continuity, as in the kinds of values espoused by the conservative politician Churchill. Alternatively it can serve as a pretext for colonialist plunder — where a character such as De Mersch (Cecil Rhodes, or King Leopold of Belgium) *claims* to be establishing a model state on the lines of contemporary notions of the organic nation-state. Through supportive publicity in the press De Mersch seeks to invent immediate heritage for this new political entity where 'heritage' now means something like public history, public image, or good repute (for the purpose of raising capital through stocks and shares).

This is where Conrad and Ford seem to make their ultimate point: 'heritage' as a concept that means the passing on of worthy social values and traditions (which is the sense that Ruskin intends) has been cheapened; the idea has been taken over by vicious entrepreneurs and bent to their own ends; the press is employed to promote these ends by means of invention. Granger has been flattered and coerced into believing that his journalism is a noble task:

I saw the apotheosis of the Press — a Press that makes a State Founder suppliant to a man like myself. For he had the tone of a deprecating petitioner. I stood between himself and a people, the arbiter of the peoples, of the kings of the future. I was nothing, nobody; yet here I stood in communion with one of those who change the face of continents. He had need of me, of the power that was behind me. (ibid: 98)

And just as Granger has been manipulated into this role as propagandist for De Mersch, so, it is revealed, De Mersch himself and his financiers and cronies have been manipulated into pursuing their grand schemes by the Fourth Dimensionists. The Dimensionists seek to promote this falsification of social value, in order to hasten the end of the present order and bring about their own 'inheriting' of the earth. As the 'inheritors' of the novel's title they represent the idea that worthy legacies, the 'goodly heritage' of the psalmist, or Ruskin's

'great entail', have been rendered meaningless by greed, political jobbery, and the popular press. This is of course a conservative view by the authors on the presumed distortion of a conservative ideology.

In actual fact the heritage discourse of the period is already a congeries of invented tradition which seeks to be received as a naturalized phenomenon and which is promoted precisely by means of the popular press, fiction, and nationalist sentiment. The enormous investment that went into the marshalling of public sentiment during an epoch which saw the rise of mass communication and mass performance (such as the historical pageants that came into vogue after 1905) is seen in the invention of identity and heritage and public history for the new political entities of the Australian Federation (1901) and the Union of South Africa (1910). Similar efforts were required in England, with the desire to propagandize empire and monarchy at Victoria's two jubilees, the coronation of Edward VII, and the great pageant, durbar, and empire exhibition attending the accession of George V in 1911.

Nonetheless, conservative attitudes such as Conrad's and Ford's in *The Inheritors* by no means detract from the sense of heritage as a construct. Their insistence on authenticity only reinforces the general idea, all the more since the vehicle of their insistence is fiction; while (conversely but to the same point) behind the heritage discourse may be discerned a very powerful and seductive social fantasy — a desire — which is recursively self-renewing. Heritage is an invention that must be received as authentic, but when the fabrication becomes too obvious or the 'lie' is exposed then certain of the inventors have to be cut out and martyred (as is the case with De Mersch and his cronies) in order that faith in the social fantasy may be renewed. The idea of heritage is inescapably implicated in social desire and invention, and thus part of the stock of journalism and fiction. The Granger estate of Etchingham is highly desirable; the fact of an established family lineage insists that this patrimony is authentic; but further the estate 'quintessentially' reflects 'English' national character, at which point the dividing line between the real and a newly constructed sense of public legacy (such as that of the English National Trust, or *Country Life* magazine, or Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Association, founded in 1899) is blurred. Etchingham is only qualitatively different from the kind of reputation and tradition that the Duc de Mersch (who hopes to be elected to a politically significant continental principality) seeks to fabricate. In consequence, the implied role of the superhuman Fourth Dimensionists might be to assist in distinguishing between these extremes at either end of a sliding scale of value. Their cynicism and the emptiness of their notion of 'inheritance' proclaim their 'modernity'; while the absolutism of their perspective directs the judgement of the reader in deciding between the relative values of Etchingham or entrepreneurship. The need for such a distinction is, in any event, tendentious.

A full reconstruction of what was meant, in the age of empire, by the idea of heritage, offers a variegated filter for the observance of social values in a public sphere that was distinguished by considerable social and financial upheavals such as rival colonizing schemes and the accelerating challenges of modernization. The contemporaneous interest in ideas of the organic state and the (re)affirmation of conservative social values in the making of national identity for a new urbanized mass consumer culture sought to redress the shock of the new by an ideological, stylistic and rhetorical reversion to the old. The idea of heritage with its considerable range of meanings and applications appears to have lent itself readily to this purpose, and should be recognized as a leading tropology by which value systems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were articulated. Traditionally the novel is eminently suited to the treating of questions of inheritance, and – as in Fairbridge's novels and in *The Inheritors* – during this period it serves to refract and monitor the play of meanings generated by the heritage tropology. Further (a topic to be explored elsewhere but pithily summarized by Terry Eagleton in his *Literary Theory* [1983]²⁶), this period of history also sees, along with the emergence of modern literature as a University discipline, the idea that a national literature (and with it a supposed national genius) is a prized family possession that has been passed down from generation to generation and is part of the stock of the nation's heritage²⁷.

¹ Wheatcroft provides a useful summary of the honours and titles which were acquired by the Randlords. (1993:227-8)

² *Cape Times*, 7 November 1929

³ See Bernard Semmel (1968), for a concise account of the role of the Oxford neo-Hegelians at the time. Says Semmel, '(In) the new collectivist spirit of the eighties, the state had received a new meaning and importance at the hands of the Neo-Hegelian philosophers Green and Bradley Many young Oxford men were attracted to this new vision of Liberalism by ... T.H. Green, who can be said to have laid the philosophical foundations for Liberal-Imperialism. Green ... preached a new concept of the organic nation which opened the door to social reform and to positive state action in all areas, a gospel which he preached to Balliol men of the generation of Asquith and Milner.' (1968: 20) Nimocks (1970) is a good study of the work and ideas of the kindergarten in South Africa.

⁴ Jowett's Balliol produced many of the administrators of British India. Jowett in fact recruited undergraduates from Haileybury, the traditional public school for boys who planned to enter the Indian Civil Service. The Viceroy of India Lord Curzon is the most distinguished of these.

⁵ Andrew Nash (1985:35) suggests that 'the question of how philosophy became possible in the colonial context of South Africa is also the question of "how Hegel came to Africa"'. The departure point for Nash's thesis, is that the committed Oxford neo-Hegelian, one of Benjamin Jowett's Balliol proteges, R.F.L. Hoernle, was appointed the first Professor of Philosophy in the South African College, Cape Town (the forerunner of the University of Cape Town) in 1908.

⁶ See Nimocks (1970:108-16) for the political background to this magazine, and (ibid:179-96) for the *Round Table* movement.

⁷ *Cape Times*, 10 August 1909: 4.

⁸ Nash for instance contrasts a 'colonial social diversity' with 'imperialist world-order historical unity' (Nash, 1985: 62), and, as evidence of one specific local historical tradition that felt threatened by Hegelian universalism, he quotes from a speech by the Stellenbosh scholar Toby Muller, entitled 'Our History in Danger' (1914): 'So we are struggling now for nothing less than the right to remember our history and to think and act in accordance with it'. (ibid.: 96-7)

⁹ The right-wing terrorists who planted a bomb in Worcester, Cape Province, in 1994, claimed allegiance to an Afrikaans secret society, '*Die Israelitiese Waarheid*' ('The Israelite Truth'), which evidently is a sinister latter-day perpetuation of the imperial English cult.

¹⁰ Chitty, in Wheeler, ed. (1995: 102)

¹¹ Gill Chitty discusses Ruskin's usage in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* of the ideas of 'heritage' and 'conservation', in Wheeler, ed. (1995: 102-22).

¹² The history of the National Trust is an illuminating study in the relations between conservation and politics. One of the founders, Octavia Hill, sought to preserve open spaces for the welfare of London slum children; some decades later the Trust was considered a means for the landed classes to minimize the impact of death-duties. Herbert Baker in his memoirs (1944: 11) writes rather grandly as follows:

When the National Trust, on the Council of which I am a member, were promoting a Bill enabling them to accept estates on the condition that the donor and his heirs might be entitled to live there, I discussed it with my friend Lord Lothian [Philip Kerr of Milner's 'Kindergarten'], the owner of Blickling, and with the owners of Penshurst [the Hardinge and Cecil family] and Knole [Sackville-West]. Like them, I was possessed with the sense of the memorial and ancestral value of an English home, and so I was inspired to make the gift of Owletts and its orchards to the Trust.

¹³ A good example of such a construction is Madeline Alston's conservative imperialist book of essays on domestic economy in British South Africa entitled *From an Old Cape Homestead* (1929).

¹⁴ The 1911 Honours List produced a crop of South African baronetcies and knighthoods, including Leander Starr Jameson, Sir George Farrar, David Graaff, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, Abe Bailey, and Sir Nicholas de Waal, following on the creation the previous year of Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of Union, as Lord de Villiers of Wynberg. Lionel Phillips received his baronetcy in 1912. See Wheatcroft (1993).

¹⁵ Stevenson (1997) and Koperski (2000) have researched the material legacy of the Randlords, and of William Fehr, who collected art works and Africana, bequeathing these in the case of Sir Max Michaelis, and of William Fehr, to the nation.

¹⁶ As quoted by William Plomer (1984 [1933]: 25-6). Rhodes dedicated this will to the Earl of Carnarvon, then British Secretary for the Colonies, who wanted to federalize South Africa in the 1870s. Carnarvon was also Grand Master of the English Constitution of Freemasonry, which already enjoyed an extraordinary sense of global connection and may have been in Rhodes's mind, seeing that he was then a member of the Craft in a Masonic lodge in Kimberley.

¹⁷ On the death of his first wife the much respected Cape newspaper proprietor and lobbyist J.H. Hofmeyr married her sister; but this was for a very different reason than shortage of eligible brides in the well-established colonial society of late nineteenth-century Cape Town.

¹⁸ See Hahlo and Kahn (1960: 622-26) for a discussion of the influence of English law on Roman-Dutch law at the Cape as regards laws of succession.

¹⁹ McClintock speaks of a process of 'patriarchal regeneration', part of the 'imperial narrative' of the 'regeneration of the family of man', and argues that Haggard's fiction typifies this process. (1995: 232-57)

²⁰ J.M. Coetzee's novel *Disgrace* (1999) returns to the same theme of land and patrimony, setting a severe coda to two centuries of colonial assertion of land rights and rights of person. The main character loses his way professionally, his study of romantic literary heritage running into the sand. His white lesbian daughter, pregnant with the child of a black rapist, has forsaken all conventions, and her smallholding reverts to the black community through an incremental 'land grab'.

²¹ A cartoon in the *Cape Times*, titled "Left in the Lurch", wittily illustrates one implication of this trope: it shows a bride jilted at the church door, her groom gleefully running away to join his chums with money which he first wants to spend in manly pursuits. The caption states: 'The date of the proclamation of Union has been postponed till 31 May. An artist illustrates a popular conception of the reason'. (*Cape Times*, 4 August 1909: 8)

²² Condemned by Milner as 'the drivell of the idiot Ruskin', although Milner did indeed join in the Hinksey road-mending project.

²³ Plaatje pointedly refers to the enthusiastic but ineffectual 'Brotherhood Movement' in Edwardian England. He records a comment in a speech at a Brotherhood League meeting in London in 1915, where 'a great resemblance between Brotherhood and Empire' is claimed. (1916: 227). Later in the same book Plaatje savours the irony of the anti-imperial use by General de Wet at Lichtenburg, at the funeral of De la Rey, of the self-same trope: 'If there be any one present who is not a brother, let him walk away. Since nobody is leaving I conclude that we are brothers all. If there be any stepbrothers here, they are all welcome, but a traitor always reminds me of Judas.' (ibid: 299)

²⁴ Two more historical allusions seem intended here: Fairbridge's Guild of Loyal Women retained the services of a Cornish builder and stonemason, Robert Cane, for the erecting of headstones and monuments that were shipped to South Africa by the families of imperial soldiers killed in the SA War; and in the eighteen-nineties an entire family of twelve members (the Peachey family of Tongaat, Natal) was lost (along with a group of Freemasons) when the Drummond Castle sank off Ushant. The Peachey family are remembered by an

obelisk in Maidstone Cemetery, KwaZulu-Natal; the Freemasons by the memorial lectern in St George's Cathedral, Cape Town.

²⁵ In the Edward Arnold publication record book, Fairbridge has the dubious privilege of contiguity with E.M. Forster. His classic *A Passage to India* (1924) brought in £4,242 between 1924 and 1931, while *The Uninvited* managed a humble £176 in the same period. Hodder and Stoughton (Edward Arnold) records, MS 29072, 3, 155-62, Guildhall Library, London.

²⁶ See Eagleton, 1983: 22-30.

²⁷ It is no accident that the first modern professional commentator on Shakespeare, A.C. Bradley, was a brother of the Oxford neo-Hegelian F.H. Bradley who wrote on the subject of civil society, the nation and the state. T.S. Eliot's doctoral thesis was on F.H. Bradley's idealist social philosophy. F.H. Bradley was himself versed in drama, writing a study of ancient Greek tragedy in relation to ideas concerning Greek society. The connection is significant considering the enormous emphasis, in the early twentieth century, on both Shakespearean and classical drama as a vehicle for exploring or celebrating contemporary English citizenship.

Chapter Two: Fairbridge Legacies

Dorothea Fairbridge and her father, her grandfather, their relatives, and professional friends and associates participated in an extraordinary range of activities which laid the foundations of much that was once taken for granted as Cape (and South African) public heritage. These include Thomas Pringle's South African Literary and Scientific Institution, the public bequest of Sir George Grey, the establishment of the South African Library and the South African Museum, the building of the parliament building in Cape Town, the establishment of the Cape Archives; the preservation of the Koopmans de Wet House in Cape Town, the launch in 1905 of the forerunner of the South African National Monuments Commission, significant contributions to South African historiography, the establishment of Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens, the South African Botanical Society, and the Kruger National Park; the restoration of the homesteads of Vergelegen and Groot Constantia, the provision of the public space of the Arderne Gardens in Claremont, Cape Town (ranked by the National Monuments Council as 'of great botanical and environmental importance; one of the most important gardens of the Victorian era in South Africa'), and most notably several major book collections and bibliographies of Africana including the celebrated Fairbridge Collection at the South African Library. On an international scale, Dorothea Fairbridge is behind the origins of the Victoria League and (indirectly) the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, and her cousin, the poet Kingsley Fairbridge, initiated the Fairbridge Farm Schools in Australia, and schemes for empire settlement. Not a hugely wealthy family, although obviously well to do, the Fairbridges worked as publicly elected figures, or as civil servants, or volunteers, through professional associations or in coteries of like-minded friends. Costs of these endeavours were by public subscription or public monies, or the huge financial support of Randlords such as Sir Lionel Phillips and Sir Abe Bailey.

Some of these topics will be dealt with in subsequent chapters, but this chapter discusses Fairbridge family history as a case study of the idea of heritage as it was explored in the preceding chapter. Heritage was treated as a portmanteau concept, very evident in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which embraces the wills and testaments of individual persons, family bequests, developments in public culture, philosophical and spiritual discourses, and concepts of national identity and destiny. This chapter ranges from the minutiae of a long and varied family tree to the public achievements of Dorothea Fairbridge's father and grandfather, and other members of the family, drawing on personal memoirs and the testimonies of their peers. The material is at times gothic in its antiquarian detail, but also universal in its range and locale. It emphasises the global interests and connections of a leading Cape colonial family, not out of mere genealogical casuistry but in

order to illustrate the ideas which have been mooted concerning the Victorian and Edwardian 'heritage discourse'.

Bequests and Papers

Biographers are adjured to begin at the end. Dorothea Anne Fairbridge's death certificate identifies her parents as the late Charles and Rebecca Fairbridge of Cape Town. Dora to her friends (or Dodo, as her family knew her) died at her home, Paradise, Monmouth Avenue, Claremont, on 25 August 1931, aged 69. The death certificate refers to heart failure after two week's illness, but she had also been diagnosed with cancer for the preceding four years. Her friend and patron Florence Phillips stayed with her at Paradise for the final two days, and she was buried in Woltemade Cemetery, Cape Town. Her last will and testament, made in 1930, grants her movable effects to her Currey nephews, sons and daughters of her sister Ethelreda, who married Harry Latham Currey, one of Cecil Rhodes's young secretaries. A special clause bequeaths to her nephew John Mackarness Currey 'the two silver cups won by my brother's horse, Mosquito', while another specifies to her niece Nancy Margaret Currey 'the diamond pendant and broach with three stones which I hope she will value as I valued them for the sake of my mother to whom they belonged'. The only other special clause in her will is the sum of 'one thousand five hundred pounds sterling' to be invested by the executors 'in good and sufficient security and to pay the annual or other interest accruing from such investment to Mrs Alison Knapp (widow) during her lifetime in gratitude for long friendship and service' [Alison Knapp was her Scots housekeeper and cook], as well as gifts of money to two others, Lily Elizabeth Hay (spinster) (fifty pounds sterling) and Blanche Shaw (spinster) (ten pound sterling). Fairbridge, herself a spinster, made it her policy to employ as servants white female immigrants from England, in line with the then current initiatives to encourage immigration to South Africa.

She appoints Sir Alfred Hennessy of the Colonial Orphan Chamber, Cape Town, as principal executor of her estate, and John de Moleyns Johnson of the Clarendon Press, Oxford University, as her literary executor, entrusting them jointly with all royalties and copyrights, and the safe keeping of correspondence, manuscripts, and unfinished work which appears to have included material for a book she had planned, on South African birds. 'She has frequently talked to me about you in terms of the warmest friendship', writes Hennessy to Johnson, informing him of their joint executorship and returning to him the uncorrected proofs of her last book, *Historic Farms of South Africa*, which was published posthumously later in 1931. (Hennessy to Johnson, 28 August 1931) Johnson replies, 'Here is an embarrassment for me. I had no inkling of it in the world. But I am pleased to serve.' (15 September 1931)¹

Her literary bequest no longer exists. Johnson hoped it might be housed in the Bodleian Library (at its annex in the Rhodes House Library), but for an unspecified reason Sir Alfred Hennessy destroyed all her papers. Correspondence between Hennessy and Johnson at the time of her death suggests that Hennessy acted out of a kind of paternalist chivalry. The final two years of her life were spent editing the Milner papers, the major collection of letters, memoirs, and speeches of Viscount Milner, which were held by his wife Violet Milner at Bodiam in Surrey after his death in 1925. Fairbridge was invited by Viscountess Milner to take on the task of preparing the Milner papers for publication, spending some months at Milner's home of Great Wigsell, Bodiam, in late 1928. Johnson was pleased that his protégé would have these published by Oxford University Press. He writes to Fairbridge, encouraging her in the project: 'I hope always that we may have another association with you in the Milner book. Think how it would set the last stone to your own cornice'. (John Johnson to Fairbridge, 19 November 1928)²

Johnson writes to his London colleague, Humphrey Milford, asking him to smooth the path to publication by sending Lady Milner a presentation copy of Fairbridge's topographical book *The Pilgrim's Way in South Africa*, which the two men had seen into print that same month:

Do somehow or other get a copy to Lady Milner as it may influence the other issue. If I remember Lady Milner was going to leave Fairbridge for November alone at Great Wigsell. Anyway, Miss Fairbridge's presentation list will probably disclose this. We have to play every card if your coup is to come off. (Johnson to Humphrey Milford, 16 November 1928)³

An old friend, Philip Kerr, the Marquess of Lothian, who was Warden of Rhodes House and Trustee of the Rhodes Trust, and an erstwhile member of Milner's Kindergarten in pre-Union South Africa, assisted her while the Rhodes Trust provided a subvention for the publication of the papers.

However, correspondence during 1929 and 1930 indicates that Fairbridge and Viscountess Milner found the task intimately awkward – Fairbridge 'carried a torch' for Milner ever since their first meeting when he was Governor and High Commissioner in Cape Town during the South African War. She devoted her life's work to his memory, while Violet Milner (Lady Edward Cecil, as she then was) found direct romantic favour, in Cape Town, at the same time. Much later, in 1921, three years after the death of her estranged husband Lord Edward Cecil, son of the Earl of Salisbury, Violet Cecil married Milner, having kept up a corresponding romantic and political friendship with him for two decades. The intensity of the collaboration on the Milner papers brought about severe stress for

Dorothea Fairbridge and she sailed back to Cape Town, leaving the task of editing the two volumes of the Milner papers to the historian Cecil Headlam.

There is also evidence of lack of money and of ill health. Fairbridge was diagnosed with high blood pressure by the family doctor when she was staying with the Johnsons in Oxford in August 1926. The doctor had called to see to Johnson who was in bed after an operation, and then 'gave his final injection for Typhoid to the whole family. Then ... Fairbridge wished to be examined and Hobson spent from 11 till 12 at night on her. Disclosing unfortunately an awful blood-pressure which, unless she's careful, may shorten her days. A very melancholy evening'.⁴ In April 1929 Johnson writes to Milford:

I enclose a copy of a letter from Miss Fairbridge. Her paragraph about Lady Milner sounds ominous. I rather thought that Lady Milner was trying to force a quarrel while Miss Fairbridge was with me. (Johnson to Milford, 15 April 1929)⁵

In September that year Johnson comments: 'A very sad letter came from the lady while I was away, a letter not wholly without dignity. I do not think she has been well treated'. She writes to him from Cape Town as follows:

I think you will not be very surprised to hear that I have given up the Milner book. You knew something of the difficulties I had experienced from Lady Milner and the strain of trying to work under them which broke down my health when in England.

These difficulties have increased. They have mainly centred round the impossibility of getting the material from her. To be concise – after nearly a year, I have just returned to her less than 18 months' correspondence out of the nine years which the book was supposed to cover. She took back much of the material when I was ill, under the pretext of taking care of it, and refused to return it to me, except the few letters which I have now sent back to her on giving up the work.

Nothing but my friendship for Lord Milner has prevented me from doing this long ago, for the situation has been intolerable. I think the explanation is that when she asked me to edit the letters she thought that I would be a docile person who would work under her direction. When she found that I wasn't, she proceeded to make the position an impossible one – doling me out a few letters at a time, instead of letting me have all the copies of the papers which I set aside and which have been in type since last November, hoping to wear me out. I have acted under the advice of Sir Henry

Birchenough, Lord Milner's friend and executor, who has been a good friend to me also. There is another friend of Lord Milner on your Council, I think. Please tell him how deeply I regret being forced to give up work to which I would have given my best. Philip Kerr or Sir Henry could give him further details if he wants them. Well – I have lost nearly a year's work, I am not yet able to walk very far or fast, I am the poorer by three or four hundred pounds. But it is a great relief to be free – though a sorrow that the work has been made impossible. To the world it is enough to say that I cannot carry it on at this distance. (Fairbridge to Johnson, 9 August 1929)⁶

Viscountess Milner's agent, James Rendel, writes to her concerning the matter:

Have you made up your mind what to do about Miss Fairbridge, or do you wish to talk it over again with me?

I have seen her, and heard from her by letter since. I have told her that in my judgement she cannot finish her job without another visit to England.

If she can manage this, I am inclined to think that you had better let her have the papers she wants, so that she can rough out her work in South Africa. I think she is rather over-wrought, but it may be that the sea voyage and the enforced rest which it involves will put her right. (James M. Rendel to Viscountess Milner, 28 March 1929)⁷

In May of the following year, Rendel again writes to Viscountess Milner concerning Fairbridge and the Milner papers, now being edited by Headlam:

We were rejoiced to get your letter and to hear that such an excellent start has been made with the book. If you have found the right man – and clearly there is every reason to think you have – it makes up for all the vexation and disappointment of the last eighteen months. I suppose you have heard nothing from Miss Fairbridge? I always feel very sorry for her. But the task was beyond her strength and capacity, and for her sake as well as yours it is fortunate that the mistake was found out in time. (James M. Rendel to Viscountess Milner, 7 May 1930)⁸

It is very likely that an emotionally fraught proximity to the Milner circles, and indeed to the illustrious and ancient Cecil and Hardinge families of Hatfield and Penshurst, led to the suppression of her literary bequest. This over-zealous chivalry by a local knight indicates the pathos of the situation of a colonial woman writer, doubly devoted to her new nation and to

the illusion of England as 'home', coming too close to hearths that are encircled by enormous power and prestige. Hennessy was a director of Syfret's Trust, a Cape Town firm of accountants and trustees which was the local agency for the Rhodes Trust (of which Milner himself was at one time the chairman). Fairbridge's private papers were circumscribed by powerful agents of discretion and protocol.

Dorothea Fairbridge's movable assets were auctioned in November 1931. The auction catalogue is a fascinating inventory of antiques and Africana, testimony to the literary and antiquarian interests of her father and her self. The summary of the auction catalogue specifies 'Rare Period English and Continental Furniture, Beautiful Cut Glass, Fine Collection of Cut and other Glass, Rare English and Oriental Pottery and Porcelain, Exceptionally Fine Brass and Copper, Old Sheffield Plate and Silver, Oriental Rugs, Rare South African and other Engravings and Original Drawings, Water-colours and Oils including a fine d'Hondercoeter, a Collection of Books including Rare Africana, etc'. The list includes over 600 antiques and 300 books. Fairbridge's friend and patron Florence Phillips, the wife of the Randlord Sir Lionel Phillips, and prime mover in the world of fine art and conservation in the first three decades of the Union, attended the auction, doing her best to bid up the prices. However, as Thelma Gutsche points out in her biography of Florence Phillips, 'they were for the most part low, her books being sold for trifles and her set of Marloth [the celebrated *Flora of South Africa* which had been one of Phillips's pet projects] for eighteen guineas. Upon being asked by a horrified journalist why she had opened the bidding for the valueless shell of a longcase clock with fifty guineas, Florrie tersely replied that she did not wish people to think that any of Miss Fairbridge's things were rubbish'. (Gutsche, 1966: 386) The auctioneer, Henry Hermann, gives the sale catalogue the title 'Fairbridge Collection', playing commercially on the fame of her father's book collection which is housed in the Fairbridge Wing of the South African Library. Dorothea and her brother formed a collection of portraits of Governors of the Cape, which was spared the ravages of public sale. It was later presented by her heirs to the South African nation, and hung in Government House (now Tuinhuis) in Cape Town.

In 1925, after her brother's death, Sir Abe Bailey bought the valuable collection of about 7,250 books from Dorothea and donated it to the nation, also paying for the costs of the new wing which was built to house it. There is evidence that Dorothea needed the money. In the South African summer of that same year Viscount Milner and Violet visited her at her home (his last trip to South Africa before his death), and he asked her to let the collection go to the Cory Library at Rhodes University, Grahamstown; but it would appear that financial considerations came first, and that Bailey's bid won the day. Bailey had in fact been appealed to by the Librarian of the South African Library to secure the collection. He paid £5,000 for the books, and contributed another £7,300 for the construction of the Fairbridge wing to the

Library. It was formally opened on 12 May 1927 by the Prime Minister of the Union, J.B.M. Hertzog.

A picture emerges, as the world moved towards the Depression, of straightened circumstances amongst antiques and *objets de vertu* of considerable value but dated interest. These were, largely, of eighteenth and nineteenth century provenance. The hustling world of the late 1920s and early 1930s, with economic depression set against vigorous modernization, the art deco revolution in decorative design, and emerging aggressive nationalism, not only on the continent but also in South Africa, was an inimical environment for unsustainable late Victorian gentility. The suppression of her literary bequest is symbolic of the end of an order.⁹ With the urging of the Nationalist prime minister Hertzog, the British parliament passed the Statute of Westminster in 1931, fundamentally transforming the Commonwealth from a colonial structure into the free political association it is now. This put into legal force the principles of full autonomy for the British dominions that had been approved at the 1926 imperial conference in London. The ideal of 'Closer Union' which Dorothea and her circles worked for (and which always entailed the idea of closer imperial union) was no longer political currency. The dropping of the gold standard (by Britain in 1931, and South Africa a year later) brought a new volatility to world economics, just as the pursuit of populist Afrikaner Nationalism in South Africa had broken the links with a seemingly assured imperial ethos that was, in fact, a fading legacy of the nineteenth century. Although the full intent of her Milnerite vision was irrevocably gone Fairbridge did, however, set the tone in her work for a sustained more-or-less liberal elite English-speaking cultural view of South Africa.

The Fairbridge Family

Other Fairbridge records are exceedingly abundant.¹⁰ It is a peculiarity of colonial consciousness that the need is felt to substantiate in detail the links to a past metropolitan identity by means of family history. Dorothea's father Charles Aken Fairbridge was a keen genealogist and heraldic artist. A niece of Dorothea, Brenda Fairbridge of Devon, compiled an extensive family tree with accompanying notes in 1924, the centenary of Dorothea's grandfather's arrival at the Cape.¹¹ This was done against the background of the centenary of the arrival in South Africa of the British '1820 Settlers', a centenary which was publicly celebrated with pageants and with publications, and with renewed attempts at British immigration schemes, in which Dorothea had a strong interest.¹²

The Fairbridge Family Records tell us that Dorothea's grandfather James William Fairbridge was born in London in 1793 of a Yorkshire family, qualified as a medical doctor at Aberdeen University in 1822, and arrived in South Africa in 1824. He settled in Wynberg,

licensed to practise as surgeon, apothecary and accoucher. He was appointed Surgeon to the Cape District in 1825, with the right to practise privately, from a surgery in New Street (now Bureau Street), Cape Town. He then became medical officer to the Cape Town prison and reformatory in 1830, and police surgeon from 1832-34. In 1834 he was made District Surgeon in the Uitenhage District and the family moved to the town of Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape. James William Fairbridge is described in the Family Records as 'an independent thinker with radical political views anxious for the political emancipation of women'. He also took an interest in the education of black citizens, was a founder of the Philanthropic Society, carried the official title of 'Protector of the Slaves', and championed the freedom of the press. An advertisement in the South African Commercial Advertiser of 5 January 1831 notified the public that 'Dr Fairbridge will give medical advice to the poor gratuitously every morning from 8 to 9 o'clock, no.3 New Street'. He was a member of Thomas Pringle's Literary Society, and his name is among the signatories to the memorial in September 1824 requesting the autocratic governor Lord Charles Somerset to allow the establishment of the Society. He also belonged to the London Anthropological Society, to which he sent several 'Hottentot' and 'Bushman' skulls, and the society for meteorological observations. He was a colleague and friend of the army surgeon Andrew Smith, whose collection of objects of natural history formed the nucleus of the South African Museum.¹³

The Family Records relate that James William Fairbridge was the son of William E. Fairbridge, who married Elizabeth Traill, descended from the Traills of Orkney and Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney, half brother to Mary Queen of Scots and son of King James V of Scotland. James William Fairbridge's wife was Sarah Armstrong of London, daughter of Dr Armstrong, physician at the 'lunatic asylum', Peckham House, Camberwell, which had been founded by Dr Armstrong's father.

Sarah and James William Fairbridge had nine children, five born in Cape Town and the last four in Uitenhage: Charles (born in Wynberg on 5 May 1824), Sarah, Sophia, Robert, William, Letitia, Francis, Anne and Caroline. Charles was father of Dorothea. William became father of William Ernest Fairbridge, general manager of the Argus Newspaper Co, first Mayor of Salisbury, Rhodesia, and compiler of a comprehensive 'South African Encyclopedia of Events'. Francis' son Rhys Seymour Fairbridge, a pioneer land surveyor in Rhodesia, fathered in turn the poet Kingsley Fairbridge, who after his education at Oxford as an early Rhodes Scholar began the Fairbridge Farm Schools at Pinjarra, Australia, to promote the cause of British emigration and empire settlement.

James and Sarah's eldest son Charles was intended for law or the Indian Civil Service, with a view to a cadetship in the British East India Company. At thirteen he was sent from Uitenhage to Cape Town, and then to England for five years' schooling at Mr Walker's Academy, Clapham. While waiting in Cape Town for a suitable passage to England (on the *Zenobia*) he befriended a servant who was the son of Lord Byron's manservant. He

bought from this person for two shillings an embroidered Greek jacket which once belonged to Byron, and later donated it to the South African Museum. It is now in the Byron Museum at Newstead Abbey. He was furnished by his father with the skulls of several 'Hottentots', to deliver to Dr Fairbridge's anthropological friend, the London phrenologist Epps. He returned to the Cape in 1842, aged eighteen, and became articled in law. He went into partnership in 1847 with John Alfred Merrington and Edward Hull, in the oldest English law firm in South Africa. Merrington and Co was started in 1811 by John Samuel Merrington who arrived at the Cape in 1809 on HMS *Camel*.¹⁴ With the retirement in 1852 of John Samuel's son John Alfred, the firm of Merrington, Fairbridge and Hull was restyled Fairbridge, Hull and Meintjies, Charlie Fairbridge becoming senior partner at the age of twenty-eight. This in due course became Fairbridge, Arderne and Lawton, which is the name under which it still exists. Physically small but with immense energy and interest in public affairs, he pursued a widely varied career which began with a seat in the first Cape parliament as Member for Caledon at the outset of representative government in 1854.

Charles married Sarah Rebecca Anderson in 1858, when he was thirty-four and she merely nineteen. Their first child William George was born at the end of that year, and two years later they had a daughter, Sarah, who lived for only a few months. They moved to Sea Point on the Atlantic seaboard of the Cape Peninsula in 1862, purchasing a large villa, 'Mimosas', on the estate of the Leibbrandt family, where Dorothea was born that year, as were her sisters Ethelreda (1869) and Mary (1872). Marischal Murray describes the house and its setting as follows:

... the foremost house of distinction on the Beach Road – indeed, in all Green Point and Sea Point of the later 1800s – was Mimosas. Mimosas stood on a small portion of a block of land that was granted in 1818 to Johannes Sebastiaan Leibbrandt, '*gelegen*', according to the title deeds, '*achter de Leeuwenbol, naby de oude Societeitshuis*'.

Mimosas, from being a single-storeyed villa, had now been converted into a double-storeyed place. In the grounds a fascinating garden was laid out, thick with shrubs and exotic trees that almost hid the house from view. What, however, gave Mimosas its chief claim to fame was Charles Fairbridge's magnificent library, housed in a special wing erected for the purpose. At Green and Sea Point, it should be remembered, there were once the finest private libraries in the Cape Peninsula – if not in Cape Colony. They were the Fairbridge Library at Mimosas, Saul Solomon's at Clarensville, and M.L. Wessels's collection at Green Point. No wonder that Mimosas came to be regarded as 'a home of European stateliness and culture, to which any distinguished visitor to the Cape immediately makes his way'. It was in

surroundings such as these that Fairbridge's daughter, Dorothea, grew up, later to become, herself, a noted historian of South Africa. (Murray, 1964:133-4)

Sea Point friends of the Fairbridges included Professor Roderick Noble, editor of the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, and his brother John who was Clerk of the Legislative Assembly in Cape Town. John Noble married the niece of the archivist Rev H.C.V. Leibbrandt. Leibbrandt, who lived in a nearby villa named Leonburg after his families' home town in Wurttemberg, Germany, became Dorothea's mentor, setting her on her career as a recorder of early Cape history. The consequences of his influence are particularly interesting, and are dealt with in the next chapter. Thelma Gutsche comments on Charles and his friends:

In Cape Town, little Charles Fairbridge, the lawyer, accumulated a massive knowledge on the history of the country and on the cultural development of the world at large which he imparted to his family (particularly his daughter Dorothea Ann, born in 1862) and to the coterie of English- and Dutch-speaking cronies who frequented Mimosas. (Gutsche, 1966: 8)

With the Cape's new constitution and responsible government in 1872, Charles became one of the four Members of the Legislative Assembly for Cape Town in the election of 1874. Reluctant to see the start of a penal colony on Robben Island he opposed the 'Natal Criminals' Bill' which the Cape parliament pushed through in 1874 in order to incarcerate, on behalf of Natal Colony, the Hlubi chief Langalibalele; and with the majority of the House he stood against Lord Carnarvon's scheme, in 1875, for the confederation of the four South African polities. In 1879 he was spoken of as a nominee for the post of Attorney-General. Governor William Barkly appointed him chair of a select committee to plan the new houses for the Cape Legislative Assembly, which up to then had met in the Freemasonic Lodge de Goede Hoop. He was President of the Law Society of the Cape of Good Hope from its inception in 1883, and was appointed Admiralty Proctor in 1861, on the personal recommendation of the governor, Sir George Grey, who tried to have him appointed 'Queen's Proctor' but was informed that there was no precedent for such an office in the colonies. Grey wrote as follows to Lord Newcastle, Secretary of State:

Ever since the year 1848 Mr Fairbridge has practically performed the actual duties of Queen's Proctor at the Cape of Good Hope. He is a gentleman of much more than ordinary ability and in every way qualified to do justice to the appointment for which he asks. (MacSymon, 1990: 62)

He became a Justice of the Peace in 1864 and Honorary Queen's Proctor in the Court of Vice-Admiralty in the Cape in the 1870s. A keen amateur herald, he designed the coat of arms of the Cape Colony in 1875. He took as his own armorial bearing and book plate design the crest of the Traills of Holland House, North Ronaldsay, Orkney, combined with that of the Traills of Ireland, 'a column set in the sea proper', with the motto *discrimine salus* (widely open to interpretation: salvation, safety, welfare or prosperity through difference, distinction, decision, or hazard). This same motto was later assigned to the town of Salisbury (Harare) by his nephew William Ernest Fairbridge.

Charles Fairbridge passed a motion in the Cape Parliament in 1855, calling for a select committee to inquire into the establishment (or re-establishment, in fact) of a South African Museum, in Cape Town. The idea was promoted by the Governor, Sir George Grey, who gained the services of Edgar Leopold Layard (brother of Sir Henry Layard, discoverer of the ruins of Nineveh) as Curator. The first three trustees were the Cape Colonial Secretary, Hon Rawson W. Rawson, Dr Ludwig Pappe (apothecary and Government Botanist), and Thomas Maclear, Royal Astronomer at the Cape. Rawson left the Cape in 1860 and Fairbridge was appointed as a trustee in his place. He served as voluntary temporary curator in 1856, assisted Layard with cataloguing in 1861, and remained a trustee until his death in 1893. Because of his prominent position in Cape society and political and legal circles he was closely involved in all the major developments in the history of the South African Museum – appointments, the building of the South African Library (under the keen patronage of Sir George Grey), which housed the museum in its west wing for several decades; and the plans for relocation of the museum to a new specially built edifice higher up in the Cape Town Gardens.¹⁵

Charles Fairbridge was appointed by Sir George Grey to serve as a trustee of the valuable Grey collection of books and manuscripts, and was also a member of the committee of the South African Library, from 1868 to 1887. He donated valuable books to the library, including the unique Africana item, Grevenbroek's manuscript work, *Elegans et accurata gentis Africanae circa Promontorium Capitis Bonae Spei*, of 1695.¹⁶

Among these many duties he also served as chairman of the Cape Orphan Chamber, and -- more egregiously -- as Registrar of the Provincial Grand Lodge of the English Constitution of Freemasonry, and District Grand Master for South Africa, Western Division, from 1879 to 1890.

In 1886 he published, in collaboration with his journalist friend John Noble, the Clerk of the House of Assembly, a *Catalogue of Books Relating to South Africa*. This is the first attempt at a catalogue of Africana (although the term 'Africana' for books relating to Africa, and Southern Africa in particular, appears only to have been used for the first time in 1902).¹⁷ This catalogue was compiled as Cape Town's official contribution to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, held in London, to celebrate Queen Victoria's fiftieth jubilee. Fairbridge

regularly contributed items to Cape newspapers and literary magazines, but as Lewin Robinson points out, most are unidentifiable because in the practice of the day he adopted *ad hoc* pseudonyms. One which is identified as by Fairbridge is a version, in 1848, of D.G. Rosetti's tale of the Dutchman who took on the Devil in a pipe-smoking contest on Table Mountain's Devil's Peak.¹⁸ (Lewin Robinson, 1955: 74)

Charles Fairbridge was a friend of the controversial Bishop Colenso of Natal, and intimate of the philanthropic parliamentarian and newspaper proprietor Saul Solomon. A thorough-going Victorian liberal, he pursued an independent and sympathetic course in most things but was prevented by the Cape government from entertaining for lunch at Mimosas the Zulu king Cetshwayo, a prisoner in the Castle after the close of the Zulu War of 1878-79, while Colenso was a guest of his in November 1880. Other distinguished guests who stayed at Mimosas included Thomas Charles Scanlen, when his Premiership of the Cape came to an end, and James Anthony Froude, the historian who toured South Africa in the 1870s on behalf of Lord Carnarvon's scheme for confederation. Fairbridge died in 1893, four months after taking a sea voyage in the company of his wife, and daughters Dorothea and Mary, for the sake of his health.

Dorothea grew up in this 'bracing atmosphere of the early days of the Victorian wits and humorists', in the best of Cape culture, society and politics.¹⁹ She was sent to England for her schooling, but there is no record of the details. The two outstanding public schools for girls of her social class in the 1870s were the North London Collegiate and the Cheltenham School for Girls, but she may have attended one of a number of smaller schools: the Girls' Public Day School Company of 1872 was in the process of setting up 'public day schools for the education of girls of all classes, above those provided for by the Elementary Education Act'. Their first was Chelsea High School in 1873, followed soon by schools in Clapham, Croydon, Hackney, Highbury, Maida Vale, Notting Hill, St John's Wood, and South Hampstead, all in the 1870s, evidently to cater for the rapid expansion of the London middle classes and their demand for an acceptable education for their daughters. Another half dozen were established in London in the 1880s, as well as schools from Newcastle and York to Oxford, Norwich, Tunbridge Wells, Brighton and Swansea.²⁰ It is more likely, though, that she was educated at a private establishment. In the next decade, back in Sea Point, she began her studies in Cape history with her father and Leibbrandt, with further travels in the Mediterranean and in Europe, accompanying her mother, after Charles's death in 1893.

She is described by a young adventurer in his South African War reminiscences as 'a very remarkable woman, extremely beautiful, and one of the ablest, as well as the most charming women I have known. I quickly developed an admiration'. (Howard-Williams, 1949:194) Early photographs show a serious, self-assured and very good-looking young woman. According to her nephew Ronald Fairbridge Currey, Dorothea 'never got over the

death of the man to whom she was engaged, and never married afterwards, though there were those who were anxious to marry her'. The identity of the *fiance* is not known, but he is believed to have been an officer with the imperial forces in the South African War. Milner became the object of her admiration, and Mimosas during the war 'became the social centre of the "loyal" – some would say "Jingo" – section who were now looking to Alfred Milner at Government House as their leader and inspiration. The heart of the female side of the Jingoism of the day was "The Loyal Women's Guild", a society started and enthusiastically built up by Dorothea Fairbridge.' ²¹

Her brother William, an authority on ornithology, was educated at Haileybury and Trinity College, Cambridge, and became a senior partner in the firm. Though not greatly distinguished in his professional life he served on the Council of the Law Society and was an expert on South African estates and English law of probate. He too remained single, and in 1905 he moved with Dorothea and their widowed mother into a house built for them by Herbert Baker's partner Francis Masey, in Monmouth Avenue, Claremont. This was named Paradise after the old estate associated with Lord Charles Somerset and Lady Anne Barnard in the early nineteenth century. Mimosas was retained in the family, let to tenants, until 1912. A special room was built on to Paradise to house their father's book collection. William was Steward of the South African Turf Club, owned a racehorse named Mosquito, and kept up to thirteen whippets and pointers, 'in case at some time he might have the opportunity of a week's shooting'; these were a serious cause for anxiety as they gambolled around Paradise, among his sister's collection of antique porcelain. They rode with him on the train to work in the city. He appears to have been a considerable eccentric, who refused to have electric lighting in the house. 'We went up to bed in a procession, carrying beautifully kept brass candlesticks, to undress in a half-light that was more romantic than effective', writes Audrey Brooke in her memoirs.²² William Fairbridge is haplessly remembered as one whom the notorious Princess Radziwill hired in her struggle for survival as she waged her bizarre vendetta against Cecil Rhodes.²³ At the time of his death in 1925 he was chairman of the Cape Town Orchestra Committee.

Their sister Ethelreda married Henry Latham Currey (Harry) in 1892. He was the son of John Blades Currey, friend of Charles Fairbridge and General Manager of De Beer's Diamond Mines at Kimberley. De Beers built a fine brick Victorian lodge for John Blades Currey which was, in the 1930s, granted by the Kimberley Municipality to the renowned ethnographic photographer Alfred Duggan-Cronin. Harry Currey was employed in 1892 as one of a succession of male secretaries to Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Colony at the time. When he announced to Rhodes at Groote Schuur that he had become engaged to Ethelreda Fairbridge and was soon to be married, the sexually 'inverted' magnate ordered him out of his house. Rhodes is said to have made a scene at the wedding, where he was guest of honour, announcing to Ethelreda that he was jealous of her.²⁴ Harry Currey's mother

was born Mary Christian, descended from Fletcher Christian who led the mutiny on HMS Bounty and fathered the Christian clan of the Pitcairn Islands. Mary Currey and her daughters befriended and nursed Cecil Rhodes when he was ill in Kimberley in the 1870s, and in return he later granted the Curreys life tenure of his house, Welgelegen. Welgelegen was renovated by Herbert Baker on the Rhodes Estate, and was near to the Woolsack, another of Rhodes's houses, used by Rudyard Kipling and his family on their visits to Cape Town.²⁵

Dorothea's other surviving sister, Mary, married an officer of the Dragoon Guards at the fashionable church of St Margaret's, Westminster, in 1895. Her husband, Lieutenant Brigstocke, was Lord of the Manor of Ashe and Ryde in the Isle of Wight. The family records tell us that Mary was 'of exceptional charm and kindness of heart, much loved by the tenants on her husband's estate, in the grounds of which she lies buried, facing the waters of the Solent'. (Brenda Fairbridge, 1924: 10)

Dorothea's aunt Mrs Francis Seymour Fairbridge lived near to Welgelegen at Highstead, adjacent to the Rhodes estate. Her nephew Kingsley Fairbridge remembers staying with his grandmother at Highstead for a time in the early 1890s, as a young boy, while his father Rhys Seymour Fairbridge was struggling to establish himself as a land surveyor in the rudimentary environment of Manicaland in the Umtali district of early Rhodesia (Kingsley Fairbridge, 1974: 6); but there is no record of their meeting. He was only eight, and soon to return to his birthplace, Grahamstown, before joining his father; she was in her thirties and travelling abroad with her mother for several years after Charles Fairbridge's death in 1893.

The poet and Rhodes Scholar Kingsley Fairbridge is best known for his child emigration scheme. He writes of it in sublimated terms which reflect his idealistic view of world affairs, and – once again – the contemporary heritage paradigm:

Child emigration, the salvation of a thousand souls, the making of a thousand farms: the chance, however small, of accomplishing that was worth more to the Empire of which I was a citizen than my own life and all that was mine. For child emigration was *not mine*. It was an idea of which I was trustee. It belonged to my race and the land that had given me birth, and none but a coward would shrink from the trust. (Kingsley Fairbridge, 1974 [1927]: 173)

Kingsley Fairbridge was an ingenuous character, talented, strong-minded, adaptable, but reflecting, it seems, a haphazard (though energetic) consciousness which came from his chaotic childhood and youth in the bush of the old Rhodesia. Plagued by malaria since childhood, he died early, aged thirty-nine, at his West Australian farm school of Pinjarra (where Herbert Baker built a chapel). His engagingly frank autobiography, published posthumously, explains that every profound inspiration he enjoyed occurred as a result of

hunger, malarial fever, sunstroke, or manly pursuits such as boxing (fighting Julian Grenfell at Oxford to qualify for a 'Varsity Blue'). It seems that his achievements at Oxford and in Australia were due to a tough constitution and equally tough character, a single-mindedness rather than immediate advantages of home and family life, although it is certain that his well-placed relatives smoothed his path at times. A psycho-analytical reading of his autobiography will readily suggest that experiences in the bush in his youth left a great deal of unfinished business in his subconscious mind concerning children and their upbringing, but he also took to his heart (perhaps for similar reasons) the plight of children in the London slums. His Child Emigration Society and the farm schools, in Australia and Canada, provide in fact a fresh perspective on the concept of heritage and legacy, taking young children from what seemed a lost patrimony and granting them a new identity as 'sons and daughters of empire'. His scheme has been the subject of recent strong opposition, focussed in the book *Empty Cradles* by Barbara Humphreys, which exposes the trauma that was experienced by emigrant children in the 1940s and 1950s. (Humphreys, 1994) A subsequent work has given a more judicious historical account of the Fairbridge Society. (Sherington and Jeffrey, 1998)

After leaving Cecil Rhodes, Ethelreda's husband Harry Currey found more orthodox employment. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1897 and followed in the footsteps of his father-in-law by entering the Cape House of Assembly where he served in the ministry of John X. Merriman. He stayed on as a Member of Parliament at Union, representing the constituency of George.

Ethelreda and Harry had five children among whom emerges a pattern of patriotic and public service. The eldest, Ronald Fairbridge Currey, won a Rhodes Scholarship to Trinity College, Oxford, fought with the Black Watch on the Somme and at St Julian, and was awarded the Military Cross and Bar. Following a spell of teaching at Rugby, he became master and in due course headmaster of the prestigious boys' schools of Michaelhouse in Natal and St Andrew's College, Grahamstown, writing the history of the latter school. He is associated with the distinguished company of R.F.L. Hoernle, Alan Paton, J.H. Hofmeyr junior, and the liberal South African Institute of Race Relations in the early 1930s. (Paton, 1964) St Andrew's had a particular connection with the wider Fairbridge family, several of their men-folk (including Kingsley) being schooled there. Ronald's sister Audrey, whom Dorothea took on a visit to Florence in 1922 while she was preparing her edition of the letters of Lucie Duff Gordon, was a Girl Guide commissioner. Their third child, John Mackarness Currey, was educated at Sandhurst military academy and commissioned in the Royal Scots Fusiliers, seeing service in France and India. He settled in East Griqualand. Then came Harry Philip Currey who after Osborne and Dartmouth naval colleges rose to be an admiral of the Royal Navy, in command of the Mediterranean fleet in the 1950s. On Malta, when he was a midshipman, he married Rona Harkness who is resident on the Isle of Man. Rona

Currey recalls Dorothea receiving Princess Alice, wife of the Governor General the Earl of Athlone, with her entourage, at Paradise.²⁶ (The Athlones, a popular viceregal couple in South Africa during the 1920s, were regular members of the elite Cape society to which Dorothea and her coterie belonged.) Dorothea's youngest niece was Nancy, nicknamed Squirrel, for whom she wrote her children's novel *Skiddle* (1927).

Audrey Mary Currey married Reverend John Brooke, Rector of St Paul's, Rondebosch, and Dean of Cape Town, in 1918. Their daughter Phillida Brooke-Simons is the author of several books on Cape history and houses, including a study of Groote Schuur.²⁷ John Brooke's father was Archdeacon of the Cape, and headmaster of the Diocesan College, Cape Town, whose wife's grandmother Mrs Bourhill had gone to the Cape in the early nineteenth century 'at the personal request of Queen Victoria to get English women to settle overseas'. (Brenda Fairbridge, 1924:56) The question of immigration or 'overseas settlement' recurs in the Fairbridge family. Their grandfather James William, the first Fairbridge in South Africa, was – like Kingsley - involved in an early scheme to bring out English children, 'The Committee for the Encouragement of Juvenile Immigration to the Cape'. Brenda Troil Fairbridge, compiler of the 'Family Records', was herself (besides being on the East Grinstead committee of the Women's Suffrage Society) a member of the Overseas League, the English-Speaking Union, the Commonwealth League, and League of Nations Union, and on the Council of her cousin Kingsley's Child Emigration Society. Dorothea worked for Milner's policy of British emigration to South Africa, as will be seen in a later chapter.

Africana

Dorothea introduced the distinguished Natal bibliophile Killie Campbell (Margaret Roach Campbell, first cousin of the poet Roy Campbell) to Cape history and Africana. Her father, Sir Marshall Campbell, was a senator in the first Union government, and proprietor of the Natal Estates Limited, a sugar plantation and refinery.²⁸ Killie Campbell accompanied him to Cape Town for some of the parliamentary sessions, when she was introduced to the bibliophiles Sir Meiring Beck (who showed her round the Cape Archives), John X. Merriman, Major William Jardine, whose collection is now housed in the Library of Parliament, and Fairbridge herself. Dorothea evidently enjoyed Campbell's youthful enthusiasm, taking her on excursions into the countryside to visit the farms and homesteads. Norman Herd, Campbell's biographer, says how they 'journeyed out into the mellowing towns and down through the valleys of Dorothea's terrestrial paradise' and it was to Fairbridge 'whom Killie turned most frequently for guidance in exploring South Africa's richest cultural terrain'. (Herd, 1982: 44)

The most important South African publication in 1910, culturally speaking, was Sidney Mendelssohn's two-volume *South African Bibliography*, which had an extended introductory essay by the journalist Ian Duncan Colvin. Colvin was, from 1902 to 1907, the assistant editor of the *Cape Times* (the leading Cape liberal newspaper, which promoted both the imperial connection and a new South Africanism). Colvin, a friend of the pioneer Cape Parliamentary archivist H.C.V. Leibbrandt, was an amateur historian, author of several books, and an enthusiastic proponent of Cape heritage. Fairbridge pays tribute to him and his colleague on the *Cape Times*, the artist G.S. Smithard, as 'Neville' and 'Graham' in her novel *Piet of Italy* (1913). His activities typify a growing interest, in the years immediately following the South African War, in the recuperation of early Cape Dutch culture, history, artefacts, and homesteads. While this interest was consonant with the rising influence in South Africa of the Arts and Crafts movement – with its shift from Victorian Gothic to an experimenting with various kinds of vernacular aesthetic idioms – the emphasis on 'Cape Dutch' was politically expedient as a means of promoting reconciliation between Afrikaners and Anglophone South Africans. Bibliography, archives, conservation, architecture and history were regarded as a means to the invention of a typically South African heritage that would unite into one nation the two dominant white 'races' (as they were then described). This topic, of the invention of heritage in terms of a Cape vernacular tradition, is continued in the next chapter.

The first dedicated catalogue of books relating to Southern Africa, the first Africana bibliography in fact, was compiled – as mentioned above – by Charles Fairbridge and his friend John Noble in 1886. This was Cape Town's official gift to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition which was planned as part of Queen Victoria's Jubilee the following year (for which, incidentally, Rudyard Kipling's father Lockwood, then curator of the Museum in Lahore, Kim's 'Wonder House', also submitted a printed catalogue). Noble was further requested, for the occasion, to update and expand his own publication, *A Descriptive Handbook of the Cape Colony: its Conditions and Resources* (1875) which then became the *Official Handbook: History, Productions and Resources of the Cape of Good Hope* (1886).

For this Jubilee gift Fairbridge and Noble compiled a bibliography relating to South Africa, comprising just over 600 titles. Most of these were from Charles Fairbridge's own collection, of which the section on Southern Africa was regarded in his day as 'probably the finest in the world', as well as works from the South African Library of which he was a trustee.²⁹ The compilers point out that they chose to omit all pamphlets, as well as government blue books. Charles Fairbridge began to list these soon after, and his work in this respect remains in manuscript in the Cape Division of the National Library of South Africa (the new name for the South African Library which is now amalgamated with the erstwhile State Library in Pretoria). Ernest Peverell Kitch, a Cape Town bookseller, compiled a comprehensive Africana catalogue in 1903. George McCail Theal published his own

Catalogue of South African Books and Pamphlets in 1912, with nearly 3000 titles, a valuable companion to Mendelssohn and which redresses the earlier omissions in the Fairbridge-Noble catalogue as well as including many later works.

The Fairbridge and Noble catalogue reflects the interests and activities of nineteenth-century authors: travel, voyaging and inland journeys, including rare early travellers' narratives; sports (hunting); military memoirs; missionary memoirs and reports; the physical sciences including works on fossils, fauna and flora, and trigonometry; indigenous black peoples and their languages and customs; portfolios of illustrations and engravings by the likes of Thomas Bowler and the Daniell brothers. The authors include Sparrman, Stavorinus, Thomas Herbert from 1634, Peter Kolbe, Thunberg, Latrobe, Le Vaillant, the Abè de la Caille, and the nineteenth-century scientists Francis Galton, Sir Thomas Maclear, Sir John Herschel, Sir Andrew Smith, Edgar Layard, and Ronald Trimen; the missionaries and churchmen Bishop Colenso, Dr John Philips, Robert Moffat, and David Livingstone; George McCall Theal, Wilhelm Bleek, Rev H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Roderick Noble, and Olive Schreiner as 'Ralph Iron'. Lady Anne Barnard and Lucie Duff Gordon are among the few other women authors. The rare *Het Klare Besgryving van Cabo de Bona Esperanca* of 1652 is on the list. Mendelssohn, in his 1910 bibliography, acknowledges the considerable debt he owes to this pioneering work.

Significant omissions include most of the numerous and important titles that were published by the local firm of J.C. Juta, dealing with law, constitutional matters, and education. Missing too are the publications from the earliest printing press at the Cape, from the Moravian mission station of Baviaanskloof or Genadendal on the further side of the Hottentots' Holland mountains. Perhaps these were seen more in the light of tracts and pamphlets, and the compilers seem to have selected works that would be more readily accessible to their intended readership in London, such as the narratives of visitors to the Cape. However, manuscripts in the South African National Library, Cape Town, indicate that Fairbridge intended to publish a greatly extended revision of his catalogue. Theal corresponded with Fairbridge concerning titles for the catalogue, at a time when the historian was under considerable political duress as regards his role as historiographer, a topic which is explored in chapter four below.

Charles Fairbridge's own collection remained without a complete catalogue until after his death, when Professor Fremantle of the South African College and Reverend Joseph Watkin Williams, chaplain to the Archbishop of Cape Town, finished this task. *The Fairbridge Library: a Catalogue of the Collection of Books formed by the late Charles Aken Fairbridge and preserved at Sea Point, Cape Colony* was published in 1904 by Constable, in Edinburgh. The Fairbridge Collection, prefaced with a fine tribute from his friend John Blades Currey, is catalogued by ten broad categories, alphabetically, as follows:

- A. Languages and Literature (the Greek and Roman classics, English and European literature)
- B. Fine Arts (Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Numismatics, and Bibliography, Typography and Calligraphy)
- C. History (including Heraldry and Genealogy, and British, Egyptian and Oriental histories)
- D. Geography (Voyages and Travels, and the Geographies of Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas, Polynesia, Australasia, Voyages around the World and in the South Seas, and the Polar Regions)
- E. Natural Science and Mathematics (Anthropology, Zoology, Botany, Geology, Chemistry and Hygiene, Physics, Astronomy and Mathematics)
- F. Theology and Ecclesiastical History
- G. South Africa (History, Geography, Literature etc)
- H. Mental and Moral Philosophy
- J. Social Science (Government and Jurisprudence, Trials and Prosecutions, Economics, Population etc, Folk-Lore, Proverbs, Popular Cults and Superstitions, Secret Societies and Freemasonry)
- K. Miscellaneous (Sports and Pastimes, Mechanical Arts and Inventions, Arms and Armour, Costume, Gastronomy and Domestic Economy, Encyclopaedias)

There are over a thousand titles each in the categories of Language and Literature, and History, and 663 titles in the section on South Africa. Lewin Robinson (1955) draws our attention to volumes of particular interest or value in the collection: fifteen volumes of first editions of Pope's works and a rare first edition of Swinburne's 'Atalanta in Calydon'; 130 volumes of Shakespeare; bibliographical studies by Thomas Frognall Dibdin, the Earl Spencer's librarian at Althorp in the Regency period; the *Lives of the Lindsays*, by the 25th Earl of Crawford; an exceedingly rare St Helena item, the *Narrative of Proceedings Connected with the Exhumation and Removal of the Remains of the Late Emperor Napoleon*; the five volumes of the original edition of the Paston letters, and valuable Dutch genealogies; thirty-eight volumes on India which were published in the 1830s and 1840s by the Oriental Translation Fund; early travel narratives of Churchill, Pinkerton, Valentijn, Van der Aa, Anson, Bruce, Cook, Hawksworth, Forster, Flinders, 'and many more covering all the known world'.

The collection has the rare 1623 folio edition of Linschoten's *Itinerarium ofte Schipvaert maer Oost often Portugaels Indien*, and Spilbergen's *Historael Journael van de Voyagie ghedaen met drie Schepen ... naer d'Oost-Indien* of 1601-4, published in Amsterdam in 1648; and two printings by Horace Walpole of Strawberry Hill, of English journeys in Russia in the eighteenth century. There are early editions of Darwin and Huxley, and the forty volumes of Sir William Jardine's *Naturalist's Library*. The most valuable of

the titles in the section on Natural Science, Lewin Robinson points out, is Francois LeVaillant's *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux d'Afrique*. Also under this heading is Edward Donovan's *The Natural History of British Insects*, 1792-1801, Jan Burman's *Rariorum Africanorum Plantarum ad Vivum Delineatarum*, 1738-39, and Thunberg's *Prodromus Plantarum Capensium* and *Flora Capensis*. The account of Sir John Herschel's astronomical observations at the Cape is included here. Theology includes the collected works of eminent English divines, and all the principal works of Fairbridge's friend Bishop Colenso. The section on South Africa includes almost every one of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travellers, as well as many seventeenth-century seafarers' chronicles. A very rare item is the original Swedish edition of Sparrman, as is the *Klare besgryving van Cabo de Bona Esperanca* (1652) of Jodocus Hondius. There are fine coloured plate works including Angas's *Kaffirs Illustrated* and Daniell's *African Scenery*. Among the fine printing in the Fairbridge Collection are works from the famous presses of Strawberry Hill, Plantin, Elzevir, and Baskerville.

Dorothea's own work is a modern contribution to Africana, while the publishing record provides an insight into the processes of colonial book production in the early twentieth century. Her main titles were published by Oxford University Press. Her publisher was John de Moleyns Johnson, whom she appointed her co-executor as noted above. He was a classics graduate of Exeter College and a Senior Demy at Magdalen, who after a time in the Egyptian civil service dug for papyrae with support from Amelia Edwards's Egypt Exploration Society, discovering a major fragment of Theocritus in the Mounds of Antinoe. During the First World War, with its manpower shortages, he offered his free services to the Clarendon Press staff and stayed on at the press as voluntary assistant secretary to Charles Cannon, the Secretary to the Delegates, in charge of production and layout. He married Cannon's daughter, also named Dorothea. When the University Printer died in 1925 Johnson took the job, leaving the publishing side of the press and becoming a professional printer. He was made an honorary D.Litt of Oxford University in 1927 at the completion of the Oxford English Dictionary. His interest in the trade is demonstrated by the remarkable John Johnson Collection of printed ephemera, in the Bodleian Library.

In Johnson's day the Clarendon Press, in Walton Street, was run by scholars (the Delegates), to whom the Secretary and the Printer were responsible. The Clarendon Press published scholarly works and was not a profit-making concern, while the Oxford University Press (headed by the Publisher) was based in the heart of the English publishing world in London, and produced books intended for more general appeal.³⁰ Humphrey Milford was the Publisher, in London, to some degree at loggerheads with the Clarendon Printer Johnson, and with Chapman who succeeded Cannon as Secretary to the Delegates. Dorothea insisted on working with Johnson for all her Oxford projects even where they were properly the province

of the London concern, preferring Johnson's scholarly old-world manners to those of the commercial mogul. She befriended the Johnsons and stayed at their home in Headington while planning the layout of her books. The archives of Oxford University Press at Walton Street contain extended correspondence on several of her titles, between herself, John Johnson, and Humphrey Milford, and some of these details are drawn on below in the discussion of her books.

Dorothea Fairbridge's work was, in her day, recognized as a significant contribution not only to Africana, but to the idea of South African public heritage. While she worked specifically for a South Africa which would be 'loyalist' or closely affiliated to Britain, the value of her achievement is regarded as also applicable to Afrikaans-speaking and Nationalist South Africans. The following tribute by the French historian of Africa, Henri Deherain, in his obituary notice for Fairbridge (1931) indicates this importance of her work beyond the sectional bounds of English-speaking loyalist South Africa:

At the present time we are witnessing a rare phenomenon. The Afrikaners, for so long indifferent to their history, are currently taking a keen interest in it. Past political events, customs, the formation of their language are all capturing their attention. Miss Dorothea Fairbridge certainly played a leading part in this intellectual resurgence which is a feature of South Africa now.³¹

¹ Oxford University Press archive.

² Item 257, letterbook 307, Oxford University Press.

³ Item 729, Amen House letterbook 70, Oxford University Press.

⁴ Item 636, Amen House letterbook 62.

⁵ Item 447, Amen House letterbook 72.

⁶ Item 522, Amen House letterbook 74.

⁷ VMM 48 C548/7, Milner Papers, Bodleian Library.

⁸ VMM 48 C548/8, Milner Papers, Bodleian Library.

⁹ There is no evidence of the results of the auction. Syfret's Trust has nothing more regarding her estate than a belated record from 1950, of the sale of a painting, 'The Fighting Cocks', 'by private agreement to Mr J.M. Currey', for £60, and a sum of £171.6.7 'by inheritance ex Estate late W.G. Fairbridge' [Dorothea's brother who died in 1925], and 'distribution after costs' of the amount, to each of her Currey nephews and nieces, of £40.8.1.

¹⁰ Besides the sources cited, information on the family history is provided by interviews with Phillida Brooke-Simons and Rona Currey, as well as unpublished typescript memoirs by Ronald Fairbridge Currey and Audrey Brooke, for access to which I am grateful to Phillida Brooke-Simons.

¹¹ Brenda Fairbridge, 'Family Records: The Descendants of Dr and Mrs Fairbridge from March 25th 1824 to March 25th 1924', typescript, South African National Library, Cape Town.

¹² For an account of the 1820 settler families, see Hockly (1948).

¹³ Information on J.W. Fairbridge is from R.M. MacSymon (1990: 30), and A.M. Lewin-Robinson (1954:32-3) as well as the Family Records.

¹⁴ John Samuel Merrington is the *stamvader* (to use a South African term) or head of the Merrington family in South Africa, and forebear of the present writer. His arrival in 1809 makes this among the oldest continuing families of English descent in South Africa, contrary to a claim made by Fairbridge's nephew Admiral Currey, who wrote in his memoirs, 'For My Grandchildren', 'You will know from what your parents have told you that, on the Currey/Christian/Fairbridge/Anderson side of your background, you are each a member of a family which can probably, if not certainly, claim to be the oldest existing South African family of English descent'. (The Papers of Rear-Admiral H.P. Currey, CB, OBE, Imperial War Museum, London, HPC/1 TSS memoirs, 'For My Grandchildren', 1975: 1) Pride of precedence, along with detailed genealogy, was a feature of colonial identity.

¹⁵ See Summers (1975) for a history of the South African Museum in Cape Town.

¹⁶ See Lewin Robinson (1954) for a detailed account of Fairbridge's work on the committee of the South African Library, and for the Grey Collection.

¹⁷ See Anna Smith, 'Collecting Africana Books', *South African Digest*, October 16, 1970 (8-9).

¹⁸ Ian Duncan Colvin, in his *Romance of South Africa* (undated, circa 1908) also relates this story.

¹⁹ The quotation is from the memoir by Charles Fairbridge's friend John Blades Currey, which prefaces the catalogue of the Fairbridge Collection.

²⁰ National Register of Archives, London: NRA 28631.

²¹ Ronald Fairbridge Currey, 'From Victoria to Fouche', unpublished memoirs, property of Phillida Brooke-Simons, p. 18.

²² Audrey Brooke, 'Tis Better to have Love ...', unpublished memoirs, property of Phillida Brooke-Simons, p. 225.

²³ Brian Roberts (1969: 287, 289-90).

²⁴ *ibid*: 113-4.

²⁵ An essay in *Country Life*, 25 January 1902, 104-8, 'A South African Homestead: Mr Kipling's Summer Residence', gives a contemporary description of the Woolsack and Welgelegen.

²⁶ Rona Currey led a remarkable life with her naval husband, receiving numerous guests from the English travelling classes at their admiralty quarters in Gibraltar, among whom were Augustus and Dorelia John. Her son is a commander in the Royal Navy, while her daughter is a marchioness.

²⁷ Two other Cape local historians associated with the Fairbridges are Margaret Cairns, daughter of an erstwhile partner in Fairbridge, Arderne and Lawton, and her cousin the late Arderne 'Dick' Tredgold.

²⁸ The Campbell family and their 'Cape Dutch'-styled house on the Berea in Durban, Muckleneuk, which is now an Africana library and museum belonging to the University of Natal, are a notable Natalian equivalent to the Fairbridges. Muckleneuk houses Senator Marshall Campbell's 'Mashu Museum of Ethnology', Killie Campbell's Africana collection, and the furniture and art collection of her brother William 'Wac' Campbell, as well as the later collection of ethnological portraits by Barbara Tyrrell. See chapter five below, for a case study of the similar 'heritage' project at the rival Natal sugar estate of Tongaat-Hulett, with its own remarkable links to the Cape, and to members of Fairbridge's Cape coterie.

²⁹ Charles Aken Fairbridge, obituary notice, *South Africa*, 22 July 1893, cited by Lewin Robinson (1955:78).

³⁰ Sutcliffe (1978) provides a history of the Oxford University Press.

³¹ Henri Deherain, *Academie Française*, Bulletin of the Geography Section, 1931: 215-20

Chapter Three: Cape Vernacular

[T]here are two duties respecting national architecture whose importance it is impossible to overrate: the first, to render the architecture of the day, historical; and, the second, to preserve, as the most precious of inheritances, that of past ages. (Ruskin, 1849:324)

This and the following two chapters explore a range of activities which Dorothea Fairbridge and her friends undertook in the decade leading up to Union, that were intended to contribute materially towards a public cultural identity for the new state. There appears to have been an excitement among English-speaking South Africans, a patriotism, an enthusiasm at the opportunity of nation-building (within the global context of British imperialism), which has never been repeated to the same degree by this constituency of South African society. Considerable amounts of time, talent, and money were dedicated by these coteries, whose efforts may be seen in parallel with the moment of affirmation of Afrikaner heritage and identity during the centenary of the Great Trek in 1938, with the Nationalist apartheid showcase of the Jan van Riebeeck tercentenary festival in 1952, and with the reconstruction of South African collective identity in the years immediately following the general election in 1994.¹

The work of the loyal Unionists must also be seen in the context of nineteenth-century concepts of South Africa, the Victorian genre of colonial travel writing, the book collections referred to above, the scientific and philosophical societies in the Cape, the role of the promoters of the Afrikaans language such as S.J. du Toit and Arnoldus Pannevis, newspaper editors and lobbyists such as Saul Solomon or J.H. (Onze Jan) Hofmeyr, publishing houses, and the work of historians such as George McCall Theal and Alexander Wilmot, and the early Afrikaner nationalists including Gustav Preller and C.J. Langenhoven. Architecture is discussed in terms of the achievements of Herbert Baker and his colleagues, but at the same time there were talented architects in the two Dutch republics who designed according to other (largely continental) traditions. The work of the English-language and Dutch Reformed churches needs to be appreciated for their constitutive role in the forming of modern South Africa, as does the role of educational institutions, in particular Victoria College in Stellenbosch and the South African College in Cape Town. Again, towards the close of the period which is covered by this study, we find the emergence of a significant group of liberal thinkers around R.F. Hoernle and the Institute of Race Relations, including Smuts's deputy the younger J.H. Hofmeyr, Alan Paton, and Fairbridge's nephew Ronald Fairbridge Currey.² The material for this thesis is located midway between the world-view of Victorian liberals and the principled liberalism which arose towards the close of Fairbridge's life, to counter the segregationist tendencies in the country in the 1930s; it is also located somewhere in between

social and intellectual history, taking its lead from the enthusiasm of a coterie which saw the nation through its own particular cultural filters.

The Anglophone initiatives in the years leading to Union were based largely in Cape Town and Johannesburg, and driven by the wealth of mining magnates and the creative energy of individual connoisseurs and antiquarians. Alfred Milner's anglicizing policies for South Africa, which were supported by 'progressive' politicians and newspaper proprietors, provided a political platform, as did the political idealism of the young Oxford graduates whom Milner recruited to assist in the task of South African post-war reconstruction.

In most instances the Cape was regarded by these people as the cultural homeland of the new nation. Its three-century history of western settlement became the touchstone for a genteel, elite, white English-speaking liberal interpretation of history and of the present. This chapter and the two that follow explore the rise of a 'Cape vernacular' movement, and how this – which entails a range of cultural idioms, architectural forms, historical tropes, and attitudes to black ethnicities – came to be exported across the Union as a defining set of issues for national South African identity.

From the broad perspective of political history the bald facts of lobbying and constitutional negotiation which led to the establishment of Union present a contradictory picture. Politically speaking, the initiative passed to the Transvaal, and to the leaders of the South African Party which had its support base in the Dutch or Afrikaans voters of the two former Republics. Loyal Unionists regarded the granting of responsible government to the Orange River and Transvaal colonies in 1906 and 1907 as a failure of imperial will. On a different note but to the same end, lacking the presence of W.P. Schreiner who was earnestly committed to the principle of extension of a black franchise, the Cape liberals in the Union Convention settled for a compromise regarding the black and coloured vote.³ The conservative Anglophone colony of Natal was reluctant to enter the Union at all, preferring a looser form of federation. A strongly centralised Union was in fact a political triumph for the Boer generals Smuts and Botha.

It is not argued, then, that these issues constituted the definitive image of the new nation, but rather, a contribution which, due to the scale of the endeavour, acquired a credibility that in some respects transcended sectional sentiment and indeed still characterizes South African public cultural life. There was a parallel range of activities which were undertaken by Dutch-speaking South Africans, and by the emerging Afrikaans-speaking elite. To a far lesser degree, for the obvious reasons of lack of economic and social power, black South Africans (notably Sol T. Plaatje, and his work on Tswana folk lore) were concerned to protect the rapidly diminishing elements of their own embattled local cultures and patrimonies. For these, the primary task was to defend basic rights such as land tenure, labour conditions, and the sorry issue of the franchise. The most pressing concern for black South Africans was the seismic effect which the pressure of modernization (in particular the

mining industry) had on their lives, and ways in which they could equitably defend their interests in the unavoidable storm of industrial growth, urbanization, and white protectionism.⁴ For the Anglophone elite there were no such anxieties. The new South Africa was a blank canvass on which to execute their sense of 'civilizing' aesthetics. In line with cultural trends in England, this was an archaizing aesthetics which looked to the past, which wanted to build an appealing present on the foundation of a rediscovered vernacular tradition (while – paradoxically, perhaps – also preaching a message of political and economic 'progressivism'). This vernacular tradition was readily found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cape Dutch history and antiquities.

The Cape Times Christmas Numbers

The first vocal campaigner for the preservation of heritage and the improvement of the built environment in Cape Town was Edmund Garrett, the young editor of the *Cape Times* from the fateful year of 1895, up to 1900. An Englishman, Garrett had been in South Africa before, in 1890 as a special correspondent for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, W.T. Stead's crusading mouthpiece of the 'new journalism'. Garrett interviewed 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr, President Reitz of the Orange Free State Republic, Kruger of the Transvaal, and Cecil Rhodes, and was breezily enthusiastic of imperial interests in South Africa. His early admiration for Rhodes was something of an embarrassment during his editorship of the *Cape Times* in the stormy years between the Jameson Raid and the outbreak of war. He worked closely with the Governor and High Commissioner Alfred Milner, having befriended him in Cairo in 1892 when Milner was Under-Secretary of Finance under Lord Cromer. (At the start of his career Milner had also been a journalist with Stead on the *Pall Mall Gazette*.) Garrett took on the cause of the urban environment, writing an editorial ('The Lungs of Cape Town', 17 December 1895) on the need to sustain open spaces in the city, in which he took his lead from Octavia Hill, one of the co-founders of the National Trust which had been established in England that same year. Garrett pushed for the rebuilding of the Greek Revival Anglican Cathedral of St George in Cape Town, modelled on St Pancras in London, which was in due course redesigned by his friend Herbert Baker in a massive Norman style using Table Mountain sandstone; and he wrote a leader on the preservation of old Cape houses which appeared on 25 November 1898.

By this time Herbert Baker, who arrived at the Cape in 1892, had already explored the Dutch homesteads:

In my visits to the old farms on the Peninsula and in the rich valleys among neighbouring hills I was thrilled to discover the dignity and beauty of

the old homesteads I carefully studied and made sketches of the architecture of the old houses. When I talked about them to my friends at the Cape, I wondered how little their beauty seemed to be known or appreciated.

My interest in the discovery, as it really seemed to be, got to the ears of Cecil Rhodes at the time when he was contemplating restoring and adding to an old house, Groote Schuur Rhodes, too, had seen the old homesteads and he knew by a natural instinct that they were good, and formed a living part of the harmony of the Cape landscape. Their beauty was being rapidly destroyed by the discordant methods of building that were fast spreading over the country. (Baker, 1944:23)

Alys Fane Trotter, wife of Alec Trotter the electrical adviser to the Cape government, wrote an extended essay for Garrett's Christmas Number of the *Cape Times* in 1898, which may well be the first occasion on which a detailed public study was made of the old Cape homesteads and their historical background. Baker comments that 'these treasures of art had never before been written about or illustrated Then afterwards Dorothy Fairbridge produced her excellent series on the history and art of the Cape'. (Baker, 1944:46)

Garrett writes a preface welcoming Trotter's essay. 'The wonder is that it was not long ago forestalled':

It is something for a Colony to possess a Past at all: a reliquary Past embodied in monuments. But these old farmsteads, the older of which go back two centuries, embody something more than that, something still rarer, namely, a Colonial style in an art, the art of domestic architecture. Except in New England, you will hardly find elsewhere a distinct school or style existing in a Colony in the New World, matured and complete in its development, and not exactly the double of any existing school or type in the Old World.

....

The essence of the style, then, is indigenous. It is the outcome of local conditions, therefore to be cherished by the patriotic; it is the outcome of conditions which belong to the past, therefore to be cherished as irreplaceable.

The populous and busy modern South Africa of the future will make pilgrimage to the Old Homesteads of the Western Province as Americans make pilgrimage to-day to see old Manor Houses of England.⁵

Trotter illustrated her essay with her own sketches, made while bicycling round the country districts of the Western Cape with her husband. She expresses an urgency in the recording of the homesteads, noting that the late seventeenth-century farmhouse of Zandvliet

was in fact being demolished on the day she visited it. The essay is the framework for the text of her book, *Old Cape Colony: A Chronicle of her Men and Houses from 1652 to 1806* (1903). Trotter, very much one of the 'new women', dedicates the book to her 'unpunctured bicycle': 'brown as the dust, silent as the veld we traversed together'. In 1900, on the Trotters' return to England, she had also published a quarto volume of fine photographs and sketches of the homesteads, with short explanatory notes and with an introductory chapter by Herbert Baker on the 'Origins of Old Cape Architecture'.

The *Cape Times* Christmas Number of 1898 was sandwiched between studies that dealt with Southern African imperialism: the 1896 supplement had 64 pages on the Jameson Raid; the following year's topic was 'Rhodesia: Its Goldfields and Prospects'; and those of 1899 and 1900 were preoccupied with the war. The next year sees a lapse, with the uninspired editorship of J. Saxon Mills, but the new editor in 1902, Sir Maitland Park, who was recruited by Rudyard Kipling from the *Allahabad Pioneer*, brought a return to the standards for which the *Cape Times* was known. Milner had also invited Leo Maxse, brother of his friend Lady Edward Cecil and editor and proprietor of the *National Review*, to come to Cape Town as editor, but Kipling's choice was the better one. Maitland Park also brought, as assistant editor, his nephew Ian Duncan Colvin, a fellow Scot who had worked with him in India. Colvin was a talented writer who contributed a great deal to the invention of heritage for the Union.

Gerald Shaw, chronicler of the *Cape Times*, tell us that 'the Cape Peninsula made an enduring impression on the sensitive and romantic young Colvin' who 'found something "magical and poetic in that town under the mountain" and in South African history a fascination that never lost its hold'. Colvin 'explored the South African Library, discovering old volumes of travel and adventure. He was befriended by H.C.V. Leibbrandt, the Archivist, who laboured in the cellars beneath the Houses of Parliament, and he wrote historical sketches for the Christmas numbers of the *Cape Times*, using a pseudonym, "Rip van Winkle"'. (Shaw, 1975:130)

The supplement for 1903 was entitled 'In Days of Old', and included a ballad by Colvin as 'Rip van Winkle', on 'The Flying Dutchman: A Legend of the Cape'. This edition also included an extended article on 'The Castle and its Story', with a related feature on 'The Story of Noodt: A Weird of the Castle', concerning unpopular Governor van Noodt and the legend of his peculiar death. There is a short whimsy on the commonly used Cape slave surname of Cupido, as well as articles on old shipwrecks and 'Early Art at the Cape', and an essay by the historian A. Wilmot on public figures at the Cape in the nineteenth century. The issue of 1904, 'Romances of the Cape', is particularly interesting in its exploration of folklore and traditions. This subject is dear to the Arts and Crafts movement with its pre-Raphaelite interest in folk history, in which regard Rudyard Kipling's family connection to Burne Jones points to his own role as a folklorist.⁶ The 1904 issue has an article on 'The Romance of our

Pilgrim Fathers' about the Huguenot French at Franschoek, an essay, 'The Mystery of the Kapok Doctor', on the army surgeon Dr James Barry, who concealed her female sex to pursue a military career in the early nineteenth century, a delightful ballad by Rip van Winkle entitled 'A Museum Idyll', and a poem by John Runcie, which celebrates in verse the work of the early eighteenth-century Cape sculptor Anton Anreith.

In 1905 the Christmas Number was dedicated to the interesting topic of 'Native Folk Lore: A Retrospect and Appeal'. This is at the time when the Bleek-Lloyd family and the historian George McCall Theal, among others, were publishing their translations or versions of San and Xhosa folk tales. At much the same time, in early 1904, Dorothea's cousin Kingsley Fairbridge, setting out on his literary career in Umtali, Rhodesia, 'translated several folk-lore stories from the oral Chisenna, some of which afterwards appeared in Mr Andrew Lang's *Orange Fairy Book*.' (Kingsley Fairbridge, 1927:140)

In the *Cape Times* Christmas Number Colvin writes a prefatory essay to a set of nine African folk tales. He recognizes the importance of folk lore for national identity, in terms of the dominant western nineteenth-century concept of Indo-Aryanism with its diffusion model of cultural influence:

Let us remember the great results which flowed from the work of Grimm and Bopp. Their labours proved the original unity of all the Aryan races and established the fact that the various European nations as they are known to-day were but the branches of a greater family, including Hindus and Celts. The researches of Dr Bleek and others have shown the common origin of many South African races which were formerly supposed to be as distinct as are the Vaalpens from the Zulus. Extended research on similar lines may give even more astonishing results. (*Cape Times* Christmas Number, 1905: 33)

Colvin quotes an anonymous author whom he believes to be Lucy Lloyd:

'We are not alone dwellers in South Africa. We form part of a still larger society, in which we have ourselves inherited enormously from the labours of past generations. We in our turn can now gather up stores of precious material towards the yet unwritten history of humanity as well as for the scientific workers of the present day. And, situated as we are, the incontrovertible truth that the faithful reflection of the aboriginal mind and habits of life as displayed in its national traditional literature, affords material of the highest importance in the study of humanity itself, imposes upon us a heavy responsibility.' (ibid: 33-34)

Given the context, this is a remarkable citation. It squarely introduces, into a strongly marked discourse on colonial heritage and nationhood, an enlightened view that the educated elite of the Cape are also trustees of an indigenous heritage which is equally part of the nation's cultural stock and, more, part of the legacy of the 'family of man' in the broadest sense. It is rare to find this kind of period anthropological inclusiveness in material which addresses the topic of colonial vernacular culture, and as the years pass and the immediate public issues come to be focussed on tensions between Anglophone and Dutch South Africans, this viewpoint stays largely restricted to scientific circles.

The 1906 number, which acknowledges Fairbridge's mother for the loan of photographs and illustrations of old Cape Town, celebrates the centenary of the British occupation of the Cape in 1806. It includes an article on 'Sheik Joseph, A Cape Pilgrim', by Rip van Winkle, illustrated by his colleague George Smithard. This is the locus for Dorothea's own description in *Piet of Italy* of Sheik Jusuf's *kramat* or shrine at Macassar near Eerste River, which includes a fictionalized portrait of these two journalists at their work. In the same issue Colvin writes an intriguing ballad, 'The Deserted Garden', about a Cape urban legend. Behind a high wall concealing a house on the slopes above the city can be heard the playing of a flute. The flute player is a recluse, disfigured by leprosy which he caught as a child from the lip of a flute that had been infected by a servant, carrying the disease, who taught him to play the instrument. Fairbridge develops a similar theme in her Boer War story, 'Pamela', which she published in *The State* a few years later.

Colvin wrote an essay, illustrated by Smithard, on Anton Anreith in the Christmas Number of 1906. Shaw claims that this was the first significant study of Anreith's work. In the short span of time he spent at the Cape he became an expert in Cape history, and, as Shaw tells us, 'with Leibbrandt, a vigorous defender of Willem Adriaan van der Stel in the controversy that raged among scholars in the columns of the *Cape Times* in late 1909'. Colvin 'did much to awaken Cape Town to its cultural heritage and to make known beyond a narrow circle of scholars the riches of the South African Library.' (Shaw, 1975:131-2) Colvin worked for the *Cape Times* until 1907 when he was offered the editorship of the *Transvaal Leader* (which had been bought by the Cape Times in 1902), but he suffered a serious nervous breakdown that same year and returned to England. His full *oeuvre* deserves further study for its range of South African connections. He published his satire on Cape politics, *The Parliament of Beasts, and Other Verses* under his customary pseudonym in 1905 while editor of the *Cape Times*. After his return to England he published a volume on South Africa for the *Romance of Empire* series (illustrated by his colleague Smithard), as well as one focussed on the Cape (*The Cape of Adventure*, 1912). Also in 1912 he wrote a study of Cecil Rhodes which was followed a decade later with the *Life of Jameson* (1922), and a novel based on the subject of his earlier poem, titled *The Leper's Flute* (1920). His preface to Sidney Mendelssohn's South African Bibliography (1910) is regarded as a classic

study of Africana.

The cultural climate for these explorations in Cape architecture was set by the Arts and Crafts Movement and the vernacular architecture movement in England, which was a reaction against the excesses of High Victorian gothic. The 'Queen Anne' style is the name which was given in the 1870s to a renewed interest in English domestic architecture from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, regarded as quintessentially English. The Queen Anne style, says Michael Keath, 'if it was a style at all, as opposed to an "approach" to building, was in fact part of a wider movement towards a new vernacular. The search was now on for a style rooted in local or national traditions' (Keath, undated, circa 1992:12) Ruskin, who championed the Gothic Revival, had himself tired of its excesses and with William Morris turned to this vernacular tradition. Olive Schreiner is cited as having heard the following from William Morris, 'in about 1888', in a lecture on 'Socialism and Art':

'He [Morris] was dwelling on the fact that art must grow out of the lives of the *people*; and made the statement as to what Ruskin had said in the matter of the Cape farmers having invented perhaps the only new order of architecture that had come into life in some hundreds of years' (Schreiner to Baker, 1912, cited by Doreen Greig, 1970:266)

Both Baker and his colleague Lutyens were trained in this transitional phase of British architecture, between the nineteenth-century Gothic or neo-classical, and modernism, and both of them became noted for their use of vernacular styles and materials. Their work was published by Edward Hudson, the founder of the English *Country Life* magazine in 1895 (the same year that the English National Trust was established).⁷ The celebrated gardener Gertrude Jekyll (Hudson's friend and co-worker with Lutyens) promoted the merits of the vernacular garden over those of formal garden schemes. Jekyll in her days as an art student in London 'appears to have won [Ruskin's] respect as well as that of many of the artists of her day, especially G.F. Watts, Edward Burne-Jones, and Frederick Leighton'.⁸ (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981:19) She enjoyed a central place in the Arts and Crafts movement, and worked in a variety of media. As a gardener she advised Baker when he was engaged in restoring Rhodes's Groote Schuur and its gardens. Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement from the turn of the century also had its influence on the architectural landscape of the Cape Peninsula.

The 'National Society' and Conservation

In March 1905, Fairbridge, the archivist Reverend H.C.V. Leibbrandt, Francis Masey, and other friends met under the chairmanship of Sir Henry de Villiers to found a society for the conservation of old Cape architecture, as well as ethnological remains, and Cape flora. This was compared with the English National Trust. Both were private associations, hampered by lack of statutory authority and of a public budget, yet able to draw on considerable expertise and public support.

The National Trust was founded ten years earlier in London by Robert Hunter, Octavia Hill, and Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley. Hardy Rawnsley, educated in the neo-Hegelian atmosphere of Jowett's Balliol, had as his main concern the preservation of the Lake District. Along with the family of Beatrix Potter he formed the Lake District Defence Society in 1883. Octavia Hill campaigned for open spaces for the slum-dwellers of London, while Hunter was solicitor to the Commons Preservation Society of 1865, which was the first public association of its kind in England, begun as an urgent campaign to stem the opportunistic practice of private 'enclosure' of commonage which transformed English rural life in the nineteenth century. As distinct from the concerns of Ruskin's and Morris's Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877), the first concerns of the English National Trust, then, were preservation of open spaces, and public access to these. Only later did they come to focus on the preservation of historic buildings and country houses.⁹ Their activities were hugely supported by the general trend towards a quasi-spiritual interpretation of English countryside in the first three decades of the twentieth century. This was a veritable 'cult of the countryside', a heritage-defining trend buttressed by the rural nostalgia of much contemporary fiction, that was supposed to reinforce English national character and values during the crises of modernization and war. (Newby, 1995:12-16) The National Trust was vigorously supported by the conservative prime minister Stanley Baldwin and the historian G.M. Trevelyan.

In South Africa the National Society had to work in the social context of the recession which followed the economic boom generated by the South African War, and with little or no precedent of a public commitment to conservation. For this reason the range of heritage-making activities undertaken by the Phillips-Fairbridge coterie is all the more remarkable. The coterie were mainly Unionists, and therefore, politically speaking, in opposition to the ruling South African Party of Botha and Smuts. General Smuts, however, was sympathetic to questions of natural and cultural heritage, and supported their initiatives, though he was frequently badgered by Florence Phillips, who saw in the concept of soil preservation (which became a pressing issue in the late 1920s) an opportunity for the Field Marshall to restore his popularity among the broader white electorate.

The first half-yearly meeting of the National Society for the Preservation of Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty in South Africa, known shortly as the National Society, took place in November 1905, with Leibbrandt in the chair. The architect Francis Masey reported that while in England he had 'with surprise and pleasure' found 'that a society having practically identical aims had been established for some years, and was in a most flourishing condition and doing most useful work'. Reference was made to the Wild Flowers Act, which the Cape Parliament passed earlier in the year, 'largely helped by the active interest and support given by the Society'. Masey reported on questions relating to the preservation of the Castle of Good Hope which Milner, the High Commissioner, hoped could be handed over to the colonial government by the British Army. The old eighteenth century Town House (forerunner of the Cape Town City Hall) was proposed as a municipal museum. (This eventually came to house the art collection of Sir Max Michaelis, which he bequeathed to the city. Fairbridge was one of the five original trustees of the Michaelis Collection.) Other topics concerned the dilapidation of the Treaty House at Woodstock (where the Dutch authorities surrendered to the British in 1806) and the protection of old cannons in the town of Stellenbosch. Dr Rupert Marloth, the geologist and botanist who for sixteen years toiled on the monumental four-volume *Flora of South Africa* with the financial support of Lionel and Florence Phillips, raised the issue of indigenous flora. He 'drew attention to the rapid disappearance of indigenous plants and suggested that the society should obtain some record of where these were still to be found, in order to persuade private owners where possible to preserve them'. Members also referred to 'the ruthless tree cutting which was always going on in Cape Town and the suburbs', with particular concern about the mutilation of 'picturesque old trees in front of the Old Dutch Reformed Church'.

The first Year Book of the National Society was published in 1906, and the aims of the society were stated as follows:

[T]o endeavour to inculcate respect and affection for the natural beauties of the country, to preserve as far as possible from destruction all ancient monuments and specimens of old Colonial architecture still remaining in South Africa, and to keep systematic records of such in cases where they cannot be saved; to compile a record of old furniture and other objects of interest still in the Colony, and to take all possible measure to discourage their removal from the country; to promote love and care for trees and save unnecessary destruction; to endeavour to regulate the gathering of wild flowers, so as to avoid the danger of the extinction of any species; to collect records, and endeavour to acquire archives of historic interest; to make known by means of lectures and printed matter, circulated throughout the Country, the objects of the Society, and to endeavour to promote in every legitimate

manner reverence for the natural beauties of the Country, and a conservative spirit towards the remains and traditions of old Colonial life. (National Society Year Book, 1906:3-4)

The first Council of the National Society was made up of Sir J.H. de Villiers as president, and Sir William Bisset Berry as vice president, Masey as honorary secretary, Charles Struben as honorary treasurer, and Dr Harry Bolus, Mrs Henry Cloete, Ralph W. Close, Harry Currey, Rev F.C. Kolbe, Leibbrandt, and Colonel W.E. Stanford on the committee or council. Dorothea Fairbridge was elected onto the council in 1911. Notable early members of the Society were H.E.V. Pickstone, Cecil Rhodes's fruit farmer at Lekkerwyn in the Drakenstein, and his colleague Lionel Baker (the younger brother of Herbert); C. Rissik and Herbert Baker in Johannesburg, the younger Gardner Williams at Kimberley, Harry Currey and Reverend A. Moorrees at Paarl, E. Esselen and Sir James Rose-Innes in Pretoria, John X. Merriman representing Stellenbosch, G.J. Boyes and J.W. Runciman at Simon's Town, and Dr Meiring Beck in Tulbagh.

The 1906 report claims to prove the 'urgent necessity in our midst of some active body which could carefully safeguard from destruction those objects which had become associated with the country's past'. (ibid:12-13) The Attorney-General is cited as helping the Society to 'trace the whereabouts of Bushman Paintings, by circularising the Resident Magistrates throughout the Colony'. The discovery is reported of an old landing stage, during excavations below the Cape Town Railway Station, 'which will, henceforth, place beyond doubt the actual spot where Jan van Riebeeck landed'. A series of photographs of old Dutch homesteads is undertaken by Arthur Elliott (put on display with the backing of John X. Merriman, as 'Our History in Pictures', during the 1910 Union celebrations). Advertising on the sides of railway lines is curtailed. A deputation visits the Minister of Agriculture concerning the future of Simon van der Stel's old homestead of Groot Constantia in the south Peninsula. The desire is expressed for a bill to protect valuable places and objects, and Francis Masey reports that he is in communication with the British National Trust, 'a similar society founded in England some few years ago, which is proving of signal service in resisting the growing spirit of vandalism in England'. Other well-known members of the National Society were Sir Abe Bailey, the journalist R.R. Brydone, F.J. Centlivres, the Cloete family of Alphen, J.R. Finch the Town Clerk of Cape Town, Alfred Hennessy, J.H. Hofmeyr, the Prime Minister Dr Jameson, J.W. Jagger, Sir Henry Juta, Franklin Kendall, F.S. Malan (the editor of *Ons Land*), James Molteno, the artist W. Westhofen, Professor Pearson of the South African College, Louis Peringuey, Director of the South African Museum, W.P. Schreiner, and members of leading families such as the Strubens, the Stuttafords, and the Spilhauses. It is evident that the aims of the National Society very rapidly grasped the imagination of most of the leading citizens of the Cape Colony, pointing to the considerable

interest at the time in establishing a Cape-based sense of national heritage. The Earl of Selborne, British High Commissioner after the departure of Milner in 1905, was invited to be patron of the Society, along with Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, Governor of Cape Colony, and Sir Mathew Nathan, Governor of the colony of Natal.

Over the next few years the Society worked for the protection of indigenous trees and wild flowers, of small birds and mammals, of post stones and stone pines, and of forest lands. Groot Constantia remained a concern for the Society, as did unsightly advertising, including paintwork on the rocks of Kogman's Kloof at Montagu. The death of a 'sincere friend and supporter, Madame Koopmans de Wet', was noted. A public exhibition of colonial furniture and antiquities was held in the City Hall, running for three weeks in 1908 and receiving 7000 visitors. Dorothea Fairbridge organised the exhibition, along with Kendall, Finch, Masey and Peringuey. She and her friends mounted another similar exhibition for the Union celebrations in 1910. In 1911 a Natal branch of the Society was established through the interest of Sir Mathew Nathan, with the banking and accounting MacKeurtan family (friends of Fairbridge's Cape coterie). A permanent exhibition of antiquities at the Castle was mooted. In 1911 the Bushman Relics Protection Act was passed in the Union parliament, protecting 'Bushman' rock art; the nucleus of a municipal museum of antiquities was begun at the City Hall; Masey offered free advice to the owners regarding restoration of the ancient tomb of Sheik Jusuf at Macassar; and the Society announced its support of a scheme for a Table Mountain railway. One of the most pressing concerns of the National Society group, apart from lobbying government for the protection of the Castle and the establishment of a National Botanical Garden at Kirstenbosch, was to get the state to acquire the Koopmans de Wet House in Cape Town, with its priceless collection of Cape furniture and fittings. Fairbridge served on the general committee which was set up for fund-raising. The Koopmans de Wet House was purchased by the committee at a public auction in 1913, and handed to the Union Government for safe-keeping.

These are some of a host of details, but their importance cannot be understated. Beside the immense value for civil society in these early measures for preservation, the details provide us with an insight into the metonymic base of a new putatively national imagination. The National Society worked in co-operation, too, with the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association, which was a municipal initiative to support local tourism. They began a series of pamphlets and guide books in 1909. In 1913 Fairbridge wrote for them the first tourist guide book to the Castle of Good Hope.¹⁰ In 1923 (during a decade which saw a number of new cultural initiatives that were driven by the Afrikaans-speaking political establishment) parliament approved the Natural and Historical Monuments Act, which provided for the establishment of the South African National Monuments Commission. The National Society continued for another four years, with representation on this commission, before handing over its brief to the statutory body. C. Graham Botha, successor to

Leibbrandt as state archivist of the Union, and the bibliophile Major Jardine represented the Society on the government commission. In due course this commission was given more legal force with the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act of 1934, followed by the National Monuments Act of 1969 when the statutory body was renamed the National Monuments Council. One of the final comments of the National Society, in its annual report for 1925-1926, was to express its regret at the partial destruction by fire, in December 1925, of Groot Constantia. Franklin Kendall, while chairman of the Council of the Society, was appointed by the government to carry out the restoration, aided by Fairbridge, Graham Botha, and the architect W.J. Delbridge.¹¹

During the mid-1920s, Fairbridge lobbied successfully with the public support of Florence Phillips, for the preservation of the Old Supreme Court. Thelma Gutsche describes Florence Phillips's esteem for Fairbridge as follows:

Florrie greatly admired Dora's knowledge and industry by which she had both profitted her country and attained for herself a prestige and stature in indigenous cultural matters enjoyed only by professional archivists and historians. 'It seems to me', wrote Florrie to B.K. Long, editor of the *Cape Times*, 'that South Africa and the Western Province particularly owe so much to Miss Fairbridge for her valuable historical work and her constant efforts to put before the public all that is beautiful and interesting in its life that when she makes a specially strong appeal, she is entitled to the most respectful attention'. Dorothea Fairbridge was pleading for the retention of the Old Supreme Court in Adderley Street, and Florrie warmly supported her, embroidering her argument with the general need for town-planning and the particular necessity for avenues of trees, parks, recreation grounds and the construction of an Art Gallery. (Gutsche, 1966: 371)

Two parallel initiatives of major significance, linked with the National Society coteries, need to be cited. First, in 1912 a deputation from the National Society visited General Botha and F.S. Malan to call for the transformation of the Rhodes property at Kirstenbosch into a national botanical garden. (The Kirstenbosch estate was once Jan van Riebeeck's early farm of Boschheuvel, which Cecil Rhodes had purchased in 1895.) The deputation included Lord de Villiers, John X. Merriman, Meiring Beck, Dorothea Fairbridge, the botanist Pearson, Marloth, and others. In April 1913 Lionel Phillips introduced in Parliament a motion that the Government should set aside ground at Kirstenbosch for this purpose, primed by Pearson and citing the immense value of fodder grasses, euphorbias, and buchu, for the agricultural industry. Lionel Phillips led a second deputation to Prime Minister Botha in May 1913, who then agreed to allocate the estate of

Kirstenbosch, with a government financial grant, for the establishment of the National Botanical Garden.¹² The Botanical Society of South Africa was then launched to administer the project, with Dorothea Fairbridge, herself an outstanding horticulturalist, on the founding committee and the Council. A few years later, in 1917, Fairbridge writes with enthusiasm to Merriman, whose politics in earlier years had been anathema to the loyal unionist political coterie, discussing the possibility of starting an indigenous herb garden at Kirstenbosch.¹³

Second, Fairbridge was part of a delegation to Hertzog's Pact government which saw the establishment in 1926 of the Kruger National Park, consolidating the original Sabie reserve and adjoining farms. Again, the Phillipses played a significant part in this development. Thelma Gutsche records how in 1925 Colonel Stevenson Hamilton, whose life's work had been the conservation of the Sabie Reserve in the Eastern Transvaal, 'poured out his heart to Louisa Bolus' concerning the possible deproclamation of portions of the reserve for the purpose of afforestation related to mining interests. The Boluses were intimate friends of Fairbridge, and admirers of Florence Phillips's preservation of natural environment. They advised Stevenson Hamilton to speak to Florence Phillips, who urged her husband to 'see his friend of early days, Paul Kruger's nephew, the Minister of Lands Piet Grobler'. (Gutsche, 1966:378) Lionel Phillips then arranged a meeting at the Corner House in Johannesburg with Grobler and the mining companies, and persuaded the parties to come to a secure arrangement concerning land abutting the Sabie Reserve. Next, in 1926, with the start of the parliamentary term in Cape Town, Lionel Phillips assembled a 'Kruger Park National Committee', which represented the National Society and numerous other bodies, then led a deputation from it to the Minister of Lands, who, 'abashed by the sight of Florrie, Louisa Bolus, Dora Fairbridge, Jock Beattie, Graham Botha and others', promised to introduce legislation that very session, to secure the future of the Sabie Reserve, stating his intention to rename it after his famous uncle who had proclaimed the reserve in the first instance.¹⁴ (ibid:378)

The State (1908-1912), a cultural blueprint for the Union

Members of Milner's 'kindergarten' began a monthly magazine, *The State*, which ran from 1909 to 1912, as a mouthpiece for the Closer Union Movement in South Africa. Ian Duncan Colvin (who returned to England in 1907 after his illness) contributed 'Oversea Notes' to this magazine. The political aim of *The State* was pursued by means of cultural exposition in which ideas of a South African cultural heritage were explored. Thus *The State* displays a combination of political opinion and cultural taste, reflecting the interests of several significant coteries in Edwardian South Africa. These include Milner's young men and various associations of financiers, architects, artists and writers, typified by the more

cultivated of the 'Randlords' such as Sir Lionel Phillips and his wife Florence, and their friends the imperial architect Herbert Baker and the painter Gwelo Goodman. Baker's younger colleague J.M. Solomon designed an art nouveau cover for the magazine, based on a woodcut of G.F. Watts's equestrian statue 'Physical Energy' which had been erected on the newly-built Rhodes Memorial. (Solomon also contributed a series of caricature portraits of South African politicians, starting with General Louis Botha.) Furthermore, besides the actual content of the magazine, the details of its monthly production, distribution, sponsorship, and relations to the directors and chairmen of other Unionist and liberal-establishment newspapers in the Cape and Transvaal, offer insight into the professional and financial reticulations through which political opinion was spread and monitored in Edwardian South Africa.

In 1908, after the dissolution of the South African Inter-Colonial Council, we find reference in the correspondence of Philip Kerr to the idea that he should become the editor of a weekly newspaper in support of the policies of his colleagues Patrick Duncan and Lionel Curtis (who in 1905 had drafted the 'Selborne Memorandum' which sketched an idealistic plan for South African Union).¹⁵ After the formation in 1908 of the Closer Union Societies, the mining magnate Sir Abe Bailey (owner of the *Rand Daily Mail* and *Sunday Times*) offered to subsidise the publication of *The State* as a monthly magazine, and Kerr became its first editor, with assistance from Curtis, working from an office in Cape Town. The magazine was to be printed by the *Cape Times*, which in 1908 had printed the Closer Union Society's *The Framework of Union*, a comparative study of unified and federal state constitutions around the world. This was the work of Basil Kellet Long, advocate and legal adviser to the National Convention which drew up the plans for Union, parliamentarian, and (from 1921 to 1935) editor of the *Cape Times*. Long succeeded Kerr as editor of *The State* in July 1909 when the Association of Closer Union Societies relinquished control of the magazine.

Some time in 1910 the magazine was made into a company, 'The State Limited', with a chairman, directors, and shareholders, and when on 1 May 1911 Bailey handed over the responsibility of sponsorship to Sir Lionel Phillips this arrangement was retained, but with new members on the board. At the end of 1911 the *Cape Times* was invited to take over the task of managing *The State*, but its management declined. (While respecting the magazine's aims and its material they thought it did not have sufficient commercial success to justify their efforts.) Nonetheless the connections between these papers were intimate. Sir Lionel Phillips was a major shareholder in the *Cape Times*. The accountants who did the books for *The State* were E.R. Syfret and Company, whose directors were also on the board of the *Cape Times* and who were close political and financial advisors to Sir Lionel Phillips. (Syfrets were, moreover, the local agents of the Rhodes Trust.) The *Cape Times* building provided office space for B.K. Long, his printer, and his advertising manager. The magazine was

distributed throughout South Africa, and in Salisbury (Harare), by the Central News Agency which also distributed the *Cape Times*. The *Cape Times*, owning the most advanced methods of 'colour separation', was of course a commercial printing company, and among its regular commissions published many books on Southern African topics by authors (including Fairbridge) who also contributed to the pages of *The State*.

At first it was intended to produce *The State* in both English and Dutch versions, but the Dutch edition lasted only for seven issues and then ceased for lack of support. A pencilled note in a copy of the first issue indicates that the Dutch versions lost the proprietors over £1000. No doubt the influence of *Het Volk*, and of the newspapers *De Zuid Afrikaan* and *Ons Land*, was more than satisfactory for the Dutch-speaking population, for whom 'reconciliation' was not as inspiring an aspect of unification as was the prospect, so soon after losing on the battlefield, of gaining political control of the entire country. On the other hand, there already existed an independent magazine, *De Goede Hoop*, that served the interests of 'loyal' Dutch in the Cape.

The political and cultural coteries behind *The State* were no secret, to the degree that some people expressed strong resentment of the ubiquitous influence of the 'Corner House clique'. By this they meant the role played by the Central Mining and Investment Company (previously Wernher, Beit & Co), known popularly as the Corner House group, and in particular by Sir Lionel Phillips and his wife Florence. Florence Phillips, the president of the South African National Union (SANU), an organisation founded in 1908 that campaigned for the development of local industry and agriculture, was a dominating personality who led the lobby to establish the Johannesburg Art Gallery, the Botanical Gardens at Kirstenbosch, and numerous other heritage-making endeavours. *The State* was an ideal medium for her plans, and Thelma Gutsche in her biography of Florence Phillips makes it clear that she would have liked to edit the magazine herself, and that in any event she exerted great pressure on B.K. Long. The Phillipses (friends of a number of the kindergarten and kindergarten associates) were then living in Johannesburg, and their newspaper the *Transvaal Leader* - which had been bought by the *Cape Times* in 1902 - was the local address for *The State*. Florence persuaded Sir Lionel to employ an American socialite and would-be artiste, Elsa Maxwell, as the Transvaal editor, to the extreme annoyance of Long in Cape Town who thought both Maxwell's work and character unreliable.¹⁶

The primary purpose of the magazine was political. Each monthly issue of *The State* began with an editorial survey (initially by Kerr and Curtis) of the political work of Closer Union societies around the country. The first issue (January 1909) explained the role of the magazine as follows:

The State is meant by the Association of Closer Union Societies to systematise [their] work. Its pages will afford to all the societies throughout South Africa

full and exact information as to the progress of National Union from month to month. It will bring into common currency, so far as the necessary limits of its space permit, papers produced by the local societies. It will provide a common medium through which the advocates of Union in the different colonies can correspond with each other. It will endeavour to give unity to the movement, and encourage all that are engaged in it to think on a national instead of on a racial or colonial plane.

The early issues included articles by Curtis and Kerr, as well as their colleagues Patrick Duncan, Hugh Wyndham, Fred Perry and Robert Brand. There were articles on the question of railway union, on defence, on the differences between union and federation, on 'Union and the Native Protectorates', a report by Lord Curzon on his impressions of the country, several contributions by Howard Pim on the 'Native Franchise', a discussion by Julia Solly on 'The Enfranchisement of Women', and related topics.

Thereafter each issue was devoted to a wide range of articles on topics from the question of a national language and anthem, to a national university, botanical gardens, art galleries, the choice of a capital city for the Union, and other culturally constitutive matters. There was a monthly photographic competition organised and judged by the notable amateur photographer Lancelot Ussher, and a competition to design a Union flag. This was an unofficial competition. The Union of South Africa had no flag of its own until 1927.¹⁷ Up to then, the British Union flag (the 'Union Jack') served popularly, and the Governors General flew the British naval ensign with the Union coat of arms on the field. The competition in *The State* referred to a similar contest which was held to choose a flag for the newly founded Australian Federation in 1901. Herbert Baker judged the entries, giving the prize to a design which featured Halley's Comet (making an appearance that same year) with a tail composed of rainbow stripes, a chance precursor of Martin Luther King's and Archbishop Desmond Tutu's 'rainbow nation' metaphor.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature was the emphasis on old Cape architecture and antiquities, and the related question of a suitable national architecture for the new state. Herbert Baker wrote an essay on 'The Architectural Needs of South Africa', his protege J.M. Solomon wrote an essay on Baker himself, 'The Architect of the Union Buildings', and his colleague Francis Masey produced a series on architecture and antiques called 'The Beginnings of Our Nation'. In his essay 'The Architectural Needs', Baker pays homage to the aesthetic good sense of the early Cape Dutch builders, and then moves on to locate a new South African architecture within the universalizing aesthetic of Greco-Roman neo-classicism. He further interprets this universalizing aesthetic as a kind of imperial ethic of timeless greatness and broad vision, based on a geographical scheme which, in turn, imitates

various geo-climatic facts and historical pretensions that recur in the emerging discourses of the period concerning the 'dominions' of the empire.

Thelma Gutsche writes of the coterie involved in *The State* as follows:

[T]he energetic clique of all classes who, inspired by the glittering prospect of a new united nation, worked in every field to admit the dull public to their vision. Many of them – Dora Fairbridge, Frank Masey, Harry Bolus, the professional photographer Arthur Elliott and the gifted amateur Lancelot Ussher – were already preparing material [in 1908] for *The State* that would extol the virtue of a national heritage. (Gutsche, 1966:218)

Dorothea Fairbridge, with her decade of research in the archives and her work for the National Society, was established as an expert on matters of Cape heritage and history. Her literary career began with the publication of the 'Journal of Samuel Fairfax, 1797' in *The State* (November 1909: 580-89). This narrative of a three-week sojourn at the Cape by a young Englishman on his way to India as a cadet in the East India Company is from a manuscript that was found among her father's papers, and describes Lady Anne Barnard, and the famous ball she gave at the Castle in the spring of 1797, sporting occasions, local military society, and a memorable stay with the Myburghs of Meerlust. This was followed by a series of articles on 'Old Cape Homesteads'. Like Ian Colvin and Alice Trotter, Fairbridge had been tutored in Cape history by the archivist Leibbrandt, and her interest in art and antiquities was inflected with a sympathetic assessment of old Cape Dutch families. Fairbridge, who was a third-generation South African, was nonetheless a passionate Milnerite and her historical interpretation of Union was also blended with a pro-imperial stance along the lines of the Kindergarten philosophy.

Besides architecture, fine art received considerable emphasis in *The State*. Thus we find essays by Edward Roworth on the relationship between painting and photography, by G.S. Smithard describing the newly acquired exhibits of the newly established Johannesburg Art Gallery (the result of manoeuvres by Florence Phillips to bring out Hugh Lane from London with the nucleus of the collection), an article on 'Art in Natal', describing the Natal Society of Artists, an essay by John Fairbairn, the Secretary of the South African Fine Arts Association, giving an account of the establishment of the South African Art Gallery (housed initially in an annex of the South African Museum in Cape Town), an essay on the sculptor Anton van Wouw, and one on Gwelo Goodman by the painter W. Westhofen. All these reflect the aesthetics of the period, with emphasis on truth-to-nature, on atmosphere, and on technical ability. To this extent they lack much interest other than as exemplary of late academic aesthetics with some Ruskinian and some impressionist influence, but they also

deal with topics such as the challenges of interpreting South African landscape, the quality of local light, and the particularities of local subject matter.

The Arts and Crafts Movement had a strong influence on the nation-wide activities leading up to Union. There was a considerable lobby for the improvement of South African manual productivity – from building and construction to metal-working and furniture and textile manufacture. The South African National Union was founded for this purpose in 1908, to instigate moves towards improvement of standards – for both aesthetic and commercial reasons. Many local Arts and Crafts guilds were founded, and Dorothea Fairbridge (along with Florence Phillips) was an avid supporter of this trend. She wrote two articles for *The State* on the desirability of starting cottage industries for the making of perfumes from Cape *fynbos*, and local ceramics, citing the perfume industry in the South of France, and innovative pottery workshops in England.

Over its forty-eight issues *The State* contained articles on a wide variety of topics, but the majority of these contributed in one way or another to a growing new self-image and an understanding of South African identity. There are articles on landscape, on 'Scenic South Africa', on walking tours in the Drakensberg; there is a series by A. Radcliffe Dugmore entitled 'Hunting in British East Africa with the Camera', and there are calls for the establishment of a National Botanical Garden at Kirstenbosch, and a National Park in the Drakensberg. The concept of national aesthetics extends from the realm of formal art and architecture to incorporate a constitutive discourse about tourism, conservation, and the land.

There are many other (sometimes unlikely) curiosities of colonial and Edwardian culture, including an essay on Wilde and Beardsley's *Yellow Book*, and a serialization of the newly published novel by H.G. Wells, *The History of Mr Polly*. There is discussion of the difficulty of reading English poetry in South Africa (the old chestnut of not knowing what a nightingale sounds like), and a series by Howard Pim on Camoens and other early poets with reference to South Africa. Among the literary contributors to *The State* were S.G. Liebsohn (Sarah Gertrude Millin), Sir Percy Fitzpatrick who wrote reminiscences about 'Jock of the Bushveld', Ethel Lewis (Ethelreda Lewis, author of the novels *Wild Deer* and *Four Handsome Negresses* and of the *Trader Horn* stories), and the short story writers W.C. Scully, Rene Juta (the daughter of the Speaker of the Cape Parliament), Dorothea Fairbridge herself, and Sannie Metelerkamp.

Freemasonry and Architectural Symbolism

Architecture, whether civic, monumental, or domestic, is universally connected to questions of national identity and prestige. At different junctures, though, there are specific motives and reasons given for this, dictated by fashion or by philosophy. John Ruskin as the prophet of public architecture in Victorian England called for a national architecture which is both historic, and historical in conception, and which should serve as a nation's heritage and symbolic memory. His intentions are set out in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*:

And if indeed there be any profit in our knowledge of the past, or any joy in the thought of being remembered hereafter, which can give strength to present exertion, or patience to present endurance, there are two duties respecting national architecture whose importance it is impossible to overrate: the first, to render the architecture of the day, historical; and, the second, to preserve, as the most precious of inheritances, that of past ages. (Ruskin, 1849:324)

... [I]t is in becoming memorial or monumental that a true perfection is attained by civil and domestic buildings; and this partly as they are, with such a view, built in a more stable manner, and partly as their decorations are consequently animated by a metaphorical or historical meaning. (Ibid:325)

His, and William Morris's, call for the recovery of a vernacular style of building, has been mentioned. This chapter suggests that a vernacular and historic type of architecture served as a kind of archive or symbolic store of national memory and identity, which is a topic on which Baker writes at length in his memoirs.

Freemasonry is another richly suggestive source for the public meaning of architecture, which was prevalent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Freemasonry is founded on architectonic metaphors. All its symbolism and rituals centre on the idea of the Temple of King Solomon, and the spiritual or psychological rebuilding of its ruin. God is known as 'The Great Architect of the Universe'. The Old Testament texts in I Kings 7 and 2 Chronicles 3 which describe the building of the Temple in Jerusalem are the founding texts of Freemasonry, which regards the architect Hiram Abouf ('Hiram the Builder', who was sent to Jerusalem by Hiram, King of Tyre) as the original Mason. His death, according to Masonic legend, at the hands of jealous apprentices, his discovery, and symbolic resurrection (a type of the death and resurrection of Osiris and of Christ), form the basis of the Masonic initiation ceremony. Foundations, cornerstones, keystones, arches and pillars, the 'squaring' of 'rough ashlar', the use of ceremonial trowels, set squares, plumb

lines, tracing boards, and other 'working tools', and Egyptian memorial structures such as the pyramid and the obelisk, are familiar in Masonic parlance.

The laying of foundation stones for public buildings in this period was frequently a Masonic prerogative, as demonstrated for instance by Bernard S. Cohn in his essay on British authority in Victorian India, (Cohn, 1983:177). When the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn came to South Africa to inaugurate the first Union Parliament in October 1910, his duty as both Viceroy and Grand Master of the world-wide English Constitution of Freemasonry, was to lay foundation stones for several buildings including the examination hall of the University of Good Hope.¹⁸ Public discourse made free use of idiomatic architectural terms concerning the new state, such as the 'fabric' of society, the 'architects' of Union, and strong 'foundations', but it is suggested that these gained a particular resonance from the widespread practice of Freemasonry in colonial male society. The metonymic stock of the builder's trade becomes a set of strong if well-worn metaphors for ideas concerning civil society. The frequent use of these metaphors is paradoxically part of their virtue, just as Masonic badges or 'jewels', which are gilded and enamelled miniatures of builders' 'working tools', acquire meaning from their habitual (if only symbolic) use. Craft, rather than art, the 'building of the Temple' and the 'shoring up of the fabric' entail submissive repetition.

The Duke of Connaught was received by over a thousand Freemasons from across South Africa at a ceremony in the Cape Town City Hall, in which the polite hope was expressed that his Viceregal presence would help to complete the 'Arch of Union'. This referred partially to a desire for reconciliation between British and Dutch South Africans, symbolically bound, within Freemasonry, as 'Brothers' (Dutch South Africans had their own constitution of Freemasonry, the Grand East of the Netherlands).¹⁹ It also, though, refers to a particularly intriguing Masonic degree termed Royal Arch Masonry.

Royal Arch Masonry entertains a play on the meaning of the arch, rephrasing the opening words of the gospel of St John as 'in the Arch was the Word', from the Greek *arche*, meaning both beginning or origin, and authority. It also refers to a vault or crypt, and to a coffer, which in Latin is *arca*, from which comes the archaic English 'ark' for a sacred vessel. The Royal Arch symbol has a masonry arch, supported by the two standard Masonic portico pillars Jachin and Boaz (Hebrew for 'strength' and 'beauty'), and with its keystone removed. Through the gap at the apex rains a glory shower, which illuminates or irradiates an open Book of the Sacred Word, which in turn lies within the arch, on the Ark of the Covenant, flanked by cherubim.

Herbert Baker chose this image, which to date appears not to have been recognised in this context, for the title page of his autobiography, *Architecture and Personalities* (1944). It is suggested here that Baker understood the powerful symbolism of this image to mean that buildings contain within them sacred memory. Buildings are a kind of archive, which carries a record in their very design, and in their ornamentation.²⁰ This is precisely what we find in

g. Royal Arch

Baker's design for South Africa House in Trafalgar Square, and Rhodes House in Oxford. Masonic ritual places importance on memory and memorisation, and in this regard Frances Yates concurs that 'the symbolism of that branch of masonry known as the "Royal Arch"' looks as though it 'might be in the tradition of occult memory', which for her is the use of architectural features as mnemonic devices. (Yates, 1996:295) The Royal Arch image appears in various contexts, including a book in which two Englishmen argue for the need for an English national opera, with national (Arthurian) themes, at a theatrical shrine (in short, an English Bayreuth), located at the sacred site of Glastonbury.²¹ Again, this is a desire to sanctify national identity with a quasi-spiritual archaic meaning. Intriguingly, the same Royal Arch Masonic motif appears on the water bottle worn by the Voortrekker leader Piet Retief, carved in Italian marble, on the historical friezes inside the Voortrekker Monument at Pretoria. This adds a Masonic dimension to the idea of a 'covenant' which was struck between the Voortrekkers and God in the aftermath of Retief's death at the hands of Dingaan.

In Dorothea Fairbridge's historical novel *That Which Hath Been* (1910) about the Dutch Governor of the Cape, Willem Adriaan van der Stel, whom she interprets as a founding figure in South African history, the theme of building takes on an enormously idealised emphasis which draws on these same motifs:

'And, even now, how much remains undone! The great church, whose foundations are marked out below the Company's garden, is still unbuilt. Even your house within this Castle, Elsevier, is unfinished.'

'The church is left for Your Excellency's son to build, even as Solomon, son of David, built the Temple of the Lord which his father's eyes had yearned to behold.' (Fairbridge, 1910:7)

This theme is often turned into well-worn metaphor:

'You and I will not behold that day with our earthly vision, the coping-stone will be placed by other hands, but it is for us to see that the foundations are well and truly laid, that the outline of the map is traced with a firm hand. (ibid:59)

'So long as the work remain, dear heart, the name will matter little. The Ark of the Covenant was borne forward to Zion by the hands of nameless men. Let us pray God that when ours falter or grow weak, He will raise up others to take up the burden.' (ibid:151)

Another kind of sacred space receives particular attention in this novel. Fairbridge was a keen observer of Cape 'Malay' culture and traditions, and the piety of early Muslim slaves is contrasted with the 'narrow Calvinism' and the 'backveld' superstition of some of the Dutch freeburghers. There is a fine and moving description of the death of the Muslim prince, Sheikh Jusuf, who was exiled to the Cape from Batavia by the Dutch, along with an entourage of family, followers, and retainers. His shrine or *kramat* 'near the Christian priest's farm of Zandvliet, which lies by the Eerste Rivier' (ibid:21) is presented as an authentically Cape sacred space, another kind of national temple, set in the naturalizing context of 'the scent of aromatic herbs, of buchu and purple thyme and wild sage' (ibid:103) on the Cape Flats near the False Bay coast.

Timothy Brennan, in his essay on 'The National Longing for Form', argues the importance of the sacred and the ceremonial in conceptions of nationhood. Quoting Regis Debray, Brennan claims that 'the nation' responds to the 'twin threats of disorder and death confronting all societies' by emphasizing at root two architectural features which offer a symbolic sense of stability, the ark and the temple. These are precisely what we encounter in Freemasonry, and again in Fairbridge's novel on South Africa's Dutch origins. Brennan cites Debray's concepts of the Ark (which is a point of origin that counters the infinite regression of time) and of the Temple (which delineates a sacred space and brings thus a sense of order). (Brennan, 1990:51) These two concepts apply directly in a very specific way to late Victorian and early twentieth-century British (and British colonial) culture. More concerning the Freemasonic use of architectural form is discussed in chapter six, concerning funerary memorials, and chapter nine, on the cultural matrix which lies behind the 'Cape-to-Cairo' idea, but the point is made here that discourses concerning architecture at the turn of the century acquired both considerable popular extension and particular metaphoric depth through the widespread practice of Freemasonry.²² Settlement, building and husbandry, home and family, have a dimension of the sacred and ceremonial which seems alien to modern sensibilities a century later, but which evidently projects the idea of the temple and the ark even into domestic architecture. Romance, marriage, and the family structure are indeed made out to be a microcosm of national virtue, national sanctity, and it is suggested that this idealizing context drove the remarkable emphasis on architecture as a defining aspect of Cape and national identity at the time.

As an extended footnote to this link between real and symbolic building, the career of Charles Aburrow is worth comment. He was a prominent Transvaal architect, the Town Engineer of Johannesburg at the turn of the century, and a leading light in South African Freemasonry. Born in Hampshire, he was initiated into Freemasonry in the East Medina Lodge, Isle of Wight. He joined the Charles Warren Lodge at Kimberley in 1879, the Johannesburg Lodge in 1889, the Vernon Lodge (Johannesburg) in 1911, as well as the Anglo-Colonial Lodge in London. He received the brevet rank of Past Grand Deacon of

England in 1902, served as District Grand Master of the Transvaal from 1905, and was 'exalted' into Royal Arch Masonry in the Richard Giddy Chapter, Kimberley, being also a member of the Johannesburg and Doornfontein Royal Arch Chapters. He was 'advanced' into the Mark Master Mason's degree in the Cornerstone Lodge, Kimberley, belonging also to the Ashlar Lodge of Mark Master Masons in Johannesburg. He entered the Mizpah Lodge of Royal Ark Mariners, and was received as a 'companion' in the Ancient and Accepted Rite of the Rose Croix in the Adamanta Rose Croix Chapter, Kimberley, where he rose to the office of Sovereign, also belonging to the Alpha Rose Croix Chapter in Johannesburg. He was raised to the 30th degree in 1889, the 31st in 1894, the 32nd in 1899, and the 33rd in 1912. He was a member of the Order of Knights Templar in the Diamond of the Desert Preceptory and the Johannesburg Preceptory; Provincial Prior of the Knights Templar in 1908 and Knight Commander of the United Orders from 1911; Member of the Secret Monitor and the Royal Order of Scotland; and Life Governor of the three Masonic Benevolent Institutions in England.²³

This reads as highly eccentric, yet it is an intriguing index of the scale of Freemasonic activity, with intimate links across the British Empire at the time. As a Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute (which had its own Masonic lodge) Aburrow conducted a career, between the metropole and the colonies, which was typical of numerous other professional men of his day. His Masonic activities are unusually intense, but they helpfully indicate that Freemasonry provided, in civil society, a facsimile of the ecclesiastical, aristocratic and military hierarchies which dominated late Victorian life. Aburrow the architect and town engineer exemplifies the link between building and ceremonial symbolism, something which Dorothea's father, as Provincial Grand Master of the Cape, appears to have enjoyed in the club-like atmosphere of Victorian upper-middle-class Cape Town, and which she herself drew on as a motif in her fiction.

¹ See Van der Watt (1996) for details of the 1938 commemoration, Rasool and Witz (1993) on the subject of the Van Riebeeck Tercentenary, and Klopper (2000) for representative research on the refashioning of South African public aesthetics since 1994.

² See for instance Paton's *Hofmeyr* (1964) for a study of the intellectual background to South African liberalism in the 1930s.

³ Schreiner, an advocate, had a prior commitment to defend King Dinizulu against the colonial authorities in Natal after the Zulu rebellion of 1906, so his cogent liberalism was sadly lost to the Union Convention.

⁴ Beinart (1994: 84-108) gives an informed overview of black South African responses to the formation of white Union.

⁵ *Cape Times* Christmas Number, 1898.

⁶ Further, Kipling was related to the Baldwin family. The conservative prime minister Stanley Baldwin was an ardent supporter of the preservation of rural England, a concern which is shared by Kipling and Colvin.

⁷ From 1912, though, Baker and Lutyens were immersed in the huge project of New Delhi, interrupted by the cemetery designs of the Imperial War Graves Commission. These two programmes of work saw them move from the intimate vernacular idiom to a new monumental neo-classicism on a grandly imperial scale (as Baker had already demonstrated with the Union Buildings). See Irving (1981).

⁸ Incidentally works by both Watts and Burne-Jones are connected with Cecil Rhodes: a bronze cast of Watts' equestrian statue which is erected on the Rhodes Memorial and titled 'Physical Energy' (another cast of this stands in Hyde Park), and the Burne-Jones tapestry 'The Romance of the Rose' which was donated to Rhodes House evidently as a play on the meaning of Rhodes's name.

⁹ For background to the English National Trust, see Graham Murphy (1987) and Howard Newby (1995). The first significant country house that was bequeathed to the National Trust was Blickling Hall, given by Philip Kerr, Marquess of Lothian, who served under Milner in the years of South African reconstruction, edited the South African magazine *The State*, and chaired the Rhodes Trust in the 1920s.

¹⁰ Bulletin no.61 of the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association, 1913. The series includes brochures on golf, on 'Cape Peninsula Rambles', a guide to Table Mountain, to the 'Farmlands of the Rich South-West' (which offered advice to prospective immigrant farmers), to Muizenberg, to the Museum and the Library, and registers of hotels and boarding houses. The Association formed a 'vigilance committee' headed by the journalist R.R. Brydone in June 1910 to 'ensure that Cape Town's interests are not neglected once Union is achieved'.

¹¹ See Kendall (undated, circa 1925) for a narrative of the restoration of Groot Constantia.

¹² On his death in 1938 Sir Lionel Phillips was remembered for his founding role at Kirstenbosch with a bell tower designed by Gwelo Goodman, in which hung the bell from HMS Dominion which had been a gift to the Phillipses at Vergelegen.

¹³ Fairbridge to John X. Merriman, 25 March 1917, MSC 15,47, SA National Library, Cape Town.

¹⁴ Stevenson Hamilton's memoirs of 1937 relating to the Kruger Park, introduced by Jane Carruthers (1993), have no specific reference to this coterie, Carruthers seeing the proclamation of the Kruger Park in 1926 as simply consonant with other Afrikaner Nationalist initiatives such as the introduction of the new flag and anthem.

¹⁵ Marquess of Lothian Papers, Scottish Record Office, GD 40, Box 1, Bundle 3, letters from Robert Brand to Lord and Lady Kerr, 1906-8.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Maryna Frazer, archivist of the Barlow Group, Sandton, Johannesburg, for access to the papers of Sir Lionel Phillips which give much detail about *The State*.

¹⁷ Fairbridge refers to the flag of 1927 as the 'Union Joke'. See Saker (1980) for details of the flag controversy.

¹⁸ The *Egyptian Gazette* 13 February 1899 records the Duke of Connaught laying the foundation stone of the 'Great Dam at Assouan':

At noon precisely, His Excellency Fakhry Pasha, Minister of Public Works, requested the Duke of Connaught in the name of His Highness the Khedive, to lay the foundation stone. Mr Aird MP presented His Royal Highness with a silver trowel, Mr W.J. Wilson, Inspector General of Irrigation, presented a silver mallet; and Mr Blue, Messrs Aird and Co's General Manager, presented a straight edge.

The Duke of Connaught then gave the customary taps and, handling the trowel, said "I declare this stone well and truly laid 'in the name of His Highness the Khedive'".

'Noon' is a symbolic moment in Masonic ritual when the Brothers of the Craft take their rest.

¹⁹ A.A. Cooper cites Masonic sentiments of Brotherhood which were seen as a means for reconciliation in the aftermath of the 1899-1902 war. The following is typical: 'I look forward with confidence to our Craft playing no unimportant part in the unification of the two white races, that have so sternly battled for mastery, in an indissoluble bond of wise brotherhood' (the Scottish Natal District Grand Master, 1901, cited by Cooper, 1986:92)

²⁰ The records of the Grand Lodge, Great Queen Street, London, reveal no evidence that Baker was a Freemason, but he was fully aware of Masonic symbolism. Kipling for instance writes to him, concerning his original design for the 'Honoured Dead' memorial in Kimberley, comparing this with Masonic symbols. (22 September 1900, Rhodes House archives, WM/724, Ms.Afr.s.8) Further, in 1921 Baker designed (with elaborate Pythagorean ornaments) the extensions to the Bank of England which had been built by the early Royal Academician, antiquarian, and Freemason Sir John Soane. His colleague Lutyens judged the competition to design the war memorial structure of the Grand Lodge in 1925, a task which would require intimate knowledge of Freemasonic ritual. The building is an extremely complicated ritual design with false walls and symbolic orientation to a Masonic

interpretation of the compass. Further, with regard to Freemasonic connections, Baker's friend Kipling had instituted two Masonic lodges, the 'Lodges of the Builders of the Silent Cities', to accommodate, ritually speaking, the architects of the war cemeteries in France, among whom Baker and Lutyens were pre-eminent.

²¹ Rutland Boughton and Reginald R. Buckley (1911).

²² It is certain for instance that the theme of 'brotherhood' which was idealistically used in talk about reconciliation between Dutch and English South Africans derived from Masonic brotherhood. Baker's plans for some state or civic buildings including the Union Buildings were drawn up to symbolize the symmetrical harmony or 'brotherhood' which it was hoped might be achieved through reconciling the two white 'races'.

²³ Information from *Representative British Freemasons: A Series of Biographies and Portraits of Early Twentieth Century Freemasons*. (Dod's Peerage:1915)

Chapter Four: Nothing New Under the Sun

The Van der Stel Controversy

In 1881 Dorothea's father, as a member of the Cape Parliament, had been instrumental in the appointment of a full-time archivist to undertake the task of sorting and cataloguing two centuries of old Dutch official documents and records. Up to this time there had been no Cape colonial or parliamentary archive and no official keeper of the records. A neighbour of the Fairbridges in Sea Point, Reverend Hendrik Carel Vos Leibbrandt, was appointed to the post of Colonial Archivist, to the intense disappointment of George McCall Theal, the Canadian-born doyen of South African historians. Theal felt (justifiably, seeing that he had been acting as part-time custodian of the archives since the previous year) that the job should be his. As compensation Theal (who worked for the Government Stationery Office) was later appointed Colonial Historiographer. Leibbrandt's appointment in 1881 was highly controversial, since members of the committee of enquiry which first proposed in 1880 the post of Parliamentary Librarian and Colonial Archivist (a combined office) had in fact nominated Theal in parliament for the job. The chief spokesman for Theal was J.H. (Onze Jan) Hofmeyr of the Afrikaner Bond and editor of *Het Volksblad*, who argued for justice for Theal in his editorials. The philanthropic parliamentarian and proprietor of the *Cape Argus*, Saul Solomon, had also nominated Theal, and when that very year his newspaper was bought by the Afrikaner Bond, in collaboration with their then patron Cecil Rhodes, it spoke out stingingly against the evident injustice to Theal. Sir Gordon Sprigg (on the eve of the collapse of his government) ignored this and kept Leibbrandt in the post, partly because he had already gained Leibbrandt the task of collating and cataloguing the archives of the town of Graaff-Reinet.

A more diffuse politics also seems to be behind the controversy. Theal's South African history-writing is more favourably disposed to the cause of Dutch independence than to imperial sentiment. Leibbrandt, on the other hand, was a friend of 'progressives' such as Fairbridge and the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, John Noble, who were decidedly pro-British.¹ Noble, who was Leibbrandt's brother-in-law and another neighbour of the Fairbridge family at Sea Point (he worked with Charles Fairbridge in compiling the 1886 'Catalogue of Books Relating to South Africa'), was accused by the Theal faction of manipulating Parliament into employing Leibbrandt through his contacts with the *Times* of London. Noble's brother Roderick was Professor of English at the South African College as well as editor of the *Cape Monthly Magazine* which promoted 'progressive' or Anglo-South African interests.

A professional rivalry between Leibbrandt and Theal ensued (highly productive in its vigour), which came to be focussed in public on one particular historical matter. Leibbrandt, a liberal who had been defrocked by the Dutch Reformed Church for his 'modern' views on theology, proposed a progressive interpretation of an early *cause célèbre* at the Cape, the impeachment of the Dutch Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel on the grounds of corruption and self-enrichment. This interpretation was that Van der Stel's intentions were to improve Cape agriculture, rather than to suppress the free burgher farmers in his own favour. Others took the side of the burghers, seeing their reaction as the protest of citizens in protection of their rights against a tyrannical overlord. Inevitably this debate accrued political colours, with sympathisers of the Cape Afrikaner Bond siding with Theal, and supporters of modernization, state intervention, and political 'progress' (by and large the pro-imperial lobby) siding with Leibbrandt's views. Among Leibbrandt's published selections from the substantial old Dutch records in the archives are volumes which contain the accusations against Van der Stel, and his defence. (Leibbrandt, 1896-1906)

Theal writes to Charles Fairbridge in February 1887, passing on information about seventeenth-century German and Dutch travel narratives concerning the Cape, for possible inclusion in Fairbridge and Noble's Catalogue. It is a friendly and informative communication between two avid bibliophiles, but it also mentions that a special (and potentially lucrative) project, offered him by a 'Society at the Hague', has to be abandoned because Sir Gordon Sprigg, once again the Premier of the Cape, refuses him access to the archives; that to use copies of the material, which are available at the Hague, would be a betrayal of trust in this regard, since he (Theal) is a public servant; and that in any event the Sprigg administration is opposed to his part-time occupation as a historian, demanding its pound of flesh from him as a civil servant:

Sir Gordon Sprigg has neither affection nor esteem from me, but he is the head of the Government and I am a public servant, and he is therefore entitled to *loyal* service from me. Now he has declined to allow me access to the Archives in Cape Town, and it would therefore be treachery on my part to procure copies of those same papers from the Hague with the object of working with them. If I cannot do that work openly, in the clear light of day, I will not do it at all. (Theal to Charles Fairbridge, 17 February 1887)²

This is a revealing document, in that Fairbridge (while very much a personal supporter of Leibbrandt) appears as someone whose antiquarian interests transcend faction and politics.

Theal was joined by Johan Frederik Van Oordt, who published a novel in Dutch under the pseudonym 'D'Arbez' (a pun on the Afrikaans phrase *daarby*, or 'there in person') entitled *De Strijd om Regt: Een Verhaal uit de Dagen van Gouverneur Willem van der Stel*, which dramatized the cause of the free burghers (1898). This novel was later translated into Afrikaans.³ It was not the first historical fiction on the subject, being preceded by a very slight novel, Thomas McCombie's *Adriaen van der Stel* (1885), which relished Van der Stel's supposed bad character. Alys Fane Trotter, on the other hand, writes with evident sympathy for the Van der Stel family, finding it incomprehensible that Willem Adriaan's detractors should have taken his farmstead of Vergelegen as evidence of his self-indulgence when the head of the cabal, Henning Huysing, had earlier built Meerlust on a more expansive scale. Huysing, moreover, had been raised from poverty by Van der Stel's father, the preceding governor Simon van der Stel, and had married a servant of their family. (Trotter, 1903:119) Ian Duncan Colvin in his *Romance of South Africa*, also criticizes Theal's views. Says Colvin, who was an enthusiastic friend of both Leibbrandt and Fairbridge:

Now Willem Adriaan has been much abused, especially by Peter Kolbe and Dr Theal, though fortunately he has had a staunch friend in Mr Leibbrandt.... His name, like that of Lord Charles Somerset, is popularly associated with harshness and tyranny. Yet if the records prove anything they prove that he was as good a man as his father [Governor Simon van der Stel], that he ruled wisely and kindly, and that his fall was due to a wicked conspiracy bolstered up by charges which were, one and all of them, entirely and absolutely false. (Colvin, undated, c.1909:141-2)

Colvin states that Theal 'elevates into a sort of South African Magna Charta' 'a memorial which narrated a portentous list of imaginary crimes and tyrannies' (ibid:145) and then counters Theal's argument on several specific points. He concludes his chapter on Willem Adriaan van der Stel as follows:

But the cloud of detraction is passing; indeed, thanks to Mr Leibbrandt, it may be said to have already passed and the star of the Van der Stels shines out in our sky as clear and effulgent as the Southern Cross. (ibid:154)

A school history reader published in 1910 which was compiled from Theal's historical writing was unfavourably reviewed in *The State* (April 1910: 673), and when Dorothea Fairbridge came to write her own *History of South Africa* for schools, she made a point of the Van der Stel controversy:

There is no space to enter into the controversy here, save to note that the Rev. H.C.V. Leibbrandt, who was for thirty years Keeper of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, and had special facilities for studying this period of Cape history, has recorded his conviction that not one of the charges will bear the light of investigation. (Fairbridge, 1918:64)

In early August 1909 the *Cape Times* published a very positive review of Colvin's *Romance of South Africa*, and a second favourable review a few days later, both of which cited his defence of Van der Stel. The *Cape Times*, like all South African papers in 1909, was full of interest in the build-up to Union, following the progress of the Union Bill at Westminster, and advertising monthly the contents of *The State*, and the work of the South African National Union which was planning a major exhibition of South African industry to be held in Cape Town. Colvin's book was seen as a valuable contribution to nation-building. Theal thought otherwise and joined in vigorously, writing about the 'misrepresentation' of himself 'by the fanatics on the outer fringes of both the great political parties in this country':

Nothing but respect for the truth would justify the publication of a book so calculated to stir up racial passions as this volume of his, especially in the present time, and truth is not what he has striven long and earnestly to seek. (*Cape Times*, 17 August 1909: 9)

Besides the Van der Stel affair, Theal also takes issue with Colvin's description of the Slagter's Nek rebellion against British authority by remote Dutch farmers in 1815. He concludes, though, with a generous gesture:

The plan of the book is so excellent, and the author's style is so graceful, that I most sincerely wish it could be re-written with much less prejudice against those South African colonists who are now fellow-citizens with ourselves of the widely-extended British realm, and are entitled to truthful representation and common justice. (ibid)

J. Edgar of the South African College replied with a long letter, summed up in his view that he has 'read all I can find on the case of Adriaan van der Stel, and I can find nothing in them to support Dr Theal's sweeping assertions'. (*Cape Times*, 20 August 1909: 6) Theal responded, forcefully claiming that neither Colvin nor his supporters could read Dutch, and were pronouncing a verdict of 'not guilty' by merely listening to the arguments in defence. The Union archivist Colin Graham Botha, who was at that time an amateur historian under Leibbrandt's tutelage, innocently sent in a letter detailing the Cape family descendants of the Van der Stels, and another (unsigned) letter appeared on 7 September admonishing Theal for his mean spirit towards a 'nation builder'. It is evident that popular sentiment in Cape Town was on the side of Van der Stel, and that Theal's professional strictures were regarded as unwanted quibbling.

A year after Colvin's *Romance of South Africa* Fairbridge published her first book, the historical novel *That Which Hath Been*, again in support of Leibbrandt, making Van der Stel out to be an enlightened visionary and a nation builder. She dedicates her novel, 'the first significant historical novel in South African English literature' (Snyman, 1965) to her mentor, 'Hendrik Carel Vos Leibbrandt, to whom South Africa owes the good name of Willem Adriaan van der Stel'. Theal, in his 1912 *Catalogue of South African Books and Pamphlets*, retorts that Fairbridge's novel is 'a cleverly written Romance, in which Governor W.A. van der Stel is represented, not as a faithless and unscrupulous tyrant, as he really was, but as a noble-minded man'. (Theal, 1912:101) In the same year he published *W.A. van der Stel and Other Historical Sketches*, and one Leo Fouche edited *Het Dagboek van Adam Tas (1705-1706) Met een Onderzoek naar de Klachten der Vrijburgers tegen de Gouverneur Willam Adriaan van der Stel*, which was translated into English two years later. This was intended to shed more light on the legitimacy of the burghers' accusations. (Paterson, 1914) The controversy had become a sounding board for political developments at the time, with renewed division between nationalist Afrikaners (J.B.M Hertzog founded the original Nationalist Party in 1915), and Progressives or Unionists who saw in the patrician Van der Stel family a mirror to their own allegiances.

Two decades later Henri Deherain, the French historian of Africa, writes of this debate in his obituary essay on Dorothea Fairbridge:

When I spoke to Miss Fairbridge, we were amused to find ourselves firmly on opposing sides of the barricade, but I saw in the violence of the terms Miss Fairbridge used in speaking of her adversaries Huysing and Adam Tas – my clients, in the event – what passions this two-centuries-

old quarrel was still able to arouse in the Cape. I shall add that she did not convince me of the innocence of Van der Stel, and I was especially struck by the way in which all the French settlers of the Cape at the time took sides against him. (Deherain, 1931: 216)

Deherain's footnote to this comment, in the very different political context of 1931 and from a neutral French perspective, is of particular interest in that the broad issue of national loyalty is entirely inverted from British imperialist sentiment to proto-republican nationalism:

In the history of South Africa, the Van der Stel affair assumes an importance far beyond the actual source of contention. In taking a united stance against the Governor, the white inhabitants acquired a sense of national solidarity for the first time. They became aware that they were no longer temporary European settlers in Africa but that they were beginning to form a new race, that they were no longer either Dutch or French, but Afrikaaners (sic).... Perhaps we are witnessing here [in the uprising of the settler freeburghers] the dawn of South African nationalism, of which the recent adoption by the Union of South Africa of a different flag from the British one [1927] is the latest manifestation. (ibid: 217)

'Old South African Homesteads'

In 1910, however, the South African loyal Unionists sought to affirm patrician values in their matching of the structure of the new state to a British imperial hierarchy. The romancing of the old farmsteads, in the face of gritty urban and industrial growth, was a means to this end: Fairbridge's series in *The State* on 'Old South African Homesteads' not only supports the work of the National Society, illustrated by the photographs which Arthur Elliott made at the Society's request, but also affirms a landed pastoral set of values. The essays are loosely discursive, describing with personal enthusiasm the beauty of the old farm houses, occasionally expanding into a discussion of their interiors and antiques, and dipping into Cape social and family history. There is much landscape description, at times drawing on the Mediterranean frame of reference which was common in Fairbridge's day and which is dealt with in detail in a later chapter. She comments sharply on the neglect or the inappropriate modernizing of the houses, and sets a standard of aesthetic integrity for landscape and architecture as a whole. These essays are a sincere record

of a disappearing way of life in those years of economic and demographic change, and a practical call for preservation. At the same time they can be read as a nostalgic pastoral interpretation of Cape society -- an attempt to identify a local landed aristocracy which is familiarly English and which transcends the particularities of space and time.⁴

The series opens with an essay, 'In the Beginning', in the August 1911 issue, on the homesteads of Zwaanswyk (now called Steenberg) and Alphen, both in the Constantia Valley. Zwaanswyk is typical of the early eighteenth century, with a pitched, thatched and gabled roof, while Alphen, from the mid-eighteenth century is modelled on the square two-storeyed townhouse design. Fairbridge narrates their histories with comments on the prospect of the Steenberg mountains, the view across to the Cape Flats, Simonsberg, False Bay 'which appears as a lake of burnished silver or of rarest blue, according to the times and the seasons', and to the left 'Table Mountain with Wynberg Hill and the silver-trees above Paradise at the foot of its slopes'. Alphen, 'a square, stately house', is reached by an 'aisle of dark green pine-trees'. 'Tall oaks protect it from the glare, its wide vineyards stretch towards Hout's Bay Nek in seemingly endless succession'. Fairbridge dwells on the visits to Alphen of Lord Charles Somerset, autocratic British governor of the Cape in the 1820s. He was accompanied by Dr James Barry, who 'as everyone knows, was the woman who for many years passed as a man, and who actually rose to the rank of Inspector-General of Hospitals before her death'. Fairbridge recounts with amusement how Barry 'courted' the daughter of the house, which then belonged to Thomas Frederik Dreyer: 'What her [Barry's] motive in "courting" Miss Dreyer was it is difficult to say -- probably the desire to avert suspicion from herself. Can you see her gravely riding up the avenue, an umbrella over her head, her horse encased in a net to keep away the flies, her tongue in her cheek as she rehearsed the pretty speech with which she proposed to greet the lady?' There is comment on methods of wine-making, and much emphasis on the beauty of the settings and the leisured lives of the farmers. Steenberg is now a golfing estate and Alphen a hotel and conference centre, while the vineyards are greatly shrunk.

The second essay in the series, 'The Valley of Constantia', deals with Hoop op Constantia, Klein Constantia, Buitenverwachting (also known for a time as Plumstead), Nova Constantia, and Groot Constantia, 'the heart and soul of the valley, the great house of old Simon van der Stel':

Everyone knows that the land was granted to him in 1685 by 'Hendrik Adriaan van Reede of Drakenstein, Lord of Mydrecht, as Deputy of their High Mightinesses', as the old deeds have it. And the house itself and

Anton Anreith's fine plasterwork of a later date on the wine-cellar receive more visitors in a week than does beautiful Hoop in a year. Moreover its architectural features are seen on post cards from Cape Agulhas to the Zambezi. (*The State*, September 1911: 239)

The third essay, in November 1911, discusses the fruit-growing region of Klein Drakenstein, and the homesteads Amsterhof and Nederburg, the latter then owned by Fairbridge's brother-in-law Harry Currey. Fairbridge comments on the history of fruit-growing in the Cape, and the sight of Cape citrus in shop windows in Bond Street. She calls for the development of olive-growing, and compares 'this garden of the Hesperides under the Southern Cross' with Italy. Appended to this essay is a poem, by one C. Farmar, in over-blown imitation of Keats, pleading for the restoration of the sculpted baroque outdoor bath at Groot Constantia. The next article, February 1912, is about Tokai, which is in the centre of the state forestry plantations of the Cape Peninsula that were begun in the 1880s. As Fairbridge records, when the Cape government purchased Tokai it was intended as a 'lunatic asylum'. 'For various reasons this scheme was abandoned in favour of Valkenberg, and Tokai became the centre of the splendid work of afforestation carried on under Mr Lister, Chief Conservator of Forests'. (*The State*, February 1912:100) Fairbridge writes with passion on the topic of afforestation, citing the vigorous policies of tree-planting pursued by Jan van Riebeeck and Simon van der Stel, which obliged the burghers to join in and threatened them with dire punishments for the mutilation of trees. She approves of the planting of alien timber trees on bare mountain slopes and plains, but agrees that 'much has been said – and rightly – against planting alien trees on those parts of Table Mountain where the silver-trees and native flora would soon be swallowed up by the intruders'. Separate plantations are required to 'supply South Africa with all the telegraph-posts and railway-sleepers she needs. And I hope that day will dawn before the utter ruin of the Knysna forests has been accomplished and the fine old yellow-wood trees sacrificed'. (ibid:101) She writes of the ugly Victorian gothic houses which are built near Tokai to house the administration of the juvenile reformatory, the 'hybrid of pagoda and minaret with which Cape architecture was afflicted a few years ago – the pepper-pot excrescences which adorn so many suburban villas'.

The fifth essay, 'A Haunt of Peace', is a detailed study of the history and construction of Stellenberg in the modern suburb of Kenilworth, below Wynberg Hill. She concludes with a critique of Edwardian habits and a restatement of Ruskin's call for the preservation of national heritage:

It is difficult to understand how a people whose ancestors had such a fine instinct for what was beautiful and fitting should come to prefer door-handles of white china picked out with gold to the old brass crutch-handles, plush-covered gimcrackery to simple and good chairs and presses, Doulton tiles of philistine patterns and primary tints to the large squares of dull red or blue, pepper-pots to gables, and corrugated iron to smooth brown thatch. To the wave of false taste that swept over much of the civilised world during the last century, and not over the Cape alone, we owe the loss and destruction of much that can never be restored.

Let us take heed to our ways. At this moment I know of old houses that are being pulled down or ruined, as the once beautiful Oude Pastorie at the Paarl has been ruined: because they are '*oudewetse*' [old-fashioned], say their owners, because the roofs leak and it is a bother to keep them in order, because – anything you like for an excuse. The plain truth is that the owners really prefer pepper-pots to curved gables

Let us value such houses as Stellenberg, and see to it that we hold fast to what is still left to us and regard our fine old homesteads as a charge held in trust for the generations that are yet to come. (*The State*, April 1912:311)

There follows an essay on the fine homestead and gardens of Speir, seemingly named for Speyer in Rhenish Bavaria, the home town of the second owner of the farm, Hans Hendrick Hattingh. It was bought in 1765 by one of the Myburgh family from nearby Meerlust. After more changes of ownership it is now named Spier, and turned into a tourist theme-park and conference centre surrounded by car parks. In July 1912 Fairbridge published an article 'In Table Valley', which discusses Leeuwenhof, Waterhof, Welgemeende, Bellevue and Leeuwendal, Vrede Hoek, Uitkyk, De Moelen, Oranjezicht, Reezicht and Beanqj, a clutch of eighteenth-century homesteads in the valley below the front face of Table Mountain, lying above Cape Town. This is followed in August 1912 with a discussion of the homesteads of 'Stellenbosch Kloof': Uiterwyk, Bonfoi (Aan den Weg), Bij den Weg, Neethling's Hof (Wolvedans) and Vredenberg.

The next month sees an essay on 'Vergelegen's Neighbours', Morgenster, Rome, Parel Vallei and Paarde Vallei. 'At the Foot of Simonsberg' (October 1912) deals with the splendid Stellenbosch homesteads of Ida's Vallei, Rustenberg (then recently bought by Lord de Villiers), and John X. Merriman's neighbouring farm of

Schoongezicht. In November she produced an essay on the town houses of Stellenbosch, which dwells in detail on the history of the town and its families. The final essay, 'A Wide and Sunlit Land', is about the homesteads from Kuils River to the Helderburg – Vredenburg, Libertas, Doornbosch, Brand Wacht, Rust en Vrede, Bonte Rivier, Brakel's Dal, Groen Vallei, Groen Rivier, Groote Zalzee, and Blaauw Klip (Blaauwklippen).

In 1914 Fairbridge published an extended article in *Country Life* magazine, which in the preceding nineteen years of its existence had become established as the main outlet in England for writing on the topic of vernacular houses and gardens. 'Old Dutch Country Houses at the Cape of Good Hope' sketches the history of the Dutch settlement, discusses the ground plans and elevations of the Cape homesteads, and focusses on the ornamentation, interior and gardens of Vergelegen and Meerlust. These two houses enter repeatedly into her narratives due to the historical controversy in which they were embroiled.

The centre-piece of her series in *The State* is titled 'The House of Regrets'. (*The State*, June 1912: 477-86) This describes Vergelegen, the farm which Willem Adriaan van der Stel built for himself beyond the Eerste River, below the Helderberg, in what is now the residential town of Somerset West. By this time the Theal-Leibbrandt debate had been aired extensively in public, and Fairbridge apologizes for returning to the topic. However, she was by then a specialist on antiquarian matters, and the unresolved question of the justice of Van der Stel's actions could rest as emblematic. The essay is an appreciation of the craftsmanship in the homestead, and his husbandry in the farmlands and gardens.

That Which Hath Been

Fairbridge's first published book is a polemical novel which again joins with the public debate concerning Willem Adriaan van der Stel. She wrote it while working on the articles for *The State* and exploring the homesteads of the Western Cape, sometimes with the young bibliophile Killie Campbell or the photographer Elliott as companions, travelling by motorcar, by train, and by horse-drawn carts. The main dynamic of *That Which Hath Been* is an implicit set of parallels between the career of Willem Adriaan van der Stel, presented as an innovator, modernizer, nation builder and visionary, and those of Cecil Rhodes and Lord Milner, both of whom are foremost in Fairbridge's loyal Unionist pantheon. The title of her novel (which contradicts Pliny's much-quoted epigram about Africa, a version of which was used as the motto for the South African Museum) is taken from Ecclesiastes 1.9, 'That

which hath been shall be, and there is nothing new under the sun'. This makes the human world to be an algorithm of endless recurrence.

It is an engaging novel, giving full range to her interests in architecture and interiors, landscape, Cape history, the culture of the 'Malays', botany, and arboriculture. The dialogue is a quaint attempt to imitate seventeenth-century Dutch and the early patois of the slaves which was, at the time she was writing, being shaped into the new standard South African language, Afrikaans. The protagonists, the Van der Stel family and their friends and other dignitaries of the Dutch East India Company, speak with archaic formality, which provides a linguistic base for her moral universe in the novel. The '*wispelturig*' (contentious) free burghers lapse on occasion into coarse vernacular, further down the social hierarchy, with ejaculations such as '*verdoemde*' and '*almachtig*'. The Cape Muslim exiles from Batavia are given a dignified hieratic discourse, in pointed contrast to the low vernacular of the disloyal burghers. Willem Adriaan's brother Frans provides the romantic sub-plot, courting and marrying the daughter of the burgher Johannes Wessels, and expressing suitable endearments in French. The loyal Huguenots speak in a creditable form of *Franglais*.

The novel is at times intimately modern, with Frans van der Stel's fiancée unfortunately anglicized from Johanna Wessels into Joan. A conventionally omniscient narrator, Fairbridge intervenes with authorial comments on Cape customs and fashions, deprecating, for instance, the later replacement of the old wide-brimmed straw *toudang* with the fez as Muslim headgear. Acacia trees are called mimosas, and there is a great deal of horticultural detail which has more of Gertrude Jekyll and the modern Cape than the late seventeenth century.

There is evident narrative pleasure taken in reconstructing the social life of the times, but the theme is tragic. Willem Adriaan van der Stel arrives at the Cape as the new governor in 1699 with his wife and family, impressed with a sense of calling. His lofty intentions are to build a country and a nation. He plans to expand the settlement into a colony, to open up new farmlands, to improve agriculture, and to build on the work of Jan van Riebeeck, and of his father Simon van der Stel who is now retired at his estate of Groot Constantia. The story is now familiar: he falls foul of a cabal of farmers who resent his aura of high idealism, and his attempts to change their farming practices. Led by Henning Huysing, who owns the meat monopoly at the Cape, they compile a list of grievances, real and imagined. Van der Stel sends the ringleaders home to Holland, which grants them the opportunity of putting their complaints before the Council of Seventeen, the directors of the Dutch East India Company. The Council has little interest in the development of a colony at the Cape,

needing only a tightly-run victualling station for their fleets from the East Indies, as expressed by the *Secunde* (deputy governor) Elsevier:

‘[B]ut there are not lacking those among the Seventeen who desire to see the Cape maintained merely as a vegetable garden wherein to grow cabbages and turnips for the fleets on their way to and from Batavia. They have no wish to colonise the wild hinterland which lies beyond the Drakenstein Mountains, and feel little sympathy with the labour which has been lavished by the Governor on Constantia or by myself on Elsenberg. After all, perhaps it is not unnatural that they, not knowing the Cape, fail to understand the affection this land inspires in those who work for it – the desire to spend and be spent in its service.’

(Fairbridge, 1910:11-12)

The Directors in Amsterdam accept the word of the conspirators and Willem Adriaan van der Stel is recalled in ignominy after eight years at the Cape. The overall tone is, strictly speaking, more sacrificial than tragic. The narrative discourse embraces a Carlylean understanding that noble intentions are necessarily selfless, that it is better to lose all for the greater good than to hedge oneself in with personal success or gain. This becomes the guiding theme and structure, repeated in a proleptic refrain, stated here by Van der Stel in a fictional address at his inauguration:

‘We cannot look into the future or know what is in store for this fair country. But this we know, that it is a land worth living for and dying for, that those who have served South Africa will turn to serve her again, even though that service bring sorrow and disappointment for a time. For it is not by the success that the world sees that the value of service is reckoned. It may be in patience and tribulation, on the broken hearts and with the bitter tears of men and women that the future prosperity of this land shall be built, but to that future itself I look with confidence. I see a great and prosperous country, from Agulhas to the furthest limits of Monomotapa, and a united people drawn from many races, but knit together by a common tie of brotherhood, a common devotion to the land of their birth.’ (ibid:60)

Some of the assembled burghers reject this idealism:

... [T]here were not wanting those who shrugged their shoulders scornfully, or raised their eyebrows in chilly indifference to any sentiment but the practical one of making a competency as quickly as possible, and going back to Europe to spend it. (ibid:61)

Johanna Wessels, who is to marry the governor's brother Frans van der Stel, responds differently:

Van der Stel's ringing words had torn asunder the veil of her childish thoughts, and, as in a vision, the women who had lived for their country and people passed before her eyes. The mothers in Israel, the women of Sparta, the matrons of Rome, from Deborah to Antigone, from the daughter of Jephtha to Iphigenia, a procession of noble shadows came down the ages and kissed her on the forehead. Her thoughts seemed greater than she could bear. (ibid:61)

Again, these references are about acts of self-sacrifice. They also project a late nineteenth-century aesthetic iconography of the idealised and allegorical female figure.⁵

A small number of others share Van der Stel's views, and their discourse also reflects the period idealism, and the heritage motif which was so evident in relation to questions of society, state, and nation in Fairbridge's day. The military captain Olaf Bergh confers with the *Secunde Elsevier*:

'But now, *mynheer*, now I hope to live and die here; to leave my name to be handed down to my children's children as that of one who helped to lay great foundations.'

'You believe, then, as I do, that there is a wonderful future before this country?' asked Elsevier.

'Aye', said Bergh slowly, 'but not in our day, or even in the day of our children. To each his work. Ours to see that there be no flaw in the solid foundation; theirs who come after us to place the coping-stone.'
(ibid:12)

The sentiments which Fairbridge attributes to Willem van der Stel make him to be a type of the colonial nation-builders of her own day, in particular Rhodes and Milner. Like them, too, he is resented by self-interested factions, falling from grace due to powers beyond his control, both in his midst and 'at home' (where Amsterdam is implicitly compared with Westminster). Van der Stel's expressions of a united 'South Africa', from 'Agulhas to Monomotapa', are deliberate anachronisms, emphasising the imagined link with Rhodes. A richly described scene on the flanks of Table Mountain again refers to Rhodes, and to the idealist image of the 'spirit of Table Mountain' which was associated with him and with South Africa at the time of Union.⁶ After inspecting oak and pine plantations on the mountain slopes, Van der Stel, his wife Marie, and the *fiscal* (magistrate) have ridden up to a 'promontory on the mountainside above Koornhoop'. There follows a classic description of the landscape or prospect across the Cape Flats to the Hottentots' Holland mountains:

From the still, blue waters of Table Bay to Cape Hangklip, purple-grey against the distant sky-line, the horizon stretched in an uninterrupted half-arc of mountains. [the Drakenstein, Tygerberg, Simonsberg, Jonker's Hoek, Helderberg, Klapmuts, the Hottentot's Holland] – the hills that keep watch and ward between the Cape Peninsula and all Africa – stretched in fold after fold, rugged, bare and majestic.

Behind the ledge [on which the party stood] Table Mountain lifted its face towards heaven, no longer stern and craggy, as is the sheer wall that rises from Cape Town, but clothed almost to the summit with forests of shining silver-trees or sweeps of peach-pink keurboom. Disas – scarlet, blue or mauve – glowed in the damp crevices of the rocks far overhead, crassulas flashed in dimly-lit ravines, white and orange harveyas and blue agapanthus, scarlet heath and giant proteas bloomed in that garden of the gods that lies in the soft bosom of the great mountain.

Van der Stel stood as in a dream. Two hundred years later another Dreamer was to stand on that spot looking northward, his heart filled high with noble ambitions for the land at his feet. From whence do the two great souls look on their South Africa to-day? (ibid:153-4)

Fairbridge's representation of black people (or rather, people not of European origin) is notable for its generosity. In every instance they are presented in counterpoint to the mean-spirited opponents of Van der Stel, either to emphasize the justice which she ascribes to the Van der Stels, or to press the virtues of social values that are free of gross materialism. The antagonists are of course openly racist: 'Crass folly to think that we need deal with these niggers as though they were any better than jackals. I would shoot every Hottentot on sight, and clear the land for white men', boasts Huysing, in the uncouth vocabulary of later nineteenth-century settler-adventurers. (ibid:129)

Immediately after the scene which refers to Cecil Rhodes, Van der Stel reads to his companions a letter from the Governor of Ceylon, which quotes a Muslim holy man's views on the universality of belief:

"If it be in a mosque people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian church people ring the bell from love of Thee. Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister and sometimes the mosque. But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple. Thy elect have no dealing with either heresy or orthodoxy, for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth. Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox, but the dust of the rose-petal belongs to the heart of the perfume seller." (ibid:155)

The *fiscal* thinks that this is nice trimming, but Van der Stel contrasts the Muslim's openness with Calvinistic conservatism:

'But I am afraid,' and he smiled, 'that some of our *predikanten* [preachers] would think that my feet were on the high road to perdition, did they hear me. It is strange', he added meditatively, 'how the teaching of some of Calvin's followers dulls the ear and hardens the heart against the voice of God, except it sound on one note alone.' (ibid:156)

This is a veiled comment on Fairbridge's friend Leibbrandt's own experience as a liberal Dutch Reformed minister, who had to leave the church because of his views. It also reflects her particular interest in Cape Islam.

After this meditation the riding party encounters a 'young Hottentot girl' weeping in the *fynbos*. It emerges that her family and clan have been murdered by burghers who raided their 'kraal across the Ubiqua mountains' to steal their cattle. "'Lady'", the girl addresses Marie van der Stel, "'yesterday I was Magena, daughter of Selekwe, chief of the Hequons. To-day I am no one, with no home, no kindred, no tribe.'" She understands Dutch, being a servant to one of the burgher households. Fairbridge describes her as an example of art nouveau sculpture:

A lovely bronze statue of grief, perfectly formed and graceful, from her little arched feet and slender limbs to the oval brown face, almost Mongol in type, but beautiful in its delicacy and sweetness of expression.

Her arms were covered with bracelets of craftily woven copper and brass, which clashed together and jingled as she moved. The short tunic of white cotton stuff, Mevrouw Smedinga's offering to the proprietries, left them bare from shoulder to wrist in their finely-moulded loveliness. (ibid:157)

This is in pointed contrast to the fat Henning Huysing and his foul-mouthed shrew of a wife, or the powerful Widow Tas, a driving force behind the conspiracy, who is presented as the most peasant-like of boer women:

Her large expressionless features were surrounded by a rusty black cap with wide frills, tied tightly under her heavy chin and concealing a touzled knot of unkempt hair that seldom saw the light of day – or night either, for that matter. The old *kabaai* [house-gown] which she wore over a short skirt of green stuff was decorated in front by sundry snuff-patches, on her substantial feet were *veld-schoenen* [traditional hide shoes] manufactured on the farm.

'The Lord has not made me beautiful, so I may as well make myself comfortable,' was the principle which had regulated her toilet through life. (ibid:251)

Fairbridge's patrician liberalism is squarely and consistently expressed in aesthetic terms. In fiction this translates into a conventional typology of physical characteristics and appearances. The historian Peter Kolbe, for instance, whom the latter-day champions of Van der Stel regarded as unreliable, has 'the round credulous eyes, the narrow forehead, the thin straight lips and weak chin' of a gullible clerk.

(ibid:252) Like many Victorians Fairbridge's father and grandfather regarded phrenology as a legitimate psychological and anthropological tool, and this extremely popular nineteenth-century obsession was certainly an aid, or at least a ready influence, in the craft of characterization in Victorian fiction. However, the idealistic embracing of art, in all its forms, as a leading topic in nation-building in turn-of-the-century South Africa, also lent a deep metaphorical paradigm to distinctions between comeliness and the physically ill-favoured.

One of the suitors of the fair Joan is Henrikus Munkerus, a young official at the Castle, and a sonneteer. His poetic skill is taken lightly by the Cape maidens, and Fairbridge makes it plain that art is poisoned at the well by a deeper psychical or spiritual imbalance. When Joan has her epiphany, as described above, it is also a moment of romantic recognition between her and the gallant Frans van der Stel. Joan meets Frans's eye, and the spark of love is struck. Munkerus notices, and 'jealous hatred took possession of him', in his 'ill-balanced mind'. 'Now, in a moment, he had seen the Heavens open, and the sacred fire descend on her head, and as womanhood and patriotism dawned she had turned to a stranger for sympathy and comprehension, and had found them in his eyes.' (ibid: 62) Munkerus curses them roundly, and wracked with jealousy joins the conspiracy for personal reasons. On the rebound this artist *manqué*, an ugly spirit, ends up marrying (partly because she is there for him in his time of need, partly because her family are set against the Van der Stels) a plain, dull, sad woman who had always loved him from the side-lines. Their marriage withers as she realises her husband's continued emotional turmoil; he, still with a spark of the artist's conscience (art and integrity, beauty and truth, being linked in the paradigm), is wracked by guilt for having signed the petition against the greater craftsman, and he shoots himself.

Van der Stel of course has the required sensibilities for his role as governor:

His keenly-tempered artistic instincts had not been able to stand against the temptation to draw skilled workmen from the ships proceeding to Batavia, and bitter (and perhaps not unreasonable) was the wrath of the East India Government. Indignant protests were poured on him, but we of to-day owe much of the beauty of our old Cape homesteads to the craftsmen in metal, wood and plaster filched from the passing ships by Willem Adriaan van der Stel. As the loveliness of the place had grown into his father's heart so it entered into his own, until love for the Cape became part of his very existence,

and he lavished a wealth of care in making what was beautiful more beautiful still. (ibid: 134-5)

Fairbridge's aesthetics is inevitably western European in conception, which extends to her descriptions of landscape. The treatment of the Cape as 'Mediterranean', which is the basic premise of *Piet of Italy*, is an intriguing topic that has not yet been examined in cultural terms. A later chapter of this thesis explores it further. Here Fairbridge, who had already travelled extensively in Italy, imports an Italian set of images to describe the countryside:

Save for the dark-skinned labourers and the white-gabled houses, a stranger opening his eyes in a South African vineyard might think himself in Italy. There is the same golden quality in the air, the same blue sky and purple mountains, the gnarled olive trees, the stone-pines, the vines, the fig-trees, all the setting of classic legend. You can almost hear 'the sacred creatures of the woods, Pan with his pipe, and hoary old Sylvanus, And all the fairy sisterhood at play'. Or catch glimpses of the goat-legged ones by the bubbling streams and in the dusk of the undergrowth. (ibid: 109)

Virtue also translates into questions of class, with the humble origins of Huysing and his wife (who was once a kitchen maid in the Amsterdam household of the Van der Stels) made into a point of contention in the plot. Alice Trotter, who is as favourably disposed to Willem Adriaan as Fairbridge, says 'the whole story reproduces on a smaller and humbler scale the attitude of the burghers of Holland, a few years earlier, to the house of Orange. The family was simply too much in the ascendant'. (Trotter, 1903:112) Fairbridge's position as far as social class is concerned is as understated as would be expected of one in her position: with nothing to prove as far as her own place in society is concerned, intimately connected with leaders in South Africa and in England, and at the same time well aware of the need for an inclusive and just colonial society. Her expressions of class consciousness are almost exclusively sublimated into questions of aesthetics. This being the case, those who would be outsiders in period terms are admitted into the magic circle (at least, in the world of fiction) when they prove their aesthetic sensibilities, as does Piet in *Piet of Italy*, where artistic talent is the title deed to his true inheritance. The wealthy Henning Huysing is able to buy fine furniture but Fairbridge points out that this is

only an imitation of the real thing, which is to be found in older porcelain from the east, and in the heirlooms owned by long established families.

Another touchstone to worth is of course the will to be 'progressive'. The recalcitrant burgher farmers in *That Which Hath Been* are like the Cape farmers of the late nineteenth century who resisted new methods of tackling scab on sheep. The Widow Tas expresses her opposition to new ideas:

'But the Lord has sent the scab. It were impious work to endeavour to escape from the chastening hand.' And the farmers nodded their heads sagely, for it is undoubtedly more seemly and devout to ask Heaven to remove scab from sheep than to weary oneself with remedies proposed by man. And less trouble too. (ibid:167)

Alongside the 'narrow' Calvinism, superstition is another sign of their rebarbative ways. Huysing and a friend discuss 'new fads' in medicine, and the 'magic' of healing hot springs: 'The only magic I dread is that of which the Malays hold the secret. *'Indiaansche Toover'* [eastern wizardry], they call it, and it is very deadly'. (ibid:124) An instance is recalled, of the wife of Tobias Louw, who wrongfully pushed past the guard into the mosque of Sheikh Jusuf: he 'muttered a curse' and flung away the rix-dollar which she gave him, and next morning she woke up bald with flaming red eyes. (ibid:125)

Van der Stel's 'progressive' enthusiasm for agricultural development is parallel to the fruit-growing initiative of Cecil Rhodes, with H.E.V. Pickstone and Herbert Baker's younger brother, in the Drakenstein valley, which Fairbridge fictionalizes in *Piet of Italy*:

Van der Stel had worked incessantly, studying now arboriculture, now olive growing, now wine making, that he might take to the Cape all the knowledge that science and experience could yield on any industry likely to be of benefit to the young colony. (ibid:25)

His plans are resisted:

In vain were his efforts to introduce olive-trees, which could be grafted on the wild stock which grew freely in Drakenstein, or silk-

worms and mulberry trees, in the hope of developing the manufacture of silk.

It was easier for the farmers to put in vine-sticks, and let Koos and Adonis gather the grapes and press out the wine in due season.

What did the quality matter? they murmured. (ibid:136)

Van der Stel forges on, and makes the fatal error (which ultimately gives the cabal grounds for accusing him of luxury and monopoly) of establishing his own farm of Vergelegen, beyond the Eerste River below the Helderberg, naming it with the customary idealism which Fairbridge attributes to him: “Vergelegen,” he said, in low tones. “For far it lies from all that is sordid and world-stained, from the turmoil and strife of cities, from jealousies and factions and politics.” This is Van der Stel’s manifesto, in Fairbridge’s own construction:

‘I have a great wish to test the capabilities of the country, for I feel assured that there are wonderful possibilities in the soil, which farming, in the light of our modern methods, would develop. I desire nothing better, *mynheer*, than to live and die in South Africa, to serve her while I draw breath and to rest in her arms when I can no longer work for her. It is the wish of my heart, to till mine own acres in the land that I love.’

‘Ah, *mynheer*, do you know what this love of the land is? To touch the warm brown earth, to hear the running water and the murmur of the doves, to see the peach-buds swell and ripen into fruit, and to say to yourself, “This is mine. It belongs to me, as I belong to it”’.

‘Had I a farm on such land, for instance, as Huysing once showed me at Hottentots’ Holland, I could make experiments in wool-growing and wine-making which might prove of value to the future of this country and the prosperity of the Company.’ (ibid:149)

Tree-planting had a talismanic value for the Fairbridge coterie. The role of gardens and trees in her writing is dealt with more fully in a later chapter, but the arboriculture of Jan van Riebeeck, and of both the Van der Stel governors, carries tremendous cultural and economic significance for conservation coterie in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at the Cape. Protection of trees was a priority

with the National Society, as we have seen. Leibbrandt, whose researches underpin so many of these initiatives, wrote an enthusiastic memorandum in 1903 to the Conservator of Forests, concerning oak trees in the Peninsula suburb of Newlands, in which he referred to Van Riebeeck's farm Boschheuvel, and his early plantation at the nearby Rustenburg.⁷ Van der Stel enthuses to the visiting Commissioner Wouter Valkenier over this very work by Van Riebeeck:

'He was a great pioneer, *Mynheer*, and the first South African gardener. I have but lately made a note of the trees he planted here.' (145)
And he drew from the breast of his riding coat a leather book with silver clasps.

'Listen to this,' he added enthusiastically. 'He put in 1,162 orange, lemon and pummelo trees, ten pisangs [bananas], two olives, and walnut, quince, apple, pear, cherry and chestnut trees to the total of 1,244. There are vines by the thousand, vegetables, sweet potatoes and grain, and round all a fence of wild almonds. The first orange trees were brought to the Cape from St. Helena and planted in the garden in the town. Think, *mynheer*, of his delight when he was able to record in his journal of July 25, 1661 that on that day he and his wife had plucked the two first oranges in the Company's garden, and that they were "beautifully yellow coloured and nicely large." Van der Stel's face glowed with emotion. (ibid:145)

Fairbridge's sympathetic representation of the non-European population of the Cape is in marked contrast to the crudity of Van der Stel's opponents. Here is an impression of the creolized work-force:

Slaves of every shade of brown, from Coromandel, Macassar or Madagascar, ran lightly along the jetty, balancing enormous bales on their heads, and laughing and chattering in the polyglot dialect which was the foundation of the *Taal* [language]. A little Dutch (chiefly seafaring phrases picked up from the sailors), a little Malay, a dash of Portuguese, a French, English, Tamil or Hottentot word here and there went to form a

lingua franca, in which Antonie of Bengal, April of the Cape and Samsodin of Batavia found a common vehicle for their ideas. (ibid:31-2)

The slaves Dantje and Jannetje, husband and wife, who worked for the Van der Stel family in Batavia, now give their allegiance to the governor Willem Adriaan. Dantje, in Fairbridge's imitation of the Cape patois, expresses his piety and loyalty. They were once servants of the 'great nobleman, Sheikh Joseph Tuanse':

'But evil days fell on my new master, and he sent away to Cape with all the peoples of his household.... My master find he must go live in a small house near the Christian priest's farm of Zandvliet, which lies by the Eerste Rivier. So he call me to him and he say, "Dantje" (only he say my Malay name, Abdullah), "I go to spend what remains of my life in prayer and meditation. It is a hard life and stern that lies before me now, by Allah's will a prisoner. Go thou back then to the service of His Excellency, who is a good man and just." And even as my master said so I did, for he is a saint in Islam and speaks not save by the will of Allah.' (ibid:21)

The wife, Jannetje, sings a *ghoemaliedjie* (Cape slave song in creolized Dutch) to Marie van der Stel's children in their rooms at the Castle. Marie investigates a 'dull monotonous clapping, accompanied by a low crooning sound', which comes from the nursery:

The eyes [of the children] turned to the door for a moment, and then fixed themselves anew in rapt admiration on an old Malay woman, who was crouched in the middle of the room, her back to the door, clapping her hands gently in time to a monotonous chant, which she sang in a thin, faint voice.

Little by little the words took form – and this is what she heard:

*Maria, Maria, sit onder die trap,
Zij voert haar kinders met suiker en pap.
Suiker en pap en pyp-kaneel.
Mooi meisje, hoe kyk ge so scheel?*⁸ (ibid:43)

Interrupted by Marie, Jannetje explains herself:

‘I am pardoned by the *nooi* [young mistress]?’ she said half-timidly.
‘Even with such childish songs did I sing the *klein baas* [young master] to sleep when he was a baby in my arms, and when I saw his little children my old heart went out to them. Allah have them in his keeping.’
And bending in salutation once more she drew her head-shawl over her grey hair, and slipped out of the room. (ibid:44)

In a chapter which starts with Frans van der Stel visiting the amiable parents of his beloved, there is a remarkable counterpoint concerning the heartbreak which occurs in slave families, with brutal separation and little scope for personal ambitions. Marie van der Stel is woken by the sound of sobbing. She finds old Dantje in the Castle courtyard bent over his wife who is weeping on the ground. They confide in her sympathetic nature – their grandson Nouredin has, that day, secretly boarded a ship bound for Holland, and they are unlikely ever to see him again. The grandparents bribed the ship’s carpenter to stow him away on board and in Holland he would be able to pass as a free man:

‘But – but his colour will betray him.’

The two old people chuckled and nodded at each other.

‘No Netherlander is fairer than my Nouredin,’ said Jannetje, softly and proudly.

‘Let me explain to the *nooi*. Thou art but a woman though well meaning. It is like this. Our little Aissa, upon whom be the Peace, is dead these seventeen years, leaving our lives shrouded in sorrow, save for the child. Good blood runs in our veins for all that we are His Excellency’s slaves – our lady sees that we are no Mozambiquers or common black folk?’ (ibid:86)

The two explain to Marie that their dead daughter Aissa had borne Nouredin from a white father, and that he would easily pass for a European. “‘But he is a slave – a slave,” gasped Marie The possibility of such a complication as this had never come home to her.’

'No, *mevrouw*. In Holland he will be a free man, and even the same as the white people. Praise be to Allah! And – and the *nooi* will speak softly to His Excellency that his wrath fall not too heavily on us.'

(ibid:87)

Marie responds with emotional ambivalence, feeling 'as though the world were falling about her ears' at the idea that their coloured grandson 'would be free to come and go, and to marry some girl in Holland who would know nothing of the secret of his race, and whose children might – and probably would – be as brown as Dantje himself'. And at the same time 'the horror, hitherto unrealised, which lies beneath the tragedy of slavery, smote on her heart and brain'.

The question of miscegenation, with its attendant complications for the overarching heritage paradigm, haunts Fairbridge. In her day, in her social class, the matter of caste or the patrimony of one's birth dominated race relations. It was a long-standing prejudice, held into the mid-twentieth century by South Africans who were liberal in other respects, that marriage into a Cape family would bring 'colour'. Fairbridge's liberalism sought justice and civil liberties for all, but retreated when faced with challenges to racial identity; and yet the subject is raised, and treated with sympathy. The Fairbridge family themselves, like all old Cape families, has 'coloured' or creole relations about whom the family records are, inevitably, silent.

Fairbridge is most at ease regarding black South Africans when dealing with the ritual aspects of their lives, in other words, when they are demonstrably located within their own caste and culture. She makes the 'Cape Malays' her particular preserve, and she takes pride in their aloof customs and traditions. A chapter which opens with buffoonery among Huysing and his cronies as they smuggle wine into the Castle to go onto the limited retail market, and which continues with a wrangling discussion amongst their peers on the question of wine licences, ends with a solemn and moving description of the funeral at Macassar, on the False Bay coast, of 'Sheikh Joseph Tuanse', the exiled Batavian prince and holy man.⁹

Returning to the politics of the farmers, finally, the following conversation neatly dramatizes the gap in Cape politics which emerged after the Jameson Raid of 1895, with unavoidable alienation between J.H. Hofmeyr's Afrikaner Bond and Cecil Rhodes and the subsequent British administration of Alfred Milner:

'He isn't always tactful,' added his [the *fiscal* Blesjus's] son-in-law, Cruse, reflectively stuffing tobacco into his pipe. 'You want tact in dealing with the farmers.'

'Tact!' said Johannes Wessels, with a snort. 'Tact and sympathy! Fine words, *mynheer*, but their true meaning is that the farmers want to be left to breed scabby sheep, or to make wine that a pig would refuse to drink, rather than follow His Excellency's advice – the advice of a friend.'

'You forget the private rights of the individual,' put in Adam Tas, who was spending the New Year with his uncle in Zee Straat. 'It becomes tyranny when private rights are trodden underfoot.'

'Ach,' said his host, 'that is a new and dangerous doctrine, *Mynheer* Tas. It is the welfare of the State which should come first. The prosperity of his own country ought to be more dear to a man than his own private fortunes – though, if these *domkoppen* could but see it, they stand to make more by following His Excellency's advice than by ignoring it.' (ibid:138)

'His Excellency', shortened to 'Ex' by the inner circle of Government House in turn-of-the-century Cape Town, is Alfred Milner as much as Van der Stel. The 'welfare of the State' is a sovereign principle for the liberal-reformist imperial administrators of Fairbridge's day, among whom Milner is chief. *That Which Hath Been* is a historical *roman à clef* which 'carries the torch' (to use a favourite contemporary metaphor) for Milner and for Rhodes, while also giving rein to Fairbridge's antiquarian interests and supporting the theories of her mentor Leibbrandt. Curiously, Fairbridge's fascination with the farm Vergelegen came to a particular consequence seven years later, as the next chapter relates.

¹ The appointments of Leibbrandt and Theal are recorded in the first issue of the *South African Archives Journal*, 1959. Johan F. Preller writes in English of 'The Leibbrandt Appointment' (28-32), while A.J. Boeseken writes in Afrikaans, at greater length, of 'Theal as Baanbreker' (33-42). Comparing these two essays it is evident that the Nationalist Civil Service establishment of the 1950s perpetuated the division of opinion in favour of Theal.

² Letter by G.M. Theal to Charles Fairbridge, 17 February 1887, National Archives, Cape Town, A1426.

³ The Afrikaans translation by L.A. and Dr P.C. Schoonees was published by HAUM, Cape Town, in 1932, evidently in support of the emergent Afrikaner Nationalism of the day, which had its base among Cape Afrikaner intellectuals.

⁴ This patrician sense of landed values is a dimension to the ruralist or pastoral view of South Africa which J.M. Coetzee does not embrace. His discussion of literary treatments of the land, and of the 'national landscape', is largely in terms of romanticism, the picturesque, and the sublime. (Coetzee, 1988)

⁵ See for instance Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*, for a detailed discussion of the allegorical treatment of women at the time.

⁶ Near the start of the novel there is a reference to a favourite topic among the literary and artistic set in Edwardian Cape Town, the myth of the Titan Adamastor, tutelary spirit of the Cape, the Cape winds, and the mountain, taken from the *Lusiads* by Camoens. "It is Adamaster," said Bergh [referring to the prevailing south-easter wind], "the spirit of Table Mountain greets His Excellency and shrieks a welcome." (Fairbridge, 1910:13) Herbert Baker associated Cecil Rhodes with this 'spirit', as well as with Prometheus. See Gray (1979:15-37) for a discussion of the formative role of the Adamastor myth in South African literature.

⁷ Letter from Leibbrandt to D.E. Hutchins, Conservator of Forests, 5 June 1903, National Archives, Cape Town, A1514.

⁸ 'Maria, Maria, she sits under the stairs. She feeds her children with sugar and porridge; sugar and porridge and cinammon sticks. Pretty girl, why do you look squint-eyed?'

⁹ The Muslim prohibition on alcohol is not expressly mentioned, but it is a nice implication, in this contrast between the self-interested wine farmers and the devoted Cape Muslims.

University of Cape Town



MISS FAIRBRIDGE

Dorothea Fairbridge, circa 1890.

(Courtesy of the South African National Library, Cape Town Division)



Dorothea Fairbridge, circa 1920.

(The South African Library, Cape Town Division)



Cover design by J.M. Solomon for *The State*.



The Freemasonic Royal Arch symbol in the frontispiece of Sir Herbert Baker's autobiography (1944).



SIDE GABLES, GROOT CONSTANTIA.



BOSCH EN DAL STOEK.



WINE HOUSE AT GROOT CONSTANTIA.



GROOT CONSTANTIA, 1681.

Samples of 'Cape Dutch' architecture from Trotter (1903).

Chapter Five: From Vergelegen to Tongaat

After passing through the hands of various farming families, Willem Adriaan van der Stel's farm Vergelegen (known at the time as 'Theunissen's Farm') was bought by Sir James Sivewright in 1899. He offered it for sale to the British government as a hospital for wounded soldiers, but the offer was declined. It was sold to a diamond merchant, Samuel Kerr, in 1900. With its particular history it was a favourite haunt for Dorothea Fairbridge, who visited it frequently with her friend and patron Florence Phillips, one year Dorothea's junior but with the wealth and social standing of an influential Randlord's wife. J.W. Jagger, leader of the Unionist Party, friend and political colleague of Sir Lionel Phillips, bought the adjoining farm of Lourensford in 1916, and when Vergelegen came onto the market with the death of Samuel Kerr it appears that Fairbridge encouraged Florence Phillips to acquire the property, which she did in 1917. It stood near the burgeoning genteel residential town of Somerset West, and became a Mecca for cultivated and distinguished visitors to the Cape.

The Phillipses were acquisitive of property. They owned extensive farmlands at the Woodbush Estate near Magoebaskloof in the Eastern Transvaal (the setting for John Buchan's *Prester John* [1910]) where they ran a furniture-making project in support of the aims of the South African National Union; Herbert Baker built for them the particularly elegant Mediterranean-styled Villa Arcadia on Parktown Ridge in Johannesburg; and they acquired Tylney Hall in England as a requisite country house for would-be aristocracy. Vergelegen became Florence Phillips's preferred home and she dedicated huge sums of money and energy to its restoration, to the gardens, and to the development of a model farm with agricultural innovations, the beginning of South Africa's Jersey dairy stock, soil conservation experiments, and fruit-growing. It was their desire to make Vergelegen into a showcase of South African heritage, culture, and farming, and the wellspring of a family dynasty. This last came to nought with the emergence of a new South African politics in the later 1920s and the 1930s, which proved uncongenial to their cosmopolitan children. The farm remained within the control of the Corner House mining group, however, and is now the property of the Anglo-American mining corporation. Dynastic family heritage is taken over by corporate interests, as in the case-study of the Tongaat-Hulett sugar estate, a study of which concludes this chapter.

In 1917 Vergelegen was largely derelict. Florence Phillips coerced the young architect Saul Solomon to begin restoration work. Solomon, overworked to breaking-point, was engaged on the massive project of the University of Cape Town. Another of Baker's colleagues, C.P. Walgate, was sent from the New Delhi site to Cape Town to assist Solomon who committed suicide from stress and ill-health, and Walgate was then himself cajoled by Phillips into studying the Cape Dutch idiom and taking up the work at Vergelegen, which he

did with painstaking excellence. The homestead was stocked with fine Cape antiques and the old wine cellar was transformed into a library for Lionel Phillips's large collection, together with a billiard room and his organ, which was removed from Villa Arcadia at its sale in 1922. Van der Stel's elegant octagonal walled corral directly at the rear of the house was converted into a trellised garden while his original camphor trees, now three centuries old and of vast girth, provided a distinct feature to the front façade.

Florence Phillips was hostess to numerous distinguished visitors at Vergelegen for the next fifteen years while pursuing her career as patron of arts and culture. The English novelist Francis Brett Young was one of her first guests. He later betrayed her hospitality with a caricature of the unpredictably tempered and crusading hostess in his novel *Portrait for Clare* (1927). The painter Robert Gwelo Goodman, who had purchased the elegant Newlands House in the Cape Peninsula, stayed at Vergelegen on extended visits, in a cottage set aside for his use. In 1917 he married Margaret Comerford, daughter of the well-loved Canon Clementson, priest to the people of District Six and the lepers on Robben Island. Dorothea Fairbridge was maid of honour, and the architect Franklin Kendall the best man. Sir Henry Hubert Juta, erstwhile Speaker of the old Cape Parliament (and father of the painter Jan Juta and the novelist René Juta), addressed the wedding breakfast and the couple honeymooned at Hermanus where Goodman's friend Sir William Hoy, General Manager of the South African Railways, was holidaying.¹ These details are not insignificant in that they indicate the closeness of the coterie. Hoy was the prime mover behind the SA Railways as promoter of tourism; he built a huge collection of photographs of South Africa for the sake of tourism, largely from the work of Arthur Elliott; and he gave the material support of the Railways to Fairbridge's own travels and writing. Kendall, as mentioned above, consulted Fairbridge on the restoration of Groot Constantia. Goodman himself, and his bride, were a composite inspiration for Fairbridge's peculiar novel *The Uninvited*, which was referred to in the opening chapter of this thesis.

Other artist visitors to Vergelegen included Edward Roworth, Neville Lewis, Cathleen Mann, Irma Stern, Ruth Prowse, Colin Gill (married to the daughter of the editor of the *Cape Times* B.K. Long), and the Phillips's temperamental son-in-law William Nicholson. John Wheatley, first director of the South African National Gallery in Cape Town, and the distinguished gardener Marion Cran, were among the numerous 'members of parliament, overseas visitors, professors, artists, editors, scientists, writers [who] would find themselves at the same table and exposed to [Florence's] uninhibited outbursts.' (Gutsche, 1966: 365)

In the late summer of 1928 Rex Martienssen, the foremost South African exponent of the modernist international style in architecture, stayed at Vergelegen on a student field trip. This was led by Geoffrey Eastcott Pearse, the first professor of architecture at the University College, Johannesburg. Pearse realized the importance of the Cape vernacular for the training of South African architects, and while Martienssen became a leading modernist he retained an

abiding commitment to the perceived integrity of local materials and idiom. Martienssen purchased a copy of Kendall's book on the restoration of Groot Constantia and wrote an essay on this trip, 'The Golden Road', for the *South African Architectural Record*, in which the Vergelegen coterie is featured: 'We had afternoon tea with Lady Phillips, at Vergelegen, and sprawled under Van der Stel's oaks and camphors. Miss Dorothea Fairbridge showed us her old prints and china. We talked painting with Professor Walker, who had just written a South African history.' (Martienssen, 1928:29)²

Prime Minister General Smuts visited frequently, with his family. Other distinguished guests included the De Beers directors, Sir Abe Bailey, Sir Drummond and Lady Chaplin, Max Michaelis, Anna Pavlova, Sir Ronald Storrs, then Governor of Cyprus, Leopold Amery (who from the 'kindergarten' had risen to Secretary of State for the Colonies), a sequence of admirals posted to Simonstown, Archbishop Carter and his gardening wife, Edwina Lady Mountbatten, and her friend Lady Zia Wernher with a lion cub. The popular vice-regal couple, the Earl and Viscountess of Athlone, were regular visitors, and they brought the Prince of Wales in 1930. Vergelegen, the 'House of Regrets', had become the Cape equivalent of an English country estate.

The farm also retained its symbolic value. Vergelegen's 'progressive' legacy as expounded by Fairbridge was but part of a literary-historical debate which continued well into the twentieth century. A fourth historical novel on the subject, by N.K. Lock, *No Wine for the Governor* (1942), seeks to understand with more sympathy the case of the protesting farmers. D.J. Opperman, the Afrikaans poet, produced a play, *Vergelegen*, in 1956, also dealing with the topic.³ One of the primary opponents to Van der Stel, Henning Huysing, owned the farm of Meerlust on the Eerste River, and for Fairbridge this other fine house, owned subsequently for 250 years by the Myburgh family, came to form a constant locus of historical interpretation in tandem with Vergelegen. Florence Phillips and her intensely imperial and 'progressive' faction thus found themselves established in the centre of a richly interpreted historical site. The Phillips coterie firmly asserted all the values which Leibbrandt, Colvin and Fairbridge had attributed to Van der Stel, transforming Vergelegen into a showpiece of Cape elite virtue, celebrating evidence of Van der Stel's progressive intentions, and continuing in the same vein with various experimental farming projects.⁴

The symbolism was Fairbridge's personal province. Says Thelma Gutsche, describing the social whirl at Vergelegen and blending it with Fairbridge's own narrative from her *Historic Houses of South Africa* (1922:103): 'Dora Fairbridge ... would sit ruminatively on an acorn sack, speculating on what Van der Stel would have thought of the wonders Lady Phillips had achieved, or silently in the courtyard among a garrulous throng while Florrie poured tea into enormous cups. Dora had no small talk and as time went on, became more silent.' (Gutsche, 1966:375) Vergelegen might be seen to hold together, within a changing world, all the major threads that ran through Fairbridge's life – Reverend Leibbrandt's

version of the Van der Stel history, the parallel in this with the career of her admired Viscount Milner, the patronage of Lady Phillips in promoting Fairbridge's own work, the company of like-minded artists and writers, and indeed the material environment of art, antiques and architecture. All this exemplified a genteel Cape-based South Africa that was rapidly fading, the preserve of a diminishing generation of late-Victorian connoisseurs and magnates.

Fairbridge's two most distinguished books are her *Historic Houses of South Africa* (1922) and *Historic Farms of South Africa* (1931). Both were written at the urging of Florence Phillips who paid for the cost of illustrations. 'The book and the means of publishing it are the two contributions to our partnership', writes Fairbridge to Phillips in 1915. 'You might arrange to share the gross returns from the beginning, or there may be alternative plans that occur to you and I should be glad to hear what you think.'⁵ There was talk of publication with *Country Life*, and Fairbridge optimistically hoped to have the book out by Christmas that year. She writes with enthusiasm about the research to her friend, who was then at Villa Arcadia in Johannesburg: 'How much I wish that you were here to see some of the furniture which I have come across in my researches – there is enough beautiful furniture still left to make a book on its own account. If we make anything of this one *Country Life* might take the other. However – that is all in the future. You have no idea how interesting the analysis of the various woods has been'.

Although *Historic Houses* was begun with enthusiasm in 1915, it took seven years to complete. At the outset Phillips and Fairbridge went about procuring illustrations. Phillips commissioned Gwelo Goodman for ten oil paintings of Cape homesteads, which were intended to be used for reproduction in the book. The architect F.M. Glennie offered his sketches of architectural details such as doorways, windows, metalwork and staircases. Edward Roworth, first professor of painting at the University of Cape Town, was approached by Phillips to contract a local photographer, but this ended in acrimony as promises were broken and payments pursued.⁶ Numerous of Arthur Elliott's excellent photographs of the homesteads were used. The work continued for several years, and Joyce Newton Thompson records that in 1920 Gwelo and Margaret Goodman 'motored widely through the Western Province with Dora Fairbridge who was busy on her book'. With Goodman ('a kindred spirit') Fairbridge explored the wares of local antique dealers, and with various friends which included the Mackeurtans of Durban, they would 'pile into a car with a picnic basket and drive off for the day in search of old houses. Whilst Gwelo sketched, Margaret and Dora would drink innumerable cups of coffee and gradually elicit the history of each fine old Dutch house'. (Newton Thompson, undated, circa 1951: 68) Jessica Brett Young, the wife of the novelist, corrected the proofs for Fairbridge, and General Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union at the time, wrote an appreciative foreword:

Smuts
y

In a country where, as a rule, Nature is everything and Art literally nowhere, our old Dutch houses form the most notable exception to the rule.... I believe it was Ruskin who said that the only real contribution to Architecture for the last few centuries has been made by the Dutch in South Africa – or something to that effect.... The old houses of South Africa are a common heritage of which all South Africans are proud, and are precious links binding us all together in noble traditions and great memories of our past. (Fairbridge, 1922:ix, x)

Historic Houses of South Africa was published in April 1922. The South African Railways undertook a large purchase of copies of the book, according to the conditions of publication with Oxford University Press. It was 'the first presentation to South Africans of a precious portion of their heritage... the realisation of one of Florrie's dearest aims, common to her friend Dora Fairbridge who had worthily fulfilled it. Within the lifetime of both, it became a rare classic.' (Gutsche, 1966: 366)

Historic Houses is Fairbridge's masterwork. It has narrative extension along with fine-grained detail, and the discursive energy of the text is both poetic and precise, elegant and confident. It is the work of one who is steeped in her subject, recognized as the leader in her field, and aware of its significance. It extrudes from the historical material an optimistic vision of her contemporary South Africa that rejoices in the possibilities of the future, but which also, rather idealistically, romanticizes on a seamless continuity between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries.

It is an immensely comprehensive study, beginning with a poised overview of the Portuguese navigators, Camoens's poetic image of Adamastor, and the early Dutch settlement, including a detailed history of the Castle of Good Hope with its five-pointed bastion derived from the fortification designs of Vauban. The treatment of the inner layout of the Castle is archaeological in its detail. Fairbridge cites from the diaries of Van Riebeeck and Adam Tas and there follows comment on the descriptions of the Cape by a succession of noted visitors: Abé de la Caille, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (the author of *Paul et Virginie*) in 1771, Carel Frederik Brink's *Nieuwste Beschryving van de Kaap* (1778), Thunberg (1772), Johan Nieuhoff (1653), Pere Tachard (1685), Peter Kolbe (1713), Le Vaillant (1781), Lady Anne Barnard (1797), Rev. Francois Valentyn in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Robert Semple (1805), and Burchell (1810).

A chapter deals with the comparative Dutch architecture in Holland, England and Indonesia. The book continues with Fairbridge's own histories and descriptions of a wide range of farmsteads, drawing on her research for the essays in *The State* and adding more material on old furniture and 'the decorative arts', concluding with a topographical and

botanical chapter on 'The Land Itself' which concludes with references to the 'expansion northwards', and to cultural developments in her contemporary South Africa.

Newton Thompson says of *Historic Houses*, 'the book had a very great success, but it is largely owing to the fact that the many American tourists who visited this country took back with them copies of this work that Dora's *Historic Houses* is now practically unobtainable in this country, and a copy is worth about £40. The revival in interest in old Dutch houses and furniture dates from the publication of this book with all its delight in the old and the beautiful with which the Cape, above all parts of South Africa, is plentifully endowed'. (Newton Thompson, circa 1951:68)

In 1935 Harrey and Ethelreda Currey (Fairbridge's brother-in-law and sister) visited John Johnson in Oxford, to discuss her books with him as literary executor. The Curreys and the co-executor, Sir Alfred Hennessy, sought the possibility of a collected edition of her works, which Lady Clarendon, wife of the then Governor General of the Union, had suggested. Johnson considered that the books were 'too diverse in subject matter and presentation for any treatment of the kind', but promised to draw up an estimate of the costs involved for a second edition of *Historic Houses*, which Lady Clarendon particularly wanted to recommend to her guests. Johnson was prepared to waive his royalties, but Gwelo Goodman was regarded as 'grasping' and 'voracious' in his terms of payment for further reproductions of his ten oil paintings.⁷ Nothing came of this, but in 1976 Oxford University Press granted permission for the Africana Book Society in Johannesburg to publish a reissue of the classic *Historic Houses*.

Historic Farms of South Africa: The Wool, the Wheat, and the Wine of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries was published posthumously in late 1931, dedicated to Florence Phillips and with an introduction by John Johnson who has the following to say:

Miss Fairbridge was what her books are. She was the most indomitable of women having all the magnanimity of outlook which is born in big spaces. Moreover her passionate love of the country in which she was born added force to her natural courage and gave also that sense of almost overwhelming spontaneity to the picturesque detail and sincerity of the background to her work. Few people know that she had already received the warning of what was destined in the end to prove fatal, before she undertook the journey she called 'The Pilgrim's Way in South Africa'. In the book which came of it and which bore that name, there is not a sign of failing powers. On the contrary the dominant note is the exhilaration of the surroundings through which she passed; her call of faith in South Africa was never clearer. *The Pilgrim's Way* was in a sense the sequel of *Historic Houses of South Africa*, and in that same

sense this posthumous volume *Historic Farms of South Africa* is the continuation of both of them. I know she would wish it so to be regarded.

This book is a study of farming in the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, drawing on dispatches written by Van Riebeeck and by Van der Stel, on the latter's 'African Gardeners' and Agriculturists' Calendar, and on reports by Governor de Mist and Barrow at the end of the eighteenth century. At the centre of this elegantly produced book is a reprise of the story of the conspiracy against Van der Stel, with translated excerpts from the accusations and counter-accusations. The book has numerous illustrations from eighteenth-century engravings and is, within its loyal-unionist frame of reference, a source-book for the period.

Violet Milner reviewed *Historic Farms* in her *National Review*, using the occasion to pay obituary tribute to her friend. She writes of Fairbridge's many interests, and the Guild of Loyal Women which Fairbridge began to support the imperial cause during the South African War:

The war ceased. The hopes of the British South Africans were bitterly deceived. Miss Fairbridge turned away from politics to literature, and to the history of Cape Colony. She also became a gardener, and she wrote and gardened equally well. Her father's large fortune having somehow disappeared she became quite at the end of her life dependent on her earnings; her hobbies and talents then became her means of livelihood. With what gay courage she faced life alone, in indifferent health, and on a small income, all her friends know. (*The National Review*, 1932, 98: 266)

Although the ethos from which these two books evolved has long gone, they are (along with Trotter's earlier work) the start of a continuing tradition of studies of vernacular Cape architecture, some intended for scholarly purposes, some as popular guides for visitors to the Cape. Apart from Alice Trotter, Fairbridge, and Herbert Baker himself, Arthur Elliott, Geoffrey Pearse, C. De Bosdari, Mary Cook, Hans Fransen, James Walton, Phillida Brooke-Simons, Graham Viney, and Gerald Hoberman are the most noted to have published on this subject over the past ninety years while a Vernacular Architecture Society is dedicated to the topic of early Cape buildings.

Exporting the Vernacular: Cape Dutch Tongaat

The Cape vernacular style was taken on as a national building style, promoted not only by the Cape coteries but also by proponents of Dutch-speaking republican independence or of Afrikaner nationalism. Notable among these was the Dutch Pretoria artist J.H. Pierneef, who gave talks on the question of a national architectural style, in which he explored Egyptian and indigenous black South African forms, as well as Cape Dutch. (Nel, 1990:131) Over the next few decades most public buildings in South Africa were designed with versions of Cape Dutch gables, with fanlights, mullioned windows, and brass escutcheons, to differing degrees of cost and credibility. This applied not only to large and stately edifices such as Government House in Pretoria (1907), the Pretoria Railway Station (circa 1909) and City Hall (1935), and the homes of wealthy families such as can be seen on Parktown Ridge in Johannesburg, but to magistrates' courts, police stations, and even electricity sub-stations throughout South Africa. In the 1920s modest single-storey middle class suburban homes in most towns and cities (bungalows, in the British sense) acquired a stodgy gable over the living room façade where previously there would have been a sketchily gothic frontage. A suburb in the Natal city of Pietermaritzburg has leafy streets of matching houses with anglicized versions of the gables, pinched and elongated in a kind of Jacobean idiom. Fairbridge wryly comments that 'South Africa is fast becoming over-gabled – no modern villa being considered complete unless it is adorned by one, at least, and that not always of a graceful or harmonious outline'. (Fairbridge, 1922:63)

Martienssen, who appreciates the evolution of the vernacular style out of local conditions and local materials, and rightly concludes that there must be an intimacy between these aspects and the aesthetics of the immediate environment, is also sceptical of the trend:

Picture a Cape Dutch farmhouse. Thatch and whitewash. Oak trees screening the open stoep. Then wide, green doors, windows delightfully proportioned, and great tiles covering the floors. There is nothing inconsequent about these elements, these materials. They arose from a divine instinct for what is good, from a sure knowledge of the fundamentals of fine building. Architects to-day build houses in the 'Dutch style'. They must be Dutch, for they possess gables, they have stable doors. But thatch is not a practicable material. They use corrugated iron. They forget to plant the oaks. Granolithic is cheaper than tiles, asbestos replaces yellow wood and teak for ceilings, and so the cutting down goes on. The resultant house is a poor shallow thing compared with its predecessors. It does not resemble the latter even in spirit, certainly not in the letter. No, the lesson we learn from the old houses at the Cape is not so obvious. There is something more significant in studying the

subtleties of a gable, than one would at first suppose. If we are not to abuse the privilege of study, we must not regard the gable as something 'to be worked into a design' at the earliest opportunity. (Martienssen, 1928: 30)

A fascinating case in point is the architecture of the sugar estate of Tongaat-Hulett in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (or simply Natal as it then was known). The setting is radically different from the 'Mediterranean' climate of the Western Cape, and so too is the history of the region, yet for reasons of aesthetics, taste, and national sentiment, Tongaat became a simulacrum of the Cape baroque experience. Fairbridge's friend and associate Robert Gwelo Goodman was the inspiration for this peculiar phenomenon, and the remainder of this chapter explores the exportation by Goodman to Natal of the idiom of Cape vernacular architecture, examining this as a case study in the invention of heritage by means of vernacular design.

In turn-of-the-century Natal several families had become wealthy sugar estate owners, their family heads described as 'sugar barons', the Natal equivalent of the Johannesburg 'Randlords'. Two prominent sugar dynasties were the Saunders of Tongaat and the Campbells of Natal Estates. The daughter of Senator Marshall Campbell bequeathed his property in her name to the University of Natal as the Killie Campbell Library, with one of South Africa's leading ethnographic collections, including Zulu artefacts and – later – the artist Barbara Tyrrell's celebrated paintings of tribal figures from around Southern Africa. This house, Muckleneuck, on the Berea, the elite residential suburb on a hillside overlooking Durban Harbour, was built in the Cape Dutch style in 1914 from a design by Herbert Baker⁸. Killie Campbell was introduced to Cape architecture and history by Dorothea Fairbridge when her father was in Cape Town for the parliamentary sessions, both women sharing interest in Africana, specifically South African antiques, books, and ephemera. Dorothea Fairbridge too lived in a house designed in the now traditional style by Baker's colleague Francis Masey. Goodman supervised the ornamentation of a Dutch-styled residence, Woodley, in Durban for the Mackeurtan family of bankers and accountants, intimate friends of the Saunders family, proprietors of Tongaat.⁹ A pattern had emerged, by the late 1920s, for wealthy genteel white South Africans to pursue the concept of 'Africana' in its various forms, from book-collecting to art and antiques, and the establishment of homes (and gardens) in the approved new South African style.

Colonial society in the early twentieth century was governed by a strong sense of class, and it was virtually *de rigueur* for the 'ruling class' to act as patrons of the arts, arbiters of taste, and custodians of the nation's aesthetic heritage. National identity might be seen to have consisted in a kind of patriarchal aesthetics. In some liberal quarters, and notably at Tongaat, this was translated, through the various utopian social philosophies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which ranged from the ideas of Ruskin and Morris to

Fabianism, into schemes for social upliftment, and even for improvement in race relations. Thus, when Gwelo Goodman was invited in 1936 to redesign Amanzimnyama (*isiZulu*, meaning 'black water'), the home of the Saunders family of Tongaat, this became the wellspring of a long tradition at Tongaat whereby arguments drawn from aesthetics regulated all aspects of the sugar estate's society, including the lives of black male migrant workers, Moslem and Hindu families, and the managerial staff. Goodman, who had recently restored the eighteenth-century Newlands House in Cape Town, and transformed a derelict brewery building into a magnificent studio house for himself and his wife (Cannon Brewery or Cannon House, in Cape Town), made new façades for the Saunders' house, drawing effectively on the gabled, white-washed Cape Dutch style, and he redesigned some of the gardens.

Goodman had a keen following among the elite of Durban, partly due to his early painting career in India (Natal at the time having many Anglo-Indian connections, as well as a large Indian population, descended mainly from workers who were indentured to the sugar plantations in the mid-nineteenth century), partly because of the prestige attached to his impressionist botanical, landscape, and architectural studies. (These subjects mirror the pre-occupations of the cultural elites of the period, who interpreted the cultural identity of the new nation precisely in terms of flora, land, and architecture).

He was invited, in 1937, to submit plans for the design of a 'model native township' at Tongaat, and developed a style which drew on traditional Cape architecture. This became known locally as 'Gwelo Colonial'. The primary reason for this project was a major outbreak of malignant malaria in Natal in 1930, which caused local authorities to focus properly for the first time on the conditions in the eighty-year-old shanty settlements inhabited by the Tongaat sugar workers. Goodman's own interest was, predictably, aesthetic¹⁰. While working on the home of the Saunders family, he proposed what he termed a 'Regent Street' plan to beautify the facades in the main street of Tongaat Village. His motto was, 'clean up the front street and the rest will look after itself'. (Watson, 1960: 3) This 'shop window' idea of influence by benign example became the guiding philosophy of social and environmental improvement at Tongaat. R.G. T. Watson, the chief engineer of the estate, compares this with Aldous Huxley's term 'marginal activity', which Huxley used to describe the methods of doctrinal propagation that were used by agents of Cardinal Richelieu in seventeenth-century France:

Marginal activity is a method of inculcating a doctrine by imparting the idea to be propagated to a few selected disciples, or small groups, situated on the outer edge of a society, as Tongaat is situated in relation to the Central Government. When the persons or groups, because of their acceptance of the teaching, show signs of coalescing, they are sub-divided and dispersed, so that the marginal process may continue. The central citadel of authority is ignored.

.... Successful marginal activity is the 'export' of religious, political, or sociological beliefs, export merely signifying transference from one community or locality to another, in an inward direction, so that if the movement survives, after a time the centre is reached. The Tongaat plan was no longer to be looked upon merely as a scheme for cleaning up a village. It was a means of ameliorating the political and social disorders of a country. (Watson, 1960: 17)

The success of this 'marginal activity' properly requires close monitoring, goodwill, and coherent strongly represented decentralized social groupings or communities. Watson regrets the lack of these qualities in modern society, and makes the following statement in this regard, which returns us to the topic of the dominant family or dynasty and the role of heritage:

In Natal ... and doubtless in all young colonies, it is within living memory that the 'direct acquaintance' of the stalwart settler, himself a pioneer farmer, representing his own land and his own people in the legislature, and 'motivated by personal affection and a spontaneous and unreflecting compassion' for their needs, has been superseded by the self-interest and indirect knowledge of the careerist politician and the impersonal and pragmatic government of central authority and ministerial regulation. (Watson, 1960:19. The quotations are from Huxley, 1941:248)

Watson's complaint here echoes a continuing dialectic in the internal discourses of the Tongaat tradition, whereby a staunchly independent Anglophone white liberal patriarchy abrogates to itself the right to conduct its own forms of racial and social experimentation over and against the legislation of the central Nationalist apartheid government. Tongaat paternalism became understood by its proponents as a liberal alternative to apartheid, and the Tongaat board coined the term 'aggregation' as their racial alternative to 'segregation'. Watson quotes the then proprietor and director, Douglas Saunders:

'Perhaps the wrong term has been chosen for race relations. Segregation implies breaking down, severing, or isolating parts from the whole; pain, degradation, humiliation, and injustice. "Aggregation" would be a better word. There is nothing repugnant in aggregation. It connotes building up, not destroying; strengthening and uniting, not weakening and humiliating. People *want* to be aggregated.' (Watson, 1960:25)

The reconstruction of Tongaat estate and the building of model townships for the workers was undertaken some two decades before the onset of 'Grand Apartheid' in South Africa in the 1950s, yet many forms of legislated racial segregation already existed in the 1930s. Tongaat patriarchal discourse seeks to distance itself from the extremism of Nationalist Party apartheid while using such concepts as 'aggregation' and the cultural and religious differences of Zulu, Hindu, and Moslem communities to rationalize its own forms of racial separation in community management. Aesthetics is cited as an opportunity for local and liberal opposition to harsh central government regulations, a noted instance being Gwelo Goodman's rejection of Pretoria bureaucratic requirements for the layout of black African townships. Law required that these townships should be laid out on a rectilinear grid pattern. Douglas Saunders writes to Gwelo Goodman, quoting from a letter of the Chief Native Commissioner of Natal, who was instructed by the central government concerning the proposed housing scheme at Tongaat:

'Kindly advise the Health Committee that in regard to the location lay-out, sites of not less than 60 feet by 50 feet, with streets of 40 feet width, at right angles to one another, enclosing rectangular blocks of sites ... must be incorporated in the location lay-out before the latter may receive approval.' ¹¹

Goodman replied as follows:

If that rule from the Native Commissioner is applied rigidly, it reduces town or village planning to the work of an office boy with a foot rule and T square.

The main roads may well be 40 feet though for what reason I cannot imagine. 30 foot seems to me to be more than ample. That every road should be at right angles to each other seems to be perfect madness. It simply cannot be done on our admirable sites. The main roads *must* follow the contour of the hill if only for the gradient & to provide for the gradient of drainage if at a remote period water borne drainage is provided.

Frankly rectangular planning on that lovely hillside would be a disaster.

If we can't get the officials to see reason I promise to make the lives of the responsible Ministers of Health a burden to them!!!

It would be monstrous of any office to obstruct our scheme and leave the Natives in their present condition.

What possible reason can they produce for such a fetish?

Paris is designed on radiating lines from a centre! Pinelands (the only decent

village planned in this country) is *not* rectangular. *Very much otherwise & that is on flat ground.* [Pinelands in Cape Town was the first 'Garden City' suburb to be laid out in South Africa, in the 1920s, in accordance with Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept.]¹²

Town planning in the new Tongaat was based on a liberal-conservative view of racial and cultural difference, with a zone for black African workers' houses, one for Indian workers, one for 'Europeans' as white South Africans were termed in the mid-century, and an 'International Zone' where there would be no segregation at all. Much was made of the fact that two Indians were allotted to the five-man town management council in 1945, a move which was very much against the grain of the rigid official apartheid policies that emerged in post-war South Africa. The dominant personality of Douglas Saunders, the chairman of Tongaat, led to all policy being interpreted through his particular amalgam of utopian philosophy, social aesthetics, deism, and paternalism. His outspoken views rationalized Tongaat racial separation, while differentiating this from government policy, which was rightly seen as brutalizing and unjust. Despite the liberalism, Saunders's opinions are, to say the least, difficult to accept by present-day standards. They need nonetheless to be read as a genuine desire to improve the social situation of black workers, though wholly within the context of a colonial racist system:

No single breed of man has been made the chosen favourite of the Gods because of the colour of a skin. But we are aware from history that the civilisation that was nurtured on the shores of the Mediterranean has built a people, known in general as Europeans, who since the days of Greece have proved to be ahead of those of other lands. Our object then is the gradual Europeanisation of Tongaat, and, as with Rome, the gradual improvement of our strength by bringing to full fruition the latent abilities of non-Europeans.

....

We wish to rule as a Greek democracy; we wish to govern by discussion, and we welcome any race or class, but on grounds of excellence alone. We support any life-enhancing religion, for religion by its rules increases man's consciousness of his dignity as a human being and gives a motive for the good life. Further, as Nietzsche says, to ordinary men, those who have to serve and be useful, religion provides an inestimable contentment.

....

The fundamental necessities, then, are food, family life, and freedom from fear. But this is not enough if 'the ultimate aim of life is right action'. We must add a fourth necessity – Beauty. If living is to be life-enhancing and man

is to be humanised, beauty, whether visual, verbal, or musical, must be ever-present. The function of beauty, then, is didactic, furthering the purpose of evolution, giving man a deeper insight into the mystical. For beauty and the sublime are akin; both are aesthetic judgements.¹³

Gwelo Goodman died in 1938, before he was able to extend the Tongaat project. His direct involvement, apart from the homestead Amanzimnyama, is limited to the bachelors' quarters and the Community Centre in the new model village for black labourers, which was called Hambanati ('We walk together', the name in *isiZulu* of a nineteenth-century mission that had been located near Tongaat). However, over the next two to three decades successive architects kept to his blueprint. Labourers' cottages were designed to resemble Cape artisans' cottages, particularly those which still stand in the quarter of Cape Town known as the 'Malay Quarter' or Schotschekloof. The façades of public buildings were all modelled on well known examples of Cape Dutch or Cape Georgian architecture. The Tongaat Health Centre (the public clinic) was designed in imitation of Cape Town's Parliament Street façade of the Old Supreme Court (once the Dutch East India Company's Slave Lodge and now the Cape Cultural History Museum). The Indian High School (1956) was a replica of the Adderley Street façade of the same building. The Municipal Market, Tongaat, with its popular Milk Bar, was modelled on Groot Constantia wine cellar, on the estate in the Cape Peninsula which was built in the late seventeenth century by the Dutch governor Simon van der Stel. The Tongaat Employees' Trading Company building in Maidstone Village had a front elevation which was derived from the eighteenth-century Customs House and Granary in Buitengracht Street, Cape Town, better known as 'Caledon Square'. The Engineers' Office was a simulacrum of the Cape Georgian townhouse, Grosvenor House, in Stellenbosch.

Tongaat Post Office was designed and built by the sugar company from drawings by Gwelo Goodman for a house he designed for his daughter in Johannesburg. This in turn is believed to have been derived from the Cape Palladian architect Louis-Michel Thibault's exquisite eighteenth-century De Wet House in the Cape Boland town of Tulbagh, which is considered to be an imitation of Gabriel's 'Petit Trianon' at Versailles. Goodman designed an elegant baroque gateway for the estate, based on Thibault's plan for a gateway to Cape Town's Government Avenue, as well as miscellaneous features such as baroque mortar garden seats. There is a summer house on Amanzimnyama Hill which is a perfect copy of the fine 'Kat' balcony in the inner courtyard of the Castle of Good Hope. The private owners of the Tongaat Hotel followed suit and remodelled the façade of their property on Cape Georgian lines, designed for them by Dr Mary Alexander Cook who was, in the 1960s, an expert on traditional Cape architecture. Other buildings in the Maidstone village were designed or remodelled to fit in with this scheme, including the Anglican Church in

Maidstone, which was built in red brick in 1930 and entirely recast to match the trend, in 1949, complete with a copy of the Elsenburg farm slave bell. Most old Cape homesteads had, close to the main house, a 'slave bell' which would summon the workers and measure the time of day. These were built in a customary style, with a whitewashed narrow elongated-H masonry frame, roughly four metres high, from which the bell was hung. There are sixteen imitations of these bells around the lands of Tongaat, all modelled on a particularly elegant example which is at the estate of Elsenburg, in the Cape. The architectural landscape affords an astonishing impression of baroque Cape buildings from a 'Mediterranean' region, famed for its old imported oak trees and stone pines, transplanted into a sub-tropical environment among cane fields, banana palms, bougainvillea, flamboyants and coral trees.

Two other eminent South African artists became involved in the Tongaat project: Edward Roworth, friend (and rival) of Goodman, and Professor of Fine Art at the University of Cape Town, and the Cape sculptor Ivan Mitford Barberton. Roworth painted a masterly portrait of the proprietor Douglas Saunders, and a large-scale set of landscape murals by Roworth were removed from their original Cape homestead of Monterey when it was redecorated, and altered for installation in the Saunders house, Amanzimnyama. Mitford Barberton designed the stucco reliefs which were placed in the pediments of the neo-baroque public buildings of the new Tongaat and Maidstone, in a direct emulation of the eighteenth-century work in the Cape of the noted sculptor Anton Anreith and his colleague, the architect Louis Thibault. Where Anreith and Thibault modelled Palladian figures drawn from classical mythology, Mitford Barberton designed groupings of plantation workers, and allusions to the Saunders family. Mitford Barberton also undertook free-standing sculptures for public spaces and garden features on the Tongaat estate.

Thus, a concept which derived from the turn of the century Cape colonial vernacular architectural revival and its related concerns with local and national heritage, came to be understood as a means of transforming social conditions and attitudes in a region of the Natal Province. Further, the Tongaat estate evolved its own sense of heritage and dynastic claims, in what appears to have been a more or less overt response to this manifestation of borrowed tradition. The Saunders family have been proprietors, in part or in whole, of the Tongaat sugar estates since the 1850s. The representation of the estate by its own commentators makes the Saunders family out to be a kind of benevolent fiefdom with a self-validating family tree, lineage, and set of local traditions. Thus we are given detailed accounts of the early history of the Saunders family, with a family tree running from the sixteenth century directly to the current chairman of Tongaat, Christopher Saunders. (Watson, 1960: 29) In 1953 his father, Douglas Saunders, presented to the Tongaat Sugar Company the Saunders art and antiques collection which is of considerable value and a material index to the implicit ideas of tradition, continuity, legacy and public bequest that underlie the period concept of heritage. The main purpose behind his gift was concern at the breaking-up, in the 1950s, of

many distinguished collections of antiques and Africana, on the deaths of their owners, such as the sale of Sir Abe Bailey's collection that same year.

Douglas Saunders built up the Tongaat collection with his personal interests in Chinese porcelain and antique Cape furniture. He purchased many Cape antiques during the Second World War when these were available at low prices, and after the death in 1957 of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, chairman of the huge mining concern of Anglo-American, Douglas Saunders was able to become first client of the noted Cape Town antique dealers, Friedland and Sons, being offered thereafter exclusive choices on old furniture. Until then, Sir Ernest was Friedlands' primary client, accumulating his family collection at Brenthurst, in Johannesburg. In 1951 Saunders visited the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford for advice from Professor Cohn on his interests in Chinese porcelain.¹⁴ A son who, as eldest, was to take on the chairmanship of the company in the second decade of the century, was killed in France in World War I, and his Coldstream Guards uniform and accoutrements are mounted in a life-size montage in a glass case at the main building. The impression of a patrilinear dynastic continuity is reinforced. James Renault Saunders, the first of the Saunders family at Tongaat in the mid-nineteenth century, received the appellation *Nkosi Bomvu* or 'Red King' from the local Zulu. Douglas Saunders was nicknamed 'the hare' in *isiZulu*, for his habit of appearing and disappearing at any moment on inspection tours through the canefields. This kind of benevolent nomenclature was typical of colonial relations between Zulus and white people in positions of leadership in the province. It reinforces a sense of relationship between tradition and personality.¹⁵

The achievement of Tongaat might be described in terms of 'tradition', but the concept of heritage is arguably more apt. First, heritage implies a sense of agency, of stewardship, trust, and entailment for the future; it includes the sense of the dynastic or family role of the Saunders family; it encompasses the material tradition, built environment, and collections of artefacts, as well as the handing down of traditions of belief and attitude; it translates into cultural terms the legal aspects of ownership and incorporation of the land and the industrial and commercial activities; and in particular ways the concept of heritage reflects the internal policies and self-image of the company. For instance 'heritage' embraces the very distinct use, at Tongaat, of discourses concerning social Darwinism, cultural evolution, and genetics.

The company has for several decades produced an annual magazine, *The Condenser* (named from the process of sugar-refining), which is a show-case for the Tongaat estate activities and policies. Each issue has articles on technical and economic matters, sugar production, soil, machinery, global trends in the industry, and global economic matters, as well as articles on the social and educational development of the workforce. For all its years of production the magazine has carried an equally prominent amount of articles on art, poetry, and architecture (notably 'Garbled Gables: A Note on the Use and Misuse of Cape Dutch

Architecture' [*The Condenser*, December 1953, 11-17]), on cultural identity, and philosophy. 'The Importance of Art in the Development of South Africa', (*The Condenser*, 1952:5) sets the tone. There are recurring studies of Gwelo Goodman, on Mitford Barberton and his influences from the baroque Cape sculptor Anton Anreith, on the Tongaat collection of antiques and Africana, on Katharine Saunders's botanical sketches made at Tongaat in the nineteenth century, on horticulture and garden design, on Goya, on the Impressionists, on Chinese porcelain, and on other loosely related topics such as the work of the Edwardian art collector and critic Hugh Lane, who brought to South Africa (under the patronage of Florence Phillips) the nucleus of the Johannesburg Art Gallery in 1911. There are articles on Indian women's dress, on Indian culture, on Zulu folk tales, and on the history of the Zulu people in Natal. There is a regular page of quotations from world poetry, including frequently the work of Rabindranath Tagore, following themes to do with beauty, ethics, and the human spirit.

Significantly there are several articles over the years on the 'nature of humanity', notably 'The Nature of Tomorrow's Man' by the eminent South African palaeontologist Phillip Tobias.¹⁶ Tobias's article focusses on the shift, in human evolution, from a physical to a cultural and spiritual emphasis, that is, from biological to psychical development. ('Undoubtedly, the future evolution of man will lie fairly and squarely in the psychological, intellectual, cultural and spiritual realms'.) Tobias uses the metaphors of genetic 'inheritance', 'endowment' and 'heritage' to root his discourse on human 'development', and emphasises the role of consciousness, appreciation of beauty, and of compassion, in this evolutionary path.

Tobias's universal humanist reading of palaeontology is wholly in line with the general philosophy of Tongaat, and of Douglas Saunders in particular, who, however, brings to bear on questions of community management a decidedly elitist application of the concept of cultural evolution. Douglas Saunders, the many-talented Cambridge-educated chairman of the board from the 1930s to the early 1960s, reflects his personal viewpoint strongly, citing Ruskin, William Morris, Bernard Berenson, and Friedrich Nietzsche, in his insistence that good community management, open discussion, and the overriding role of the arts, should stand before what he sees as the folly of modern democracy. With an enormously patriarchal, insistent, but benignly intentioned perspective he argues the need for the total 'Europeanization' of the community, at a philosophical level, where idealistic standards of both tolerance and spiritual aspiration should draw all members of the community into harmony and into higher levels of 'humanisation'.

Recurring among these articles is the theme of a common humanity, a common faith in a Supreme Being, which transcends particular religions or creeds, and topics dealing with evolution and cultural or social evolution, which are an exploration of the theme of 'heritage' in its biological-cultural guise. Teilhard de Chardin, Aldous Huxley, and George Orwell are some of the authors cited in this regard. The entire force of the very many articles on art and

aesthetics is dedicated towards a loose philosophy on the improvement of humanity through culture, and in particular, through beauty and beautification.

Douglas Saunders's dated and race-based emphasis disappears with the change of chairmanship of the board in the early 1960s, but the pre-occupation with cultural evolution, social upliftment, and ethnic cultural traditions continues. An article, 'Superman and the Superhorse: Some Thoughts on Selective Breeding', by the board member Graham Ellis, diplomatically refutes Douglas Saunders's long-held Nietzschean views by arguing, from the experience of race-horse breeding, that there is no exact science in breeding a winner, that too many variables are entailed, and that, in the end, the 'Superman' concept is nothing more than a fantasy:

It would seem then, that when applied to any advanced or complex form of life, selective breeding enjoys no apparent advantage over the process of nature. If this conclusion is correct, then the argument of the Superman theorist is disproved, and the genius of the future will not be the result of some genetic computation, but will remain as the outcome of natural selection. In humans, the proportion of excellence to 'averageness' has been consistent for many centuries – thus genius is recognised as extraordinary, brilliance unusual, and mediocrity commonplace.¹⁷

Ultimately, in the context of a changing South Africa and the intensification of the anti-apartheid struggle, idealist and speculative philosophy gives way to sociological discourses such as 'The Housing of a Sugar Community', by the architect P.T. Garland (*The Condenser*, 1962:16-20), and 'The Human Being in Tongaat' (G.H. Mitchell and S.S. Savage, *The Condenser*, 1978:3-8), and a particularly important essay by the United States Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, 'The Politics of Human Rights' (*The Condenser*, 1978:17-22).

It is arguable that this peculiar mixture of industry, social relations, and cultural patriarchy could only emerge and endure in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Natal has tended to be more preoccupied with colonial tradition, and with family traditions, than other regions of South Africa. Until fairly recently a distasteful car bumper sticker declared 'Natal: the Last Outpost'. More seriously, Natal has pockets of very distinct cultural continuity and variety. Mount Edgecombe, a sugar town close to Tongaat, is distinctively built in Victorian red brick, with colonial verandahs, and corrugated or wrought iron. Verulam, a similar town in the region of Tongaat, has a long-standing Methodist tradition, having been founded by a party of Methodists in the nineteenth century under their leader Lord Verulam. Zulu national identity and prestige is vigorously promoted by the Zulu royal family and their *indunas*. British colonial military history is a prominent topic in Natal, with the famous Zulu War battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift as well as the much-promoted battlefields of the

South African War of 1899-1901, such as Colenso, Spion Kop and Ladysmith. Parts of Natal are sacred to Afrikaner national memory, in relation to the experiences of the Voortrekkers in the 1840s, and the battle of Blood River. Natal Indian culture is a topic of particular interest, with various language groups and religions in some instances still jealously maintaining their separate affiliations.

A conservative English preoccupation with class, combined with the caste system of the Indian population, and the intense tribal or ethnic national pride of the Zulus, differentiates Natal from any of the other provinces of South Africa, where relations in the past have tended to be either far more crudely racist along simple white-black divisions, or (as in the Cape) based on a 300-year process of more or less inclusive creolization. Questions of heritage are re-emerging in the post-colonial New South Africa, usually with a conservative and separatist cast to them, notably in the emergence of a very vocal 'Khoi-San' first-nation political and cultural lobby in the Western and Northern Cape provinces. This thesis argues that the idea of heritage needs exact scrutiny for the remarkably conservative range of concepts and attitudes which it entails. It is a concept which properly exists in material case-studies, rather than as an abstraction. Each case study, however, will give new inflections to the range of meanings carried by the idea of heritage. The example of 'Cape Dutch Tongaat' is presented in this light, as an exemplary instance of the early twentieth-century preoccupation with heritage. Tongaat is, however, a continuing experiment in industrial, social, and cultural relations where earlier understandings of the project are now being recontextualized within a postcolonial society. The board and trustees of Tongaat are, for instance, investing largely in the work of local black artists, as a deliberate policy of transformation in the aesthetic and cultural sphere.

¹ Newton Thompson, undated, circa 1951:44.

² I am grateful to the landscape architect Jeremy Forster for the reference to Martienssen.

³ An unpublished MA thesis in Afrikaans makes a detailed study of the image of W.A. van der Stel in historiography, and in Opperman's verse drama. It takes into account all the relevant archival material and modern South African historians, as well as Trotter and Colvin, but inexplicably there is no mention of Van Oordt, Fairbridge, or Lock. (Jansen van Vuuren, 1973)

⁴ Vergelegen is again a national hospitality house for distinguished guests, including in recent years Nelson Mandela and Bill Clinton, while the present curators have reconstructed the farm's significance in line with the new South Africa. An interpretive centre guides visitors through a past where the social history of the indigenous Koikoi people, and slave labourers, is foregrounded. The farmstead was the focus of a historical archaeology project in the late 1980s which included the detection of the foundations of a long-vanished slave quarters, and the exhumation and reburial of the remains of a female slave believed to have been born in the East Indies. Thus the flexible concept of heritage is recast to narrate histories which are closer to the social concerns of the present.

⁵ Fairbridge to Florence Phillips, 3 July 1915, Barlow Ltd archives.

⁶ Correspondence between Fairbridge and Florence Phillips, July 1915, Barlow Ltd archives.

⁷ Johnson to the Secretary of Oxford University Press, 29 July 1935, Oxford University Press archives. Goodman's biographer, Joyce Newton Thompson, explains that he was in financial straits in the mid-1930s, a cause of considerable stress which partially accounts for his relatively early death at the age of 67 in 1938. (Newton Thompson, undated, circa 1951:111,116)

⁸ Fay Jaff, 1975: 89.

⁹ For background on Gwelo Goodman and his architectural experiments, see Joyce Newton Thompson, circa 1951, and 1968.

¹⁰ Dr P.N.H. Labuschagne, the highly respected medical officer at Tongaat who played a major role in combating malaria and establishing acceptable living conditions for the workers, also emphasizes the aesthetics of the environment. A keen gardener, he writes articles for the company magazine on horticulture and the importance of beauty in the environment. (*The Condenser* III, 1, December 1953; III, 2, December 1955).

¹¹ Quoted by Douglas Saunders to Gwelo Goodman, correspondence, 21 May 1938, Tongaat-Hulett archives.

¹² Gwelo Goodman to Douglas Saunders, correspondence, 26 May 1938, Tongaat-Hulett archives.

¹³ Douglas Saunders, 'A Philosophy for Tongaat', *The Condenser* III,4, December 1956: 3-4.

¹⁴ Information on the Tongaat collection comes from M.G. Mackeurtan, 'The Tongaat Collection', appendix to Watson (1960: 250-52); Bruce Lezard, 'Living with the Tongaat Collection', *The Condenser* IV,3, December 1960: 20-23; Barbara Wray, 'Some Shapes of Beauty', *The Condenser* VI,1, December 1968: 39-43.

¹⁵ Senator Marshall Campbell, referred to above, had a black township in KwaZulu-Natal (KwaMashu) named in his honour, a similar dynamic which seems peculiar to the old Natal, where a particular relationship of at least nominal respect existed between the governing class of English settlers and the Zulu nation (who are, in the first instance, in their present identity, largely the product of colonial British genealogical, administrative, diplomatic, and tribal invention). His son William ('Wac') Campbell was a tribal councillor of the Amaqadi.

¹⁶ Phillip Tobias, 'The Nature of Tomorrow's Man', *The Condenser*, December 1968: 44-48, this article being condensed from his 5th Raymond Dart Lecture, read to the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa.

¹⁷ Graham Ellis, 'Superman and the Superhorse: Thoughts on Selective Breeding', *The Condenser* IV,5, December 1962: 12-15.



Guild of the Loyal Women of South Africa.

Member *The Lady Edward Cecil*

Date *March 22nd 1900*

Priscilla Thomson
Hon. Secy.

Dorothea Fairbridge

Membership certificate of the Guild of Loyal Women, given to Lady Edward Cecil (Viscountess Milner), dated 22 March 1900 and signed by Dorothea Fairbridge. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Department of Western Manuscripts, Milner Papers.



Paradise, Monmouth Avenue, Claremont, Cape, with Castle Rock above Kirstenbosch in the background. Designed for Dorothea and her brother by Francis Masey, in the Cape Dutch Revival style, and built circa 1905.

(Courtesy of the South African National Library, Cape Town Division.)

Chapter Six: Home and Garden – The Gentlewoman's Colony

Despite the handicap of being a spinster at the Cape, Dora Fairbridge held a dominant place in society more by virtue of a rigid adherence to accepted standards of good behaviour, good deportment, good appearance and propriety allied to consummate skill both as a cook and a gardener, than by any liveliness of conversation or even for what often passes as conversation, gossip. (Newton Thompson, undated, circa 1951: 68)

The success of *Historic Houses* in 1922 led to an offer by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres for Fairbridge to take on the sought-after task of a new edition of Lady Anne Barnard's letters from the Cape. She writes with evident pleasure to her friend John Johnson at the Clarendon Press:

The Historic Houses has brought something that many people have been trying to get for years – an offer from Lord Crawford to place Lady Anne Barnard's diary and three volumes of sketches at my disposal. The letters hitherto published have been those to Melville and some to her sisters – in *The Lives of the Lindsays*. But these should be of far greater interest, and so far Lord Crawford (her great-grand nephew) has refused to allow anyone to use them. (Fairbridge to Johnson, 24 August 1922)¹

In June 1923 Fairbridge's agent Watt sent the typescript of *Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape of Good Hope* to Humphrey Milford at Amen House. Milford bought the British and colonial book rights, offering £75 advance to the author on publication and the usual 10% increasing to 15% after the first 2000 sales. The Earl, writing to an agent of Oxford University Press, comments on *Historic Houses* and the new project as follows:

I first heard about Miss Fairbridge through the Duke of Abercorn, who passes a great deal of time in South Africa, and I was very much impressed by her book about South African architecture. It was the first effort to revive interest in the Dutch Colonial style of building and the influence of this book

has already been marked and beneficial throughout the Cape. I was therefore anxious to help her when she approached me about the Barnard Correspondence. I question if the book would have any sale worth speaking of in this country, nor indeed do I fancy that she counts upon a clientele outside South Africa; but to residents in that distant dominion the topics are of absorbing interest.

Lady Anne, who was the first person to describe South Africa matters in intelligible prose, is looked upon as the earliest historian of the sub-continent (sic); and I have often been surprised to learn how strong and well-established her reputation out there is. A few years ago some of her letters to Henry Dundas were published, and are constantly referred to as the primeval authority. These letters now in Miss Fairbridge's hands are less formal than those she addressed to her old friend and admirer Dundas, Lord Melville – they give a far more intimate and probably a more correct picture of the rather tiresome combinations of that small and quarrelsome community. (David Alexander Crawford, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, to C.R.L. Fletcher, 20 June 1923)²

Lord Crawford's view of Cape historians is far from accurate but Lady Anne Barnard and Lucie Duff Gordon are certainly the two most quoted women visitors to the Cape, the former during the first British occupation and the latter in the mid-nineteenth century, at the time when Fairbridge was born. Publishing their correspondence, and their lively, articulate, and independent views of Cape society, Fairbridge placed herself within a particular tradition which might be seen as a form of feminization of the Cape.

The American scholar Ann Douglas writes of aspects of the United States in the nineteenth century, in terms of the 'feminization of American culture'. She argues that educated women in the United States, disempowered economically and politically, gained effective control of the national imaginary through art and literature, with significant consequences, which she sees as a loss of grasp of the real issues of the day. (Douglas, 1977) Without diminishing the value of Fairbridge's work for the Union of South Africa, a similar argument might apply to the idea of the Cape as a 'gentlewomen's colony'. The emphasis then falls on questions of social propriety, and upper middle-class material values concerning art and culture, home and garden, domestic economy, furnishings and servants, and the

idealization of manhood, with a ramification of consequences for questions of 'heritage' - family background, racial identity, and taboos on 'miscegenation'.

This applies within the sphere of British influence, with the introduction of English concepts of social propriety, privacy, and aesthetics. Within the field of law, however, a shift is discernible from the privileging of the position of Dutch women regarding laws of property and succession, to British law where the eldest son was customarily the principal heir. In Roman Dutch law the widow received the property, subject to the law of 'legitimate portion', where children and other collateral beneficiaries were entitled to fixed minimum shares in the inheritance.³ Cape history and literature are punctuated with accounts of Dutch widows owning property of value and wielding considerable social power in consequence.

Fairbridge's asperity towards the Widow Tas, Adam Tas's mother, is an indication of her ambivalence towards this situation which, in British terms, is an anomaly. Olive Schreiner, in *The Story of an African Farm*, implicitly attributes the slide into confusion on her Karroo farm, to the fact that it is governed with ingenuous complacency by a Dutch farmer's widow. C. Louis Leipoldt, in *Chameleon on the Gallows* (2000 [circa 1930]), introduces the reader to his indomitable Widow Priem, mistress of wide and rich lands. In Fairbridge's day, although the law of compulsory legitimate portion had been abolished in the Cape, by Acts of Parliament in 1873 and 1874, the practice continued as a voluntary provision in the wills of deceased farmers. The topic of the dominant widow served as an explanation for the 'poor white problem', in that widows would share their farmland with all their children, resulting in the fragmenting of farms to the point where they were no longer viable.

The figure of the genteel Englishwoman, then, is a marker of social change in the context of Milner's proposed anglicization of South Africa. Contradictions abound, one being the universal esteem in which the enormously influential widow Marie Koopmans de Wet was held in Cape Town, but again in her case her identity within the anglophone elite was settled in terms of heritage and antiquarianism. Again, Afrikaners promoted their own national image of women with the concept of the *Volksmoeder* or mother of the nation, partly in homage to those who suffered in the concentration camps of the war, partly emulating trends in nationalist Germany.⁴ Moreover, independent or professional Englishwomen such as Mary Kingsley, Emily Hobhouse, and Dr Jane Waterston, challenged the mould. At the other end of the social scale turn-of-the-century South Africa was rich pickings for prostitutes of all nationalities and races, with the mining towns and the imperial troops encouraging solicitation along the railway route from Cape Town via Kimberley to

Johannesburg. Less meretricious but also of social concern were the huge numbers of military wives who sought a passage to the Cape during the war, leading Queen Victoria to cable Milner, requesting that he discourage this practice. Milner took this with a pinch of salt, having his own paid mistress in England and evidently enjoying the admiration of numerous ladies at the Cape, Fairbridge among them. The Countess of Gosford writes to Milner's amour, Violet Cecil, on the subject:

We are much amused at Sir Alfred's letter to the Colonial Office about the useless ladies who go to the Cape – if their own commonsense did not tell them they were not wanted and only filled up valuable space. I fear the letter will not stop them.⁵

This chapter then concerns a putative class-based anglophone conception of the Cape as a gentlewoman's colony. Similarly to questions of South African liberalism and of 'whiteness', the topic of the realm of genteel women in South Africa has long been occluded from within, save for material of an uncritical nature. Fay Jaff's *Women South Africa Remembers* (1975), an appreciation of Maria Koopmans de Wet, Dorothea Bleek, the botanist Louisa Bolus, Killie Campbell, and Ouma Smuts (among others), is a slight but nevertheless interesting example of this. On the other hand material with more intellectually critical weight, for instance the collection of essays on women in South Africa to 1945 in Walker (1990), focusses largely on gender oppression, women and labour, and black women's experience within missionary paradigms or within the economy. An exception is the work by Lenta (1992) and Driver (1995) on Lady Anne Barnard.

If in no other regard, the role of elite English-speaking women in South Africa was considerable in the cultural sphere, and this was not mere ornamentation. Women such as Florence Phillips (who chaired the South African National Union, the association which promoted manufacture and industry) made substantial material contributions to the idea of South Africa in the first three decades of the twentieth century, as described by Thelma Gutsche (1966).⁶ They established forums for the promotion of their idea of home and family, such as the Dora Clubs for wives of miners on the Witwatersrand, and newspaper supplements like the 'South African Ladies' Pictorial Weekly' which was published by the *Cape Times*; and they promoted with energy the issue of immigration. While harsher critics will justifiably agree with Ann Douglas that, as in America, these concerns often ignored the

pressing issues of labour oppression and race relations, there is no doubt that civil society in the formative years of Union, when Johannesburg for instance was a fifteen-year-old sprawl governed by mercenary interests, gained enormously from the constitutive role of influential genteel women.

Topics in this chapter include Fairbridge's reception and re-issue of the letters of Barnard and Duff Gordon, the tradition concerning the 'Cape Malays' which Fairbridge passed from these two writers to the Afrikaans poet I.D. du Plessis, her *Gardens of South Africa* (1924) and her Guild of Loyal Women and the Victoria League, with which is connected the promotion of women's immigration to South Africa. Her comic novel *The Torch Bearer* (1915) provides a wry view of the activities of the Guild and the League, but the question of gardens takes on special significance with the role of the Guild of Loyal Women in recording and maintaining the graves of combatants in the South African War.

Lady Anne Barnard and Lucie Duff Gordon

Lady Anne Barnard, born in 1750, was the eldest daughter of James Lindsay, the Earl of Balcarres. Anne Lindsay married Andrew Barnard who was given the post of Colonial Secretary to the British governor at the Cape in 1797. She returned to England in 1802, while he died in the Cape five years later. Lady Anne Barnard wrote extensive illustrated diaries, journals, and letters detailing their life in South Africa, which are an important source concerning period social and domestic practices, Cape politics, early travel, and colonial attitudes to blacks. Her letters to her aristocratic friend Henry Dundas, Lord Melville (Secretary for War and the Colonies), were published in *Lives of the Lindsays* (circa 1870) and again in 1901 as *Lady Anne Barnard: South Africa a Century Ago*. This was reissued as a school reader by the canny Cape Town publisher Maskew Miller in the same year that Fairbridge brought out her edition. *Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape of Good Hope, 1797-1802*, edited by Dorothea Fairbridge, opened up fresh material from her extensive records, mainly letters to the Governor of the Cape, Lord Macartney, besides some letters to her from the talented explorer Sir John Barrow. Some of these were local correspondence, but the majority are directed to the Earl after he had returned to England in 1800, and they reveal the Barnards' concern about the weak administration, and corruption, which followed the appointment of his successor, Sir George Yonge. She was in fact instrumental in bringing

about the recall of Yonge. The letters are often dated from 'Paradise', which was a forester's cottage in Newlands granted to the Barnards as a retreat by the governor Macartney, an address which Fairbridge shared when she moved into her home of the same name, nearby on the slopes of Wynberg Hill.

Fairbridge places the correspondence (forty-six letters) in her own linking narrative, which tracks the activities of the Barnards and offers historical background to local events. Some of the most interesting letters deal with journeys into the Cape countryside, including a visit to the Moravian mission station of Genadendal in the Overberg beyond the Hottentots' Holland mountain range. This Barnard correspondence, combined with the *Letters from the Cape by Lucie Duff Gordon*, which Fairbridge published in 1927, put her in the forefront of a gendered scholarship on the historical Cape which has been continued in recent years with publication of Barnard's Cape diaries and journals by Dorothy Driver and Margaret Lenta, both leaders within the field of South African critical women's studies.⁷

The two subjects, Lady Anne Barnard and Lucie Duff Gordon, are comparable in many ways, articulate, witty, perceptive and independent, enjoying immense social privilege and connections in London, and both adventurous and willing travellers and observers of the 'other'. Barnard saw the Cape during the fluid years between the first British occupation of 1795 and the second, in 1806. Duff Gordon came to the Cape in 1861, seeking a cure or respite from her tuberculosis, but returning to London in 1862, the year when Fairbridge was born. Still severely ill, she then went to Egypt for her health where she lived in a house built in the precincts of the Temple of Luxor. She died in Egypt in 1869. Her life and letters are possibly more remarkable than those of Lady Anne Barnard, with numerous literary and artistic friendships from Dickens and Tennyson to Kinglake, Heinrich Heine, Thackeray, George Meredith, the archaeologist Sir Henry Layard, and the botanical painter Marianne North, to name a few.⁸ Called '*Noor ala Noor*' or 'light of light' by her Egyptian servants, she happens, too, to be a primary source for the growth of a Cape 'oriental' tradition, in which the Islamic community of the Cape, the so-called 'Cape Malays', are given privileged standing by means of white colonialist commentary. More of this is referred to in chapter nine below on the 'Cape-to-Cairo' concept and the idea of the Cape as 'Mediterranean'.

The Cape Islamic community, with their Indonesian origins, are attributed with particular cultural and historical status as 'people of the book' and as sophisticated craftsfolk. Fairbridge dwells on this aspect of Duff Gordon's work, and in turn writes pointedly of the 'Cape Malay' culture in her own documentary studies as well as fiction, *Piet of Italy* being the

primary text in this regard. In the twentieth century the topic of the 'Cape Malays' became a standard feature of cultural description and anecdotes about Cape Town, sustained as a strategy of racial 'othering' by white commentators. Their apparent voluntary social and cultural segregation was held to be an implicit vindication of apartheid while their rich cultural heritage was seen as distinguishing them from other 'racial groups' of black South Africans. The Afrikaans poet I.D. du Plessis was a self-appointed patron of this community, publishing studies of their religious and cultural practices with a particular emphasis on folklore, domestic life, 'Malay' cookery, and sartorial styles. These topics are a mirroring of the preoccupations of white genteel Cape domesticity. (Du Plessis 1939, 1953, 1972)

Fairbridge's narrative in her edition of Duff Gordon describes the 'Malays' as follows, with a strongly gendered emphasis on costume which indicates a reification of the subject, suggesting that the 'Cape Malay' is perceived more as an object of historical nostalgia and tradition than as a social group that might share in the dynamics of modernization:

The Malays, however, impressed [Lucie Duff Gordon] very favourably, and this is easily comprehensible, for of all the native peoples brought in by the Dutch East India Company they were the most *gentil* The Mozambiquers were the common labourers, the Cingalese and Africanders (as the half-castes were called) did the ordinary work of house or store, the Malays from the East Indies were the blanchiseuses de fin, the personal attendants, the coachmen, and painters.

Not all the forebears of the Malays had come from the Far East as slaves, for amongst them were small rajahs and important folk who were banished to the Cape on political grounds. In 1861 the women still wore the charming costume which to-day is giving way to the yashmak and shapeless garment brought back from Mecca by the Faithful, for every year a number of Cape Malays make the Hadj. When Lady Duff Gordon saw them the men wore the toudang – a wide, pointed straw hat – over a red and white handkerchief bound turban-wise about their heads, and on their feet kaparangs or clogs, as the old-fashioned Malays still wear them. The women were dressed in stiffly-starched skirts over innumerable petticoats, full white lawn sleeves, and a gay

little shawl of coloured silk drawn tightly about their shoulders. Their heavy black hair, polished with cocoa-nut oil, was dressed high and fastened with elaborate gold skewers and on each olive cheek a flat black curl was pressed. Unluckily, a few years later two Moslem missionaries were sent from Turkey, to enquire into the conditions of the souls of the faithful in this remote outpost of Islam. They were scandalized at the uncovered heads of the pretty, graceful Malay girls, and – having wrestled with the weightier problems that concerned Shiah and Sunnis – they sailed away, leaving every woman's head covered with a 'dook' – a brilliant silk handkerchief, preferably orange or magenta, folded with consummate care over a framework which rests on the head. Magenta, a shade so unbecoming to the average European, is magnificent on a Malay. The fashion is pretty enough, though not so beautiful as the flat curls and gold skewers, but it is being supplanted to-day by the monotonous veil and yashmak which have been brought back from Mecca. The lovely, slender figures of the Malay girls are too often hidden under shapeless folds of stuff, the toudang is being replaced by the fez and the kaparang by high-heeled patent leather shoes. (Fairbridge, 1927: 52-3)

Fairbridge must be recognised as the main link between the nineteenth-century descriptions of this community, and those of Du Plessis, constructing a local tradition which is still emphasised in popular topographical and travel writing about Cape Town. Fairbridge points out the links, again categorizing the 'Malays' as a phenomenon of lived tradition:

It has been my good fortune to find that an old Malay friend of mine, the Hadje Talip, who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca three times, remembers all the characters in Lady Duff Gordon's letters. (ibid: 53)

Du Plessis's study *The Cape Malays* (1973) cites Fairbridge and Duff Gordon, as well as the nineteenth-century commentaries on the Cape Islamic community by Mayson (1861) and Kollisch (1867). Thus a local tradition receives inflections of description by outside commentators, reflecting as much the changing pre-occupations of white South Africa as the life-styles of the Cape Moslems themselves. This colonialist invention of tradition has been researched from a critical perspective by Jeppe (1989).

The 'Cape Malay' wedding is an event on which Fairbridge and Du Plessis both dwell in detail. These sumptuous social rituals have traditionally included a photographic session in the public space known as the Arderne Gardens, in Claremont, Cape Town, with the lush background of a classic Victorian botanical garden and arboretum setting off the silken costumes. The Arderne Gardens were part of the estate of Charles Fairbridge's senior partner Henry Mathew Arderne, Fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society, who lavished a fortune on his horticultural interests, described by the local historian Arderne Tredgold (1990).

The Arderne Gardens feature in Fairbridge's *Gardens of South Africa* which appeared in 1924, published in Cape Town by Maskew Miller, the same year as the Barnard correspondence, soon before Viscount Milner and his wife made their final visit to South Africa, when Violet Milner stayed with her at Paradise. By this time Fairbridge was an acknowledged authority on Cape antiquities, and *Gardens of South Africa* further established her reputation in terms of contemporary interests. Milner cites this work in his South African diary of 1924-5: 'Anyone wishing to realise what Durban looks like at its best should read the chapter on 'The Gardens of Eternal Summer'.⁹ She had already contributed a series of articles to the *South African Gardener and Agriculturalist* in 1914 and 1915, a history of the establishment of Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens for the *Annals of the Bolus Herbarium* (1914), and articles for the *Journal of the Botanical Society of South Africa* (1918, 1919). She also wrote on botanical or horticultural subjects for *Nature Notes* (the Darling Flower Show, 1923, and 'Food Plants and those of Economic Value', 1928). She was acquainted with Rudolf Marloth, and a close friend of Harry Bolus, founder of the Bolus Herbarium, as well as his daughter-in-law Louisa Bolus, curator of this herbarium from 1903 to 1955.

9
v'lgw

Perhaps more than any other set of practices, botany and horticulture served as the defining sphere for a white genteel South African collective identity in the first half of the twentieth century. A large part of the Smuts hagiography that evolved from liberal anglophone South Africa was due to his botanical interests, in which Louisa Bolus was a regular correspondent. The scientific rationalism of plant identification, the international botanical correspondence between scientists from Kirstenbosch and Kew, as well as the aesthetics of domestic gardens and the wild landscape, the idea of improvement combined with conservation, and the frequent sentimental discourses which compared English gardens

with the strikingly different and abundant species of the new country, make botany and horticulture a dominant topic in the idea of South Africa. Identification with the soil and the 'spirit' of the land is also a factor. [The topic further takes on a distinctly gendered identity, a central aspect of the idea of the gentlewoman's colony.]

Fairbridge's *Gardens of South Africa* begins with a historical overview of early travellers to the Cape and their gardens, or their observations on the local flora, from Jan van Riebeeck's Dutch East India Company vegetable garden, expanded by Simon van der Stel, to the comments by Thunberg, Père Tachard, François Valentyn, François Leguat, Peter Kolbe, and Peter Borchers. She includes the early plantations at Rondebosch and Groote Schuur, and Ryk Tulbagh's garden at Newlands House, and of course Willem Adriaan van der Stel's at Vergelegen. Contemporary gardens include those of Henry Arderne, the garden at Bishopscourt (home of the Archbishops of Cape Town, close to Fairbridge's home and to Kirstenbosch), Groote Schuur, Florence Phillips's gardens at Villa Arcadia and at Vergelegen, Killie Campbell's and Douglas Mackeurtan's on the Berea in Durban, the Union Buildings, and Government House in Pretoria. Lists of species are combined with painterly descriptions, and with broader views of the landscape. In a chapter on 'Colour in the Garden' she recalls a conversation with Dr Jameson at Groote Schuur which emphasises the unconventional criteria of gardening aesthetics in South Africa:

It was after sunset, and I sat on the back stoep of Groote Schuur talking with Dr Jameson. The edges of the mountain which rises sheer behind the house were still golden with the last kiss of the sun, the Silver-trees shimmered in the faint evening breeze, the Hydrangeas in the horse-shoe had taken on every tint of beryl and jasper, jade and rich turquoise, the Stone Pines stood out dark and sharp against the soft greys and purples of the hillside. And, in the foreground, scarlet and yellow Cannas, magenta-purple Bougainvilleas and blue Plumbago flamed in a quivering violence of rich colour over the white balustrades and steps of the terrace.

I had opened my lips to say something trite and stupid about the 'clash of colour', when the man who knew better said:

'Can you believe that a woman actually suggested the other day that the Cannas should be taken out because they didn't "harmonise" with the other things?'

Before the almost incredulity of his tone I sat silent for a moment, looking at the mountain and the flowers, and then I saw.

Barbaric, flaunting, clashing – what you will – that rich glow of southern flowers had strength, purpose, and harmony. Defiant of all the conventions, they breathed of the spirit of Cecil Rhodes as no trim and dainty scheme of English flowers in all their loveliness could have done. Bold and untrammelled, they gleamed against the mountain-side he loved. (Fairbridge, 1924 b: 46)

The tradition of garden writing in South Africa since Fairbridge's day, including the role of horticulture in fiction, is immense and needs separate treatment.¹⁰ One book in particular must be mentioned, however, which coincided with the Van Riebeeck Tercentenary. In 1951 the Dutch botanical historian Mia Karsten published her classic work *The Old Company's Garden at the Cape and its Superintendents, Involving a Historical Account of Early Cape Botany*, a scholarly study of the numerous gardeners and botanists who visited or worked in the Cape from Jan van Riebeeck to Thunberg and Stavorinus in the later eighteenth century.

The Guild of Loyal Women and the Victoria League

In 1900 Dorothea Fairbridge, and the women of her sister Ethelreda's family, the Curreys, began their own initiative to support the British war effort in South Africa, an association which was styled 'The Guild of Loyal Women'. This was launched in March of that year with a large garden party in the Claremont gardens of Henry Arderne. There were over a thousand members and their guests. Mrs Arderne was appointed Chairlady, and Dorothea was the Honorary Secretary. Milner and the British military commander in chief in South Africa, Sir F.W.E. Forestier Walker, made speeches. Messages of support came from Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada, and the Canadian Governor General, Lord Strathcona and Mountroyal. This was Fairbridge's first venture into public life, prompted by her personal admiration for Alfred Milner. The most significant aspect of the work of the Guild of Loyal Women was in their 'Central Graves Committee', which was established to identify graves, and care for the cemeteries of British and Boer dead during the South African War.

The records of the Central Graves Committee reveal a set of issues which become guiding concerns for Dorothea Fairbridge and her acquaintances in the years between the war and Union, in particular questions of national identity, reconciliation, and memorialism. Soon after the formation of the Guild in 1900, its members were requested by the Federation of the Daughters of the Empire, in Canada, to look after the graves of Canadian volunteers. That same year the Cape Parliament passed the 'Imperial, Colonial and Republican Forces Burial Act' (Act No.14 of 1900) and a deputation from the Guild's Central Graves Committee, led by Dorothea, arranged with the deputy Prime Minister, T.L. Graham, that they should work with the Cape government in the care of graves and cemeteries. The Guild undertook to be responsible for graves in cemeteries (categorized by the Act as 'Class I' graves) throughout South Africa and Rhodesia, to correspond with relatives and friends in Southern Africa and abroad, and to co-operate with the government regarding 'Class II' or outlying isolated graves. The Guild understood their work as to 'locate, set in order and permanently mark all known graves', and 'to provide for the due order and maintenance of these graves in the future'.¹¹ Soon after the Guild was begun, Fairbridge's friend (and romantic rival), Lady Edward Cecil, who was in South Africa for a time with her husband, a colonel in the Guards attached to Baden Powell's staff in Kimberley, began her own venture, the Victoria League, with headquarters in London. She collected funds and passed on enquiries from relatives in England regarding individual graves. Lady Edward Cecil and her friend Lady Charles Bentinck were young, modish and dashing, staying first at Government House with Milner, then at Groote Schuur as Rhodes's guest while he was up north, and themselves travelling by train and horseback through enemy lines with their husbands in the Transvaal. For Lady Cecil the war was as much a game as an opportunity for her own romantic and political experience.¹²

Though less high-spirited the work of the ladies of the Guild is remarkable, in that it points to a shift in sentiment regarding warfare and commemoration. The South African War was the first war fought by British troops where large numbers of volunteers from the middle classes were involved, which circumstance led to a high-profile and articulate concern by their families, for proper identification and commemoration of the dead.¹³ Fabian Ware, who began the Imperial (now the Commonwealth) War Graves Commission during World War I, was a junior administrator in South Africa at the time, and it appears that the work of Fairbridge's Guild was the inspiration for his subsequent world-wide initiative, in which, again, Fairbridge's colleague Herbert Baker, as well as her acquaintances Sir Edwin Lutyens,

and Rudyard Kipling, were centrally involved.¹⁴

Violet Milner (Lady Edward Cecil), in her memoirs, writes of the Guild as follows:

All the movement for the Victoria League, for the Ladies' Empire Club in far away Grosvenor Street and for much else started over the tea-cups at Rondebosch [where the Curreys lived in Rhodes's house, Welgelegen] and Claremont [the Ardernes and Dorothea Fairbridge]. The brain of all these things was Miss Dorothea Fairbridge; she came of old British stock, she was of the third generation of British South Africans and she was the author of several agreeable books about her country. She guided my steps and helped me to get to know both the place and the people of Cape Colony. She was fertile in ideas and tactful in suggestion and never put herself forward as having done or suggested anything. It was owing to her influence and patient work that a great society called 'The Guild of Loyal Women' was started in the very crisis of the war. This body contained many Dutch-descended women as well as English-descended women, for it is a delusion to suppose that all the Dutch were anxious to be quit of England. (1951:153)

A topic which arose in connection with the Guild's memorial work was the nature of the South African climate and the aesthetics of South African cemeteries and memorial gardens, which now became part of the extended archive of national memory and remembrance. Fairbridge's sister-in-law Mary Currey writes as follows:

When I was in England last year, on a lovely day in the Spring I was wandering with a friend through part of the New Forest; we came to a picturesque village church with beautiful old cedar trees on one side and the village churchyard on the other – the whole cemetery, every grave in it was a mass of primroses and daffodils in full bloom. It spoke of peace and rest and was very beautiful, and as I stood there my thoughts went back to the Soldiers' graves on our South African veld and kopjes and there came to mind letters which I had received, asking whether I would see to the planting of daffodils and other English bulbs if they were sent out: or requesting me to have yellow and crimson Rambler roses planted alternately round the grave, and so on.

The pathos of it all struck me for I realised how impossible it was for many people to understand what I had so often tried to tell them, – that the Soldiers' graves in South Africa can never have the appearance of an English country churchyard. It is only those who know this land who can understand what an enormous task it has been, and though there is still much that we could wish otherwise we can only say that we have done what we could. (Records of the Central Graves Committee, the Guild of Loyal Women)

Mary Currey continues as follows:

It should be remembered too that the South African veld and kopjes have a beauty all their own; the long grass may not always be green but it often takes gorgeous colours under the bright sunshine and there is something in the vast solitude and wonderful silence which appeals to many, and I have sometimes thought that one could hardly imagine a more peaceful resting place than these little enclosures in the veld. And so we leave them – alone with Nature and with God.

We do not wonder that an English lady, whose husband sleeps there [the Woodstock, Cape Town, military cemetery], was moved to tears at what she at first thought was the utterly neglected appearance of the place. We deeply sympathise with her, and with all to whom the appearance of our South African cemeteries must be a shock, but we are sure that only a short stay in the country, and an intelligent observation of our climate and the vagaries of our vegetation, which at some seasons has the vitality of Jonah's gourd and at others the apparent dryness of Aaron's rod, it requires, we say, only a short observation of these conditions to exonerate the Members of the GLWSA from the charge of betraying their trust. (ibid)

The Guild designed an iron cross to serve as a pattern grave marker, to which was fixed the personal details of each soldier. The crosses were made at an ironworks in Cape Town, and shipped out to cemeteries throughout the country by the monumental masonry firm of Robert Cane and Sons, based in Wynberg in the Cape Peninsula, who had a reputation from Clanwilliam in Namaqualand, to Kuruman in the Northern Cape, and to Port

Elizabeth and Natal. They were also charged with the reception of headstones which families or regiments shipped to the Cape, and the transportation and erection of these.

The ladies of the Colony began a relationship which was expressed like that of younger sisters to older, with the ladies of the Home Counties. Samples from the correspondence and diaries of Lady Edward Cecil provide an insider's view from the metropole, not always flattering to the South Africans and indicative of the hauteur of the innermost circle of English society and politics of the day. Violet Cecil records in her diary the 'overwhelming' effect which was left at the first meeting of her Victoria League (held at 10 Downing Street) by a South African delegate with whom she had been 'saddled' by her Cape friends, 'a delegate who was very disconcerting, so great was her enthusiasm, so shy-making her speeches':

[She] addressed the assembled great ladies as 'My loving sisters' and also spoke of my coming baby as a 'loving link of Empire' to my confusion, and the entertainment of my friends.... She is copious, impracticable, well meaning and infinitely comic. She has suggested that we should all have 'red, white and blue visiting cards'. (Violet Milner, 1951: 237-8)

Violet Cecil was only in her late twenties at the time, immensely talented, ambitious, and already a confidante of Lord Curzon, Dr Jameson, Joseph Chamberlain, Leo Amery, St John Broderick, and a constellation of other politicians and aristocrats. Her position as daughter-in-law of Lord Salisbury, and member by marriage of the ancient Cecil family, combined with her natural talents, made her the leader of a lively gang of empire careerists as well as a regular visitor at court.

Fairbridge came to England in late 1901 to discuss the affairs of the Guild and the League, staying with Lady Cecil at Walmer Castle. Fairbridge was again in England in the northern summer of 1902, to attend the coronation of Edward VII. Violet Cecil took her to meet the Earl of Connaught and his wife at a party held by Lady Windsor. 'There were lots of Colonials there, and lots of London swells too. Dora was introduced to the Duchess (didn't curtsy), and "she", primed by K. Drummond, "talked to me about the Guild. How could she have known," said Dora, delighted'.¹⁵

Hosts of visitors from the dominions were in London for the coronation, including twenty Canadian teachers whom Violet was obliged to entertain at Hatfield. Violet attended the coronation durbar-in-miniature in the Durbar Court of the India Office, 'impressed by the splendour of the Indian princes' and 'hoping that the German Ambassador was looking on'. London was 'packed with strangers', 'noisy callous crowds' for the coronation, the streets 'decorated in the Italian colours, the contract having been given to an Italian firm and no stipulation made about the colours'. Violet's distinguished and old-fashioned father-in-law told her he 'dreamed that he was at the Curzonation and very upset at finding himself there'.

Colonials were 'the fashion'. 'Our South African friends are to have a really Royal Time. There are quantities of disloyalists too, who are, I hope, grinding their teeth at being out of all the fun. I do want to make loyalty "pay" for once.' Violet made arrangements to look after 'colonial women' visiting London for the coronation. 'That fool Lady Hely [wife of Hely Hutchinson, the Governor of the Cape] has written to say she can't give any letters of introduction as she only knows two people going home, and they "wouldn't care to be entertained"'. As a matter of fact thanks to Dora and Annie we have got pretty nearly all the Cape folk who matter. Christians, Ardernes, Wilmots, Mrs J. van der Byl'. (The first three of these families are all relatives or associates of the Fairbridges.) Meanwhile a Loyalist Appeal organized by Lady Cecil at Hatfield raised over £1,000 for the work of the Guild. Sir James Rose-Innes, newly appointed the Chief Justice of the Transvaal, and his wife stayed at Hatfield, and Dorothea's brother Willie Fairbridge arrived in England. 'Dora Fairbridge's brother is on my mind. What will become of the empire if I neglect him, at the same time how can I ask him down here [Walmer Castle] when I am quite alone? Of course, like all Colonials, he expects me to take the first step and to guess his initials.'

Violet Cecil remained unabashedly conservative: 'Why should the Boers be conciliated, they have always hated us. I am tired of telling people not to be unreasonable. Why should Lady de Villiers like us better than before half her family went to St Helena?' On a visit to her old friend, the ageing novelist George Meredith, in February 1904, he confessed to her how he deplored his daughter's obsession with wealth: "'I am ashamed of her, she stayed with the Lionel Phillippses", he said, laughing. "I loathe all these South African millionaires"'.

Violet began the Field Force Fund in 1900 to supply comforts such as cocoa tablets to the British troops. Her Victoria League in London worked with the Guild of Loyal Women, starting with a British Refugees Fund, to provide at Milner's request clothes and linen for the

Uitlander refugees who flooded Cape Town on their hasty departure from the Transvaal in 1899. Their other initial concerns were raising money for the graves fund, and a fund for the welfare of republican Dutch women and children. Lord Salisbury gave her a cheque for £100 towards the Guild of Loyal Women during a visit to Hatfield House by Theo Schreiner and his sister Mrs Stuart who appears to have been the 'infinitely comic delegate' referred to above.

The Victoria League took up the cause of emigration work, through the British Women's Emigration Association. They began the Ladies' Empire Club, which was a suite of rooms for accommodation for visiting 'colonial ladies', initially rented from the Automobile Club in Whitehall Court. This moved to more suitable premises in Grosvenor Square, where an 'Austral Salon' was established. All sorts of empire loyalist organisations from around the British world sought affiliation with this extremely fashionable and influential set – the Canadian Children of the Empire; the Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire, at Toronto; the Imperial Federation League, Victoria, Australia. There was a proposal to amalgamate with the Children of the Empire League to become the Victoria League of the Empire, including the Boys' Empire League which was formed in 1902. Still in 1902 the Victoria League began the National Home Reading Union to support their activities. The Home Reading Union was to set up a series of lectures on Colonial and Imperial subjects and to form a Colonial Circle for the study of 'Colonial Questions', which would be affiliated to the Reading Union 'in areas where there is a Victoria League branch'. It was proposed that members of the National Home Reading Union should write papers for prizes from the Victoria League. The Home Reading Union opened a branch in Cape Town, which hosted lectures on contemporary authors, and discussions about the question of a national literature.

The League discussed the matter of the return to Boers of looted Bibles, and at the same time the need to counteract the influx into Canada of American literature. They proposed to distribute 'suitable illustrated books, with lithographic pictures of the little princes' and other improving subjects, to schools in Canada and other colonies, and they planned to extend the Ladies' Empire Club into various colonial capitals. In July 1902 they received a request from Lady Hely Hutchinson, asking the Victoria League to 'urge the Guild of Loyal Women the advisability of a change of name'. Loyalism was, in common parlance, the opposite of rebellion (as in the terms 'Loyal Dutch' and 'Cape rebels') and not a concept conducive to reconciliation. They set up a committee to consult Dorothea and Mrs Arderne

(Secretary and President) who blocked the change. They laid plans for co-operation between the Victoria League and the South Africa Expansion Committee concerning Milner's strategy to increase British immigration to South Africa. In May 1903 Dorothea wrote back to London, explaining that there were difficulties in co-operation with emigration work in Cape Town, 'on account of Mrs Bairnsfather's position there'. Supported by Lady Hely-Hutchinson Mrs Bairnsfather ran her own scheme for the immigration of Englishwomen to the Cape, The South African Immigration Association, with funding from the Rhodes trust.¹⁶

Empire propaganda was one of the Victoria League's main objectives. Sir Halford Mackinder, the Oxford geographer who conceived the modern concept of strategic geography and was a leading figure in the Oxford University Extension Lectures programme, was requested to give talks on the geography of the empire. On 28 May 1903 Violet Cecil recorded Dorothea's appreciation of a visit to the Cape by Mrs Fawcett, and the great success of the inaugural meeting of the South African branch of the Victoria League, at Groote Schuur. Mrs Fawcett was on a lecture tour, with a collection of 'lantern slides'. The committee in London decided that the slides should be left in Dorothea's care until Victoria Day, 24 May 1904 (also Empire Day). Dorothea wrote back expressing the 'great value of Mrs Fawcett's lectures and influence' and 'appreciation of the Victoria League's slide collection as well as the development of the Guild's work in co-operation with the Home Reading Union and University Extension Lectures'. She explained how the slide shows were appreciated 'in Cape Colony and Orange River Colony', and asked for a further loan of these for another six months.

In October 1904 Dorothea offered hospitality in Cape Town to representatives of the Victoria League and suggested 'the important benefits that would come from such a visit'. The committee appreciated the offer, noting that a Miss Hervey had announced her 'probable visit to South Africa next year with the British Association'. They considered that 'such an informal and friendly visit (Miss Hervey being willing to carry out the wishes of the Victoria League in regard to making friends with the people as opportunity arose) would be the best way of responding to Miss Fairbridge's proposal at the present time'. At the end of 1904 Dorothea reported on the Federal Council of her Guild, and her own resignation as Honorary Secretary owing to bad health. The London committee 'desired their expression of great regret for resignation and reasons, to be sent to Miss Fairbridge'.

There were various turf wars. The Victoria League secretary was to 'explain the impossibility' in response to the request for affiliation from the Imperial Federation League,

Victoria, Australia. In June 1903 'Lady Edward Cecil read extracts from private letters received from Miss Fairbridge regarding the present position of the League of the Empire with the Guild of Loyal Women'. Letters were received from 'Mrs Arderne and Miss Fairbridge, Guild of Loyal Women, concerning amalgamation with the League of the Empire in Cape Colony suggesting that this would hinder the Guild of Loyal Women's work owing to present conditions in SA, and the attitude of the League of the Empire towards the Guild of Loyal Women'. In May 1905 the Federal President and Secretary of the Guild wrote to the 'officers and members of the Victoria League' regarding the 'loss to the Guild in Lord Milner'; they also reported the inauguration of a new society called The South African Women's Federation. Dorothea wrote on the same subject, as did Mrs Stewart and Mrs Kingsley, all pointing out the 'political character' of the new organisation and fearing direct opposition to the Guild.¹⁷

Karel Schoeman is mildly disparaging of the Guild, in his biography of Olive Schreiner (Schoeman, 1992:85-92). Equally disparaging is C. Louis Leipoldt, writing in his SA War novel, *Stormwrack*, of the misplaced jingoism of members in the local branch of the Guild in his fictional valley (based on Clanwilliam in the Hantam region of the north-west Cape):

No one really knew what the object or aim of the League was. Those who were antagonistic towards it said frankly that it was merely an association designed to cause ill-feeling between the two sections [Dutch and English-speaking] by sharply differentiating between the aggressive loyalties of the one section, and the tolerant, negative attitude of the other. The ladies who supported Mrs Quakerley ... vigorously denied any such implication, and maintained that the League existed for the sole purpose of demonstrating their own affection for 'Home' and for all that this word denoted, and that nobody had any right whatever to prevent them from manifesting their feelings.

.... The tenor of [the League's] resolutions was an almost monotonous reiteration of the resolve of the League to support the Home Government in its demand for justice and fair play to the Uitlanders on the Rand, or to have complete confidence in Her Majesty's representative, Sir Alfred Milner. (Leipoldt, 2000 [circa 1930]:117-19)

Leipoldt describes the meetings as customarily ending with readings of 'some of Mr Kipling's poems', and Henley's poem 'England, my England'. Leipoldt's tone is amused and dismissive, but the purpose of the 'Valley' trilogy was to argue for an inclusive South African identity, and mutual respect and toleration between Dutch, German, English, and black South Africans. Thus, for his purposes, the League offers a ready source of satire against partisan feeling. The South African War finds its way, in *Stormwrack*, to the tranquil Namaqualand valley, and the novel is a tragedy, where the tragic hero is a collective – perhaps wishful – sense of tolerance and nineteenth-century *laissez-faire* liberalism, focussed in the person of an old gentleman farmer Andrew Quakerley. His pride and joy is his garden, cultivated assiduously for many years in difficult circumstances, and reduced overnight to a shambles during a vigorous action fought between a Boer raiding party and a column of mounted infantry.

The connection between gardens, remembrance, and war, recurs with the catastrophe of the Great War of 1914-1918. In *Gardens of South Africa* Fairbridge links the olfactory sense with memory and identity:

Go up a South African hillside on a warm day, close your eyes and draw in the fragrance of the herbs beneath your feet, of the bushes against which you brush – that spiciness which is sometimes acrid and pungent, but always clean and pure in the nostrils. No other land has this peculiar fragrance, though each has its own. The soft breezes of Ceylon are redolent of the essences of the East, Spain is heavy with the perfume of its orange blossoms, England smells of wood-smoke and primroses, silver mists and wild hyacinths and London – a smell that tugs at the heart-strings 6,000 miles away. But the smell of a Cape hillside is a blend of buchu and wild geranium -leaves and sunshine – and it calls to you from across the seas. I think that it must sometimes have stolen through the smoke of the battlefield and the reek of the trenches in far-off France and Flanders. (Fairbridge, 1924:151-2)¹⁸

During the First World War Fabian Ware, who as mentioned above served as an administrator during the reconstruction in South Africa, began an initiative to identify and record the remains of dead soldiers. This grew into the Imperial (later Commonwealth) War Graves Commission, and the laying out of the vast cemeteries of northern France and

Flanders. The inspiration for this solemn undertaking lies with the graves committee of the Guild of Loyal Women, which was the first systematic enterprise of this kind in military history. Herbert Baker and Edwin Lutyens were employed as architects in the design of the cemeteries, and Lutyens designed the Cenotaph in Whitehall based on an architectural feature from the garden of his friend Gertrude Jekyll at Munstead Wood. Rudyard Kipling, whose own son was killed in September 1914 fighting with the Irish Guards in France, founded two Masonic lodges for the fraternity of war cemetery architects, which he styled the Lodges of the Builders of the Silent Cities.¹⁹ Violet Cecil's son George was killed at about the same time, and the dreadful cost of national virtue was driven home to these neighbouring imperialist households at Bodiam and the Burwash in Surrey. One of Kipling's short stories, 'The Gardener', is an allegory of the compassion of Christ for a mother seeking her son's grave among the thousands of headstones in a Flanders cemetery.

Immigration

The subject of immigration to South Africa has been well covered by social historians. Cecilie Swaisland's *Servants and Gentlewomen to the Golden Land* is particularly relevant to this chapter, dealing with the emigration of single women from Britain to Southern Africa up to 1939. (Swaisland, 1993) Dorothea's cousin Kingsley Fairbridge wrote of the vision for his child emigration scheme as follows:

Shift the orphanages of Britain north, south, east, and west to the shores of Greater Britain, where farmers and farmers' wives are *wanted*, and where no man with strong arms and a willing heart would ever want for his daily bread. I saw great Colleges of Agriculture (not workhouses) springing up in every man-hungry corner of the Empire. I saw little children shedding the bondage of bitter circumstances, and stretching their legs and minds amid the thousand interests of the farm. I saw waste turned to providence, the waste of unneeded humanity converted to the husbandry of unpeopled acres. (Kingsley Fairbridge, 1974 [1927]:143)

Dorothea supported immigration through the Guild of Loyal Women and the 1820 Settlers Memorial Association. Some of her books were in fact gauged at attracting both tourists and immigrants. One of the pamphlets of the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association, written by her, 'Farmlands of the South-West Cape' (1916), was intended for prospective immigrant farmers and used by Viscount Milner in his personal campaign to settle immigrants on farms in the Eastern Cape. An article she wrote for the *National Review* on 'The Amenities of South Africa' sketches the climate and prospects for farming. There is an extended discussion concerning 'native' servants in the Cape, Natal and Johannesburg, and the availability of white maids, the reasonable cost of living, and the low income tax compared with that in England. She reminds her reader of the assistance offered by immigration societies:

The new-comer to the land is not left alone to struggle with the puzzles of climate, soils, and prices. A society exists, called The 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association, which has helpers in every corner of South Africa, and an office in London at 199 Piccadilly. Intending settlers are advised before they start, and helped when they arrive, and guided in their choice of a province in which to settle by the avocation they intend to pursue. (*The National Review*, 1926:808-13)

In 'The Joy of Life in South Africa' (*The National Review*, 1926:120-26) she expands on the leisure opportunities that await the immigrant, from beaches to lawn tennis, cricket, golf, mountaineering, walking, birds and flora, motoring, polo 'in districts such as Natal or Griqualand East, where numbers of ex-military men from India have settled on pleasant farms', horse racing, game shooting and fishing, orchestras and fine art, books and country clubs, and long-distance travel to the Victoria Falls or the Cunene River. Violet Milner, at various times editor of the *National Review*, records a letter from a young distant relative who was sent out to a farm in the Eastern Cape, writing how helpful she finds Miss Fairbridge's books for background on the country.²⁰ (Fairbridge made it a policy only to employ white servants, in order to provide work for immigrant women.) This letter to Florence Phillips indicates her active interest in the subject:

I have met at Mrs van der Byl's a Miss Gibson from Swanley. She has been at the Mallesons' for a year [owners of a farm in the Western Cape], and, her time there being finished, she is anxious to get work – otherwise she will return to England. Do you know of anyone who wants someone to take dairy, poultry, or warden work? Her mother has come out with her, and understands poultry. If there is any farmer who could give a cottage I think that they ought to be most useful. I could of course make further enquiries, as I have only met her, but she looks a very nice girl. She is returning soon unless she hears of anything, and it seems a pity. (Fairbridge to Florence Phillips, 3 July 1915)²¹

Books written with an eye to immigration constitute a colonial genre of their own. One such is Madeline Alston's *From an Old Cape Homestead* (1929) which is put together from essays originally published in the *National Review* and the *Empire Review*. It gives an unblushing insight into attitudes concerning race, class, and conservative politics, from the viewpoint of, and addressed to, upper middle-class English-speaking settler ladies. It is a hand-book for the milieu which Fairbridge regards as her own, though without Fairbridge's depth of historical interest and public commitment. It also decidedly lacks her discretion and old-world propriety. It romps through the potential lifestyle of the privileged settler, describing the joys of fruit-farming, the elegance of old farmsteads, the Cape flora, servants and Cape cooking, bird-life and South African poetry, the situation and social acceptability of South African Jewry (in a chapter entitled 'The Rivals'), and the need to ignore modern forms of pessimism (concerning Bolshevism, Communism, syphilis, consumption, leprosy, yellow peril, black peril, unemployment, loss of trade, poor whites, and Russian Jews 'who make the poor white poorer'). The concluding chapters address the travelling classes, and the book ends with a journey up the Nile to Cairo. It is in sum a thoroughly distasteful book, a primer for newly married couples on how to be offensive settlers. Fairbridge encountered this kind of arch and artificial snobbery among her own circles, and her novel *The Torch Bearer* (1915) is a satire of such inappropriate behaviour while also parodying the manners of small-town Afrikaans folk.

Satire and Serpents

In *The Torch Bearer* Fairbridge looks with the wryness of hindsight on the fevered activities of the war years at the turn of the century. The narrative is a parody of the zealous Englishwoman on a mission. Armed with a chafing dish and a recipe for Lobster Neuburg, Miss Agatha Lumley sails with her young niece to South Africa to teach the Dutchwomen of the Cape how to cook. She intends to forge links of empire with cooking demonstrations accompanied by lantern slide lectures on England and the dominions. Apart from the satire and the inevitable romance with which the novel concludes, *The Torch Bearer* sustains the connection between aesthetics, identity, and politics. Those Dutch who are not 'loyal' generally have bad taste, and have allowed their patrimony to deteriorate. The 'loyal' tend to have French Huguenot ancestry, and their homesteads are studies in understated elegance and original beauty while the disloyal are not only politically recalcitrant but rebarbative in their tastes. Fairbridge explores her favourite theme, concerning vernacular architecture:

The finger of progress had touched Vredendorp in other ways. All too fast the graceful, simple old houses of the village and district were being transmogrified into stucco villas with corrugated-iron roofs and verandahs painted in stripes of primary colours, while the fine furniture of a less Philistine age was rapidly being replaced by suites upholstered in Utrecht velvet or by the tawdry eccentricities of l'Art Nouveau.

A family which is of Huguenot extraction combined with English, lives in a distinctly different habitat, an outward indication of their sensibilities:

The homestead of La France was amongst those which had escaped the hand of the restorer. It still retained its thatched roof, smooth and brown, the lovely curve of its gables was unspoiled. Doulton tiles had not replaced the worn red flags of the stoep, nor had plate-glass windows in painted deal frames ousted the charming old casements set in teak. It was still a beautiful house, in an age wherein lovely houses would seem to be a reproach, so busy have the owners of to-day been in marring the work of their ancestors.

Vredendorp looked on La France with a certain degree of kindly pity.

'Poor Mrs le Sueur,' they said to each other. 'To think, *foie toch*, that she should have to live in that *oudewetse* house, just as it came from her husband's mother, without any modern improvements!' (Fairbridge, 1915:26)

Aesthetics is a source of constant comedy in this novel. Agatha Lumley took her young niece, Katherine Howe, to Florence, and Katherine has brought her favourite prints of quattrocento art to the Cape, which are pinned up in their rented parlour in Vredendorp. Mrs Roux, wife of the mayor, comes to call, and:

'Child of wrath!' she said in hollow tones. 'How dare you stand and look at me? Snake in the grass! Serpent in disguise!! Child of the devil!!! Always I said to Johannes that there was more reason than we knew for the English ladies coming here. Lectures! Cookery! Fine talk! Now I see for myself that the real idea is to make Roman Catholic this God-fearing place. Saints –' She flung a fat right hand towards Perugino's triptych –

'Virgins –'

A frenzied sweep included Botticelli's tondo, the Primavera, and an Andrea del Sarto –

'Popes –'

She all but shook her fist at Raphael's Julius –

'– and the rest of the idols that the Reformed Church has broken down. Oh my! But you are a wicked girl, toch!' (Fairbridge, 1915:114-5)

Two of the church elders, Smuts and Celliers, hold a private conversation to far more sinister effect, in Smuts's house, 'one of the most blatant examples of the pepper-pot style of architecture, tin-roofed, with a verandah striped broadly in brilliant red, blue, green, and white', the colours of the old Transvaal:

'We still live under the Vierkleur, Mynheer, the good old flag of the Transvaal Republic, which will float over all South Africa some day, if all goes well.'

The interior of this house is described in detail which points to the inhabitant's wrong sensibilities:

The atmosphere was dark and stuffy, every window tightly closed, and the air heavy with the odour of the paraffin with which the linoleum-covered floors were rubbed up once a week. The drawing-room into which Mr Smuts ushered his guest with great ceremony, was crowded with chairs and tables. Every chair was adorned with an antimacassar of loose white cotton crochet, every table with a mat of muslin edged with a stiffly-gauffered frill. A large chandelier, clothed in a bag of yellow tarlatan to protect it from the flies, hung from the ceiling, and, as a contribution to the general harmony of the scheme, a cascade of the same tarlatan, decorated with gold thread and strips of finely-cut paper, rippled down the chimney. Magenta-red curtains shrouded the windows, huge shells adorned the mantelpiece, and over them hung an enormous enlarged photograph of Mr and Mrs Smuts on their wedding day – he in a tightly-buttoned frock-coat, she in black, with a wreath of orange-blossoms on her meek, sleek head. (ibid:130-31)

The conversation is steered into deep waters:

‘Mynheer remembers Herr Schmidt?’ he said.

‘The little German who travels for Wolff and Company, the general importers?’

‘Yes. He is a very intelligent man, Herr Schmidt. Last time he came to my place he said how he admired your verandah.’

A gratified smile spread over his host's face.

‘Ja,’ continued Celliers meditatively, ‘and he also said that perhaps some day the *Vierkleur* would be the flag of the whole country.’

....

‘How does Herr Schmidt know that Germany would help us?’

‘He showed me letters to a friend of his – they were in German, but he put them into Dutch – and they were from a very great person in Germany. He has given me a copy of one.’

Celliers reads out the translated letter:

'My dear Count' (that's Herr Schmidt's friend) -- 'I have seen Him and He is very well pleased with your report. You are sowing good seed -- may the Day of Harvest be near at hand. He bids you tell our good friends the Afrikaners, who have for so long under the heavy hand of England languished, that from the moment in which they throw off the yoke their independence will be guaranteed by Germany. Say to them that the Fatherland will regard them as its own children, and that the Vierkleur will once again wave on the South African breeze. By Us it will be cherished and revered. Meanwhile all goes well here. The Fatherland wakes and works, Heaven is our ally -- and England sleeps.' (ibid:133)

The English were in fact preparing their cookery demonstration:

'[W]hen the links that are to unite South African and England are securely -- er -- linked, I shall know that not the least of them was forged by my chafing dish.' (ibid:137)

The novel concludes with marriage between young Katherine and the son of a family of mixed Huguenot and English descent.

The romantic story-line of *The Torch Bearer* reflects a theme that was treated with more gravity in Fairbridge's first piece of published fiction, the short story 'Pamela', which appeared in *The State*.²² In 'Pamela', set ten years after the South African War, two Englishmen converse on the top of Table Mountain, looking down over Table Bay and Robben Island. One confides to the other his tale of tragic romance. As a regimental officer in the war he is detailed to find fresh vegetables for the troops, calling on farmers in the Cape countryside. At a particularly fine homestead he encounters an attractive young woman of mixed English and Huguenot parentage. They strike up an understanding; then he receives a hasty letter that he must never return; she has gone to tend her sick brother. It transpires that the brother inherited syphilitic leprosy from his father who contracted this from a wounded black whose injuries he had dressed. Like her brother, Pamela dies from this baneful legacy. Only now, some eight years later, has the suitor heard the fate of his beloved, deceased on

Robben Island. 'Robben Island', concludes the distressed narrator, looking out over Table Bay, 'is a leper colony'. The melodramatic story is a cautionary tale about the mixing of legacies – black, white, colonial, metropolitan – and, like the ballad of the leprous flute player written by Fairbridge's friend Ian Colvin, the narrative reflects the immense preoccupation at the turn of the century with syphilis, and with the vampire fantasies which attended this pressing social problem.²³

Apart from vampires Paradise has its serpents, and concluding this chapter an anecdote from the memoirs of a young Englishman adventuring in Southern Africa during the 1899-1902 war sheds some light on the underside of this Eden. Geoffrey Howard-Williams, tenuously related to the Fairbridges, turned to Dorothea for assistance while he was in Cape Town. She wangled a position for him on Milner's staff, warned him of the political consequences of being seen dining with Merriman and some of the 'most prominent disloyalists', and then saved him from dire social disgrace:

I had been granted a week's leave. Someone told me he had heard of a Dutch farm not far from Cape Town which sometimes took a paying guest for a few days. The day before I left I happened to tell Miss Fairbridge where I was going. She was horrified, told me that I oughtn't to be allowed out loose without a nurse, and scolded me well for not making proper enquiries. Everybody knew, she said, about that farm and what went on there. Then she told me the following hair-raising story:

'The family consists of a father, a very handsome daughter, and five extremely large and powerful brothers. They will do you very well, and for several days you will find the place very pleasant. You will wander up the hills among the heather with the girl, and you will enjoy yourself very much. But one night you will go comfortably to bed and to sleep, and will wake up to find the young lady in your bed. Before you have time to realize what has happened, the door will burst open and the men of the family will accuse you of ruining the girl. The girl will burst into tears and a string of lies. The sons will begin to give you a thrashing. The father will rescue you. Fearful threats of exposure will be made. You will realize that you can't prove your story. So in the end you will compromise for a payment of blackmail that you can't afford.'

(Howard-Williams, 1949: 201-2)

¹ Oxford University Press archives.

² Oxford University Press archives, P.5995.

³ See Hahlo and Kahn (1960: 626). This work gives further examples of the ways in which English law altered Roman-Dutch law in the Cape Colony of the nineteenth century.

⁴ Van der Watt (2000) is an excellent discussion of the ideology of the *volksmoeder* in the formation of Afrikaner nationalism.

⁵ Milner Papers, Bodleian Library, VM 55, C682/1/5, Louisa Acheson, Countess of Gosford, to Violet Cecil, 18 April 1900.

⁶ Gutsche also published a study of Sophia Gray, wife of the Bishop of Cape Town, who designed Anglican churches for parishes throughout the southern Cape in the mid-nineteenth century.

⁷ See Lewin Robinson, Driver and Lenta (1995), and Lenta and Le Cordeur (1999).

⁸ Two studies of the life of Lady Duff Gordon are by Waterfield (1937) and Frank (1994).

⁹ Milner Papers, Bodleian Library, 'Diary of Trip to South Africa, 1924-25', 19.

¹⁰ A recent wry essay on the colonial significance of South African gardens, from an environmentalist and post-colonial perspective, is to be found in Martin (2002: 33-8).

¹¹ Sub-Committee for the Care of Soldiers' and Sailors' Graves, Reports Read at Public Graves Meeting, Cape Town, March 1909, p.4 (records of the Victoria League in South Africa, Cape Town branch).

¹² Violet Milner, *My Picture Gallery* (1951).

¹³ For a history of remembrance and commemoration relating to modern warfare, see Fussell (1975), Winter (1995) and Winter and Sivan (1999). Stamp (1977) is a useful overview of the history of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

¹⁴ The connection between the two initiatives was confirmed in conversation with the late Professor Arthur Davie of Cape Town, who served on the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

¹⁵ Milner papers, Bodleian Library, VM 8, Violet Cecil to Lord Milner, 16 June 1902.

¹⁶ Rhodes House archives, MSS Afr. S228, C12, correspondence during February and March 1902 between Mrs K. Bairnsfather, Cecil Rhodes, and Herbert Baker et al, on the establishing, funding, and housing of this project.

¹⁷ Information on the early activities of the Victoria League and their correspondence with the Guild of Loyal Women comes from the Minute Books of the League, Bayswater, London.

¹⁸ Apart from passing references such as this, Fairbridge's only other writing which deals with the Great War is an essay, 'Their Opportunity', dealing with women's hospital and charity work (*South African Garden and Country Life*, 9, 277-79, 1919).

¹⁹ John Kipling's remains were found and identified in the mid-1990s. Violet Cecil's son George was killed in France soon after John Kipling's disappearance in September 1914, bringing shared grief to these neighbouring Surrey households. Freemasonry has a longstanding link with funerary architecture and the design of necropoloi, as demonstrated by Curl (1991).

²⁰ The *National Review*, begun by Alfred Austin in 1883 as a journal of conservative-radical opinion, was bought by Violet Milner's father, Admiral Maxse, and given to her invalid brother Leo Maxse in 1893. Violet assisted him in editing it, and on his death in 1932 she became the editor. She used it as a medium for her Milnerite views on the empire and commonwealth.

²¹ Barlow Ltd archives.

²² *The State*, September 1911, 287-94.

²³ Sir Henry Juta published a gothic novel *Off the Track* (1895) on the topic of a truly astonishing female vampire, set partly in London and partly in the Karroo. Linked to representations of Keats's *Lamia* and 'La Belle Dame sans Merci', the *fin de siècle* vampire was a favourite subject with later pre-Raphaelite painters. See Alexandra Warwick, 'Vampires and the Empire: Fears and Fictions of the 1890s', in Ledger and McCracken (1995:202-20), for an overview of the subject.

Chapter Seven: Public History and The Elizabethan Revival

In *That Which Hath Been* a pageant-like vision appears to Willem Adriaan van der Stel during his sleep, on his first night at the Cape. It is a long passage, but it is truly remarkable for its stylized blending of South African motifs with art nouveau iconography, and needs to be quoted in full for the effect of its incremental dramatic pace:

He stood alone at sunset on the open veld. It was South Africa. So much he knew from the scent of the buchu and avondbloem at his feet, from the crimson glow which flushed the distant mountains rose-red, from the pure brilliance of the air.

A troop of eland fed near at hand, a striped zebra gazed at him in stupid surprise, yellow finks shrieked and jabbered on their hanging nests, secretary birds stalked solemnly over the plain, on the watch for a heedless cobra or ringhals.

'Son of earth', said a low clear voice. It seemed to come from worlds remote, from centuries long passed. 'Behold and see the Leaders whom men have followed from all time, and choose whom thou wilt serve.' (Fairbridge, 1910:26)

There follows a sequence of allegorical figures who present themselves to the onlooker, and press their claims. The first figure resembles the Winged Victory of Samothrace, which was a popular icon in the early twentieth century:¹

Suddenly over the veld came a rush of wind – clean salt air that left a sting on the lips and a glow in the heart.

Against the wind, her garments blown back, her long hair streaming on the breeze, came a winged figure. Her head was held high as she confronted the battling element, her face was illuminated by a look of triumph.

'Son of earth,' she cried, in clear tones, 'look on me, and know the prize for which men strive, the beacon-light that guides them from the

cradle to the grave. I am Victory! Follow me, and know the glory of the laurel wreath, the triumph of success, the joy of the victor.' (ibid:26-7)

As with the temptation of Christ, Van der Stel in the wilderness of the veld is confronted with the means to worldly success:

Silence fell once more on the veld, broken only by the 'whirr' of the emerald-throated sugar-birds, as they darted from one pink protea to another. A jingle of bells broke the silence.

Rolling over the wide plain came a coach hung high on broad leathern straps, on which it swung free from every jar or jolt. Leaning back on the soft cushions was an elderly man in rich velvet and lace. The hilt of his sword was encrusted with diamonds, a strong artificial perfume hung about him and was borne on the evening air. But there was power in the hard eyes and sharp features, power which might lift earth to heaven or drag it lower than the lowest hell.

The jingling bells ceased, and the coach stood still. 'Son of earth,' said the stranger, 'I hold the world in the hollow of my hand. Men and women have toiled for me, have died for me, have been accursed for my sake. I am he who wields the widest sway that earth has known. Mine it is to avert the clash of arms by ensuring the safety of the State, to protect law and order, or to stir up nation against nation in bloody rivalry. Mine are the ships upon the seas, the toilers in the uttermost parts of the earth, the men and women who wear my golden chains. For I am Wealth, and wealth is power.'

He sank back upon his purple silk cushions, and the jingling bells grew faint as he receded from sight. (ibid:27-8)

After this latter-day Dionysus comes a young Apollo who reflects the romantic character that Fairbridge assigned to Willem's brother Frans van der Stel:

A joyous outburst of melody poured from a bokmakeri perched on a yellow-flowered mimosa near at hand.

The spirit of youth was in his song, it breathed of joy, of love, of hope – it was intoxicating in its fulness of life.

Heralded by the music a young man came through the bushes, and as he walked the green ixias and orange gazanias of the veld bowed themselves in homage beneath his sandalled feet. His white tunic was caught together on the shoulders by cunningly-wrought ouches of gold; his arms were bare, and in his right hand he held a branch of almond blossoms whose pink and white petals fluttered in the soft breeze.

‘Son of earth,’ he said, in liquid tones, ‘wilt follow me, and know what is best in life? I am he who touches the heart of millions, who can sway crowds to my will, and draw tears or laughter at my pleasure. Sorrow and trouble are forgotten under my enthralling spell; kings are my votaries, and their subjects my slaves. I am tragedy and comedy. I am harmony and beauty. I am youth eternal. For I am Art.’

And the graceful figure passed with light footsteps over the swaying brown reeds.

The bok-makeri ceased his bubbling song. The sugar-birds folded their wings and sank into the leafy shade. The jingle of bells died utterly away. (ibid:28)

The final figure bears a message of self-sacrifice which sets the tone for the novel:

‘Son of earth,’ said a low, clear voice, and van der Stel turned to see a woman standing at his side. Not a beautiful woman – and yet – and yet – was she not more than beautiful?

Worn with grief and wan with watching was her face. Her graceful head was bent in sorrow, but, as she raised it and looked at him, in her grey eyes shone courage and faith, hope and the spirit of sacrifice.

‘Son of earth,’ she said, ‘I have no rich gifts to offer. The water of tears and the bread of affliction are the frequent portion of those who follow me. To them it is given to see their work laid in ruins, their highest hopes dashed to the ground. But,’ and the sweet voice rang out like a silver clarion, ‘to them, too, is it given to see the vision of future years, to know that the work which lies in wreckage at their feet is but the seed

which shall yield an hundred-fold to those who come after them. For my followers work not for to-day, nor for themselves, but for the future and for their country, so they are well content to pay the cost. For I am Patriotism.'

Her face glowed with passionate radiance and with high courage.

(ibid:29)

Fairbridge combines a sense of theatrical performance with the natural environment, with idealist ethics, and with a typically art-nouveau archaicism. The passage, a masque of nationhood, is intensely patriotic. The novel was written during the months when a huge public historical pageant was being prepared in Cape Town, to celebrate the inauguration of the Union parliament in October 1910; and it draws here on the generic forms and thematic emphases of this particular genre, the so-called 'new pageantry', which injected with immense brio, into events of national significance, the period preoccupation with the 'golden age' of Queen Elizabeth I and the Shakespearean stage.

The Union Pageant was staged over several days to huge audiences in an open-air auditorium on reclaimed land at the foot of Adderley Street, at the seafront. Planning was co-ordinated by a committee steered by the Town Clerk and the enthusiastic head of the Public Works Department, Louis Mansergh.² Much of the detail was farmed out to experts (artists, musicians, historians, and the cavalry) or to groups of amateur volunteers. Planners met at the home of Sir Henry Juta, Speaker of the Cape House of Assembly, where Fairbridge and many others, including Rudyard Kipling, gathered to discuss the production. The Juta family were keen on theatricals. Jan Juta records the occasion:

A great pageant on the history of South Africa was held on the foreshore of Table Bay to celebrate [Union]. It was directed by Mr E. Lascelles [Frank Lascelles], later knighted for his achievements, who had come from England especially for that purpose. He was a frequent visitor at our house, where many ideas were discussed and resolved, with Mama and our well-informed friends expressing their opinions. The pageant proved tremendously successful, my mother, resplendent in crown and jewels, playing the role of the Queen of Portugal. (Jan Juta, 1972:xiii)

This patriotic genre of new pageantry early became a topic for fiction, as in Fairbridge's novel. Another example is *Brother Copas* (1911) by 'Q' (Sir Arthur Quiller Couch), set in King Alfred's ancient capital city of Winchester (where hangs, in the cathedral, what is reputed to be the Round Table of King Arthur and his knights). This text deals with the planning and presentation of a pageant by the brothers and staff of Saint Cross Hospice, the ancient institution which lies in the water-meadows below Winchester College. A girl child, Corona Bonaday, arrives at Southampton by steamer (the *Carnatic*) from America, to stay with her uncle, a brother in the Hospice. It is a return to her roots in England, where she had been born, as well as a challenging but valuable rediscovery of her real father. At the same time, she is cast in the pageant as Queen of the May, and so her experience is a paradigm for the rediscovery of 'Englishness'.³

'Q's' fictional pageant at Winchester follows the production of an actual pageant in this city in 1908. Quiller-Couch was a co-author of the 'Pageant of Bradstone', which was produced in 1929, and he appears to have been involved in many similar projects over the years. Various other authors adopted the idea of an historical pageant as a model on which to structure their novels. Perhaps most notable here is Virginia Woolf, whose final novel, *Between the Acts* (1941), set on the eve of World War II, is composed around the wryly described performance of a local historical pageant at a small country town, while her fictional tribute to Vita Sackville West, *Orlando* (1928) is constructed as if it were a historical pageant of English letters. Woolf's friend and peer as a modernist author, E.M. Forster, wrote the scripts for two pageant performances, the 'Abinger Pageant' (1934), and 'England's Green and Pleasant Land: A Pageant Play' (1938). During the historical moment which we call 'modernism' there is a paradoxically contrary preoccupation with 'Englishness', with heritage, roots, and the archaic, albeit, as in Woolf's case, ironic.

Fairbridge's children's novel, *Skiddle* (1926 b), written for her youngest niece Nancy Currey, first published as a serial in the *Cape Times* and illustrated by the mural artist Sydney Carter, draws on the episodic form of the pageants for a lesson in natural history. The protagonist is a young squirrel, one of the grey species which were introduced to the Cape Peninsula by Cecil Rhodes. Father Squirrel discourses to his children on the 'Rule of the Forest' in a whimsical imitation of settler codes:

'One moment – before you go – hear my words. You are of this land, though your mother and I were brought across the seas from another country. But you are of South Africa; bone of its bone, blood of its blood,

and all feather and fur of its forests is your brother. Hear the Forest Rule of the Squirrel Tribe. Prey not on each other, but prey on Man alone, for Man having brought us to this land without our will would now destroy us. Therefore, his apricot trees are yours, for their kernels, his tomatoes for their seeds and sweet juice, his oaks for their young shoots. Spare him not, as he spares you not; but to feather and fur show brotherhood, inasmuch as they show it to you, for that is the Rule of the Forest. But beware of Man.'

'And beware of Dog, the friend of Man', he called. 'And of Boy. He is worse than Man and Dog together.' (Fairbridge, 1926 b:4-5)

The narrative follows Skiddle's adventures on Table Mountain and down into the valleys and flats of the Cape Peninsula as far as the rock pools of False Bay. He encounters a wide range of other creatures: Chacma the baboon, Falco Minor the falcon, Felis the Kafir cat, Klip Das the rock rabbit, Rana the frog, Boom Slang, Mountie the Mongoose, Bok the Shrike, Fink the weaverbird, Geitje the lizard, Aunt Caroline the chameleon, Wise Bird Strix, the White-eye family (zosterops), sugar birds and Bou-bou the water fiscal, Cossypha the Cape robin, Fiscal the butcher bird, Schilpad the tortoise, Herodias the egret, Sula the gannet, Thoth the Egyptian ibis, Hystrix the porcupine, Tuku the aard-wolf, Lutra the otter, Grysbok the antelope, Luciola the firefly, Zip the mosquito, Gryllus the cricket, Flittermouse the bat, Motacilla the wag-tail, Libellula the dragon fly, seisjes, warblers, turtle-doves and mouse-birds, Alcedo the kingfisher, Palinurus the crawfish, Actinia the anemone, sea-urchins, starfish, sea cucumbers, Sabella the sea worm, Helix the snail, Mytilus the mussel, Patella the limpet, and Otaria the seal. Further detail concerns the flora: disas, crassulas, buchu, proteas, silver trees, oaks and stone pines.

There are references to Egypt, to King Solomon and Zuleika, Miriam and Sheba, to the British embassy in Teheran, Persia, to the Malay fishermen of the Cape, to the Great War, and to the old legends of the Orkneys, whence a branch of Fairbridge's family originated, concerning seal maidens and lonely fishermen. It is a delightful narrative, drawing on Kipling's method in the *Just-So* stories and the *Jungle Books*. Fairbridge's literary agent Watt connived with Violet Milner to have *Skiddle* placed with the publishers Thomas Nelson and Sons in Edinburgh, but it was turned down by their reader (and partner), no less a person than John Buchan, before being accepted by Oxford University Press:

You may be interested to know that Colonel John Buchan – one of the partners – writes to me in the matter as follows: ‘We have considered Miss Fairbridge’s manuscript *Skiddle*. It is very attractive, and I daresay it would sell well in South Africa, but I do not think there is much chance of a sale here.’ In these circumstances, I have decided to open negotiations with Oxford University Press and I hope that these may be more successful. (A.S. Watt to Violet Milner, 2 April 1925)⁴

The immense influence of the ‘new pageantry’ emerges in various ways in the world of letters, apart from novels, during the first three decades of the twentieth century. History writers simply appropriate the canonical forms of the genre as a means of shaping their understanding of the past. History is understood as a sequence of episodes that forms a kind of allegorical progression leading from scenes of landfall, first encounters, and discovery, to climactic moments of ‘consummation’. History is the ‘march of man’, and this is narrated as a form of social-evolutionary progression: a blend of protestant teleology mixed with British national destiny, ‘Anglo-Saxon’ racial destiny, and neo-Hegelian idealist discourses by which the ‘dawning of civilization’ on new continents and the ‘birth’ of new nations is described. A good example of this, applied to the late colonial world, is Gertrude Emerson Sen’s *The Pageant of India’s History*. This work deals with Indian pre-history, and history up to the fourteenth century, in which she draws on these established tropes, with chapter titles such as ‘Dawn over India’, ‘Aryan Morning’, ‘A Priceless Heritage’, and ‘A Golden Age of Civilization’. (Sen, 1948) While the text – as late as 1948 (the year after Indian independence and partition) – is not at all reductively thespian, these metaphors are derived from the themes and style of pageant scripts. Another example (undated, but evidently also circa 1947 or 1948, dedicated to the founding of the United Nations) is Wilfred Castle’s *Syrian Pageant*, dealing with the religion, politics, and literature of Syria and Palestine from 1000 BC to 1945. The book is an interesting study of the place of Syria and Palestine, preparatory to the establishment of the state of Israel, within global (western-oriented) politics and culture. Castle cites the American historian John A. Mackay, from his work *Heritage and Destiny*, on the significance of a recovery of heritage:

‘There are times when a rediscovery of yesterday opens a new pathway to to-morrow, when the awakening of a sense of heritage becomes a potent determinant of destiny’. (Castle, undated, circa 1948:10)

Castle draws, for his very informed study, on strongly metaphorical frameworks: a cyclical concept of history, the contrastive idea of a linear teleological progression in spiritual matters, romance, the model of the caravanserai, the pageant, and the idea of national heritage. These topics, specifically heritage and pageantry, are by this time a deeply rooted set of models for popular history-writing, with implications that were available for a variety of new nationalisms across the world. This included the Afrikaner Nationalism that gained full political grasp of South Africa in 1948, a development which partially echoes the events in India, and in Palestine or Israel, at the same time.

Returning to the less fraught Edwardian world, and closer to home, Fairbridge's friend Ian Duncan Colvin of the *Cape Times* concludes his popular history *The Romance of South Africa* (undated, c.1909) with a suggestion that Union be celebrated with a pageant. The passage needs to be quoted in full for its exemplary interpretation of South African history according to the genre of the new pageantry:

But a book which is concerned only with the romance of South Africa's history should not end in a political dissertation, however tempting the union proposals may be as a text. It should end rather with an appeal to South Africans to study their common history, so rich in great figures and picturesque events. Why not, for example, celebrate the opening of the United Parliament in Cape Town, which has infinitely the best title to be capital of South Africa, by a pageant which would illustrate the wealth of this history? We should have Bartholomew Diaz and the terrible Vasco da Gama, Dom Stephen d'Ataide and Francesco Barreto in their morions and coats of mail. There would be Father Monclaro with his crucifix aloft, and the first martyr, Father Goncala, in his new surplice. We should see the sturdy Elizabethans, Shilling and Fitzherbert, walking with Jourdain the merchant. Then Van Riebeck (sic) would come along in knickerbockers and broad-brimmed hat, his lady by his side in ruff and farthingale, and Hendrik Boom the gardener, and Eva the interpretress. There we should see the stately figures of Simon van der Stel and his friend the Lord of Mydrecht, and Willem Adriaan his son. Swellingrebel (sic) and all the other eighteenth century governors would follow in their footsteps, and then we should have Lady Anne Barnard and her friends of the first conquest, the good General Janssens and Sir David Baird, and the choleric Lord Charles

Somerset, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and Sir Harry Smith and his Spanish lady in her black mantilla. What fine figures might be made out of the old soldiers and sailors of the Dutch East India Company, the sailors led by Van der Decken, the Flying Dutchman himself, with his white beard and his seven pairs of breeches. We should have the pirates that defied Van der Stel to lay a finger upon them, we should see Anthon (sic) Anreith, the sculptor, and Pringle, the poet, and old Predikants in Geneva gowns might walk with the 1820 settlers. Then there would be Chaka and Dingaan and Hintza, and the Boer heroes of the treks, and many other figures that have flitted through these pages! It would be a brave show, winding past the old Castle or under the spreading oaks of the Gardens, and would serve to demonstrate to South Africa what she is apt to forget, that she has a great past as well as a great future. (Colvin, undated, circa 1909: 317-8)

This idea is evidently based on the few pageants which had already taken place, in particular Frank Lascelles's first production, the Oxford Historical Pageant, of 1907, which was attended by many literary figures including Rudyard Kipling and Mark Twain, and received considerable notice in the London press.

Still in the celebrated year of 1910, René Juta, daughter of the Speaker of the Cape House of Assembly, published a historical and topographical guide book, *The Cape Peninsula*, which uses the idea of a historical pageant as its rationale. (René Juta, 1910) The narrator is conducted around the Cape Peninsula by a character named Marinus, the two of them described in a list of *dramatis personae* as 'slightly sentimental travellers, in modern dress, generally riding-clothes'. Their tour takes the form of a journey in both space and time, beginning at the Castle of Good Hope in 1666 and working forward to 1910. The cast includes a principal group called 'Immortals', who are 'Mynheer Van Riebeeck, and all the Dutch Commanders, Captain Cook, Marion le Roux, Mr and Lady Anne Barnard, Old Man Van der Pool, the English Governors, some English Midshipmen, Mynheer van Rheenen, a brewer, Mr Barrow, a naturalist, Monsieur le Vaillant, a French explorer with a temperament, Lieutenant Abraham Schut, Kolbe, a great liar with a sense of humour, Mynheer Cloete, a wealthy farmer'. There is a chorus comprising 'Hottentots, Bushmen, Saldanhas, Dutch Soldiers and Sailors, English Soldiers and Sailors, Burghers, Slaves, Market-Gardeners, Wine-Makers, Fishermen, and ordinary people from 1651 to 1910'.

René Juta began her public writing career with this intriguing guide book, which was illustrated by W. Westhofen, and (in a later edition) by her artist brother Jan Juta. A year earlier she had published privately what may have been intended as a contribution to the Union Pageant, a masque entitled *The Masque of the Silver Trees*, in high art nouveau style, in which Table Mountain is the setting, and the flora, the winds, and other natural features enter into a dramatic dialogue. The occasion is the marriage of Orpheus and Eurydice, and the theme is the reason why the leaves of the silver tree (a species of *leucospermum*, indigenous to the Table Mountain area) are silver, rather than green. Characters include the Ancient Keeper of the Forests, the Spirit of Table Mountain, the Spirit of the Silver Trees, the South East Wind, the North West Wind, and the Spirit of the Veldt. (René Juta, 1909)

The talented Juta family, with a wide circle of influential friends, and a fondness for the arts, set the tone in many ways. Jan Juta recollects a thespian scene on the flanks of Table Mountain. Rudyard Kipling produced a Shakespeare performance at the Kipling family's Cape home, the Woolsack, which is situated on the Cecil Rhodes estate. Juta describes the scene as follows:

One incident connected with the Kiplings I remember vividly, though I was too young to be allowed to actually participate. This was an afternoon performance of an act from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Kipling loved the play and directed the whole idea, acting the role of Bottom himself and casting his daughter Elsie as Titania, his son John as Puck and my sister Luia as Oberon. He and Mrs Kipling, assisted by our Nannie, arranged the costumes, making the crowns and the splendid ass's head out of painted cardboard. They rehearsed in the Woolsack garden for the performance, which was held in the natural setting of the dell near Mr Rhodes's house one Saturday afternoon, the sun slanting from behind the mountain adding a magic of its own to the fantasy of the play.

We were a very small but appreciative audience, with Nannie nervously patting my hands each time I clapped Luia too loudly. Mr Rhodes, Mrs Kipling, and Papa [Sir Henry Juta, Speaker of the Cape Parliament] sat in comfortable chairs in the front row The servants from the houses, together with the workers on the estate, stood respectfully in the background. (Jan Juta, 1972:52)

This is a vignette of a privileged moment in the aristocratic and pro-consular society of the old Cape. Evidence points to this performance occurring in the early 1890s. Law (Sir Henry Juta was also Chief Justice), letters, finance and politics combine with the English Bard, with magic, fantasy, and nature, and with a nursery domesticity which was to be immortalised by Kipling himself as well as by J.M. Barrie. Apart from names there is nothing specifically Cape, or South African, or even colonial, about this description. It might have taken place in any English county such as the old Monmouthshire, where there are mountain backdrops. There is not a hint that the servants may be coloured or black. The idea is of a seamless and shared cultural legacy where a past and a present are united, and only the protocols of class and of the theatre hold good. The emphasis on a sentimental Elizabethanism is a recurring topic at the time, and one which bolsters the pageantry movement. It plays a large part in much of Kipling's historical work, with, for instance, *Rewards and Fairies* (1906) and *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1910) deliberately archaizing English national identity. As recently as 1974 Marghanita Laski published a compendium of Kipling's poems and stories entitled *Kipling's English History*, which implicitly acknowledges the pageant-performance sense of history in much of Kipling's work.⁵ John Buchan's collection of empire adventures for children, *The Magic Walking Stick*, also uses the pageant form of a sequence of type-cast and exotic episodes, while Buchan's work in general is shot through with an old-world chivalry. His description of Lord Basil Blackwood, son of Lord Dufferin and a secretary for a while to Milner in South Africa, is typical:

The phrase 'Elizabethan,' too casually applied, can be used with truth of Basil. He was of the same breed as the slender gallants who singed the beard of the King of Spain and, like Essex, tossed their plumed hats into the sea in joy of the enterprise, or who sold their swords to whatever cause had daylight and honour in it.... He had the streak of Ariel in him, and his fancy had always wings.... In a pedestrian world he held to the old cavalier grace, and wherever romance called he followed with careless gallantry. (Buchan, 1941:107)

René Juta appears again in connection with Frank Lascelles and his pageants, two decades after South African union, in the *festsschrift* for Lascelles, *Our Modern Orpheus*, where she describes bohemian occasions in his extraordinary self-styled 'Manor House' at

Sibford Gower in the Cotswolds. (Darnley, 1932) Guests and servants dressed up in Elizabethan costumes. Lascelles, who changed his name from the more mundane Stevens, inherited the house from his vicar father, joining two seventeenth-century cottages and a barn into one unit, the barn becoming a 'great hall' with a huge hearth, an organ, and a musicians' gallery. At this hearth, Ivor Novello is reputed to have composed 'Keep the Home Fires Burning'. Over it, carved into a great wooden beam, are two verses from hymn 165 (Hymns Ancient and Modern), 'Oh God our help in ages past', which was very popular with pageanteers ('A thousand ages in Thy sight/Are like an evening gone ...' and 'Time, like an ever-rolling stream/Bears all its sons away ...'). A rose, with an epitaph to a young man killed in France in 1918, is engraved into a pane of glass. The front door carries the psalmist's words, '*Dominus introitum tuum et exitum tuum custodiat*', while a coloured glass window in the study is a copy of Holman Hunt's famous painting 'The Light of the World' (which is in the chapel of Keble College, where Lascelles (as Stevens) was an undergraduate. A statuette of St Francis of Assisi stands over the front door, and a relief tablet of the same saint is at the rear, an orthodox link between Lascelles's extraordinary self-invention and the idea of Orpheus, magical charmer of the environment. Lascelles was elaborately compared with Orpheus in his *festshcrift*, and it seems he encouraged this Pan-like cult, which was not uncommon in fiction at the period.⁶ There is a 1920s version of a Tudor tower, and at the back of the house, looking onto an exquisite vernacular English garden, is a thatched colonial-style verandah. The Sibford Gower 'manor house' is in itself a stage setting which advertises the chivalry, adventure, and thespian manners which the Edwardians attributed to the sixteenth century, a theme which was the subject of Mark Girouard's study of the idea of the English gentleman in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Girouard, 1981)

Mural Painting and Friezes

The genre of historical pageantry was translated into fine art with the development of mural painting in public buildings which depicted historical or national-allegorical scenes. Where Schelling suggested that 'architecture is frozen music', mural painting is a kind of frozen pageantry. This new art form is first evident in England and the United States, and later becomes the preferred medium of the South African artist Jan Juta. In 1912 an English artist published an impassioned pamphlet calling for the development of mural art as a

national art-education project and warning against the perceived dead hand of a recently appointed state-sponsored 'Mural Decoration Committee'. His breathless and poorly edited idealism, a mélange of Keats and Ruskin, is probably more felicitous in pictures than in prose:

There lies in mural painting a direct means of influencing life in the most salutary ways. By offering the witness of beauty and ideals on the walls of our schools and public buildings to which it can ever return. The state must assume its responsibility, now that other means are unavailable or so uninformed and unrepresentative as to imperil more than advance the prospects of art.

....

The point of view must be primarily religious. Art should reach us, not as the sycophant of idle places, but in its robes of reserve and the beautiful, its address being primarily to the permanent needs of mankind. Beauty -- Truth, Truth -- Beauty.... This subject matter must spring out of the renewed life and ideals of democracy. By such means the gateways to the heart will be kept open through art, and life saved from hardening into mere intellectuality and doubt.

....

It must not be a merely topical art, portraying (sic) processes of manufacture in the dining rooms of pickle factories.... Mural painting should rather remind them of the world of nature, of natural employment, the joys and toils of country life - the seasons, and through allegoric and symbolic representation, of nobler beliefs and permanent ideals.

(Hallward, 1912: 10-11)

A fine example of allegorical mural painting is the work on the first floor of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in Whitehall, surrounding George Gilbert Scott's 'Grand Staircase' of 1868. These murals were by the artist Sigismund Goetze, who painted them at his own expense during the First World War. Quoting the artist himself, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office describes the murals as depicting 'the origin, education, development, expansion and triumph of the British Empire, leading up to the Covenant of the League of Nations'.⁷ The names of the original signatories of the League are painted on

the ceiling arches of the adjoining corridors, and a painted Sibyl adjuring 'Silence' guards the entrance to the Secretary of State's suite which looks out on to St James's Park. The Durbar Court of the adjacent India Office, designed by Matthew Digby in 1866 and so-named in 1902 at the coronation of Edward VII, is decorated with portrait busts of figures from Anglo-Indian history and the names of Indian provinces and cities, giving the lead to Herbert Baker's India House in Aldwych, London, which again is richly ornamented with friezes of Indian history and religious myth.⁸

Jan Juta (at whose home the Union pageant was planned) later reconfigures the concept of historical pageantry in his painting career, as a mural artist. He produced distinguished historical murals for the Pretoria City Hall (1938), and for South Africa House, London, which was completed in 1933, as well as murals and coloured glass illustrations for private homes in England and the United States, and some ocean-going steamships including *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*. His South African mural work imitates the idea of pageant episodes, with scenes depicting the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck, the handing over of a Bible to Piet Retief by the English settlers of Grahamstown, and the Great Trek. There is a peculiar consequence in his work, stemming from the pageant emphasis on canonical moments in history. The planting of crosses by the Portuguese explorers carried immense symbolic meaning. In South Africa House J.H. Amschwitz illustrates the raising of a *padrao* by Bartholomew Diaz; then, when Juta paints (in the same location) the landing of Jan van Riebeeck, he has the Dutch do the same. When he corrects his error he leaves in the mural the figure of a sailor digging with a spade, planting not a cross but (like Theseus and his dragon's teeth) a Dutch soldier.

Others did similar work in South Africa, and in South Africa House, notably Edward Roworth and Gwelo Goodman, J.H. Amschwitz, J.E.A. Volschenk, Sydney Carter, George Smithard, J.H. Pierneef, the art students Eleanor Esmonde-White and Le Roux Smith Le Roux, and the sculptors Charles Wheeler, John Tweed, and Coert Steynberg. Baker was keen to promote mural painting and arranged scholarships for Esmonde-White and Le Roux to study the genre under Sir William Rothenstein at the Royal College of Art, where the Indian students who had decorated India House received their training.⁹ South Africa House (partly due to Herbert Baker's penchant for symbolism) is a monumental archive of national history, virtue, and identity, studded with heraldic carvings and reliefs, and illumined with tapestries and fine mural paintings. It is, in stone and paint, a form of state ceremonial.¹⁰ This bears out the idea of architecture as archive, referred to in relation to Baker's Royal Arch motif, in chapter three above.

The women artists of the Ceramic Workshop, based at Olifantsfontein near Pretoria, continued the tradition, with ceramic tile murals of scenes from South African history on the walls of public buildings (mainly post offices) from Calvinia in the Northern Cape to villages in the South Peninsula, and at Irene, Pretoria. Afrikaner nationalism pursued the trend, with superbly executed pageant-like friezes carved in Italian marble by a team of Afrikaans artists and shipped to South Africa to be erected in the Voortrekker Monument in the late 1930s. During the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival a committee of Afrikaner women emulated this massive performance of identity, with a large set of tapestries that rehearsed yet again the history of the Voortrekkers. These, discussed by Van der Watt (1996), are housed in the basement shrine of the Voortrekker Monument.

These state edifices and national monuments of the mid-1930s predicate in their intensity a shift away from the amateur pageant concept in the British world, a shift that owes something to the emergence of the fascist pageants and rallies in Hitler's Germany where even the Oberammergau festival was tainted by Goebbels's desire to perform nationalist propaganda. One of the last major English pageants was the Harrow Historical Pageant of 1935, celebrating 800 years of Harrow School. It included among its patrons Edward Mosley, Kipling, and Churchill, ominously illustrating an uncomfortable proximity between Englishness, imperial sentiment, and the period fascism which was by no means peculiar to Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy.

In material stemming from the first two decades of the twentieth century we thus encounter a deliberate archaizing of British (including colonial) identity, partly in reaction to the pressures of cosmopolitan modernization, partly in line with contemporary trends in the archaeology of the antique world, and partly parallel to a similar archaizing of national identity in, for instance, Germany. We find, during this period, considerable interest in topics such as British pre-history approached from the perspective of myth and legend. National myths and legends such as those associated with King Arthur, the extraordinary claims of the cult known as the 'British Israelites' (promoted by some of the more fanciful of early Egyptologists such as Charles Piazzi Smyth, Astronomer Royal for Scotland [1865] and one-time assistant to the Royal Astronomer at the Cape), and the legends surrounding Glastonbury Abbey, find prominent support. Two enthusiasts attempted to found an 'English Bayreuth' at Glastonbury in 1911, and to start an English national music drama cycle which would draw on Arthurian legend.¹¹ This is an eccentric extreme, but the very concept of the 'Round Table', which was evolved by the Oxford young men of Milner's kindergarten as the Commonwealth think-tank, bears witness to the archaizing spirit of the

time. So does the Raleigh Club founded in 1913 by Milner, Lionel Curtis, and their circle as a forum of empire, with its arcane rituals and a toast, 'The Empire of the Bretaignes', taken from a prayer by Walter Raleigh (Madden and Fiedlhouse, 1982:11).

At this time we note a widespread resurgence of interest in Shakespeare, in the 'spacious days of Good Queen Bess', and in all things Tudor. The tercentenary of Shakespeare's death, in 1916, was a major factor in this trend, with a festival at the Shakespeare memorial theatre in Stratford-upon-Avon. The Shakespeare revival in the early twentieth century was seen as a means of promoting Englishness not only in Britain but also across the empire and dominions. Shakespeare in repertory form was taken to the Union by the noted actor-manager Frank Benson, and the Stratford-upon-Avon Movement of which Benson was the president brought out a book in 1911 which called, in startling terms of blood and soil, for a great Arts and Crafts and Elizabethan resurgence in the English-speaking world: 'Indeed, from the Seven Seas would come the tribes to be sealed at Stratford. That unity of race which has marked out Judaism among the nations, would set the Anglo-Celtic peoples, the Indo-European race at common cause'. (Buckley, 1911:173-4) The black South African writer Sol Plaatje co-edited, in London, a volume to mark the tercentenary. However, the enthusiastic and largely amateur late Victorian and Edwardian rediscovery of vernacular nationalism, which had its own proponents at the Cape in Dorothea Fairbridge and her circles, stiffened into a new and aggressive assertion of national identity as the western world and the British dominions moved towards war.

A History of South Africa

Fairbridge's *History of South Africa*, written for use as a school history reader, was published against this background of archaizing enthusiasm, when canons of public history were constructed and performed for the Union. It is, however, an extremely readable and professional text, largely without the thespian extravagances of the period until she engages on the topic of Cecil Rhodes, and South Africa's place within the British empire. It appeared in 1918 and only went out of print with Oxford University Press in 1969, though because of its politics it is unlikely that the work continued as a school reader in South Africa beyond the 1950s. The Walton Street records have a note from the University Press to Clarendon Press, forwarding an enquiry from a history teacher in Sierra Leone, dated from 1961, concerning the suitability of the book for 'School Certificate or Higher School Certificate

work', which sheds some light on the opportunism within the international publishing world. The year after Harold Macmillan made his 'Winds of Change' address to the South African parliament, and when the African independence movements were at their height, this Georgian history reader was still in circulation.

The opening chapter has the Hegelian title of 'Before the Dawn', dealing with 'the glacial epoch' and palaeolithic culture, early plant life, and prehistoric animals. It is extremely well informed, deriving material from the palaeontological collections and records of the South African Museum with which her father was so closely involved as both collector and trustee. The second chapter, on 'the early inhabitants', by which she means all the indigenous black peoples of South Africa, is a more sympathetic account than became the norm with school history readers under the apartheid regime. Here, for instance, is a paragraph on the 'Bushmen':

The Bushman was a lover of freedom, intelligent, quick-witted, and courageous – he has been well compared with the Bhils of India, the famous little fighting folk of the hills. He was, as we have seen, an artist of no mean skill. He had, moreover, a rich store of legends and folk-lore and numerous myths connected with the sun, moon, and stars. Many of the constellations were noted and named by him – Orion's Belt being 'Three she-tortoises hanging on a stick', while the twin stars of Castor and Pollux were 'the cow elands'. He had a moral code, though little idea of a God. Evil spirits entered into his dim faith, and traces are found of his belief in an existence after death. To Dr Bleek, who devoted his life to the study of this primitive South African people, we owe vast stores of myths, fables, legends, and folk-lore which were collected by him. (Fairbridge, 1918: 9)

Her view of the land before European settlement is appreciative, drawing on her own botanical frame of reference rather than the more predictable treatment of natural resources as prospects for commercial exploitation, which is to be found in other school readers:

The land as they had known it was very different to the South Africa of to-day. Without houses, railways, municipalities, or any of the amenities of civilization which seem so indispensable to modern man, it must have been a glorious country in the richness of its unspoiled vegetation and the

wealth of its animal life. In every kloof of the mountain and in the good soil of the veld grew forests of yellow-wood, iron-wood, South African cedars, and other trees. Silver-trees gleamed on the slopes of Table Mountain and everywhere were breadths of waxen heath, arum lilies, ixias, mesembryanthemum – it is bewildering to think of the glory of the flowers before the flower-raider came into the land or the wattle and blue-gum and beef-tree had been brought from Australia to invade Nature's rarest and most lovely garden. (ibid:13)

The third chapter, 'The Great Adventurers', includes the maritime exploits of Pharaoh Necho, Prince Henry the Navigator, Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco da Gama, Antonio de Saldanha, Dom Francisco d'Almeida, and Francis Drake, taking the narrative from Herodotus to the early sixteenth century. This is followed by the settlement of the Cape as a half-way house for the Dutch East India Company, and Jan van Riebeeck's establishment of the fort and vegetable garden. The next seven chapters are a detailed and impressive history of the Dutch Cape, ranging from politics and administration to the Huguenots, expansion of the colony, architecture and domestic culture, slavery, the church, journeys of exploration, the Swellendam rebellion, the trek-Boers, and war between England and the Netherlands in the 1780s. Then follow four chapters on the successive British invasions of the Cape, and the intervening Batavian Republic. Eleven chapters then trace the events of the nineteenth century, ending with a study of the Uitlanders and the Jameson Raid. Two of these deal with the Voortrekkers and the Boer Republics, treating the former topic with sympathetic regard but sharply criticizing the Whig politicians of England for allowing the retrocession of the Orange Free State in 1854. She writes from a latter-day perspective:

But the majority of the white people were not only content to live under British rule, but looked to it for protection, and to them the retrocession of the country was a bitter blow. The explanation lies in the fact that those were days in which the dream of a great Empire which should be a 'free union of sister states', as Lord Milner was to describe it many years later, found place only in the hearts of a few men – chiefly amongst those who served England in the ends of the earth. These 'dreamers devout' had no influence with the Whig Government which considered that 'Cape Town and the port of Table Bay' were all that England needed of South Africa,

precisely as the officials of the Dutch East India Company had written to Van Riebeeck This theory, the direct opposite of the dream of sister states held together by common aims and common loyalty, was firmly held by the majority of British politicians until Lord Beaconsfield opened men's eyes to greater ideals. Speaking in 1872 he referred to the grant of self-government to the colonies as 'part of a great policy of imperial consolidation', and from that moment the splendid dream which was to become solid fact in the crucible of Empire took hold of the minds of thinking men. (ibid:234-5)

The final three chapters deal with the war of 1899-1902, 'Peace and Reconstruction', and 'The Union of South Africa', leaving South Africa, at the close, 'standing upon the threshold of her new life, young among the great sister-nations of the Empire, wise with the sorrows of her past, in her eyes the light of hope'. (ibid:312) Rhodes's death soon before the articles of peace were signed at Vereeniging on 31 May 1902 is described as the passing of a prophet:

Two months earlier had passed away the 'immense and brooding spirit' of Cecil John Rhodes. Like Moses, he had stood upon the threshold of the Promised Land – of that Union of South Africa of which he had dreamed but which he never was to see, save in a vision and afar off. His will is a testimony to his greatness of soul and breadth of outlook, providing in perpetuity for the education at Oxford of 175 scholars, to be drawn from the British Dominions beyond the seas – from America, to encourage 'an attachment to the country from which they have sprung', and from Germany. For the latter he gave as a reason 'that an understanding between the three Great Powers will render war impossible, and that educational relations make the strongest tie'. Generations yet to come will see the character of Cecil Rhodes in its true perspective and will realize that the great things in it can never die. (ibid:297-8)

For Fairbridge, here, Rhodes personifies the new state. His ideas and bequests become blended with a sense of the ethical and spiritual heritage of the nation.¹² A later generation came to see General Jan Smuts in a similar guise, even to the detail of a mythology concerning the 'Spirit of Table Mountain'. With regard to both men, further, the idea of South Africa's imperial connection is sublimated into a sacred concept of world

destiny and world peace, a new creed for humanity. Fairbridge's thorough and detailed history of South Africa is framed by a theatrical idealism which began with a comparison between Pharaoh Necho's mariners and the trans-continental vision of Rhodes, and concludes with biblical teleology. This, remote from the Victorian liberalism of sceptical free-thinkers such as her father, is distilled from the standpoint of her acquaintance with the idealist young men of Milner's administration, notably Lionel Curtis. His monumental history of the world, *Civitas Dei* (1934), interprets her modern century as the age of the Commonwealth, in his eyes, with majestic hyperbole, the age of the realization of the 'Kingdom of God'.

¹ The Winged Victory was adapted by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu for the Rolls Royce mascot. Olive Schreiner writes to Betty Molteno about the appeal of the figure in a letter from 1905, quoted by Karel Schoeman (1992: 218):

I've got a lovely big figure of the Winged Victory hanging over my mantel piece. It was given me long ago, but I only had it framed now when I was in town. Did that old Greek sculptor who shaped it two thousand years ago dream that after so many hundreds of years the thought that moved in him and worked in his hand would have still the power to move and live in another mind! No picture has ever been to me what this [is] Broken, defaced without head or arm – and yet so strong, moving on to victory!

² See for instance the Mayoral Minutes and Council Agenda for 1910, Cape Town Municipal Reference Library.

³ In recent years there have been numerous publications concerning the idea of English and British nationalism and identity, focussing on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but little, surprisingly, on the subject of the historical pageants. See for instance Cubitt (1998) and Samuel (1994, 1998). Deborah Ryan's essay on the 1911 Pageant of London (Driver and Gilbert, 1999:117-35) is a noted exception.

⁴ Milner Papers, VM59, C694, Bodleian Library.

⁵ There is another kind of performance which Kipling draws on, using the intensely embodied Freemasonic ceremonial in his short stories as the narrative mode for armed combat, for governance, and for therapy to shell-shocked soldiers in World War I. See 'The Man Who Would Be King' in *The Phantom Rickshaw* (1890) and the stories in *Debits and Credits* (1926).

⁶ The Pan cult includes a certain amount of homo-eroticism, according to Pemble (1987), a topic which has its own period inflections owing to the social and educational structures of the upper middle classes.

⁷ Typescript pamphlet issued by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 'FCO buildings: a Chronology and Bibliography', Library Note 2 (77).

⁸ The Anglo-Indian durbars of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are in themselves a rich vein of material regarding state, imperial, and national pageantry and ceremonial. Lascelles was invited to produce a pageant at Calcutta to coincide with the Delhi coronation durbar of 1912, and numerous poems and novels were written in response to Curzon's durbar of 1902 and the 1912 event. The material must remain the substance of a separate project. David Cannadine's essay 'Lord Curzon as Ceremonial Impresario' (Cannadine, 1994:77-108) as well as his recent *Ornamentalism* (2002) provide an excellent platform for further work in this field.

⁹ Leighton (undated, circa 1983: 6).

¹⁰ J.M. Leighton (undated, circa 1983) and Roy MacNab (1983) both published on the construction and ornamentation of South Africa House, marking the fiftieth anniversary of the building.

¹¹ Buckley and Boughton, 1911.

¹² The statue of Cecil Rhodes by Herry Pegram, with Rhodes pointing north towards his Rhodesia ('Your hinterland lies there'), was unveiled in the Company's Gardens, Cape Town, on 28 June 1910 as part of the Union festivities.



'Souvenir of the Pageant', South African Union Pageant, Cape Town, 1910. Note Kipling's 'swastika' on the muse's shield, and the 'Elizabethan' characters.



'Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants', Quebec Tercentenary Pageant, 1908.

Chapter Eight: The Cape Town and Quebec Pageants

Deux lettres de M. L.O. Armstrong, agent de colonisation du Pacifique Canadien, sont lues, dans lesquelles ce monsieur offre de fournir pour le temps des fêtes, pour figurer dans les pageants et dans le défile historique, un contingent de 100 sauvages Algonquins munis de tous leurs costumes de guerre, armes, tepees ou tentes, canots, etc

*-Troisième Centenaire de la Fondation de
Québec: Travaux Préliminaires*

Pageantry for Art's sake, and for History's sake, and for the sake of Patriotism, national and international, ... pageantry for the sake of human understanding and universal brotherhood.

Viscount Darnley (1932:48)

The 'New Pageantry'

Louis-Napoleon Parker, the French-born son of an expatriate American couple, 'invented' the new pageantry in England in 1905. Within three years this genre had become an established medium for the celebrating of national and imperial history, and for the affirming of communal identity, in both the United States and the British Empire: 'In England our Pageants revived popular interest in local history, in folk-lore, folk-song, and folk-dances. Pageants have swept the United States from end to end; from Boston to California, from Quebec to New Orleans' (Parker, 1928:302). Parker became an immediate celebrity, with numerous emulators. In the United States his idea was rapidly institutionalized into the American Pageantry Association. In Britain Frank Lascelles, the Oxford-educated Lord of the Manor of Sibford Gower, an amateur thespian, sculptor and poet, was appointed imperial Pageant Master, enjoying the patronage of royalty and of dominion statesmen.

The chapter focusses on two particular imperial performances, the 1908 Quebec Tercentenary Festival and Pageant, and the Cape Town 1910 Pageant of the Union of South

Africa. Both were produced by Frank Lascelles, and they shared many points in common. Sir J.H. de Villiers, Speaker of the old Cape House of Assembly and convenor of the National Convention (for the planning of Union) attended the Quebec pageant as representative of South Africa, and it was on his recommendation that the idea of a pageant was adopted for the celebration of South African Union in 1910, and that Lascelles should again be appointed as the Pageant Master.¹ The recurring theme in Quebec of co-operation between French- and English-speaking Canadians was an obvious parallel with the perceived political need, in the aftermath of the South African War, for reconciliation between the English and the Dutch.

In October and November 1908 Viscount Milner toured Canada, giving a series of speeches at Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal, on the general subject of 'imperial unity'. He addressed the Canadian Club, the Board of Trade, and the Women's Canadian Club, on topics such as 'Preferential Trade', 'Imperialism and Social Reform', the advantages of unity and the conditions for 'closer union', as well as developments in South Africa. The fascinating feature of this campaign is the way in which a discourse of 'imperial union' is so closely modelled on the South African experience, where a 'Closer Union' movement, encouraged by Milner himself and the members of his 'kindergarten', became the model for wider strategies. However, despite the essence of the wider campaign, which was to lay the foundations for the idea of the British Commonwealth of Nations, it is evident from the material which relates to the Quebec Tercentenary Festival that 'closer union' between English and French Canadians remained a problem. It is possible that the appointment in 1935 of John Buchan as Governor General of Canada was also intended to apply his South African experience to this other bilingual and fissiparous dominion.

The new pageantry, and the civic, national, and imperial reticulations by which the genre was performed and propagated, the peripheral events that accompanied the more important performances (receptions, exhibitions, reconstructions of sites of historical, national or touristic interest, publication of ephemera, and so forth), afford a composite and three-dimensional model of period national and colonial (or imperial) identity and values, in which the question of unity or 'brotherhood' is dominant. The semantics of 'pageantry' yields a suggestive set of metaphors which happily reinforce the idea of the new pageantry as an enactment of imperial or colonial ideology: 'pageant' is derived from the Latin *pagina* or page, and from *pagus*, meaning a field. These have a common root in *pangere*, to record, plant,

settle, and pledge. Thus we find a paradigm of chronicling, occupying and settling the land, and covenanting: activities that are part of the general colonial enterprise. The scripts of the Cape Town and the Quebec pageants (published as the 'Book of Words', or the 'Book of the Pageant') were compiled by local and national historians and antiquarians, and prefaced with dedicatory remarks from viceroys and premiers. The most significant historical episodes in the pageants are those dealing with landfall and settlement; as well as moments of dedication, covenant between settlers and God, or the signing of treaties between them and the 'natives'.

As the epigraph at the beginning indicates, immense claims were made, at the time, for the social value of the new pageantry. Again, here is a statement describing the 1910 Union of South Africa Pageant:

Hottentots, Basutos, Zulus, Portuguese, Dutch and British all joined in. Now, no religion could have forged this unity, no patriotic appeal - nothing but a great drama in which races could act their own share in the epic story of a modern world's making. (Darnley, 1932:40-41)

History and Art, patriotism, universal understanding and brotherhood, unity, the making of the modern world: these generous ideas are embodied in an epic and dramatic narrative; and this neo-Hegelian concept of progression towards a social ideal of universal wisdom is further inflected with social-Darwinist concepts of racial gradation.

In his first performance, which he termed the 'mother of all pageants' (produced in 1905 for the 800th anniversary of the founding of the town of Sherbourne in England) Louis-Napoleon Parker included a procession of Freemasons singing Masonic hymns, and again there was a considerable Freemasonic aspect to the South African Pageant of Union: late Victorian and Edwardian social tropologies of 'human understanding' and 'universal brotherhood', of national and racial origins and heritage, of heliocentric enlightenment and renewal such as were enacted in contemporary creed-systems like Freemasonry, are a ready stock of universalist concepts and images from which to construct the iconography of imperialism, whether it be in South Africa, Quebec or Newfoundland, Egypt or Australia.

While the imperial pageants enjoyed this iconic and allegorical dimension, they were, however, not as programmatically allegorical by nature as were the instances of the new

pageantry that were produced in the United States - such as 'The Pageant of Darkness and Light' (Boston, 1911), 'A Pageant of Patriotism' (Taunton, Mass., 1911), 'Pageant of American Childhood' (Worcester, Mass., 1913) and 'The Romance of Work' (Philadelphia, 1915). The British and imperial pageants (including those of Quebec and Cape Town) tended to focus more on historical re-enactment, on the presentation of canonical histories which emphasised founding episodes, while 'the American type made free use of allegorical interludes' (Beegle and Randall, 1916:19). Another early commentator claimed that American pageants 'lean more towards advancing community ideals than in England and especially in featuring symbolism and prophecy' (Davol, 1914:28). Despite this distinction in style and content, the pageants in both the United States and the dominions of the empire nonetheless were equally reflections of colonial or settler identity, and of spiritual-evolutionary discourses such as were popularly propagated at the turn of the century in the contemporary international climate of neo-Hegelian idealism. Fairbridge's literary adaptation of the genre, certainly, is packed with allegory, symbolism and 'prophecy'. Both the Cape Town pageant and the Quebec pageant laid emphasis on motifs of Christian enlightenment, civilization, the 'taming' of 'barbarous' lands and peoples.

Landfall and First Encounters

At several moments in the Quebec pageant opportunities arise for scenes such as the following:

... the sailors have set up a great cross of wood. Upon its arms is a shield charged with the lilies of France and an inscription, '*Franciscus Primus Dei gratia Francorum rex regnat*'. The booming of the cannon having died away, the Frenchmen kneel before the cross, pointing to heaven, and striving to indicate that upon this sign depends their redemption.

'At all of which', says Cartier, 'the savages marvelled, turning one to another, and gazing upon the cross'. Then, treating it with reverent awe, they place baskets of corn before it, adorned with flowers, and burn tobacco before it, as incense.

Meanwhile, from the wigwams beyond appears a woeful throng, the sick, the maimed, and the decrepit, brought or led forth and placed before the perplexed commander - 'as if', he says, 'God had come down to cure them'. He reads to his petitioners a portion of the gospel of St John: '*IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM, ET VERBUM ERAT APUD DEUM, ET DEUS ERAT VERBUM*'. Then he makes the sign of the cross over them, and, though comprehending not a word, his audience listen with grave attention. (Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants, Quebec, 1908:20)

A similar incident is enacted at a later stage, in the Sixth Pageant, where 'Daumont de Saint-Lusson takes possession of the country of the west in the name of the King of France':

A large cross of wood has been prepared. Dablon [a Jesuit priest] with solemn ceremony pronounces his blessing upon it and the cross is raised aloft for veneration. It is planted in the ground, and the notes of the *Vexilla Regis* float out upon the air as the Frenchmen, with heads uncovered, unite in reverent song. Beside the cross is planted a post of cedar with a metal plate charged with the royal arms. One of the Jesuits in these far shores of inland seas, offers the prayer for the King's sacred majesty. With drawn sword in one hand, Saint-Lusson raises with the other a clod of earth, as he takes possession of the boundless west in the name of the King. (ibid:42)

Authority is multiplied in these scenes, in terms of the king, of God, the word of God, the sword and the cannon, escutcheons and Latin inscriptions, gestures and choral songs, the relative situations and conditions of the characters; and the evident reason for these displays of authority is confrontation with the other, and assertion of rights of possession of the land. The medievalist heraldry and chivalry serve to render these moments of plunder into something purely aesthetic, a drama in the period mode of late pre-Raphaelitism. This aesthetic gesture thus overlays the naked authority with an added kind of authority, that which is entailed by the mystique of the culturally symbolic.

The opening words of the Gospel of St John are emblematic of a particular feature of the new pageantry, its concern with origins. 'In the Beginning was the Word' becomes an ambiguous claim, applying equally to the interpretation of Jacques Cartier as 'discoverer' of Canada and bearer of (sacred and literate) civilization, as to St John's apperception of the nature of God. This synthesis of elements is the nature of the symbolic, just as the description of the tobacco as 'incense' at once illustrates the 'ignorance' of the 'savages' and makes them out to be natural postulants. The symbolic thus collapses distinctions without eliminating them, and every event or historical episode may be read as originary, a paradoxical combination of periodicity and timelessness.

To revert, if one may, to Freemasonic symbolism, the motto of the order of Freemasonry known as Royal Arch Masonry contains, as mentioned in chapter three above, a suggestive pun. The opening of St John's gospel is rephrased as 'In the Arch was the Word', where the Greek *arche*, meaning both beginning and authority, is combined with the Latin *arca*, coffer, vault, or arch - a reminder of some of the symbolic associations of the idea of origins. An arch is also a gateway, which was a term applied to both Cape Town and Quebec: 'Gateway to Africa' and 'Gateway to the West', 'thresholds', in both instances, of 'civilization'. At the South African Union celebrations Adderley Street, the principal ceremonial route through Cape Town, was crossed by four triumphal arches, each emblematic of one of the four new provinces of the Union.² A related trope associated with the idea of origins was of birth, dawning, or awakening into consciousness. Sir J.H. de Villiers, the South African who attended the Quebec pageant, commending this as a model for the celebration of Union, approved of Cape Town as the venue in that it was 'the cradle from which the South African nation of the future was to arise'. Similarly the term *berceau*, or 'cradle', was repeatedly applied to Quebec as the origin of *la Nouvelle-France*, and hence of modern Canada.

The emphasis, in the genre of new pageantry as a whole, on the Middle Ages and on the early European Renaissance, is of course predictable in the sense that pageants and masques evolved in the European courts and towns of this epoch; it is also visually decorative as well as historically apt for scenes relating to the voyages of discovery; but more than this we note as discussed in the preceding chapter, in the period spanned by the genre (roughly 1905 to 1935), a recurrent emphasis on the spirit of the Elizabethan adventurers, on the period of England's first real national self-awareness during the later sixteenth century.

Thus Raleigh, Drake (and earlier the Cabots), Sir Humphrey Gilbert and the settling of Newfoundland (not to mention the continental equivalents of Columbus, Cartier and Champlain)³, are recurring topics in numerous pageants of the time, accompanied by spectacles of 'Merrie England', and 'The Spacious Days of Good Queen Bess'. This emphasis once again lays a broader symbolic tissue or filter across all subsequent historical moments and events, hinting that any local 'dawning of consciousness' can best make sense when coloured by the 'greater dawn' of the Renaissance. A contributor to *Our Modern Orpheus*, the *festschrift* for Frank Lascelles, makes this claim very clearly:

True pageantry is the modern counterpart of the spirit which inspired the Elizabethan renaissance, the period when Britain's greatness was founded, when her Imperial impetus was established.

In that age, pageantry, from becoming a function of the trade guilds, virtually assumed control of the British nation. The Elizabethan was an era in which the whole nation expressed its life in a pageant of expansion. Nothing was too great for the dreamers of that age and nothing too difficult for them to accomplish. Thus it came to be evident that the highest and truest function of pageantry is to inspire the race to greater achievement. This constitutes its importance as a modern imperial influence. (Darnley, 1932:124)

In this way the very genre itself in its courtly and Renaissance origins makes a claim to a kind of historiography. Theatre (definitively for the Edwardians the Elizabethan stage, with the Shakespeare Tercentenary in 1916) is 'historical'; history is a stage. Precise causation makes way for a symbolic and synthetic understanding of national history. The Pageant Master Frank Lascelles has this to say about the Quebec pageant as art:

An appreciation of its History and of the deeds of its heroes ranks among the great factors in the development of a nation.

Hence it will be readily granted that any influence which tends to the increase of this appreciation is not lightly to be set aside.

Although, with the perspective lent by time, the present should realise fully the structure of its heritage, yet it is given to few to have their imagination so stirred through the medium of the printed page, as to cause them to appreciate the significance of the record.

But Art ever waiting to inspire, proves to us, as a handmaid to the Sciences, the truth of the Roman poet's words, that 'Things seen are mightier than things heard'. (Lascelles, quoted in the *Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants*, Quebec, 1908:19)

Lascelles adds the following note:

In the few places where it has been found necessary to combine in one scene incidents which may have taken place on different occasions, I cannot do better than repeat as an apologia the words used in the prefatory note to the *Book of Words of the Oxford Historical Pageant*: 'It is perhaps advisable to point out that a modern Pageant, like an historical play of Shakespeare, is often compelled by reason of space, time, and suitability for representation, to foreshorten history. The critic must not murmur if persons and events are found in a juxtaposition for which there is no absolute warrant in the chronicles, or if fancy sometimes bodies forth possibilities which may never have been realities'. (ibid.)

Subjunctive Performance

'Bodily forth' of 'possibilities which may never have been realities' is a comment that can be applied not only to the superficial expediencies of theatrical production, but also to more radical questions of identity and politics. Theatre is an illusion, and public identity as something rehearsed and performed is theatrical; further, such identity is subject to the vicissitudes of events and it is therefore doubly an illusion where politics flies in the face of a contrary popular opinion. Even more, where this kind of political illusion is encouraged by a given public and international atmosphere of ameliorative idealism, as was the case in the first

decade of the century, the illusory is sanctioned by a powerful moral and symbolic discourse of 'wisdom', 'beauty', and 'understanding'. A tribute to the Pageant Master Frank Lascelles depends on this kind of discourse when it calls him, without irony, 'King of Shadows; supreme necromancer; spiritual alchemist' (Darnley, 1932:173), gesturing at the Elizabethan archetype of Prospero the Magus, so admired in the early decades of the century.

A concept derived from Raymond Williams's discussion of the theatre of Bertold Brecht, that is, the idea of 'subjunctive performance', is well adapted to commentary on this illusory ameliorative idealism of the period.⁴ In grammatical terms the subjunctive mode refers to actions that are not strictly factual (that is, 'indicative'), but rather to do with wishing, hoping, praying, promising and the setting of conditions (that is, 'illocutionary' speech acts which are described in speech act theory as 'performative'). These conditional, optative, jussive, and hortatory modes of action are precisely the mode of the performance of the new pageantry, where the cast rehearses idealised identities, events, and situations, offering up to the approving audience not so much an accurate reconstruction of the past, as a set of proleptic gestures of dutiful citizenship for the present and future. In this process the cast 'bodies forth possibilities which may never have been realities'. (Lascelles in *Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageant*, Quebec, 1908:19)

The subjunctive mode is, of course, not merely applicable to the technicalities of the drama, but in this case it applies indeed to the performative construction of public identity. The recurring emphasis, in the Quebec and the Cape Town pageants, on scenes of public espousal of causes, of dedication, avowal, covenanting and solemn treating, recalls one of the root meanings of pageantry as 'pledging'. Here, in a late-medieval sequence from the South African Union Pageant, Vasco da Gama prepares himself spiritually for the voyage of discovery in 1497 that would take him round the Cape:

On the right is the facade of the Chapel of the Eremita, wherein Vasco da Gama, his captains and his company, who had spent the night in vigil prayer and confession, are receiving absolution and the special indulgences granted by His Holiness the Pope if they shall succumb to the perilous dangers of their voyage to the East Indies or cruel martyrdom by savage hands or sad losses

from troublesome fevers or disease.⁵ (Souvenir and Programme of the Pageant of South Africa, 1910:10)

Later in the same pageant occurs a scene where English-speaking citizens of Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape present a Bible to Jacobus and Piet Uys preparatory to the departure of a party of *Voortrekkers* for the interior in 1835; and a scene referring to the massacre in 1838 by the Zulu chief Dingaan of Retief and his comrades, followed by the Boers' revenge at the Battle of Blood River - two incidents in colonial South African history that over time gained considerable symbolic meaning for Afrikaner nationalism in particular. Both involve the forging of sacred pledges, the second being marked in the Afrikaner calendar by the 'Day of the Vow' or 'Day of the Covenant' on 16 December, the date of the battle.⁶

Perhaps the most important performative gesture in both the Quebec and Cape Town pageants was the avowal of friendly co-operation between the two 'races' as they then were termed, of *Quebecois* French and English-speaking Canadians, and of Dutch and English-speaking South Africans. No serious consideration was given to indigenous peoples as full citizens of either of these dominions; and this fact, besides the short-lived and indeed largely illusory amity between English-, French- and Dutch-speaking settlers, emphasises the illusory nature of the sense of public identity forged by the performances. The Quebec pageant concluded with an extravagantly idealised representation of the capture of the city by Wolfe in 1759 (both commanders and their armies drawn up side-by-side in a mutual advance into the future by these two 'vigorous races'), while the Cape Town pageant omitted the recent and bitter history of the Transvaal War of 1880-81 and the South African War of 1899-1902. In a statement on the South African Union pageant, the organisers make the point clearly:

Suffice it to say that the Pageant is a national one, and deals with the History of each of the Colonies forming part of the Union. For various reasons which will be easily understood the last sixty years have not been included in the period dealt with, more especially as the intention of the Pageant is to cement together, to obliterate points of difference, and to make all our fellow-countrymen feel that, whether they come from the Transvaal, from the Orange Free State, from Natal, or from the Cape Colony, their ancestors have all had a hand in the

making of this country's history, and that the work of these makers of history should be respected and honoured by all, as without it the probability of Union would have been small indeed. (Souvenir and Programme of the Pageant of South Africa, 1910:10)

This adaptation of history for political reasons is enabled by the idealising neo-Hegelian public rhetoric of the time, as well as by the conventions and expediciencies of the genre itself. The key to the success of the new pageantry within its period context, as a form of social comment and encouragement, is obedience, discipline, a willing suspension of disbelief or a willing co-operation with the rules both of the genre and of public ethics as they were then explicitly or tacitly stated and accepted. It seems reasonable to argue that this condition was obtainable largely owing to the hierarchical structure and pretensions of metropolitan and colonial society at the time. The very vocal insistence by producers such as Louis Napoleon Parker that the genre served to bridge social distinctions ('the executants must include every class of the community, both male and female A Pageant is absolutely democratic. That is one of its many merits') only points towards the fact of such distinctions, which are supposedly a natural function of the pervasive idealising rhetoric which typifies the public sphere in that epoch. (Parker, 1928:283-4)⁷

History as Genre

According to this argument, then, history is a pageant, and history must therefore obey the rules of the genre. Historical rightness or perhaps inevitability, or destiny, is thus a function of generic conventions, and of the inculcated politeness that would make good citizens observe these conventions. During the period of the new pageantry, as we have seen, the concept of pageantry became a popular metaphor in the titles of books of natural and social history, often virtually interchangeable with such terms as heritage and romance. By these means colonial history is written up and disseminated on a large scale for emerging mass cultures as an appealing and generically distinct ideological narrative. The readily identifiable

terms or conventions of the generic forms help to make sense of history as a kind of narrative sequence, the logic of which can - at a popular level - give meaning to the present.

The difficulty in Quebec, of course, was that the Englishman Lascelles needed to produce a pageant with imperial patronage for a celebration by a predominantly French-speaking and fiercely nationalist community. The original impulse to celebrate the tercentenary of Quebec had been entirely *Quebecois*, with emphasis on Cartier, Champlain, the Ursuline and Jesuit missionaries, Frontenac, and other French pioneers, and it seems that this initiative had been taken over by a greater Canadian and British imperial connection to the chagrin of many locals. The imperial connection chose to emphasise the battles in which Britain wrested control of Quebec from the French Canadians. The founding by the Governor-General of Canada, Earl Grey, of the Quebec National Battlefields Commission, was an act of public generosity aimed at the establishing of a public park on the Plains of Abraham, but at the same time this location was the site of Wolfe's victory over Montcalm and hence a public reminder of defeat and humiliation. The Quebec historian (and mayor at the time) Sir George Garneau writes that 'the task [facing Frank Lascelles] bristled with difficulties: racial and religious susceptibilities had to be smoothed over and enthusiasm had to be evolved from a maze of public sentiment which was, to say the least, lukewarm towards what seemed to be an unattainable object: the blending together of historic scenes culled from the French and British regimes in Canada' (Darnley, 1932:13). Reports indicate that the grandstand built on the Plains of Abraham had to be guarded against arsonists; and an album was published in French, of satirical cartoons directed against the Prince of Wales (later King George V) who attended as the patron of the festivities.

Curiously, if the grand narrative of British imperialism was to dominate the moment, the pageant was in actual fact presented entirely in French. There was no question in Canada of the kind of policy which sought to repress Dutch in favour of English in Milnerite South Africa. Furthermore, the majority of the scenes in the pageant were devoted exclusively to French-Canadian history with its strongly Catholic set of values. A great deal of substantial ephemera was published, also in French, to commemorate the proceedings. Yet, finally, British imperial authority set about co-opting and recording the events in a way that would subsume this vernacular *fête* into a showcase of exemplary imperial unity and power. The extraordinary measures taken by the *Quebecois* themselves to record the planning of the

tercentenary seem calculated to put on record every particular of their own original and continuing involvement in order that the imperial panoply should be offset by evidence of local patriotism. The planning committee and the authorities of the city of Quebec published two huge documents in French, running to 260 pages and 600 pages, in which every stage of planning and execution was recorded, including detailed minutes and verbatim speeches, from the first airing of the idea of a tercentenary *fête* by the Quebec *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, through to public meetings, election of committees, the design and construction of a life-size replica of Champlain's vessel the *Don de Dieu*, the arranging of Brock fireworks from England, and the engaging of Frank Lascelles to produce the historical pageant. The larger of these two documents concluded with a hundred pages of genealogy of the Quebec Province descendants of early French-Canadian settlers.

Countering these *Albums Souvenirs* were English loyalist publications such as *The King's Book of Quebec*, which sought to assert the protocols and perspectives of international imperialism. Earl Grey, the Governor-General, wrote the following:

It is generally admitted that the effect of the Tercentenary has been to draw Canadians of French and British descent closer to each other and to the Crown; to reveal to Canada, through the Review on the Plains of Abraham the strength of her manhood, and through the Pageants the culture of her people and the virtue and valour of their ancestors; to strengthen the 'Entente Cordiale' so happily existing between the Empire and the great and friendly powers of France and the United States; to unite on Canadian soil the peoples of the mother country and of the self-governing Dominions in a celebration of common interest to all alike; to bring the growing power of the new Dominion of Canada, and the proud record and modern attractions of the Ancient city of Quebec more prominently before the attention of the world; and, lastly, to nationalize, or rather to imperialize, the sacred ground on which the foundation stone of the Empire of Great Britain was well and truly laid. (Darnley, 1932:14)

The imperial connection was established by a squadron of British warships that brought the Prince of Wales across the Atlantic and up the St Lawrence river to Cap Diamant,

along with warships from France and the United States; and by the presence of prime ministers or their representatives from the major dominions (South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand), as well as Vice President Fairbanks of the United States. Louis Botha (in 1908 senior of the four prime ministers of the self-governing colonies of British South Africa) sent Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, saying of him, 'a man of whom every true South African is proud. He does not represent any political party, and, what we considered especially appropriate, he is of French descent'. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister of Canada, commended the South African example of 'two nations working together for the common weal, in building up a great free country under the British flag, in peace, liberty and good will'. Laurier added:

It is remembered that [General Louis Botha] was from the Dutch point of view the hero of the war, as we have here with us tonight General Lord Roberts, who was the real hero of the war from the British standpoint. Only five years after the war, that gentleman has become a most loyal British subject. (*Les Fêtes du Troisième Centenaire de Quebec*, 1911: 255)

Imperial loyalty and friendship were thus made out to be the dominant themes, with a secondary but persistent emphasis on local patriotism, heroism, faith and courage. Pope Pius X sent a message of support to Quebec, and a large-scale open-air pontifical mass was celebrated at the pageant grounds. The emphasis in the Quebec pageant on Catholic history, on Jesuit missionaries and the authority of Church emissaries, distinguished it from the Cape Town pageant and indicated Lascelles' attentiveness to local sentiment.⁸

Public enthusiasm and support were needed for the success of the programmes in both Quebec and Cape Town. History as reconciliation and progress had to be more than an idea - it had to be borne out by the proceedings, enacted in the pageants, and *embodied* in the form of supportive audiences. In South Africa ex-president Reitz of the erstwhile Orange Free State Republic was sent on a promotional tour around the four self-governing colonies to muster support from the Afrikaner or Boer populations for what would otherwise be largely a loyal-unionist or pro-imperial celebration. In Quebec, as mentioned, the initiative for the tercentenary had come from a *Quebecois* association, the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*. Each of

these pageants was prepared by a veritable army of volunteers organized into various committees under the supervision of Frank Lascelles and the festival planners. The Canadian federal government passed legislation providing for three commissioners to take ultimate control of the entire *fête*, the governor-general of Canada, the governor of Quebec Province, and the mayor of Quebec City. Each festival had its royal patron, the Prince of Wales (subsequently George V) in Canada, and his uncle the Earl of Connaught and Strathearn (then worldwide Grand Master of English Freemasonry) in South Africa. The structure of royal and viceregal patrons, and of elaborate and capacious committees, including in Quebec the *sous-comité d'histoire et d'archéologie*, and in Cape Town a huge ladies' committee which included Dorothea Fairbridge, Olive Cronwright-Schreiner, and the wives of all local notables, seems, at one and the same time, to have been of practical purpose, and to have made an essential gesture at inclusiveness even while it mirrored the elite hierarchies of these colonial societies and of imperial authority.

Ethnic Typology

History as a pageant is a kind of sanctioned, authorized fiction. The typologies with which period personalities and events, and national and ethnic differences, are dealt with are such as to simplify for easy consumption and for iteration, to reinforce received opinions, to support political purposes, and to make credible a sense of national logic or destiny in a particular sequence of events. Just as G.W.F. Hegel saw history as the heliocentric 'dawning' and meridian of human consciousness on a global scale, so the historical pageants trace a kind of passage from the 'birth' of a nation to its 'consummation' (as was the term chosen to describe the moment of Union in South Africa). Further, where the pageants deal with colonial settlement as in South Africa and Canada, 'dawning' is also an 'awakening' from 'primitive darkness', the crossing of a threshold of consciousness, the avowed entry into a modernizing world-narrative of peace, progress and prosperity.

The typologies that were used to dramatize this powerful symbolism reflect a fundamentally racist ethnography. In both pageants the indigenous peoples are represented as of timeless tribal types: 'Bushmen', 'Hottentots', Zulus, Iroquois, and Huron. These are distinguished by stereotypical characteristics - the 'Bushmen' are childlike, the 'Hottentots'

cunning, the Zulus warlike, the Iroquois bloodthirsty and the Huron loyal. All are frozen in an ethnographic time-capsule, whereby (apart from exemplary individual cases of Christian conversion and change in lifestyle) they serve as a constant symbol of avowed racial, cultural and cognitive difference. They are a showcase to illustrate picturesque regionalism or to offset by pointed contrasts the 'civilization' of the colonisers. A comment on the back of a postcard from the Quebec festival entitled 'At Home with the Caughnewanga Iroquois, who played their ancestors' parts in the pageants' reveals distinctly the racism of the period:

It is remarkable that, in spite of the centuries which in passing have done their best to civilize the Indian tribes of Canada, these people retain so fully the characteristics and habits of their ancestors. Ordinarily dressed as our white men, and living on farms, in ordinary houses, they fall with the utmost readiness into the spirit as into the garb of the aboriginal Indians. Their acting of savage progenitors is intensely real, and reveals depths of originality seldom seen among our white Thespians. It is the influence of their traditions, and shows that the later influence of our civilization is superficial. Their home is the wigwam, their dress the deerskin.⁹

In both the Quebec and Cape Town pageants we find ethnic dances juxtaposed with courtly scenes - from Fontainebleau and the court of Henry of Navarre, and from the court of King John II of Portugal. The Quebec pageant presents friendly 'Indians' performing a 'calumet dance':

The calumet has the same influence among savages that a flag of truce has among civilized nations. The ceremony of smoking is practised with much solemnity previous to the discussion or execution of any transaction of importance. A ceremony of religion Without the intervention of the dance, no public or private transactions of moment can take effect. It seems to operate as a charm, in rousing the natives from their habitual indolence and torpidity, and in inspiring them with activity and animation. Their youths are

more passionately fond of these than Europeans are of theatrical exhibitions.
(Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants, Quebec, 1908:27)

The 'Bushman' 'Baboon Dance' (a sequence contributed to the Cape Town pageant organisers by the Canadian-born doyen of South African historians George McCall Theal) is described with less symbolism, but an *art nouveau* spectacle in the finale of this pageant elaborately allegorizes the intended contrasts:

The scene shall represent a vast, silent veldt, with the eternal sea on one side and immutable mountains on the other. First there shall be a silence, and then a low, sad, tremulous music, rising and rising, plaintive and restless: rising and rising, strange and dishevelled: rising and rising, agonised and tortured. Suddenly on all sides are present a host of dark forms with veiled faces fleeing hither and thither in disordered motion, and uttering half-articulate cries of woe. These are the hordes of ignorance, cruelty, savagery, unbelief, war, pestilence, famine and their ilk, the pitiless progenitors of all the misery of man, the inwohners of black night.

In an instant the music changes and silver-clad children appear with branches of the silver tree in their hands. As they enter, the air is filled with a flight of doves, the soft grey doves of peace. The forms of darkness are driven back and put to rout. (Souvenir and Programme of the Pageant of South Africa, 1910: 93)

The emphasis in the description of the 'calumet dance' on 'truce', solemnity, transactions and religious ceremony is intriguing in that it presents, in a mimic counterpoint, the main themes of the genre. Where there is no truce, no transaction, no universalized enactment of amicable, reasonable and ameliorative modernity, then the moment is interpreted in other ways so as to render it part of the logic of history as in this allegorical sketch. The fourth episode in the Quebec pageant represents a fight to the death between Frenchmen and Iroquois at Long-Sault on the Ottawa River in 1660, 'the most glorious feat of arms of the heroic times of New France, ... accomplished by Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux, in the very year

in which the Iroquois had resolved to exterminate the colony'. Seventeen Frenchmen withstood 'eight thousand chosen warriors' until they were overwhelmed:

Frightened by so murderous a defence [continues the script] the Iroquois abandoned their assault on Quebec, Three-Rivers and Montreal, and the defenders' heroism saved the colony. Without their devotion and voluntary martyrdom all Canada would have relapsed into the darkness of paganism and barbarity, and Christian civilization would have had to make a fresh beginning in the country. (Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants, Quebec, 1908:32)

Alternatively, in the spirit of reconciliation, a long and complicated sequence is enacted in the Cape Town pageant, representing the historical episode where, in 1854, President Hoffmann of the newly constituted Orange Free State Republic visits Moshesh, chief of the Basutos, in order to present the latter with a plough 'in token of peace and amity'. He also presents him with a barrel of gunpowder, but the pageant script omits to mention that this gesture would lead to protests from the burgers of the Free State and to Hoffmann's resignation. In any event, the script is crammed with picturesque detail: Moshesh is conducting an *indaba* with his Chiefs and *Indunas*, ... 'a "Smelling-out" dance is performed by Witch Doctors, ... Hoffmann arrives on horseback with an escort of six armed burghers, a Kafir policeman (in uniform) and six coloured after-riders, followed by a Scotch cart drawn by four oxen with coloured driver and *voorloper*. On the cart is a plough and a keg which bears the inscription "*Bus-Kruit*" [musket powder]'.

Moshesh's 'Taster' then dips a calabash into one of the pots and tastes the beer. Then he fills another calabash and hands it to Hoffmann's interpreter who also drinks a few mouthfuls of it. Then the 'Taster' takes two other calabashes, fills them and hands, first one to Hoffmann and then the other to Moshesh who both proceed to drink the liquor. (Souvenir and Programme of the Pageant of South Africa, 1910:90-91)

There is much else besides. The purpose of this elaborate procedure it seems is to add a sense of depth and weight to the recreating of moments of negotiation, treaty, and amity. One or other of these three activities or conditions appears to enter into most of the scenes and episodes in both the Canadian and the South African pageants, though sometimes the negotiations are easy and sometimes defiant, as in the episodes where Capetonians protested the freedom of the press in 1824, and in 1849 refused to permit disembarkation from the convict ship Neptune. *Quebecois* pride, for instance, is introduced into the Canadian pageant where, in an episode from 1690, Admiral Phipps in charge of an attacking English force is rebuffed in no uncertain terms. Lascelles introduces into this scene what might only be termed (from a clichéd perspective) 'Gallic' esprit and éclat. A sample is worth quoting for the tone:

[Phipps's subaltern envoy is drawn through a noisy *Quebecois* crowd] ... laughing women cry: '*Voilà! Monsieur Colin-Maillard, qui vient nous faire visite!*' The governor [Frontenac] stands before him haughty and stern, surrounded by French and Canadian officers — Maricourt, Sainte-Hélène, Longueuil, Villebon, Varenne, Bienville, and many others bedecked with gold and silver lace, perukes and powder, plumes and ribbons, arrayed in all the martial foppery in which they take delight, and regarding the envoy with keen, defiant eyes. (Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants, Quebec, 1908:44-5)

Where incidents like this are recreated with such symbolic force, the parties involved cannot be other than stereotypes of national character rather than individual personages. The greater intent of the pageant is to propagate a sense of a grand narrative of ethnic, national, and imperial destiny, and this intent dictates the manner of representation. Identities are enforced and typified in ways that enhance a greater whole, a universalist idea of the imperial family of nations and peoples. In numerous pageants in the subsequent two or three decades, in England, in the 'sister dominions' of the British commonwealth, and in the United States, these typologies are propagated in pursuit of the same idealist and universalist concept of a world-family at the head of which presides a protestant Anglo-Saxon *pater familias*, patron, president or king.

Lascelles was accorded extravagant honours and praise as 'Orphic' pageant-master and president of the revels, presiding over this mimesis of imperial community. As if to confirm the idealized unity of the 'types' that made up the imperial family he was rewarded in Canada by the 'Head Chief', American Horse, with an honorary chieftom of the Iroquois, being ceremonially dubbed 'Tehonikonraka' ('man of resources'), and clad in wampum, eagle's feathers and buckskin. Similarly in South Africa he was made a chief of the Basuto, with the title of 'Rakalello', 'father of wonderful thoughts'. Praise to the father, but in such guise as to invert his status in the manner of carnivalesque inversions, thus distinguishing him from the immutable persons of the princes and viceroys who played their parts as official patrons at these *fêtes*.

Imperial Mise-en-Scene

The differences between these civic pageants in both the British empire and the United States, and the idea of carnival as practised in the Latin and Catholic world, would be an illuminating study. Indeed, in Cape Town, as if in a necessary response to the hegemonic pageants, the '*klopse*' carnival took on its present form during the epoch of the 'new pageantry'; and the New Orleans carnival is inspired by the influence of the descendants of expatriate Acadian French-Canadians. Within the imperial universe, however, the empire pageants came to be part of the social scene. In a leader article Thomas Cook's international magazine *The Excursionist* (September 1910) recommended the Union pageant to its readers as 'an extra item of exceptional interest to the usual programme of sightseeing'; this pageant was reported in the *Times* of London; and it preceded the huge 1911 Festival of Empire Imperial Exhibition and Pageant of London at the Crystal Palace, and the coronation durbar in Delhi, both of which were again stage-managed by Lascelles.

Both the Quebec and Cape Town pageants were accompanied by weeks of official receptions, military reviews, exhibitions, and the Freemasonic laying of foundation stones for public edifices and institutions. There were musical programmes and massive firework displays that, with 'gigantic double chromatropes', 'the aerial harlequinade', 'gas balloons with radium light and shooting fireballs', and 'the greatest firework bomb ever made', blew the festivities into the twentieth century. New national anthems were essayed in public; yards of laudatory verse were composed (including one entitled 'The Last Huron'); historic sites were reconstructed — in particular the wooden '*Abitation*' at the foot of the Heights of Abraham in

Quebec built by Champlain as his first lodgings and fortress. In Quebec, besides the pageant, there was a *défilé historique* of characters and types that wound its way through the streets of the old town, and *hommes-du-guet* and *hérauts-d'armes* patrolled through the city in seventeenth-century garb as security and information officers. Special postage stamps, coins and medals were minted, and postcards and books of photographic or historic memorabilia were sold. In Cape Town, the pageant emblem, a swastika designed by Rudyard Kipling, was sold in silver gilt as a lapel badge or brooch. The *Association des Médecins de langue française de l'Amérique du Nord* held a congress at which they celebrated the 300th anniversary of the arrival in Quebec 'of the surgeon Bonherme, companion to Champlain'. In each instance, the pageant and accompanying celebrations were regarded as a boost to the commercial and touristic promotion of the city and region.

What remains of particular interest, however, is the concept of the performance of national identity. The genre of new pageantry provides an opportunity to observe a literal understanding of this concept, and the ways in which it might contribute to present growing research fields concerning heritage, public history, and the re-invention of public identity in post-colonial transformations such as that currently experienced in South Africa. This literal understanding might well be applicable, thereafter, as a model for the analysis of more varied and transferred understandings of performance of identity, as in state ceremonial, in the uses of sport and advertising, music, broadcasting media, corporate images, the promotion of tourism, literary trends, and many other activities that affect a sense of region and nation. In South Africa there were several more instances of the new pageantry. One of them, 'The Spirit of the Mountain: An Historic Pageant of South Africa in Seven Epochs', produced in Kimberley in 1909 for the South African National Union (a loyal-Unionist lobby group), anticipated the Union Celebration performance; another in Cape Town in 1938 celebrated the centenary of the emancipation of slaves in the Cape; and in 1952 there was a national festival to mark the tricentenary of the arrival in 1652 of Jan van Riebeeck¹⁰. Kruger (1999) in her comprehensive study of South African theatre draws on the pageant genre as a root concept for the national drama. In Canada there appears to have been a long-standing tradition of community and documentary drama, '... a direct line of descent from historical dramas like Sarah Anne Curzon's *Laura Secord* (1887) and Charles Mair's *Tecumseh* (1886) to the contemporary didactic plays related to a minor tradition of civic and professional pageants, which themselves followed Louis Parker's historical pageants in the 1910s'. (Filewod, 1987:5-6)

Extending the concept of performance we can entertain the idea of an all-inclusive '*mise-en-scene*' where the stage-setting, the backdrop, and the properties add an environmental dimension to the ideological formation of good citizens; and further, since the 'new pageantry' derives its script from canonical local or national histories, it may be said to represent an idealized microcosm of the desired ideological formation of all citizens, whether they participate as 'pageanteers' or as audience, or whether they are entirely unconnected with the actual performances. In the same vein, then, the idea of stage-set and backdrop might be extended to the civic role of national monuments and public spaces such as Baker's Union Buildings and Rhodes Memorial, the Company's Garden in Cape Town, and - in the 1930s - the Voortrekker Monument. It is no accident that the historic moments commemorated by the pageants also gave rise to environmental, monumental and conservationist initiatives that were deliberately linked to questions of national identity, both in South Africa and in Canada. Most notable of these was the formation in Cape Town in 1905 of the South African National Society, which is referred to in chapter three above. The National Society mounted an exhibition of antiquities for the Union Pageant (which included a substantial display of Freemasonic items) and, at the time of Union, were lobbying for the foundation of a national botanical garden, for the preservation of 'Bushman' rock art, and for the acquisition of the Castle of Good Hope as a historical site. In Canada the Plains of Abraham (the scene of Wolf's defeat of Montcalm) where the 1908 pageant was performed were at the festival declared a public park by the National Battlefields Commission.¹¹

The derivation of 'pageantry' from *pagus* or field, and *pangere*, to cultivate, establish, and pledge, helps to emphasise this extended understanding of the genre - battlefields, mission fields, fields of endeavour, fields of discourse on which the nation solemnly re-enacts chosen moments in order selectively to lift these from the realm of historical accident and locate them within a desired narrative of historical destiny. These performances and such related activities constitute an invention of heritage for the community - where heritage may be understood as a visible or material sense of avowed historical affiliation. The public sphere in which Dorothea Fairbridge lived and worked was governed by an ethos of complex and strict protocols in all aspects of life. Just as the legal codes of patrilinear inheritance were translated or sublimated into religious and cultural terms, so too the conventions of the period genre of new pageantry may be traced, in extended application, to other kinds of national heritage-formation.

¹ 'Lord de Villiers ... like Laurier of Canada, loyal both to his British allegiance and to the proud traditions of his race', says Herbert Baker (1944:44), emphasising De Villiers' French Huguenot family origins.

² At a Freemasonic reception for the Earl of Connaught during the SA Union celebrations, the hope was expressed to him that 'the important mission with which you have been entrusted by His Most Gracious Majesty the King will serve as a Keystone to complete the Arch of South African Unity and Brotherhood'. 'Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, 1910', Manuscripts Collection (MS B103), South African Library, Cape Town.

³ The symphonic ode *Christophe Colombe* by Félicien David was performed during the celebrations.

⁴ Williams first used this grammatical category as a means of explaining Bertolt Brecht's modes of theatrical performance, which deviate from conventional naturalism. (Williams, 1979:218-9).

⁵ The Pageant of SA Union emphasised the historical episodes of Portuguese navigation, which complemented the medievalist atmosphere of the genre. The curator of the SA Museum wrote to colleagues in Lisbon for the loan of period armour; but it was ironic that in 1910 Portugal was in the throes of a violent modernizing revolution against the medieval authority of monarchy and church.

⁶ These two incidents are recorded in Afrikaner history by marble relief sculptures in the Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria. The marble frieze that runs round the interior of this monument is in fact a historical pageant in tableau form.

⁷ Freemasonry itself is founded in egalitarian enlightenment thinking, and yet Masonic ritual entails a complex system of promotion or gradation, and concealment rather than transparency, and certainly the Masonic 'English Constitution' at the time was governed by a formidable hierarchy of royalty and imperial viceroys.

⁸ Besides the full Canadian Catholic hierarchy, the Duke of Norfolk, senior Catholic Layman in England, was in attendance.

Church in England, was in attendance.

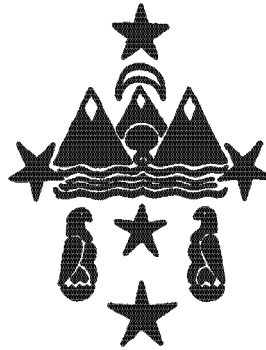
⁹ Pageant Ephemera Collection, National Archives of Quebec.

¹⁰ This has recently been extensively researched by Denis-Constant Martin (1999).

¹¹ For a study of the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival see Rassool and Witz (1993).

¹² Co-incidentally both Cape Town and Quebec have castles or fortresses of Vauban's classic five-bastion design, which are used for historical and military pageantry and have served as icons of national identity and prestige.

University of Cape Town



**SYMBOLS OF RHODES' WAY FROM CAPE
TO CAIRO**

The Southern Cross

Pilots stare to the Navigators of the Cape of Storms

The Stone Birds of Zimbabwe

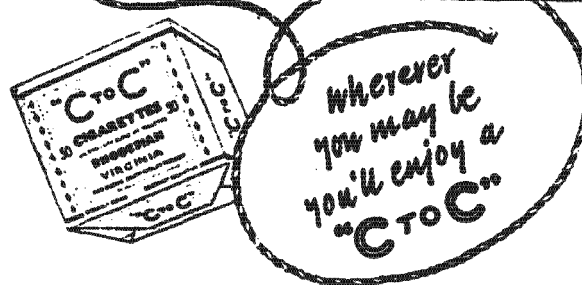
Gleams in Darkest Africa of Northern Lights

The Mountains of the Moon

and the

Source of the Nile

Sir Herbert Baker's 'Cape-to-Cairo' glyph. (Baker, 1934)



A 1930s advertisement for 'C-to-C' cigarettes.

A cosmopolitan Cape Town couple inspect Cape flowers at the Chelsea Flower Show.



Mendelssohn's book plate with the Cape-to-Cairo route, a portrait of Rhodes, and other Southern African emblems.

Chapter Nine: Cape-to-Cairo, A Staggered Orientalism

'I desire you to see Rome, Paestum, Agrigentum, Thebes and Athens. I am thinking of erecting a mausoleum to those who fell at Kimberley, a bath and a copy of Paestum.' (Note to Herbert Baker from Cecil Rhodes, March 1900)¹

In Cairo, January 1902, the adept Lady Edward Cecil arranged for Dorothea Fairbridge to dine with Sir Evelyn Baring, the Earl of Cromer (British Ambassador and High Commissioner in Egypt, also known as Sir Over-Bearing). She writes:

Dora Fairbridge has arrived and I have asked for an invitation for her and her mother to the Cromers tonight. It is a very odd thing that wherever I should find myself in the British Empire, I should be busy in directing the addresses of soup tickets. It is much easier here than in Cape Town! Much easier to ask Katie than Annie – for the former no circumlocution is required. A name, an address, and the thing is done. But then Katie is the ideal Vicerine; when Cromer returns home she ought to enter the Government Service as official wife to any bachelor Viceroy who may be going.²

Lady Edward meets Lionel Hitchens while in Cairo, on his way (in the footsteps of Milner's own career) from the Egyptian treasury office to be an administrator in Milner's reconstruction programme in South Africa:

We lunched with Michell to meet Hitchens who leaves the Finance here for the municipality of Johannesburg. I think he is a *real find*. I have not, for ages, been so much taken with a young man's looks and modesty. How able he is I couldn't judge, he was very shy But he has good sense and goes out with a ready made worship, learnt in the Finance here, for the High Commissioner. [Milner].³

She adds, concerning life in Cairo, 'The crab is that there is no country, no woods to walk in, no wild sweet, natural scenery, no flowers underfoot'.⁴

This chapter explores material from the early twentieth century in which Egypt and South Africa are bracketed within the British imperial imagination. Some of the material is trivial, some is more significant. The purpose is to synthesise a composite sense of the Cape-to-Cairo imagination, from a host of issues which have emerged during this project, in which

the Cape-to-Cairo idea is teasingly raised. A constant feature appears to be the English (and South African) traveller's habitual frame of reference, within which southern African topography and flora are compared with those of the Mediterranean littoral. Architecture also plays a prominent role in this habit of comparison. A quotation from Derrida helps to introduce this chapter with a suitably Egyptological architectural motif, which, further, offers an intriguing semiotic meditation on the topic of funerary monuments:

The sign — the monument-of-life-in-death, the sepulchre of a soul or of an embalmed proper body, the height conserving in its depths the hegemony of the soul, resisting time, the hard text of stones covered with inscription — is the *pyramid*. (Jacques Derrida, 1982:83)

This gloss by Derrida (on Hegel's interpretation of the idea of the pyramid) is intended to point towards three aspects of the final chapter — first, its argument that Hegelian tropology underlies much of the Cape-to-Cairo imagination; second, the general assumption as demonstrated by Partha Mitter (1977:190-205), Edward Said (1978:86-8), Martin Bernal (1987) and Robert Young (1995:126-30) that for at least two centuries the West has exhibited a preoccupation with ancient Egypt as one source for the origins of Western culture (rivalled by the theories of the Indo-Aryanists); and third, the essay's emphasis on an imagined continent that was made to serve as an imperial sign-system, a geographical space that was understood to be mysterious, a *temenos* or shrine, a sequence of monuments (natural or man-made) from the Gizeh plateau to the Ruwenzori, to Great Zimbabwe and Rhodes's Matopos, the Union Buildings and the numinous natural acropolis of Table Mountain. These are all emphases that were laid upon the continent by an imperial culture that sought avidly for a 'hard text of stones covered with inscription', and, when it failed to find this, built or imagined its own.⁵

The material on which the argument is based is largely the product of invention or imagination, a particular construction that was imposed upon the land by outsiders, for reasons that were the consequence of 'colonial desire', to borrow Robert Young's phrase.⁶ This desire is manifested in fiction, and in speculative history and archaeology, as in the following two extracts. The first is from Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), where the narrator fantasises about exogenous monuments in East Africa:

'Ay,' said Evans, 'but I will tell you a queerer thing than that;' and he went on to tell me how he had found in the far interior a ruined city, which he believed to be the Ophir of the Bible, and, by the way, other more learned men have said the same long since poor Evans's time. ... [T]his story of an ancient civilisation and of the treasure which those old Jewish or Phoenician

adventurers used to extract from a country long since lapsed into the darkest barbarism took a great hold on my imagination (Haggard, 1985 [1885]:21)

In the second extract (twenty years later) R.N. Hall, in his book on *Great Zimbabwe*, speculates as follows:

As one strays through the Sacred Enclosure, thoughts come: – was Rhodesia the Havilah of Genesis; did it provide the Solomonic gold; of the close kinship of these successful ancient gold-seekers from Yemen or Tyre and Sidon to the Hebrews of Palestine; and of their intimate connection in origin, language, and neighbourhood which Holy Writ abundantly declares existed from the ninth chapter of Genesis until Paul preached in Phoenicia? (Hall, 1905:15)

Imperial stonemasonry in Africa is fundamentally monumental – and frequently mortuary – in its intentions, generating something like Derrida's paradoxical 'monument-of-life-in-death', inflected, perhaps, as a dream of progress which manifests itself as a longing for antiquity. This dream and this longing are features of an international trend in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whereby modernizing nationalisms and colonial identities alike were reinforced by recourse to mythologies such as the English 'Elizabethanism', referred to in the chapters on the 'new pageantry', or German Indo-Aryanism, national sign-systems in the depths of which were supposed to be conserved the 'hegemony of the soul, resisting time'. The German Indo-Aryan national mythology is partially grounded in the Romantic linguistic and folkloric school of Grimm, partly in the philosophical antiquarianism of the Hellenist Winckelmann, and partly for example in the speculative archaeology of Heinrich Schliemann, who sought evidence to link 'Aryan' Germany with ancient Sanskrit origins.⁷

In South and Southern Africa a variety of such colonial-national mythologies were mooted, with an 'Egyptian' or 'Phoenician' aetiology enjoying a popular persistence over many decades. This essay explores some of the cultural expressions of a colonial 'staggered orientalism' (to coin a phrase) whereby the Cape, and Southern Africa, have been made out to be the naturalized allies of Mediterranean Africa. As suggested here, the reasons for this staggered orientalism are partially to be found in the desire by South Africans, circa 1910, for what Derrida calls a 'national sign system', that would help in the formulation (the overall theme of the thesis) – within the context of British imperial sentiment – of national history, identity, and heritage. There are other causes and reasons for various aspects of the Cape-to-Cairo fantasy, but it is argued that these all contribute with cumulative force to the dominant idea.

As regards the cultural interchange between South Africa, England, and Mediterranean Europe, the Randlord Sir Lionel Phillips and his connoisseur wife Florence are a case in point. He donated money to Amelia Edwards's Egypt Exploration Fund (as well as to the excavation of the *Forum Romanum*); she founded the Johannesburg Art Gallery along with much else besides; the Phillips ménage toured Egypt in 1903 (their Edwardian photographic collection is still preserved in the library at Vergelegen); and they hired the architect Herbert Baker to build for them a superb example of 'Mediterranean' domestic architecture in their Villa Arcadia, Parktown, Johannesburg. The Mediterranean region with its crucial strategic role for Britain, and its cultural focus in terms of Greco-Roman antiquity, Etruscan and Minoan 'primitivism', Egyptology, and orientalism in its widest range of meanings, offered Western Europe an accessible array of images of the exotic and archaic other; and this array of images is drawn upon by writers, connoisseurs, performers, tourists and travellers, in the forging of an orientalist dimension to the cultural idea of Edwardian South Africa.⁸

The primary focus of this essay is thus on the interpretation of the Cape (and at times of the general idea of South Africa) as 'Mediterranean'. The argument links this understanding of the Cape to the period concept of the Cape-to-Cairo axis, an imagining of Southern Africa, largely associated with the ideas of Cecil John Rhodes, that once had implications for the continent as a whole, and may well do so again in a post-colonial epoch with the evolution of South African President Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance concept.⁹ This concept is customarily cited as the motivating philosophy behind various current trans-continental initiatives such as the New Partnership for African Development, and indeed the transformation of the Organisation of African Unity into the African Union.¹⁰ The 'African Connection Rally' (the 1999 information-technology project organised by the South African Telecommunications Ministry), the Engen oil company's 'Open Africa' and 'Afrika tourism' projects are two more examples of this trend.¹¹

This and the final chapter draw on material concerning architectural styles and the figuring of landscapes, colonialist ethnography, the history of tourism, and the Edwardian journalism that stitched these diverse interests into what might be regarded as a loose 'prospectus' for a great enterprise that never came about. Finally, all these aspects, the scenic backdrop, the type-cast figures in the landscape, the efforts to forge meaning by chasing records and by the rehearsing of travellers' tales, are interpreted as a kind of pageant performance — a fancy-dress occasion — in which the African orientalism of the Cape-to-Cairo fantasy is enacted. The script for this pageant-performance is underwritten by the meta-narrative of Hegel's *Philosophy of History* with its grand tableau of the progress of History from civilization to civilization and continent to continent, and his account of Egypt and Phoenicia in relation to greater Africa; and a particular interlude in this figurative pageant is

offered by the role of Freemasonry within British imperial ideology, with its 'Egyptian' rituals and genealogy.

It needs to be borne in mind that Egyptological fashions are also evident in places which, strictly speaking, have nothing to do with the Cape-to-Cairo idea. Paris reflects considerable Egyptian influence in its architectural motifs, largely due to Napoleon's Nile campaigns of 1798-9, and to the influence of Second Empire France in the Egypt of the Khedive Ismail; Egyptological motifs are commonplace in the urban architecture of most western cities; and — as demonstrated by Eric Grant (1988) — from the 1830s Scotland became a late but avid exponent of the Egyptian revival movement in Britain. Nonetheless the fact of recurrent Egyptian revival trends in western Europe must be acknowledged as affording a cosmopolitan context of design and imagination which would enable and enhance in the public mind the idea of the Cape-to-Cairo link, just as would such features in the Cape as the Egyptian Building of the University of Cape Town, built between 1829 and 1841.

A reconstruction of what was meant by the Cape-to-Cairo idea needs to draw on a miscellaneous range of material which runs from the sublime to the bathetic. At one extreme we find Stanley in his 1890 journal comparing the 'hoary' peaks of the 'Mountains of the Moon' to 'an Egyptian pyramid and sphinx'.¹² At the other extreme we encounter in Cape Town between circa 1910 and 1930 'C-to-C' cigarettes, a brand of petrol called 'Sphinx Motor Spirit', and — a little later — the 'C-T-C Building' which houses a popular department store in the city. In the mid-nineteenth century a pious band of Afrikaner trekkers, the *Jerusalem-gangers*, heading into the far north towards what is now Pietersburg in the Northern Province, encountered a river with a pyramid-shaped *kopje* and named this 'Nylstroom' (that is, the Nile), believing that they had penetrated to the land of the Pharaohs. The lush cultivated lands that run alongside the Orange River in the Northern Cape amidst the desolation of the Kalahari have prompted allusions to the fertile Nile valley. In the town of Kakamas in this area is a large building designed like an Egyptian pylon-temple, built by a Swiss engineer in 1914 to serve as the town's first electrical 'transformator'. A piece appeared in the *Empire Review* (September 1938) entitled 'Cape to Cairo with an Ascot Hat'. In 1947 the aviator and author Cecil Lewis flew single-handed from England to Johannesburg via Cairo and Nairobi in order to establish a colony of Gurdjieff disciples as the intended survivors of a projected world-cataclysm.¹³ The topic, as Robin Hallett wryly comments, 'was an extravagant and in practical terms totally fatuous concept but ... well calculated to appeal to Rhodes's perfervid imagination'. (Hallett, 1975:496).

This combination of the sublime and the ridiculous is accidental but when dealing with the totality of images of the Cape-to-Cairo idea as constituting a cumulative public imaginary, one notices a rhetorical pattern in which frivolity appears alongside items of imperial statesmanship. In 1922 the remarkable Victorian explorer and administrator, Sir Harry Johnston, writes retrospectively as follows on the origins of the Cape-to-Cairo concept:

[It was] Stanley's letters home from Uganda to the *Daily Telegraph* in 1876 that first gave some definite impulse to British minds to establish an uninterrupted British control over South, Central, East, and North Africa which might link up Egypt with the Cape in a series of peaceful, prosperous, well-governed states. The interpreters of the idea were (Sir) Edwin Arnold, principal leader-writer to the *Daily Telegraph*, and Colonel J.A. Grant, the veteran explorer, who had been Speke's companion in the journey to the sources of the Nile.

Edwin Arnold adumbrated the 'Cape-to-Cairo' idea in a pamphlet published in 1876. From this pamphlet, and still more from Arnold's conversation, the writer of this chapter derived the idea and the phrase 'The Cape to Cairo', and perhaps conveyed it to the mind of the Foreign Office, and especially to the imagination of the late Lord Salisbury, who, at any rate, allowed it to be used without disapproval in articles which I contributed to monthly reviews and the daily press in 1888 and 1889. The general policy of a North to South extension of British control was delineated in an article for the *Times* of August 22, 1888, a forecast of which Lord Salisbury thought might usefully prepare the public mind for coming developments in our African policy. (Weinthal, 1923, vol.1:65)

This is matched by the following gem penned by W.T. Stead, in the *Windsor Magazine* of September 1899:

The outer and visible reasons why the Cape to Cairo line is coming into being are simple and obvious enough. The first and dominating cause is the fact that the idea has fascinated the imagination of Mr Rhodes, and the second and hardly less potent reason is the fact that the Cape and Cairo both begin with the letter C. Possibly this second reason ought to have precedence over the first, for who knows how much of the fascination which has caught Mr Rhodes's fancy was due to 'apt alliteration's artful aid'? If the Cape and Cairo had possessed different initials, the suggestion of a through continental line might never have suggested itself to Mr Rhodes. But the notion of linking the two places, each of which commenced with the same capital letter, 'caught on', and the gigantic enterprise is already making progress from the realm of the imagination into the domain of accomplished fact. (Quoted by Plomer, 1984:142)

The concept of the Cape-to-Cairo link is so staggeringly vast and vague that it needs to be deprecated in this fashion even as the possibility is mooted. Perhaps the idea of yoking the two extremes of the continent generates a mimicking sense of giddy verbal syllepsis. More seriously, it seems that a rhetorical sylleptic logic might have been understood to be necessary for the articulation of the totalizing vision that emerged in the epoch of the New Imperialism. The most frivolous formalism is blended with the colossal scale of Cecil Rhodes's imperial dream, as if the idea were thereby in some way domesticated, rendered self-evident or inevitably part of the scheme of things. Such vertiginous rhetoric is also a symptom of the jingo triumphalism that was evident in the British popular press at the time. Yoking together of the heroic and sublime with the mundane and low transforms both factors in the equation, thereby taking a facile rhetorical control of them.¹⁴

Hegelian Tropology

Much public rhetoric in the period spoke of the 'sister states' of the British dominions, Canada, Australia and South Africa — an 'organically' united 'family' of nations.¹⁵ In South Africa the imagery of reconciliation after the SA War (the Anglo-Boer War) of 1899-1902 represented the Dutch and the English as 'brothers'. These metaphors imply specific racial bonds, reflecting the kind of world-order envisioned by the young Cecil Rhodes in his second will and testament of 1877 in which he spoke of a universal Anglo-Saxon world-government that would re-unite the British empire and the United States of America and bring about world peace. Rhodes's universalist vision is not merely an expression of British imperialism. It is also an expression of a totalizing concept of history-as-destiny, a typical later nineteenth-century amalgam of protestant teleology, nationalist sentiment, and evolutionary historicism.¹⁶ When South African Union was achieved it was celebrated (as mentioned above) as a 'consummation', a hymeneal image for the 'marriage' of four colonies; and repeatedly in the dominions the concept of 'birth' was employed for the founding of new polities. A tropology involving images of dawning, and of the crossing of thresholds, is common in the public rhetoric of the time. (The image of the rising sun is also adapted, from Union onwards, as a leading motif in Afrikaner nationalism, for instance in the local school reader series, the *Dagbreek Reeks* or Daybreak Series.) This heliocentric tropology is central to Hegel's scheme of world history, the 'dawning' of human historic consciousness across the continents of the globe, 'consentaneously' with the trajectory of the natural sun, from 'east to west'.

The Hegelian tropology is in itself not so much based on imperialism as on enlightenment thought, a point that is borne out by the existence, in the 1850s, a good few decades before the onset of the 'new imperialism', of Dutch heliocentric tropology in the

Western Cape town of Paarl. Here the imagery is a combination of enlightenment and protestant theological thought; but it becomes inflected later with imperialist implications. It involves, initially, a theological motto derived from the book of Malachi, 'the light of righteousness' ('But for you who revere my name, the sun of righteousness will rise with healing in its wings', Malachi 4.2). This motto is adapted for the new boys' school in Paarl, the Paarl Gymnasium, in 1858. The school building was designed to resemble an Egyptian temple, providing a further inflection to the biblical motif by the ornamentation of stucco sun discs or uraei on the outside walls of the building. Close by is a Masonic lodge, and it is very likely that this Egyptological version of a biblical sun-motif is inspired by the Dutch Masonic tradition at the Cape, which stretched back to the early eighteenth century, again having a distinct Enlightenment or *Aufklärungs* origin. In the period of the new imperialism and after, well into the 1920s, Masonic symbolism with its Egyptological and heliocentric motifs is continued throughout the British empire and dominions under what is known as the 'English Constitution' of Freemasonry. This essay argues that the Cape-Cairene idea is propagated and popularly received partly because of this international male network whereby a set of enlightenment philosophical motifs is replicated and popularised. Further, the cultural and geographical aspects of these Egyptological motifs contribute to their adoption as motifs of global British imperialism, in that they serve within the metropole itself (not only as Masonic symbols but also as common architectural ornamentation) to emblematised internally the antique and distant colonised other.

As Andrew Nash points out, the late Victorian application of enlightenment neo-Hegelianism to the new nation of South Africa argues an *occlusion* of local settler and native history, memory, and political identity. Hegelian globalism denies Africa's place in the sun of history. Instead, it lays an imaginary filter over the continent, attributing a thin skein of 'historically conscious' culture to the northern seaboard, and — for the rest — celebrating at most the imposed 'consciousness' of a colonial 'dawn'. The Unionist magazine *The State* is a review or resumé of the admittedly rich and varied resources that were drawn upon for the articulating of this colonial identity, to which the Cape-to-Cairo set of ideas contributed.

For Hegel, Africa *had no history*. Africa was but 'on the threshold' of History. He makes an exception, however, for two sites on the Mediterranean seaboard of Africa - Phoenician Carthage, and Egypt. Says Hegel about Africa:

Africa proper, as far as History goes back, has remained - for all purposes of connection with the rest of the World - shut up; it is the Gold-land compressed within itself, - the land of childhood, which, lying beyond the day of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night. (1872:95)

‘Africa’, says Hegel, ‘is no historical part of the World’:

It has no movement or development to exhibit. Historical movements in it - that is in its northern part - belong to the Asiatic or European World. Carthage displayed there an important transitional phase of civilisation; but, as a Phoenician colony, it belongs to Asia. Egypt will be considered in reference to the passage of the human mind from its Eastern to its Western phase, but it does not belong to the African Spirit. What we properly mean by Africa, is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature, and which had to be presented here only as on the threshold of the World's History. (1872:103)¹⁷

Again and again authors writing of the Cape at the time of Union invoked this Hegelian structure, in historical speculation, in travel writing, and in fiction. It is ironical that this adaptation of a Hegelian globalism should in fact be the basis for the evolution of a set of very local traditions, for the invention of a local phylogenetic myth concerning Southern Africa. The following passage from the long-serving school history textbook written by Dorothea Fairbridge exemplifies this myth:

It is possible that [the early travellers] made their way farther south than Punt, and eyes which looked on Moses may also have gazed on Table Mountain, but of this there is no record. What we do know is that Pharaoh Necho, who ruled in Egypt six hundred years before the birth of Christ, sent an expedition from the Red Sea, manned by Phoenician sailors, which sailed round Africa. Three years, the journey took, for the sailors landed at different places on the coast, dug the ground and sowed it with corn. When the crop had ripened it was gathered and sail was made for the next halting-place. Southward and southward they went, says the old chronicler, until, as they declared, the sun was on their right hand as they sailed. In the third year they doubled the Pillars of Hercules and came safe home. Think of the courage of it. Perhaps they put in at Table Bay or Durban or elsewhere on the coast, and made their temporary gardens in the kindly soil of South Africa. It is curious to think that the slender Egyptian explorers may have stood at the foot of Table Mountain and worshipped the Sun God as he rose over the Drakenstein. We may picture to ourselves their return after that three years' journey - how they sailed up the west coast and through the Pillars of Hercules and down the blue Mediterranean, until they came to the Rosetta mouth of the Nile and to the noble city of Sais, then the capital of Egypt.

And after this the curtain falls for nearly two thousand years, to rise again in AD 1434, in which year that 'dreamer devout' Prince Henry the Navigator sent an expedition from Portugal which succeeded in rounding Cape Bojador and paved the way for the discovery of the sea-route to India. (Fairbridge, 1918:16)

Navigation, moral courage, sun-consciousness, the realising act of the gaze, sowing of seeds, gardens in kindly soil: here is a set of themes and motifs that epitomise the greater colonial project. This is not history but rather the imaginative figuring of a contemporaneous ideology. Time and space are more symbolic than real, written here as a sequence of acts upon a stage. In his posthumously compiled *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, Hegel represents history as an evolutionary process that took place not only over a period of time, but also across geographical space, running across the globe from east to west; and fantasies such as the one above reflect the symbolic use of these two dimensions. Here is another, this by the imperial writer, geographer, publisher, and diplomat John Buchan – himself briefly a member of Milner's Kindergarten in South Africa, and a product of the same Oxford ethos of the 1890s:

The romance which is inseparable from all roads belongs especially to those great arteries of the world which traverse countries and continents, and unite different zones and climates, and pass through extreme variations of humankind. And it is a peculiarity of the world's roads that this breath of romance blows most strongly on the paths which point to the Pole-star. The Aemilian Way, up which the Roman legions clanked to the battlefields of Gaul and Britain, or that great track which leads through India to the mountains of the north and thence to the steppes of Turkestan, captures the fancy more completely than any lateral traverse of the globe. A way which passes direct through the widest extremes of weather, and is in turn frozen and scorched or blown in sand, has an air of purpose which is foreign to long tracks in the same latitude, and carries a more direct impress of the shaping and audacious spirit of man. Of all north roads I suppose the greatest to be that which runs from the Cape to Egypt, greatest both for its political meaning, the strangeness of the countries to which it penetrates, the difficulties and terrors of the journey, and, above all, for the fact that it is a traverse of the extreme length of a vast and mysterious continent.

....

With a profound respect for the road, I am constrained to admit that it makes bad going, ... and that it is apt to cease suddenly and leave the traveller

to his own devices. But for the eye of Faith, that wonderful possession of raw youth and wise old age, it is as broad and solid as the Appian Way; the wheels of empire and commerce pass over it, and cities, fairer than a mirage, seem to rise along its shadowy course. (Buchan, 1903:146-8)

In this piece Buchan explicitly addresses the question of orientation — east-west, or south-north. The Hegelian 'lateral traverse' is replaced by a south-north 'pilgrimage', a kind of staggered orientalism where the east (as Islamic Middle East) is no longer in relation to the Christian European West, but rather a fulcrum from which a radius is swung southwards.

Imperial Freemasonry

The glyph designed by Herbert Baker which is exhibited on page 220 above is a symbolic statement of the Cape-to-Cairo axis, including the Southern Cross, the Zimbabwe Birds, the Mountains of the Moon, the source of the Nile, and the crescent moon of Islam.¹⁸ The Zimbabwe Birds were alleged to have been the relics of a foreign (Semitic or Phoenician) culture that was supposed to have built the Great Zimbabwe (the elaborate and vast complex of dry-stone walls, dating back to roughly 800 AD in the fertile Mutirikwi Valley of Zimbabwe). Much has been written on this colonialist supposition.¹⁹ Suffice it to make the point that for the imperialists, built environments were, ideologically speaking, indices not of indigenous African culture but of lost 'white' or 'European' or 'Semitic' civilizations in Africa. Once again this particular fantasy has its motivation as the identifying of the traces of settler precedents in Africa, as well as a racist desire to diminish the cultural achievements of indigenous African peoples. The significant point for the purpose of this essay is that, again, links are made between Southern Africa and the Middle East. The most apparent examples of this fantasy are the African novels of Henry Rider Haggard, in which lost cities, lost civilizations, and lost peoples are described, with gestures at a composite Mediterranean (especially Egyptian) origin. S.J du Toit, the founder of the movement to recognise Afrikaans, rather than Dutch, as an authentic South African language, wrote the first novel in Afrikaans on a similar topic, *Di Koningin van Skeba of Salomo syn oue Goudvelde in Samesia*. (1898) Reverend S.J. du Toit was one of the first pupils to be schooled at the Egyptological Paarl Gymnasium referred to above, and while he strove for a sense of Afrikaner identity he was also a persistent admirer of Cecil Rhodes even after the Jameson Raid debacle.²⁰

Studying Freemasonic lore, it becomes more than evident that the development of this colonialist mythology surrounding South-East Africa and the Great Zimbabwe depends on the widespread practice of Freemasonry in the British empire. The eighteenth-century social

adventurer Cagliostro introduced the 'Egyptian Rites' into continental and British Freemasonry. As described in chapter three above, Masonic lore holds that the 'wisdom' of the 'Craft' originated in Egypt and came to repose with a craftsman, Hiram 'the Son of the Widow of the Tribe of Naphtali', whom King Hiram of Tyre sent to Solomon for the construction of his temple. Hiram the 'Son of the Widow' (a standard encryption for Freemasons) was murdered by jealous apprentices, and his body hidden and subsequently resurrected — a parallel with the story of Christ, and the Egyptian myth of Osiris. For Rudyard Kipling (an avid Freemason) Queen Victoria was the 'Widow', and her 'sons' were the soldiers in her imperial regiments ('The Widow at Windsor', *Barrack Room Ballads* [1892]). The figure of Isis, the sinister consort of Osiris, enters variously into the fiction of Kipling's friend Haggard as 'She', as 'Gagool', or as the dark queen Sorais in *Alan Quatermain* (1887). These figures are kin to the 'Queen of the Night' in Mozart's masonic opera *The Magic Flute*. The two pillars to Solomon's temple, mentioned in Chronicles, are named in Hebrew Jachin and Boaz, meaning 'strength' and 'beauty', a common masonic pairing that seems to be personified by the rebarbative Horace Holly and his Apollonian companion Leo Vincey in Haggard's *She* (1886) and *Ayesha* (1905). Many of Haggard's descriptions, in his African yarns, of symbolic landscape, and of buildings and monumental masonry, are either explicitly linked with ancient Egypt or Phoenicia, or bear striking resemblance to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Western Egyptological fantasies, such as the early stage-sets for Schikaneder's and Mozart's opera. The city of the sun in *Alan Quatermain* may be linked to representations of the Egyptian Heliopolis. Martin Bernal cites Frances Yates's references to the Renaissance writer Tommaso Campanella's utopian *Citt del Sole* as an 'architectural memory system'. Campanella's city, says Bernal, is 'populated by white-robed, pure and religious Solarians who are transparently Egyptian, and its buildings form an ideal model for the universe or a heliocentric system of planets'. Bernal adds, 'Here it should be remembered that Masonic ideology was built around the notion of sacred buildings symbolising the universe'. (Bernal, 1987:176) These are distinct features of Haggard's East African city of the 'Zu-Vendi'.

While on the subject of the 'city of the sun', it should be mentioned that, circa 1905, a new suburb of Cairo was built by private speculators, as housing for colonial and expatriate administrators and merchants, and named 'Heliopolis'. This was designed according to Sir Ebenezer Howard's novel Garden City concept (his Garden City Association, formed in 1899, which introduced to urban planning the idea of green belts and satellite towns), with thematic ('Andalusian' and 'Moroccan') architecture and roads radiating in spoked-wheel clusters. At the very centre of this garden city the entrepreneur behind the scheme, one Baron Edouard Empain (who designed the Paris Metro system), built for himself a fantasy palace that resembles a mixture of Hindu, Jain, Buddhist and Mogul temples. This reminds us of the contemporary trend (held as a central tenet by Freemasonry) away from orthodox Christianity

and towards a composite faith, that would embrace Christian, Hebrew, Moslem, and other beliefs — an imperial and cross-cultural development from the theistic trends latent in nineteenth-century Unitarianism.²¹ Heliopolis itself enters into this Freemasonic creed as follows: its ancient Egyptian name was On, and this is included into the Freemasonic word for the 'Supreme Being' or 'Grand Architect of the Universe', whom they term 'Jabulon', this being a composite of the Judeo-Christian 'Yaweh', of the Carthaginian and Phoenician 'Baal', and the Egyptian 'On'. Masonry's 'Grand Architect of the Universe' is intended to embrace all religions. To this degree it is an ideal creed system for an empire as diverse as was that of Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; and this inclusive aspect of the Craft seems to reflect a syncretic imperial idealism such as we encounter in the work of Kipling.

Fairbridge's historical novel *That Which Hath Been*, set in the first decade of the eighteenth century, meditates (rather anachronistically), we remember, on the possibility of such an inclusive world creed. The governor of the Cape, Willem Adriaan van der Stel, is reading aloud a letter he has received from the Dutch governor of Ceylon, in which appears a translation of a passage of religious speculation by a Sri Lankan holy man:

'Oh God, in every temple I see people that see Thee, and in every language I hear spoken people praise Thee.

'Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee. Each religion says, "Thou art one, without equal."

'If it be in a mosque people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian church people ring the bell from love of Thee. Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister and sometimes the mosque. But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple. Thy elect have no dealing with either heresy or orthodoxy, for neither of them stands behind the screen of thy truth. Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox, but the dust of the rose-petal belongs to the heart of the perfume seller.' (Fairbridge, 1910:155)²²

The figure of Willem Adriaan van der Stel in this novel is meant to imply both Cecil Rhodes and Sir Alfred Milner, who brought his experience of administration in Egypt to his governorship at the Cape during the critical period of the SA War. Milner (like Rhodes himself, also a Freemason) was a devotee of imperial closer union who wholeheartedly espoused the contemporary racial triumphalism which claimed that 'Anglo-Saxons' were the natural rulers of the world. He understood what we would now call multicultural societies to be the most serious obstacle to imperial closer union; and he believed quite simply, in the manner of his day, that interventionist rational progress (the total involvement of a liberal-reforming government) in the planning and execution of civil affairs would be the best means

of integrating such societies. In his *England in Egypt*, for instance, he identifies what he terms the 'decrepit' and 'narrow and perverted' theology, and the 'antiquated formulae and barren traditions' of the traditional learning to be had at the Madrasahs, as the reason for the lack of progress in popular education in Egypt (Milner, 1894:364-5). The imperial faction in South Africa was known as the 'progressive' faction; imperial administration sought to establish principles of reason over and above sectarian orthodoxies, and it is evident that Freemasonry, with its architectural symbolism and its syncretic creed, served as a rather disingenuous vehicle for the propagation of this vision of society. It should be remembered, though, that Fairbridge herself had an unusually sympathetic attitude to Islam, although this was largely limited to her interest in the 'Cape Malays'.

A fuller exploration of the Freemasonic underpinning to the Solomonic speculations about the Zimbabwe ruins must be done elsewhere. Suffice it for the moment to bear in mind that Solomon and his temple are at the root of Masonic myth and ritual, that Masonry was a primary vehicle for British imperial sentiment in the late nineteenth century, and that Rider Haggard's literary friend and confidante Rudyard Kipling draws widely and frequently on Masonic symbolism and myth for his own stories and poems. As far as literal Masonic connections between South Africa and Egypt are concerned, at the turn of the century we find evidence of numerous civilian and regimental Masonic lodges in both countries, as was the case also in India. The purpose of these lodges would have been to provide disciplined fellowship for British expatriates, and to furnish them with a structured means of meeting selected local personalities across the spectrum of race, caste, and religious belief. In Egypt we find Freemasonry headed by such influential figures as Kitchener, and it is more than obvious that this imperial creed-system afforded a means of propagating not only hierarchical social networks, but also a set of imperial genealogies similar to those adopted by the popular fad that was known as the British Israelite Truth. (See note 16.) This, and Freemasonry, lay claim to the virtues of oriental antiquity in the name of imperial Britain.

The Cape as Mediterranean

Cairo is very nearly on the equivalent latitude north as Cape Town is in the south. Both Cape Town and Egypt were once clearing-houses for British east-bound travel and commerce, as well as for expeditions into the interior of Africa; yet there is far more to the Cape-Cairo axis than common-sense geography. Both Fairbridge and Buchan refer to past civilizations, to the Pharaonic, the Phoenician, and the Roman empire. From this perspective the Middle East as the 'cradle of civilization' lends itself readily to a reinterpretation as the 'cradle of imperialism'. By stitching the Cape to Cairo, the imperial travel writer forges a fictitious set of credentials for the colonization of Southern Africa — in two ways. First,

obvious parallels are struck between the eastern Mediterranean and the Cape: both are accessible to the English traveller en-route to India, both at the turn of the century are contested territory (with rival claims from the British, other colonial powers, and existing local polities such as Khedivial rule in Egypt and the Boer republics in South Africa), both exhibit – in selective aspects – similar climatic, social, and touristic patterns. Both have Islamic communities, thereby displaying a kind of kinship between the Christian and Muslim ‘people of the Book’ over and against the ‘animist’ worship of greater indigenous Africa. Second, the ancient Mediterranean empires are a model for British imperial sentiment; and in particular the idea that Phoenicians first rounded the Cape in ancient history offers a distinct precedent for the modern colonial presence. This topic of an early Phoenician presence at the Cape has been for two centuries the focus of recurrent speculation concerning a find of carbonized timber on the Cape Flats. At different times various figures advanced the possibility that this was the remains of one of Pharaoh Necho’s Phoenician galleys; and the debate was sustained by archaeologists as recently as 1990.²³ Thus, the Cape-to-Cairo idea is argued here to be, in British colonial and imperial discourses, closely related to the idea of the Cape as ‘Mediterranean’.

There are numerous ways in which the topic of the Cape as ‘Mediterranean’ emerged over the past two centuries, largely since the first British occupation in 1798. The most common feature of this discourse concerns the climate and landscape, and is reflected in the interpretation of Cape landscape as picturesque. In his memoirs, the architect Sir Herbert Baker (Cecil Rhodes’s protégé, and the designer of the Union Buildings in Pretoria) makes this point:

The view from the Grotto, as it was called [a cottage on the Groote Schuur estate on the slopes of Table Mountain], was of great beauty; it was a narrow vignette of that seen from the garden above Groote Schuur, the firwoods of the Flats and the distant blue-grey mountains being framed and thrown back in perspective by the dark velvet-green stone-pines, as was Turner’s use of the pine tree in the foregrounds of his Italian landscapes. (Baker, 1944:32)

In the same text Baker speaks of ‘the air on the top of [Table Mountain], as pellucid as that on Hymettus’, and ‘The calm sea [of False Bay], like a Venetian lagoon, [that] reflected the mountain peaks coloured by the low morning sun’. The tourist authorities in Edwardian Cape Town advertised their city as the ‘Venice of the South Atlantic’ and the ‘Naples of the South’. In his memoirs John Buchan described the Cape landscape as follows: ‘In the Cape Peninsula you have the classic graces of Italy, stony, sun-baked hills rising from orchards and vineyards and water-meadows’; and ‘If you seek the true classical landscape outside Italy and Greece you will find it rather in the Cape Peninsula, in places like the Paarl and

Stellenbosch'. (Buchan, 1940: 35, 117) Lord Randolph Churchill is quoted as saying how 'the lofty granite mass of Table Mountain, the distant ranges of hills stretching over half the horizon and the calm waters of Table Bay brought into the mind successively Gibraltar, the Riviera, and the Bay of Palermo'. (Corporation of the City of Cape Town, 1911:2). Here again is a description of Cape weather by Dorothea Fairbridge:

It is not always calm in the Cape Peninsula. If Pan still pipes among the flowers and reeds of Table Mountain, rude Boreas still rides the storm.

Stand on the beach at Camp's Bay when the south-easter is blowing. How the wind shouts and exults as it sweeps down the valley and flings itself out to sea. Over the heads of the Twelve Apostles it soars, over the great mountain behind Cape Town, wrapped in its mantle of vapour. It hurls itself against the Lion's Head and is deflected out to sea, singing a wild paean of triumph as it beats down the poplars and tears the wild geraniums from their stems.

Rude Boreas, did I say?

Nay, here are Alecto, Megaera, and Tisiphone, shrieking down the blast, churning the green waves to foam, tearing the white sand from the beach to fling it in your face, stinging and blinding you. Black Auster rides abroad to-night, with Eurus on his right hand. For the spirits of the Winds and the Furies are holding Saturnalia on the Camp's Bay beach. (Fairbridge, 1928:188-9)

These are perhaps commonplace tropes of late Victorian and Edwardian landscape writing, deriving from the example of Ruskin, from the ubiquitous influence of travel guides such as Murray or Baedeker, or (lastly) the thespian spirit of art nouveau. The first tourist handbook to be published by the Corporation of Cape Town in 1911 adjures the traveller to 'bring your volumes of Ruskin when starting 'Southward Ho!' The editor of the guidebook quotes at length from *The Stones of Venice* to indicate how apposite this text is to the Cape.

The history of western tourism is very much the history of travel in Italy, Greece and Egypt; and it is understandable that the experience of these regions should be transposed into writings about the Cape. The following quotation from the published account of a journey to South Africa in 1894 illustrates this use of Mediterranean allusions as a frame of reference in English travel-writing in the late Victorian and the Edwardian age:

CARE AMICE, - When I sent you word that I was going to South Africa in search of health, you first tried to dissuade me from my purpose; You urged me to come eastward; the Golden Horn alone was worth all the beauties of South Africa put together; In South Africa these charms would be conspicuous by their absence. The country had nothing in common with one's

love of antiquity and beauty; no ancient towns, no architectural monuments; none of the refined atmosphere always surrounding places 'with a history' as with a halo. You referred to our old Egyptian days; to Cairo, its tombs and mosques; the desert and its wonderful freedom: to our delightful evenings, when you instructed me in the art of coffee-making, and conversation never flagged, and magic surrounded us, and the sands of life were gilded by the charms of a new-found friendship. (Wood, 1894:48-50)

Despite this dissuasive start, the author then applies the same frame of reference to his new-found pleasure in the Cape coastal landscape:

Point after point stretching out into a succession of lovely bays, and the sea today rolled over the white sand with a soothing, sleepy murmur: the most wonderfully green, transparent water imaginable. Not more lovely the waters of the Mediterranean which you have watched beating against the classic shores of Alexandria: not more lovely the waters which flow upwards to the mouth of your beloved Golden Horn. (ibid:144)

Finding a blue lotus flower in a pool on the road to Stellenbosch, this traveller waxes nostalgic for the orient:

Visions of a flashing sunlit Nile; of moonlit Pyramids steeped in the solemn silence of midnight, the solitude of endless plains; of wonderful mosques; of the tombs of the Caliphs, where we spent those magic hours under the moonbeams We would have plucked and carried away this wonderful solitary lotus flower, but it was out of reach, and we had to leave it to blossom in its earthly paradise. (ibid:230)

Finally, by a rather more violent effort of the imagination, he compares the new urban growth on the Witwatersrand to the phenomenon of the city of Memphis among the desert sands of Egypt:

Here in the midst of a desert rose this wonderful hive. All building material had to be brought from an immense distance, reminding one a little of the Egyptians of old, building the Pyramids. And verily we might call Johannesburg a modern Cairo or Memphis, stripped of all beauty and romance. (ibid:310)

and...

[In ten years time, it will] be important and imposing, more nearly approaching the modern Memphis we have compared it to: and its temples will be underground, and its obelisks will be factory chimneys. These are the features of the 19th century; and in the year 4000 these will be its 'buried treasures'. (ibid:316)

In her extended travel essay, *The Pilgrim's Way in South Africa* (1928), Fairbridge makes numerous comparisons between southern African scenery and that of Italy and Spain.

In only one other land [than South Africa] are there such sunrises. Once, at five of an April morning, I saw the day-spring in Spain. From behind the Sierra Nevada, white with eternal snows, broke the sun. It glimmered on the little channels of the wide Vega; it glittered on the tiled roofs of Granada; it changed the yellow towers of the Alhambra to pearl and mother o'pearl; it flushed the distant mountains with wine-colour. All Spain seemed bathed in glory – the glory of her past.

But, to those who watch the sun break from behind the South African mountains, it is a sign set in the sky, a beacon-light of hope for the future of this young country. (Fairbridge, 1928:187)

There appear to be material reasons why a Mediterranean frame of reference for the Cape (and indeed for South Africa at large) should have been so prevalent at the time, although this is a topic that has not yet been broached by Cape cultural historians. The Islamic connection is one reason. Another was the perception in the mid-nineteenth century that the climate at the Cape was beneficial for consumption. Yet another was the habit of Anglo-Indians to spend their furlough at the Cape, thereby ensuring that they did not fall onto half-pay.²⁴ These perceptions gave rise to an interpretation of the Cape as a place for leisured activities, on the existing model of popular continental and Mediterranean resorts. A report, in the *Egyptian Gazette* of 5 July 1898, of a *conversazione* given by the British Balneological and Climatological Society, commends the health facilities in Egypt and South Africa as superior to those to be found on the continent:

Continental health resorts are often unsuited — stressful, costly, unhygienic, and bad. ... This must of necessity lead to the opening up of the unrivalled health resorts of the British colonies. Egypt and South Africa have already

begun to reap the benefits, and Australia, New Zealand and Canada will no doubt soon do so.

Perhaps the most celebrated Victorian consumptive at the Cape was Lucie Duff Gordon, who after a year here went on to Egypt for her health. 'This climate', she writes about the Cape, 'is evidently a styptic of great power. I shall write a few lines to the *Lancet* about Caledon and its hot baths.' Her *Letters from the Cape* (1861, and edited by Fairbridge, 1927) were followed by the publication of *Letters from Egypt* (1865). In the letters of 1861 she exhibits a marked bias towards the Cape 'Malay' people, pronouncing them to be more skilled and industrious than the English, the Dutch, or any other social groupings at the Cape:

Malay here means Mohammedan. They were Malays, but now they embrace every shade, from the blackest nigger to the most blooming Englishwoman. Yes, indeed, the emigrant girls turn 'Malay' pretty often, and get thereby husbands who know not billiards and brandy — the two diseases of Cape Town. They risk a plurality of wives and profess Islam, but they get fine clothes and industrious husbands. I am going to see one of the Mollahs with Dr Chiappini soon, and to look at their schools and mosque which, to the distraction of the Scotch, they call 'Kirk'. (Fairbridge, 1927:37)

She befriends an elderly Moslem couple, emancipated slaves, who have been able to send their son to study at Al Azhar Islamic University or *Madrassah* in Cairo. In a letter to her husband she requests him to ask Ross (her daughter's husband, working in Egypt) 'to cause inquiries to be made among the Mullahs of Cairo for a Hadji, by name, Abdul Rachman, the son of Abdul Jemaalee, of Cape Town'.

After a year at the Cape her condition required that she find drier conditions, in Egypt, and she became a celebrity on the banks of the Nile, living in a house built on top of the temple of Luxor. Lucie Duff Gordon was a leading figure in London literary society, a friend of George Meredith and of Kinglake, the author of the orientalist classic *Eothen*. As referred to in chapter six above, her writings about the 'Malays' and 'Mohammedans' are the mainstay of an orientalist tradition in the Cape which is traceable from Duff Gordon, through Dorothea Fairbridge, to I.D. du Plessis, the Afrikaans poet and self-appointed patron of the 'Cape Malays'. Duff Gordon's great-grand nephew, Gordon Waterfield (author of a book on modern Egyptian history), paying tribute to her in 1937, emphasises her egalitarian spirit.²⁵

... no one has described native life in South Africa and Egypt with such sympathy and penetration. Her views and her manner of life are of especial interest now when a technique of behaviour is being evolved to meet changes

in political relations between Western and Oriental nations. (Waterfield, 1937:4)

Fairbridge's novel *Piet of Italy* (1913) vividly dramatizes the Islamic and the Mediterranean connections. In this narrative a child is washed up at Kalk Bay harbour and rescued by a Moslem family who live in Cape Town's 'Malay Quarter' of Schotsche Kloof. They believe the child to be their son Piet, restored to them by Allah after being drowned. He is raised as a faithful Moslem, trained in the Koran and speaking the *Taal*. In his late teens he meets with an accident, and as he emerges from a prolonged coma he recovers a long-lost identity in which he is Pietro Casanera, the Catholic scion of a noble Florentine family which had been drowned in a shipwreck off the Cape coast. The accident arises from a necessary coincidence. Relatives of Pietro's lost family shipped an Egyptian obelisk from Italy to the Cape, intending it to be erected to the memory of the Casaneras. On the base of the obelisk are two inscriptions, one ancient and one new, one that reads '*Neter mut, Bareniker*' or 'Divine Mother, Berenice', and one that runs as follows:

Pietro, Elena e Pietro Casanera.
Nessum maggior dolore
Che recordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria (Fairbridge, 1913:97)

[Pietro, Elena and Pietro Casanera.
There is no greater grief
Than to record times of joy
In the midst of sadness]

Piet (or Pietro) stumbles and hits his head against this obelisk while he is assisting in its erection; and so this most Freemasonic of mnemonic devices becomes the means of his recovery of a lost identity, heritage, culture, language and religion.²⁶

Alongside the topic of the 'Cape Malays' we encounter a recurring attempt to link the Cape 'Bushmen' with *ur*-people from northern Africa or southern Europe, such as the Hyksos or the Etruscans. As early as 1859, one Frederick Maskew, writing in Cape Town, published *The History of Joseph*, with an 'appendix on the analogy between the subjugation of the Egyptians to the Hyksos, and the Kafirs to the British'. The eminent German philologist Wilhelm Bleek, the pioneer student of the San language in the later nineteenth century, arrived at the Cape initially expecting to find a link between the Khoisan language group and ancient Egyptian.²⁷ Carl Peters, the German romancer of the Zimbabwe Ruins, attempts to draw links

between the 'Hottentots' and the Egyptians. (Peters, 1902:387-91) Dorothea Fairbridge's highly eccentric cousin Rhys Seymour Fairbridge, land surveyor in Rhodesia, is recorded by Peters as having shown him material evidence for these hypotheses. (Peters, 1902:285) Rhys Seymour Fairbridge wrote some speculative articles on the origins of the ruins, for the *Rhodesia Herald*. In her novel, *The Uninvited*, which is set in England and in Egypt, Dorothea has the first-person narrator speculate in a similar fashion as follows:

... [T]aking the Hottentot as a starting point, we would have pursued our investigations into the history of that curious race, debating whether the theory which links them (through the Bushmen) to the Cave Dwellers of ancient Spain, is tenable, and whether there is anything to be said in favour of those who assert that the Hyksos Kings of Egypt were in reality Hottentots, and that the so-called Egyptian type may be traced throughout Africa from north to south. (Fairbridge, 1926:128)²⁸

This kind of speculation finds its place in the primitivist debates of the early twentieth century, and in particular in the aesthetic primitivism of modern artistic and literary movements as typified by D.H. Lawrence in his 'savage pilgrimage' to Italy, and to Ceylon, Australia, and New Mexico. Lawrence's *Sea and Sardinia* (1921) was illustrated by the South African artist Jan Juta, son of the speaker of the Cape House of Assembly. Juta travelled in Mediterranean Europe with Lawrence, and his later writings (including speculative meditations on the provenance of the Zimbabwe Ruins [1972:182-93]) are deeply influenced by Lawrence's themes and idiom. Primitivism is further expressed, in the interest, during the 1920s, in the Kalahari bushmen, and typically in Laurens van der Post's Jungian understanding of these people.²⁹ Interestingly, it is recorded that Jan Juta lent Lawrence, in 1921, the 1911 volume on 'Bushman Folk Lore' by Lucy Lloyd, and Christopher Heywood (1982) has argued that this was a direct influence on Lawrence's poems in *Birds, Beasts and Flowers*, which he wrote in Sicily that same year. The *ur*-people discourse runs from Benin bronzes to Lawrentian primitivism, to modernist ethnographic speculations, and to Jungian theory. A distinct expression of the entire continent as a geographical equivalent to the idea of the human unconscious appears in Graham Greene's *Journey Without Maps*:

The 'heart of darkness' was common to us both [Europe and Africa]. Freud has made us conscious as we have never been before of those ancestral threads which still exist in our unconscious minds to lead us back. The need, of course, has always been felt, to go back and begin again. Mungo Park, Livingstone, Stanley, Rimbaud, Conrad represented only another method to Freud's, a more

costly, less easy method, calling for physical as well as mental strength. The writers, Rimbaud and Conrad, were conscious of this purpose, but one is not certain how far the explorers knew the nature of the fascination which worked on them in the dirt, the disease, the barbarity and the familiarity of Africa. (Greene, 1957 [1936]: 252)

Jan Juta's sister, René, lived in the south of France where she wrote two travel books in the Lawrentian dithyrambic style, illustrated by her brother. In her book *Cannes and the Hills* (dedicated to Rudyard Kipling), she makes the following statement which is typical of this romantic primitivism:

But gone are the old songs and dances, the dances of Provence wherein lay a literature of the people. In the late seventeenth century, the dance called 'Rigaudin' was forbidden on pain of a beating, and later, on pain of death; it being regarded as a public disgrace, so curious were the gestures and figures of the dance. I suspect the Rigaudin of being the remains of a pagan, sacrificial, ritualistic dance, less bacchanalian, more like the curious obscene dances of the Hottentots of Africa, who so oddly resemble the small mountain race which lived in the caves above Nice. (René Juta, 1924:94)

Lawrence, in Italy, sported with the Pan cult that was so prevalent at the turn of the century in writings set in Italy and Greece, and which persisted into the 1920s — observable in short stories by E.M. Forster, and, for instance, in John Buchan's novel *The Dancing Floor* (1926), which deals with the return of archaic ritual in a modern-day Greek island.³⁰ This Pan cult, alternatively a Dionysian cult, emerges in modernist literary discourses of the same period set in the Cape. The following scene from Fairbridge's *The Torchbearer* is a good example. The setting is a cellar on a Cape wine farm. A worker is crushing grapes with his feet:

A mist hung before Katherine's eyes after a time, and the cellar seemed to have widened out until it was the width of the whole world. The little dancing figure had grown taller and more graceful. His hair was hair now — not pepper-corns — and it clustered over his ears and concealed them. Vine-leaves were wreathed round his head, a leopard-skin hung from his shoulders. And still he sang and danced — and as he sang the meaning of the song was revealed to her. He sang of the life-giving sun and of the joy of existence, of the sparkle on the waves, of the song of the birds, the scent of flowers, the cool softness of the breeze, the ecstasy that is youth. And then he clashed together the cymbals

which he held in his hands, and in a low voice that vibrated through every chord of Katherine's being, he sang of love. Of love of man for woman, of woman for man. Of love triumphant and rejoicing — and his voice rang out in rapture as he sang of the love that is the greatest thing in this world. And then the beautiful voice fell to deep, vibrant tones as he sang of the love that is sacrifice, of the love that knows no earthly fruition, of the love that is greater than death itself. (Fairbridge, 1915:256)

Perhaps the most striking and typical of contemporary manifestations of the preoccupation with the Mediterranean were, however, architectural. As suggested in chapter three above, Freemasonry with its complex rituals and self-invented traditions and genealogies lent, during the period of the New Imperialism, a particularly powerful symbolism to the idea of the built environment. This was of course by no means the only set of meanings accruing to architecture at the time. Other major contemporary discourses around building derived from Ruskin and his ideas concerning the historicity of architecture; and from the related revival, at the turn of the century, of vernacular architectural styles. At the same time, Herbert Baker recognised the value of the grand style, of classical simplicity, for the design of public spaces and buildings in South Africa, a country (says Baker in an early essay) that 'the Arch-Architect has designed so essentially in the "grand manner"'. 'It would be easy to imagine', he continues, 'a Pergamos or Halicarnassus growing out of any semi-circle of the cliffs that stretch from Muizenberg to Simon's Town, or rising from any of the encircling hills of Pretoria or Bloemfontein.' (Baker, 1909:517) In the same essay Baker clearly states the link between climate and architectural style:

It is the South African architect's privilege, and one much envied by his fellow craftsmen in northern Europe, to have always at hand the most valuable of all materials for his craft (which the Greeks and Romans also had), warm sun bathed wall surfaces contrasted with deep, cool shadows. (ibid:522)

In 1900 Cecil Rhodes sent Baker 'to visit the old countries of the Mediterranean'. Says Baker in his autobiography: 'He wished me particularly to see "Rome, Paestum, Agrigentum, Thebes, and Athens", and to study other such great masterpieces of architecture and sculpture'. (Baker, 1944:35) Baker subsequently travelled in Egypt, Greece, Italy and Sicily, and established an architectural scholarship at the British School at Rome for South African students, in order to give them 'the opportunity of studying the great architectural and artistic traditions of classical art in the Mediterranean countries which have a similar range of climatic conditions to those which prevail in South Africa'. (ibid:36) As is well known, his own career saw him designing public buildings (other than in England) in Salisbury (Harare), Nairobi,

Cairo, Khartoum, and — together with Sir Edwin Lutyens — the vast project of New Delhi in India.³¹

At the same time, the artist J.H. Pierneef, who was working in Pretoria in sympathy with emerging Afrikaner nationalist cultural traditions, gave lectures on the idea of a South African architectural idiom. His biographer says that Pierneef 'regularly pointed out parallels between South Africa and Egypt: the atmosphere with its intense heat, the contrast between desert and cultivated land, the enormous contrasts between plains and peaks which unexpectedly rise hundreds of meters without any gentle slopes. He showed how the Egyptians had used these circumstances in a monumental art form. Sharp verticals and horizontal lines laid the foundation for the austere Egyptian architecture, an art of great durability, majesty and harmony. Pierneef visualised a South African art of this kind: simple, and monumental on a grand scale.' (Nel, 1990:131)

¹ Rhodes House archives, MSS Afr. 635, 32.

² Milner Papers, Violet Milner's diary, January 13, 1902, Bodleian Library. 'Katie' is Lady Katie Thynne, Cromer's second wife. Annie appears to be Mrs Hanbury-Williams, who acted as chaperone and hostess at Government House for the bachelor Milner.

³ Ibid, January 22, 1902.

⁴ Ibid, 25 January 1902.

⁵ The following quotation from a Freemasonic handbook (1911 vol 2: 85), is apposite:

'Mr Truter relates, that in the southern extremity of Africa, among the Betjuanas, he saw children busy in tracing on a rock with some sharp instrument, characters which bore the most perfect resemblance to the P and the M of the Roman alphabet; notwithstanding which, these rude tribes were perfectly ignorant of writing'.

⁶ Robert Young points out how Egyptology was used in the nineteenth century as a means of justifying (by the claim that ancient Egyptians were 'Caucasian') the belief that 'Caucasians' were superior to 'Negro' races. (1995: 128) This usage of Egyptology is fundamental to my general thesis in this chapter, which is that the Cape-to-Cairo idea was motivated by colonialist racial fantasies.

⁷ For a concise history of the nineteenth-century German schools of comparative philology, see Robins (1969:164-84), for useful discussion of Indo-Aryan fantasy, see Quinn (1994:22-46), and for a comprehensive study of European debates over Egypt, Greece, or India as the 'origin' of western art, see Mitter (1992).

⁸ It is noteworthy that, in 1910, the year of SA Union, Diaghilev's Ballet Russe produced *Scheherazade* at the Paris Opera, with the orientalist choreography, libretto, and stage-setting of Fokine and Bakst. *Cleopatra* was produced in the preceding year, and the Hindu-styled *Le Dieu Bleu* in 1912.

⁹ It is difficult to trace any literature on the topic of the 'Cape-to-Cairo' that is not strictly first-hand travel narrative, for instance by Anthony Smith (1961) or synoptic histories of the period that deal with the transcontinental idea in terms of international diplomacy, exploration, and missionary activity, such as Raphael (1936) or Strage (1973). There is a fair number of very early commentaries on the idea, in such period journals as the *Fortnightly Review*, the *Empire Review*, the *Contemporary Review*, *United Empire* and *The Nineteenth Century*, and of course the five-volume *opus* published by the enthusiast Leo Weinthal (1922) remains a work to be excavated for primary material, as does his London-based *Africa News and Cape-to-Cairo Gazette*. A chapter on the subject by James B. Wolf, 'Imperial Integration on Wheels: The Car, the British and the Cape-to-Cairo Route', (Wolf, 1991:112-27) is full of factual errors including the mistaking of intrepid women automobilists for men, but it has a helpful if

incomplete bibliography. The cultural interpretation of the idea of the Cape as 'Mediterranean' appears not yet to have been addressed at all. As far as current interpretations of the idea of the 'Cape-to-Cairo' are concerned, there is a resurgence of interest in Africa-tourism and in travel-writing (the oil company Engen, for instance, has joined the Cape Metropolitan Tourism authority in launching a web site to promote tourism through Africa, entitled 'African Dream' (www.openafrica.org). Apart from South African President Thabo Mbeki's continental vision of the 'African Renaissance', the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a blueprint for a 'Cairo-Gaborone Trans-East Africa Highway' which, according to Ambassador Safwat Ayoub, Director of the Research and Policy Planning Department, may, apartheid having ended, be extended all the way to Cape Town (interview with Ambassador Ayoub, Cairo, 18 January 1997).

¹⁰ The new African Union was launched on 10 July 2002 in Durban, South Africa. Colonel Gaddafi of Libya proposed an unlikely plan for the transformation of the continent into a single nation-state, and brought with him an entourage of vehicles, intending to ride overland from Durban to Tripoli.

¹¹ See the Engen newsletter *Pipeline* (July 1999) for an account of the launch of the 'Open Africa Cape-to-Cairo Afrikatourism' project, and the related website www.openafrica.org. Details of the African Connection Rally are accessible on www.africanconnection.org.

¹² I am grateful to my colleague Hermann Wittenberg for pointing this out, in his paper on the 1906 Abruzzi expedition to the Ruwenzori mountains (1998:237).

¹³ The Russian Gurdjieff was a kind of Svengali-figure who practised alternative and eastern forms of psychic wholeness and spirituality in the early decades of this century, attracting a

large following of converts. See Lewis (1984) for an account of the Gurdjieff cult and description of the transcontinental flight over Africa.

¹⁴ Perhaps domestic economy is a good metaphor for the taking of control. In any event, the fanciful book by Madeline Alston (1929) on domestic economy in colonial South Africa which is cited in chapter six situates its final chapter in Egypt.

¹⁵ A later but exemplary instance of this trope is by Conrad Lighton (1951), a once popular social and historical comparison of South Africa and Australia which was evidently timed to be published in order to make the most of the market created by the 1952 Van Riebeeck Tercentenary, just as the moment of Union in 1910 precipitated a spate of popular publications.

¹⁶ Rhodes's extravagant notion of an Anglo-Saxon world government is not peculiar to him. The cult of the 'British Israelite Truth' propagated this idea widely and popularly from about 1870 to the early 1950s, claiming that Great Britain and the United States, as well as the British dominions, were the lost tribes of Israel, and were to come into their own by inheriting the governorship of the earth. The British Israelites are in fact a further source of Egyptophilia within British imperial discourse: one of their number, the Astronomer Royal for Scotland, Charles Piazzi-Smythe, published a study of the Great Pyramid in which he argued that this monument embodied clues to the destiny of Britain. A host of British Israelite books propagate their cult; one example claims that the two obelisks given by Egypt to England and the United States in the later nineteenth century are 'waymarks' which prove that these two nations are the descendants of the sons of Joseph, borne in Egypt, Ephraim and Manasseh (the names of the two lost tribes which are consequently held to be Britain and America). ('The Roadbuilder', 1921:51)

¹⁷ Edith Sitwell, friend of the South African poet Roy Campbell, wrote a short cryptic poem on this theme: 'Africa ... is the unhistorical, / Unremembering, unrhetorical, / Undeveloped

spirit involved / In the conditions of nature – Man, / That black image of stone hath delved /
On the threshold where history began.’ (quoted in Blyden, 1967)

¹⁸ From the title page of Baker’s biography of Rhodes (1934). The same glyph appears with variations in stucco on the walls of Baker’s London House and South Africa House in London, and Rhodes House in Oxford, all built in the same decade.

¹⁹ See Peter Garlake (1982) and Wilfrid Mallows (1985) for treatment of the history of the reception of the ruins by colonial authors. The first professional archaeologist to debunk the imperialist fantasies was Gertrude Caton-Thompson (1931). Matenga (1998) writes on the new post-colonial symbolism of the Zimbabwe birds.

²⁰ This novel is discussed by Meyer (1996).

²¹ This trend is evident at the close of the nineteenth century in the popular fascination with spiritism (pursued with keen interest by Rudyard Kipling and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle), and the emergence of new cults such as Mary Baker Eddy’s Christian Science (to which Milner’s talented administrator Philip Kerr, Marquess of Lothian, became a convert), or Annie Besant’s Harekrishna movement (in which the wife of the imperial architect Sir Edwin Lutyens, Baker’s colleague, became deeply entangled), Madame Blavatsky’s Theosophical Movement, the rise of Rudolf Steiner’s Anthroposophy, and the cult that developed around the person of Theodore Gurdjieff. See also Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke (1985) for links between occultism and freemasonry in Austria-Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

²² Dorothea Fairbridge’s grandfather showed similar liberal sentiments towards other faith systems. In the *Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette* (1 June 1831: 160-1) he wrote a defence

of a pamphlet published by the Unitarian Society, written by the Indian mystic Rammohan Roy, on the 'Precepts of Jesus', which was attacked by a more orthodox 'trinitarian'. Roy apparently called at the Cape not long before this incident.

²³ See Raymond Dart (1925), Sampson (1948), and O'Sullivan (1990).

²⁴ In the mid nineteenth century British members of the prestigious Indian Civil Service would only receive half-pay if they took their furloughs in Britain, whereas a sojourn at the Cape, being on foreign soil, would entitle them to full benefits.

²⁵ Lucie Duff Gordon's family in some ways epitomizes the orientalism and the Mediterranean preoccupations of British culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her daughter, Janet, married Henry Ross, a banker in Alexandria, who published *Letters from the East, 1837-1857*, and had been on the Nineveh expedition with the Assyriologist Sir Austen Henry Layard. Layard's brother Edgar (born in Florence into a British East India Company family) was the first curator of the South African Museum in Cape Town. As a friend of Kinglake, Lucie was familiar with a variety of texts about North Africa and the near East. Her daughter Janet and descendants finally settled in Florence where Fairbridge interviewed the elderly Mrs Ross while preparing her edition of the *Letters from the Cape*. Lucie's grand-daughter Lina Duff-Gordon wrote six guide-books, to Perugia, Assisi, Rome, and Florence; and she published an autobiography, *Castle in Italy*.

²⁶ Freemasonry is largely preoccupied with funerary symbolism, and obelisks are a standard form of Freemasonic symbol. Freemasonic signs on obelisks in cemeteries are common in the late nineteenth century. The ceremonies of Freemasonry are also very much concerned with memory and mnemonic systems. See Curl (1991) for a description of Masonic architecture and symbolism.

²⁷ See Janette Deacon (1996:94) for a review of the work of W.H.I. Bleek.

²⁸ Sarah Gertrude Millin makes a similar claim in her *White South Africans are also People* :
'... the blood of Hottentots and Bushmen who had been pushed down to the Cape from the
regions of the Red Sea.' (1966:30).

²⁹ See Van der Post's later syncretic comments on Jung and the Bushmen (Van der Post,
1983: 48-56; 1986: 33 and *passim*).

³⁰ D.H. Lawrence's short story 'The Funicular' is an account of confrontation between the
archaic and the brashly modern, in which a party of tourists who ascend a hill by funicular are
faced, in an electric storm, with a numinous vision of a Pan-like figure.

³¹ Lutyens and Baker were commissioned by the British government to design a parliamentary
building, senate house, government buildings, Viceregal palace, and residential garden city for
the Indian government on a site outside Delhi, known as New Delhi. For an excellent account
of this massive project which ran for nearly two decades, see Robert Grant Irving (1981).

Chapter Ten: The Pilgrim's Way

Tourism, Journalism and Performance

'If it is not 'Assouan' it is 'Durbar'! Mostly you take your choice — a great many people take both. Among these are Mr and Mrs Rochefort Maguire; but then the Durbar, in their case, is only one incident in a comprehensive tour of India. Sir George and Lady Farrar are also 'Durbar-ing'. (*The African World and Cape-to-Cairo Express*, 15, November 1902)

This journalist adds that the Duke and Duchess of Connaught are to leave London for Egypt to attend the opening of the Assouan Dam, then afterwards on HMS *Renown* to India for the Delhi Durbar; that the Royal Academician and painter of Odalisques and harem scenes Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema arrives in Cairo; and that Joe Chamberlain (British Secretary of State for the Colonies) sails for the Cape on HMS *Good Hope*, via Suez. The Duke laid the foundation stone of the dam with Masonic ritual; as the *Good Hope* bearing the Colonial Secretary neared Table Bay she was welcomed by a mass performance on the flanks of the Twelve Apostles by thousands of school children manipulating tiny mirrors against the sun. In Edwardian public culture, travel, tourism, performance, ritual and fantasy are of a piece. Thomas Cook's *Traveller's Gazette, Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser* for September 1910 recommends the following:

Visitors to the Cape during the early part of November will be able to add an extra item of exceptional interest to the usual programme of sightseeing, viz., the Pageant at Cape Town, arranged in order to celebrate the opening of the Union Parliament, at which the Duke of Connaught will be present. The various scenes in this great spectacle will be presented at the foot of Table Mountain, on a scale closely resembling that held on the Plains of Abraham in Canada last year. The mastership of the Pageant has been entrusted to Mr Frank Lascelles, who is organising the Festival of Empire and Pageant of London to be held at the Crystal Palace next year.

This chapter suggests that the Cape-to-Cairo idea was typical of Edwardian imperial sentiment in its emphasis upon travel, tourism, exhibitionism, and performance of various kinds. The idea of performance will be the guiding motif, in that tourism and the experience of the Great Exhibitions are both in some ways to be likened to theatrical productions, with directors, cast, backdrops and audiences. In all these cases illusions are maintained by means of a variety of techniques, in themselves as mundane and practical as railway schedules, but designed to render the mundane into something special.

Says John Pemble of the attitudes of English travellers in the Mediterranean:

There was an unwillingness to allow the Mediterranean to become mundane and insipid; a desire to delay the dawn of common day and prolong the visitation of enchantment Writers who would capture the genius loci felt the need to work fast, before novelty lost its power and nerves became too slack to vibrate. (Pemble, 1987:273)

The fact of the matter is that the mundane is ever-present even in the midst of novelty and enchantment. The point was made earlier in this chapter that the topic of the Cape-to-Cairo idea evinces a kind of sylleptic logic, a constant mingling of the sublime and the bathetic. The organisation of the touristic experience demonstrates just such a mixture, with its unavoidable combination of picturesque description along with practical matters such as shipping timetables and dietary precautions. The logistics of tourism and the kind of journalism that promotes tourism reveal basic social dynamics side-by-side with the heightened fantasies of 'colonial desire' that perceive exotic wonders.

Basing his argument on the new material culture that developed around the phenomenon of the nineteenth-century Great Exhibitions and *Expositions Universelles*, Timothy Mitchell has persuasively demonstrated that westerners viewed Cairo during the colonial period as a living exhibition of antiquities, goods, and ethnic types. For Mitchell, the culture of ephemera such as exhibition catalogues, guidebooks, souvenirs, maps, tables and statistics serves to distinguish between the exhibited and 'what it stands for'. 'These mediate between the visitor and the exhibition by supplementing what was displayed with a structure and a meaning'. (Mitchell, 1988:20) Paul Greenhalgh (1988:52-81) has indicated the role of the Great Exhibitions from 1851 to 1940 in the reinforcing of British imperial propaganda. It seems reasonable to suggest that the rise of popular tourism during this same period, and in particular the activities of the pioneer Thomas Cook, reinforce and reflect these trends. Cook organised his first popular excursion in England in 1841, and while in

1869 he took his first party of tourists to Egypt and the Holy Land, the chronicler of the company, Piers Brendon, points out that 'as early as 1835 Murrays' initial *Handbook* for Egypt was published', 'precursor', Brendon adds, 'of 165 different guides printed in England and America over the next eighty years' (Brendon, 1991:120).

Cook enjoyed a monopoly in running steamers on the Nile. Thomas Cook and Sons was appointed agent to the Cape Government Railways in 1890 but only ran their first tour in Southern Africa in 1894, with a six-month round trip from Southampton to the Cape, and up to Bulawayo, in the aftermath of the Matabele War. During the Anglo-Boer War Thomas Cook and Sons conducted battlefield tours (Brendon, 1991:248); in 1908 they advertized a 'Conducted Tour through the Highlands of British East Africa including Victoria Nyanza, the Source of the Nile, the Mau Escarpment, and the Primeval Forest'. In the same year they mounted a 'Durban Season Excursion Programme' and 'Circular Tours by Land and Sea Covering all the Principal Towns in Cape Colony, Orange River Colony, Transvaal, Natal, Portuguese East Africa, and Rhodesia, including the Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe Ruins'. In 1914 they arranged a four-month tour to South Africa by sea from Southampton down the west coast of Africa via the Canary Isles. The tour in the Union included Peninsula excursions, a train to Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Paardeberg, the Victoria Falls, Bulawayo, Rhodes's grave at World's View on the Matopos, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Ladysmith, Spion Kop, Marianhill Trappist monastery, Umkomaas, and Durban. The return voyage up the east coast took in Beira, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Aden, Suez and Port Said, Naples, Marseilles and Gibraltar. The first Thomas Cook trip from Cairo to the Cape took place in 1922. The editorial notes in Cook's *Traveller's Gazette* for January 1922 (1,72:10-11) comment on this tour as follows:

The party which will leave London on February 2nd for Cairo, thence through the Sudan, Uganda and the Congo to the Cape (arriving back in England on July 3rd), is an epoch-making one, for it is the first organized tour traversing the whole length of the great African continent. It includes a month's safari in big-game districts around Lake Kiva, under the personal guidance and direction of Sir Alfred Sharpe, KCMG, the distinguished explorer and administrator, and will be accompanied throughout by a competent member of our staff who knows the principal African languages.

The *Egyptian Gazette* of 12 January 1925 describes a six-month journey from Cairo to the Cape that year, also conducted by Cook's, as the 'first attempt from north to south'. This tour party was made up of four wealthy North American 'sportsmen', conducted by an expedition leader from Uganda, a German photographer and cinema operator, and an East African 'white hunter'. The idea was to indulge in big-game hunting, and to make 'photographic and cinematographic records of wild animals in their native habitats'.

Rivalling the activities of Thomas Cook and Son, and specialising in Southern Africa and Egypt, was a South African-born entrepreneur and journalist named Leo Weinthal. In 1902 he founded a newspaper based in London, *The African World and Cape-to-Cairo Express*. His efforts to promote tourism in Egypt won him the Order of Osmanieh in 1909, and Commander of the Order of the Nile in 1929. He wrote two guide books, one called *Fascinating Egypt* (1908), and one on the *Deutsche Ost-Afrika* line's voyages around the continent (1902).

In 1923, after the British occupation of German East Africa, Weinthal produced a belated but substantial tribute to Cecil Rhodes's idea, in his five-volume *Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway and River Route, 1887-1922*. As an advisory board for this Brobdingnagian project he recruited every possible surviving connection with Rhodes and with colonial Africa, every likely expert on the continent, and every amenable viceroy, sirdar, and colonial governor, from the general manager of the South African Railways to Sir Abe Bailey, Flinders Petrie, and Lord Lugard. The contents of the volumes include essays on the history, society, and natural conditions of the African states to be traversed by the prospective railway; essays on the mercantile potential of these states, and of the benefit of rail transport; on the railway engineering feats undertaken in East Africa; on touristic topics including ethnographic studies of tribespeople; big-game hunting; the 'mysteries' of the Great Zimbabwe; the progress of colonial society in Cairo; and genial fantasies concerning the future of an 'unlocked' continent which would be traversed by great silver dirigibles, stopping airily at new cities to disembark their passengers — merchants, mining engineers, the families of colonial administrators.

The mere bulk of this five-volume opus lent a kind of cogency to what was no more than a dream. Such fantasies as an all-red Cape-to-Cairo route belonged to a past age; the world after Versailles no longer had place for such imperial claims. The timing of this huge prospectus is bizarre, except if it should be read for what it is, a post-war nostalgic fantasy which, like the tourism industry, sought to invent a market for its own commercial success as a publishing project. This aspect, of self-invention and self-advertisement, is the abiding sense of the Cape-to-Cairo idea. Its artificiality ('apt alliteration's artful aid') is constantly if unintentionally pronounced.

In Egypt itself, the idea of the Cape-to-Cairo link is encountered periodically as a rather languid speculation, in the main English-language newspaper (founded in 1880), the *Egyptian Gazette*. On 1 July 1893, the paper contains the following report:

The Honourable Cecil Rhodes arrived in Cairo yesterday coming from Italy, via Ismailia. Mr Rhodes leaves Cairo on Monday next for Upper Egypt for a Nile trip two weeks, and then proceeds to the Cape via Zanzibar and the East Coast. The scheme for laying telegraph wire from Cape Town to Cairo ... will be commenced from south and carried north as far as can be. If Soodan (sic) is not captured by British troops, then the cable will be diverted along the coast. At present the most northerly point is Fort Salisbury in Mashonaland.

The *Egyptian Gazette* dutifully records the various arrivals and departures of Rhodes and his associates, including Sir James Sivewright, Jameson, Sir Charles Metcalf, Rochefort Maguire, and Alfred Beit, as well as such other figures in the history of colonial Africa as the German Carl Peters, Mary Kingsley, and Captain Marchand. The pages of this newspaper are telling in their constant emphasis on the activities of society tourists, the social programmes of the famous Cairene hotels of the day, fêtes and balls, the movements and the parades of troops, the ceremonies of the many Egyptian Masonic lodges, and the Khedivial receptions, processions, funerals and other public events. Interrupting this constant social pageant are the military dramas of Khartoum, Fashoda, Omdurman, and the South African War — where the lists of regiments and the names of their officers read as a version of the social page.

During the first year of the SA War, a series of informed articles on South Africa appears, written by H.A. Bryden and covering the spectrum of colonial SA history, fauna and flora, and topography. One passage from these articles pays tribute to the 'trekking spirit' of the 'Boers':

The trekking passion is still there, it yet burns deep within the breast of many of these strange people. They have reached, after incredible sufferings, Portuguese West Africa — the province of Angola. They are filtering into Rhodesia, Bechuanaland and the Kalahari. They are not unknown in Portuguese East Africa. They talk of moving yet further North into Central Africa. Knowing the trekking spirit of these farmers of the wilderness, it is not too much to predict that within fifty years some of them, at all events, will have reached, in their wanderings, the sources of the Nile. The Boer of South Africa, in

truth, with the romance of the veldt still deep within him, is at this day one of the strangest, most interesting, and most moving studies of human character to be found upon the face of the globe. (*The Egyptian Gazette*, 8 July 1899)

Mostly, however, the recognition of others of any sort by the British was either cursory or fantastical. Frequently the 'other' served as the subject for entertainment in fancy dress balls and similar social occasions. One particularly glittering evening saw the Gaekwar of Baroda and his Maharanee, guests of Lord and Lady Cromer, and Baron von Richthofen (dressed as a mendicant friar) at a masked ball among 'savage warriors from the Soodan (sic), Arab Sheikhs, Odalisques, Gypsies', and the like. During the season a programme of *Fêtes* at Heliopolis Palace Hotel (a building that was designed in 1910 in 'Saracenic' style) included '*Une Nuit chez les Maures*', '*Grande Fte Japonaise*', '*Une Nuit Montmartre*', and '*La Grande Fte Orientale*'. No less type-cast and directed were the funeral arrangements for the Khedive Ismail in 1895. The procession through Alexandria to the railway station was made up as follows:

1. Mounted Police. 2. 100 coastguardsmen with two officers. 3. Religious deputations with banners. 4. The Fighis. 5. Mourners chanting prayers for the dead. 6. Two companies of Egyptian infantry, and band. 7. Police on foot. 8. Corporation of Dervishes. 9. Students at Mussulman colleges. 10. Native merchants and notables. 11. European merchants and notables. 12. Officials of the Daira Sanieh, Customs and Railway. 13. High civil and military functionaries. 14. The Municipality. 15. Judges of the Alexandria Native and Mixed Tribunals. 16. The clergy. 17. Officers of the Army of Occupation, followed by British and other European Naval Officers. 18. The Consular Body. 19. The Ministers. 20. His Highness the Khedive (Chief Mourner). 21. Princes of the Khedivial family. 22. Officials of the Palace. 23. Ulemas. 24. Pupils of the Musselman schools. 25. Bearers of incense and books. 26. Officers of the Egyptian Marine. 27. The Coffin, borne by Egyptian sailors. 28. Mounted police. 29. Carriages of the Harem.

Another annual procession that was regularly recorded in the pages of the *Egyptian Gazette* was the departure during the month of Ramadan of the Holy Carpet, from Cairo to Mecca. The careful observation of social, military and religious ritual

seems to have been a noted feature of late Victorian and Edwardian public life; and it appears that, in a multicultural city such as Cairo, punctilious attention to social ritual served as a form of diplomacy between different castes and nationalities.

Tourism in the period under consideration is frequently represented — in tour brochures, and in travel writing — as a form of itinerant exhibition or pageant. People and places become types and backdrops, and tour brochures provide a kind of script in which the unfolding pageant is narrated. During the same period this idea of pageantry emerged as a major genre of large-scale public performance, in which jubilees and inaugural moments were celebrated by means of historical re-enactments, or allegorical masques and tableaux, as discussed in earlier chapters. The following description of the various peoples of the continent is written long after the age of empire, yet it propagates what became most distinctly (in discourses about the continent that predated the anti-colonial movements) an accepted *dramatis personae* for a touristic pageant-play:

Rhodes's aim, to put it briefly, was to link together the Cape Town 1820 settler from Europe; the cross-bred remnants of the Hottentots; the stolid, independent Afrikaners; the Zulu and Basuto, the Rhodesian immigrants from Leeds, or Dublin; the Matabele of Lobengula, the fishermen on Lake Nyasa; the lonely, backward tribesmen on the fringes of the Congo; the fierce, lion-hunting Masai; the white coffee and sisal growers around Mount Kilimanjaro; the adaptable Kikuyu; the advanced community of Buganda's Kabaka; the missionaries of all creeds; the naked Acholi of the southern Sudan; the tribesmen who live in the swamps of the Sudd; the slave-trading Arabs of Khartoum; the fuzzy-wuzzies from the East; the diseased and down-trodden fellahin of the Nile; and the suave, elegant, intelligent, businessmen of modern Cairo. (Smith, 1961:16)

The geographical idea of the Cape-to-Cairo link itself became a topic for dressing up and for decorative design, as in the following description, by William Plomer in his biography of Cecil Rhodes, of a fancy dress costume:

[The Southampton-Cape Town ocean voyages] had not been without a touch of fantasy. During one of them an obscure young woman had appeared at the customary fancy-dress ball in a costume representing 'Cape to Cairo', with a picture of Table Mountain and Table Bay in water-colours at the bottom, and pictures representing the chief towns

on the way to Cairo all the way up the skirt, all joined together with a string of telegraph poles and wire in black, while on her head was a fez and crescent, one breast being covered with a portrait of Kitchener and the other with a portrait of Rhodes himself. (Plomer, 1984 [1933]:155)

As Benedict Anderson has pointed out in a different context, the map has been taken up as a form of symbol or 'logo': '... pure sign, no longer compass to the world. In this shape, the map entered an infinitely reproducible series, available for transfer to posters, official seals, letterheads, magazine and textbook covers, tablecloths, and hotel walls'. (Anderson, 1991:175) The map of Africa, with its gouache of imperial red and its spinal serpent of Rhodes's projected railway, a seeming extension of the Uraeus-like Nile, enters into the realm of the iconic. It was adopted by the Africana bibliographer Sidney Mendelssohn as his bookplate, and it became a Thomas Cook poster and a design for book dust-jackets.

The idea of the Cape-to-Cairo link has been held before the public most commonly in terms of travel — expeditions on foot, by motorcar, by bicycle, motorcycle, or air. An early attempt at this journey was by a Czech medical doctor and naturalist, Emil Holub, who worked in South Africa in the mid-nineteenth century. In the 1880s, accompanied by his wife, he unsuccessfully attempted a trip to Cairo. The first to claim this achievement on foot were two Cambridge students, Ewart Scott Grogan and Arthur H. Sharp, in 1899.¹ They asked Cecil Rhodes to write an introduction to their account of this journey, and he entered into the spirit of their 'lark' by saying that 'the amusement of the whole thing is that a youth from Cambridge, during his vacation, should have succeeded in doing that which the ponderous explorers of the world have failed to accomplish'. (Grogan, 1902)

Most typical of the 1920s and 1930s were the numerous automobile journeys across the continent, in which drivers of different nationalities (French, German, British, South African) rivalled one another with regard to the marques they drove, and the time they took. 1924 saw the first north-south crossing of the continent from Morocco to Mozambique, by a Citroen team, as well as the first crossing of the Sahara, by Renault, from Algeria to Niger in one week. Members of this last expedition then attempted the first fully motorised north-south journey in 1925, covering 22,500 km in eight months, and building or repairing 129 bridges on the way. The first motor journey from south to north was by Major and Mrs Court-Treath,

driving two Crossleys. Their journey (which was written up by Stella Court-Treath in 1927) took 16 months. In 1928 a South African racing driver, Gerry Bouwer, and Emil Millin, the motoring editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, made the journey in three months, with a Chrysler. Bouwer and his wife did the return journey in a record forty days. Two Girl Guide officers, M.L. Belcher and E.C. Budgell, tackled the journey in 1930 in a six-year-old Morris Cowley nicknamed 'Bohunkus', which they then drove on to Oxford (Belcher, 1932).² Another two Englishwomen did the return journey with a Panther motorcycle and sidecar. In 1936 (the same year that a children's novel appeared entitled *Jerry on Safari: A 7000 Mile Journey from Cairo to the Cape* [Von Hoffman, 1936]) two South African brothers, Jack and Eric Attwell, made the traverse by bicycle, from Port Elizabeth to London via Cairo, Athens and Budapest. (Attwell, 1997)

The South African Railways and Harbours, as the main promoters of tourism in South Africa in the early twentieth century, collaborated with Thomas Cook and Sons, and in 1938 produced a handbook, *Cape to Cairo: Table Mountain to the Sphinx and Pyramids*, which offered nine specimen tours across the continent and full support for the making of advance bookings.

There have been numerous subsequent trans-continental journeys by cycle, on foot, or by motor vehicle, and these deserve to be listed.³ Sol Plaatje even entered into the colonial rhetoric with an essay, 'Along the Road to Cairo Land', in 1931, which describes a train journey from Cape Town to the Belgian Congo via the Victoria Falls, to attend an industrial exhibition at Elizabethville. The point for this chapter, however, is that the attempt from Cape Town to Cairo or vice versa is a kind of performance — a feat, a heroic lark, an attempt at a record, a point to be proven, and a set of legends to be rehearsed in travel. Other than by air it has never been a practical itinerary for regular travellers. It is in effect a symbolic journey — signifying a set of decidedly colonialist interpretations of the continent: the modernising prowess of technology pitched against the hazards of the land; the treating of indigenous Africans as a tourist or ethnological phenomenon; the idea that Africa is an undifferentiated mass to be overcome, whether by heroism or by an avowed facility.

Heroism or titanism were the associations attached to Cecil Rhodes as a person and to his imperial schemes.⁴ This 'colossus' chose to be buried in the Matopos, in Zimbabwe, as if these mountains were a great mausoleum and he the body proper. The progress of his funeral cortege from Cape Town to the Matopos is itself a kind of pageant performance, described as follows by Sarah Gertrude Millin in her hagiography of Rhodes:

The body of Rhodes passed along the path of his spirit: from Cape Town where he had ruled, through the Western Province of his vineyards, to Kimberley that had begotten his dreams and his wealth, along his own railway in Bechuanaland [a country that Rhodes called 'the Suez of the South'], through the country of his name, to the hills where he had made peace with the sons of Moselikatze.

A gun-carriage, drawn by twelve oxen, carried the coffin up the black slope of his hill. It was lowered with chains into the rock. The hill was swarming with the Matabele he had won and betrayed and won again and succoured. 'Our father is dead!' they cried, and gave him, alone of white men before or since, the royal salute of 'Bayete!'. (Millin, 1952 [1933]:352)

This theatrical description is the essence of the Cape-to-Cairo idea: the staging of particular scenarios which are subsequently rehearsed in murals and on monuments, in fiction and in speculation, and in modern-day theme-parks; the wishful-thinking or make-believe of the theatre; sleight-of-hand; the fanciful backdrops of architectural styles; casting of explorers into principal actors, and indigenous Africans into picturesque and type-cast extras;⁵ an imperial *mise en scene* which rehearses a desire for a meaning that never fully was – a colonial projection upon the land.⁶

Along Cape Roads and The Pilgrim's Way

Perhaps the first social history of roads in South Africa was the talk given to the Mountain Club of South Africa by the archivist C. Graham Botha in 1916, 'Some Early Exploring Expeditions and Travellers in South Africa', which dealt with material up to the end of the eighteenth century.⁷ The Cape Peninsula Publicity Association produced a handbook on motoring and scenic tours around the Cape Peninsula in the early 1920s, celebrating the opening of the spectacular marine drive

of Chapman's Peak built between 1915 and 1922 which was the initiative of the first Administrator of the Cape Province after Union. This handbook was the first of a long succession of local motoring guides. E.E. Mossop published a detailed book on the subject, *Old Cape Highways*, in 1927, which is an interesting account of the early tracks and their contemporary near-forgotten traces in the Karroo at a time when the question of road improvements was becoming a pressing issue with the expansion of automobilism. Mossop's work was more of a historical and exploratory nature, while Fairbridge's *Along Cape Roads* published by Maskew Miller in Cape Town in the following year was intended for the genteel tourist.

Illustrated with six reproductions of etchings by Gwelo Goodman, *Along Cape Roads* is presented as the narrative of an English lady visitor to the Cape, a device which helps to defamiliarize the subject matter. She lodges with friends at their home above the city, and sets forth on a variety of tourist excursions into Cape Town and the southern suburbs of the Cape Peninsula, including a numinous and romantic episode in the botanical gardens of Kirstenbosch. There are trips into the country as far as Montagu in the Little Karroo, and a visit to the South African Library to read famous travel narratives. The folk lore and the flora feature prominently, and the visit ends with an ascent of Table Mountain and the hint of a budding romance which will bring her back to South Africa.

The late Tom Bulpin, doyen of South African travel writers, prefaces his *Discovering South Africa* (1970) with a valuable essay on the history of modern road-making in Southern Africa, pointing out that only in 1927 was the first fully tarred road surface of any substantial distance, outside of the municipal areas of the large cities, constructed – running from Bellville near Cape Town, to the Boland town of Paarl, a distance of less than fifty miles. The South African government passed the National Road Fund and established a National Road Board in 1935, but it was only after the end of the Second World War that the network of national roads came into being. Thus, for the first half of the twentieth century, long distance highways in South Africa had the status of Provincial or Divisional Council roads, with no articulated system beyond regional arrangements; and the majority of these were untarred. Practical long distance travel (as from Cape Town to Kimberley and Johannesburg) was conducted by rail. The siting of the modern national roads network held, as for large tracts of the United States, serious implications for local interests. Small settler towns might be raised to the status of regional centres, or doomed to extinction, by the choices made by the Road Board who were, inevitably, embroiled in heated controversy with municipalities and business interests. The government used the development of railways and roads as a means of employment for dispossessed 'poor whites' during the depression years and after the Second World

War, in schemes similar to the 'New Deal' in the United States and President Eisenhower's network of Interstate highways.

Discourse which treats of roads and highways engages with the idea of nation-building from several perspectives: the romanticized histories of pioneer nineteenth-century builders such as Andrew Geddes Bain and John Montagu in the Cape, and of course early travel narratives going well back into the late seventeenth century; combinations of questions of local commerce, terrain, and scenic landscape in the siting of roads and mountain passes; the evolution of tourist itineraries along which particular historical topoi become canonized for obvious reasons of accessibility and interest; the idea of performance, as the travel writer's imagination dwells on the shades of past figures and on the picturesque present which includes tribal types; comparative frames of reference which cite famous routes such as the Corniche on the French Riviera; and the recurrent concept of the traveller as pilgrim, focussed, in Southern Africa, on the two numinous objectives of the Matopos and Table Mountain. The topic of road and rail in South Africa is of central importance to the history of the country's modernization in the first half of the twentieth century, and there is considerable scope for studies of the literary and cultural treatment of travel and road culture in this epoch.

Dorothea Fairbridge's last title (not counting the posthumous *Historic Farms*) was another travel book, published by Oxford University Press, and on a scale and pitch of far greater depth than *Along Cape Roads*. This was a pioneering work, the first modern detailed account (more than a handbook) of early twentieth-century South Africa written for a general readership as well as prospective tourists and immigrants. *The Pilgrim's Way in Southern Africa* (1928) was first proposed as the 'Oxford Book of South Africa'. Florence Phillips gave it the final title. 'As a matter of fact this does exactly describe the book', writes John Johnson to Humphrey Milford, 'moreover it is the kind of sentimental tosh which all Colonials like'.⁸ Apart from the title, though, he finds the book 'very good indeed'. Dorothea found support from Sir William Hoy, General Manager of the South African Railways, for the promotion of the book, as with the earlier *Historic Houses*. Hoy's South African Railways and Harbours was, at the time, the principal tourism authority in South Africa, with a rapidly growing archive of photographs. Her letter to John Johnson at Oxford indicates some of the practicalities behind writing the book:

I have had a long talk with Sir William Hoy, Head of the Railways and Publicity. He is very much interested, as you may remember, in the suggestion that I should write 'The Oxford Book of South Africa', and will help a good deal. His department has taken a number of fine

photographs, which he will give me. Also, he may be able to get me a railway pass. Without this I fear that I could not have done it – as it is, the cost of hotels over South Africa will come to as much as I can manage.

He is very optimistic as to the future of such a book. South Africa has just been discovered by Americans and other tourists who are pouring into it by thousands, and all of them will want a book of that kind, he thinks. It should include Rhodesia and the Victoria Falls – but I do not think that it should be a formal guide book stuffed with facts and figures. Those already exist. Perhaps something like Lucas's 'Zigzags in France', on a wider scale? What royalty would you propose? And I suppose it would increase with the sales, as with Lady Anne Barnard? I only refer to this because, even with a pass, I must incur a good deal of expense in going about, and the railway does not reach all the most noteworthy places – but it is very well worth doing – there is nothing of the kind. (Fairbridge to Johnson, 11 February 1927)⁹

In between exhibitions her friend Gwelo Goodman lent a painting, 'The Hex River Valley', to be sent to Oxford for reproduction as the frontispiece, and her other old collaborator, the industrialist and amateur photographer Lancelot Ussher, provided, free of charge, thirty-two landscape prints. Among the numerous photographic prints are selections from Arthur Elliott, the South African Railways, and the substantial collection of South African photographs owned by the Italian Captain Gatti, which was tracked down by John Johnson. The initial print run was for 5000 copies. The genial and generous Ussher caused a stir at sedate Walton Street by narrating to Johnson a motoring accident while he was in England: 'Going to Suffolk at Saxham Hall we happened on a frozen road and did a wonderful skid performance. My son was driving. Broke off a ten-foot telegraph pole; tore out roof and side of car; steering wheel and driver's seat broken off; Lady Magnay, self, and wife escaped through roof.' (Ussher to Johnson, 31 December 1928)¹⁰

Motoring was the new thing in the 1920s. Fairbridge was given a free pass for rail travel around the Union, interspersed with journeys by cart and by hired car which also resulted in a motoring incident, less dramatic than that of the Ussher family. 'At Lydenburg I was met by a dazzlingly new Chevrolet – so new that the step was still wrapped in paper.' She was on her way through mountain passes to Pilgrim's Rest in the Eastern Transvaal. They paused to open a gate across the road, and the driver's 'amiable face lengthened ominously and he disappeared under the car'. It turned out that the oil had run out of the gearbox. In those days before mechanization a local farmer had none, 'not even paraffin', but provided a tray of tea. A boy was sent on a

bicycle to summon a relief car from Pilgrim's Rest which arrived after a delay of five hours. (Fairbridge, 1928 a: 90-92) Later on, heading down from the Soutpansberg to the Lowveld and the Sabie Game Reserve (then recently proclaimed as the Kruger National Park but Fairbridge kept to the old name, probably out of anti-Nationalist feeling), she travelled 'in an ox-trolley, drawn with great dignity and imperceptible speed by two great oxen, with the *voor-looper* (team leader) ahead. Far, far above us towered the Berg – sixty miles of sharp mountain edge, petunia-coloured and misty blue in the early light. We passed cotton-fields and at the station there was a ginnery – but of cotton I hoped to see more later on – and, stepping slow and stately, came at last to the railway-line at Klasserie and to the edge of the Sabie Game Reserve. (Fairbridge, 1928 a: 102)

The Pilgrim's Way in South Africa, an attractive quarto volume which is another substantial contribution to Africana, gives Fairbridge scope for the exploration of a wide variety of interests. The first chapter, 'The People of the Land', is an assured sketch of the history in which she was steeped, from Camoens to the Dutch, and to the politics of Union. She writes of the South African War and its aftermath with some asperity towards the new Nationalist government under J.B.M. Hertzog:

Its scars might show for awhile, but underneath was healing and fusion, they thought. England herself was generously optimistic when she looked from afar at South Africa settling down to peace.... What she really was, events have yet to prove. The history of South Africa is still in the making. (Fairbridge, 1928 a: 8-9)

An elegant study of the '*banlieue*' of the Cape Peninsula, and of Cape Town, 'older than St Petersburg', follows. 'The *fons et origo* of Cape Town – indeed, of all civilized South Africa – was a vegetable garden.' The well-rehearsed history of the Dutch colonists' houses and plantations, the leisured life of the eighteenth century, and the legacy of the Cape Moslems; are presented along with a fine topographical description of Table Mountain and Kirstenbosch. 'It is not easy to look with equanimity upon the blue-gums and wattles that are taking their place on the slopes of Table Mountain and on the Cape Flats'. 'There are many glorious paths in the Cape Peninsula. One, from Sea Point to Hout Bay, hangs between sea and mountain in the manner of the Cornice, or of that less known but lovely road that leads from Orotava to Icod de los Vinos in Teneriffe.' (ibid: 11-18)

The third chapter, 'From Van Riebeeck's Hillside', explores the landscape prospect from Kirstenbosch northwards, a view similar to that which is celebrated in

That Which Hath Been as the imperial prospect commanded by the Rhodes Memorial on the slopes of Devil's Peak, some five miles to the north along the Table Mountain chain. She writes of Van Riebeeck's belief in the 'great kingdom of the Monomotapa and the Land of Gold:

So great was his faith that this kingdom could be reached with little difficulty that he sent out a small expedition to look for it, commanded by the Fiscal Abraham Gabbema. It was to proceed in the first instance to 'Cortado', which he thought would be found about 110 miles north-east. Then, past another mythical town called Belugaris, to the Monomotapa's capital of Davigul, on the banks of the river Spirito Santo, where the Emperor's great treasure of gold was kept.' (ibid:20)

This chapter follows the eye northward, moving to the Boland districts of Klapmuts, Paarl and Wellington, Tulbagh in the Land of Waveren, the Drakenstein mountains and 'French Hoek', the homestead of Vergelegen, and details of early 'Hottentot' culture along with Dutch wine-making. 'At the Paarl the railway, which may some day run from Cape Town to Cairo, halts for the first time on its way to the north'. (ibid: 24) Fairbridge makes much of the aesthetics of the landscape: 'Switzerland has splendid sunsets; the limestone hills of Egypt glow with the loveliness of evening; but nowhere on earth is there the unearthly radiance that illumines the mountains behind Vergelegen'. (ibid: 28)

'Northwards' is an evocative description of the 1000-mile train journey through the Karroo, Northern Cape, and Western Transvaal, to Johannesburg, from whence her narrative moves on to 'Rhodesia'. Here there is a discussion of the Great Zimbabwe and the ancient gold-mining industry, which engages with the earlier fantasies of commentators such as Carl Peters or Keane and Hall, referred to above, but counters their mythologizing with subsequent theories:

The Monomotapa held his savage court at Great Zimbabwe, and here we touch another of Rhodesia's mysteries. Apart from the great building, there are more than four hundred Zimbabwes scattered over the country; they are buildings of squared stones, and over them students of the subject are at grips. These are sharply divided into two groups, the disciples of the late Mr R.N. Hall, who examined the Great Zimbabwe in

1890, and those of Professor MacIver who was sent by the British Association for the Advancement of Science to investigate the matter in 1906. Mr Bent, who wrote of them in 1892, assigned the buildings to pre-Mohammedan Arabians, with Phoenician influence. (ibid: 37-8)

Fairbridge discusses the governance of North and South Rhodesia, and the decision of the latter to enter South African Union in 1910:

It was a momentous decision, and no one can foretell to what it may lead. There are those who foresee Rhodesia's fusion with the central African colonies. There are other Rhodesians who feel that union with the southern states might have led to the great and strong South Africa of which Cecil Rhodes dreamed.

There is sometimes much good stuff in a dream, and though to-day it is not unusual to hear Rhodes referred to, by those who do not understand South Africa, somewhat slightly, as a visionary, a would-be Elizabethan, a filibuster, and so forth, there are many others to whom all that was greatest in the man remains an inspiration. (ibid: 40-41)

'A Pilgrimage from Bulawayo' takes the reader by train from Johannesburg to Mafeking (Mafikeng), Pitsani (from where the Jameson Raid set out), Lobatsi, and the Kalahari Desert of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Botswana). Reminiscences of Jameson, and the missionaries Moffat and Livingstone, mingle with descriptions of the black children selling home-made souvenirs at the tiny railway halts. The train enters Rhodesia in the small hours, leaving behind South Africa 'in the throes of its Flag Bill and other intricate problems' (ibid:46) Fairbridge is met by friends at Bulawayo and taken to the memorial for the dead of the First World War, a topic which stems from the work of her Guild of Loyal Women. In a land which was largely rural and with towns as yet on a small scale, the theme of monuments and memorialism (promoted by the National Society) is foregrounded in discussions of civic architecture and town planning. Shallow social history and thin cultural discourse is given particular meaning by the planting of memorials and monuments, which seem to provide a dense paradigm of vertical significance that penetrates through and anchors the superficial and contingent metonymy of tin-roofed colonial

settlements. The memorial 'stands out above all others in South Africa as that of Winchester College dominates all school memorials in England'¹¹:

It is very simple. Merely a cloister, surrounding a small square space, and in the centre of the space a granite monolith from the Matopos. The columns and capitals and the interlaced arches were inspired by those of Glastonbury Abbey and Durham Cathedral, and the stone of which they were made is a fine rose-red sandstone from Pasipas, a few miles away. When Bulawayo is a great city this little cloister will stand in its heart, exquisite and lovely, bearing the names alike of the white men and of the natives who died in the Great War. (ibid: 47)

From here she travels to the Matopos, to the epitome of this idea of memorialism, the tomb of Cecil Rhodes. This 'flat slab of granite with its plain inscription', between the granite boulders on the summit of the Matopos, seems calculated, in its broad simplicity, to encourage the often gauche over-determination of meaning that colonial or settler Rhodesia accumulated with relish in the twentieth century, as regards their founder-figure. It is, in rhetorical terms, the shrine or *temenos* (to use a favourite term of John Buchan's, in his own descriptions of the Eastern Transvaal) to which the 'Pilgrim's Way' is directed. Like the 'pipes' of rich diamond-bearing blue ground which penetrate the horizontal sandstone crust of the Northern Cape (and from which Rhodes made his fortune), monuments such as this seem, to the colonial imagination, to offer a naturalized source of depth and value in an otherwise flat land. Fairbridge pays homage at the shrine:

The great granite crags were splendid now, the mighty boulders gleaming like silver above our heads, their feet wrapped in wild forest trees, with the crimson plum and the scarlet mopani gleaming amongst them.

Here they had harnessed mules to the gun-carriage for the last steep mile of the way, but after a while the mules had to give place to oxen, as the slopes grew more sheer. In the track of the gun-carriage we followed – I and the friend who had been one of Dr Jameson's men when he rode out from Pitsani and who had stood by the open grave of Cecil Rhodes. It is an unexpectedly lovely spot when you reach the summit, where on the granite

surface lie the mighty boulders that look as though only the Titans could have placed them there. And between the boulders, with the great hills around it, is the flat slab of granite with its plain inscription.

At its head stood a silent figure, a native guardian. When the white men who had buried Cecil Rhodes turned sorrowfully away, the crowd of natives standing a little way off sent forward a spokesman. Might they guard the tomb? Needless to say, their request was granted, and they guard it to this day, gravely and reverently.

....

This stern granite hill, rising above the lovely valley and looking out into the far blue distance, is in truth Rhodesia's Valhalla. It is a holy place, and none should approach it save with deep reverence for the mighty dust that lies beneath his feet and the mightier spirit that fills the land about him. (ibid:49-50)

The narrative then continues to the 'Smoke that Thunders', the Victoria Falls which by then, as mentioned above, were part of the conventional Cook's and Railways tours of Southern Africa. Fairbridge makes much of the indigenous trees, and of the 'picturesque' native kraals. Fellow travellers are described, and the gothic sight of the Wankie Colliery by night, 'the sulphur in the coal burning in tones of orange and green and crimson as the flames leap out of the tall chimneys, while the long rows of coke-ovens glow fiercely in the darkness. It has a weird, unearthly beauty then, but daylight is less flattering' (ibid: 54) Her description of the Falls is delightful, extended, and enthusiastic. She compares herself with the Queen of Sheba who 'made a long journey to see and hear the wonder of the world. And when she had seen and heard that which she had come to see and hear, she bowed her head in humility and said:

'I believed not the words until I came and mine eyes had seen it, and behold the half was not told me'. (ibid: 54)

Fairbridge walks through the rain forest, wrangles with New Zealanders who claim to have larger tree ferns back home, and cites David Livingstone's description of the Falls. She then motors through Rhodesia, visiting tobacco

plantations, describing the 'natives of Rhodesia, a courteous folk', and sight-seeing at the Khami Ruins and the construction site of the Mazoe Dam. Back then, to Johannesburg by train, where she stays with Patrick Duncan, one-time member of the kindergarten, and his wife, in a Herbert Baker house north of the city. She writes an appreciative sketch of the aspect and history of the city, its topography, the 'stern Calvinist' Boer inhabitants of the region and the rise of the Goldfields, the Reform Committee, and Baker's later beautification of the residential suburbs in the north. 'Probably there is no other town in the world that can match this wonderful achievement of forty years'. She visits a mine, having on a previous occasion gone 6000 feet below the surface at the Village Deep. Black South Africans enter into the discourse in relation to mines and labour:

Here we touch the fringe of South Africa's greatest problem – the native. When you see him massed in thousands you are suddenly overwhelmed by the vital nature of the question and its pressing urgency.

We can no longer regard him as so much 'raw labour' material. He is growing daily in numbers. He is in many instances drinking in education. He is no longer the little brother, but is fast becoming a man.

What is his future – and ours? How shall we hold the scales of justice so that right is done to both?

....

Sooner or later a solution must be found to a problem that sometimes seems insoluble. (ibid: 78)

This is wholly in line with her contemporary white world's view of race relations, but with the liberal's added concern for justice. It is a predictable and largely even cliched view of South African race relations, and it reminds us that the animosity between her political milieu (in the 1920s the United South African Party of General Smuts and J.H. Hofmeyr junior), and Hertzog's Nationalist Party, was not in the first instance about the injustice of discrimination against blacks but about empire loyalism versus Afrikaner republican interests.

The description of Johannesburg returns to familiar ground with a sketch of her friend Florence Phillips's Johannesburg Art Gallery designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, the Phillips's Arcadia (by then a Jewish orphanage), and Baker's

Cathedral, and his other residential designs set in their fine gardens overlooking the Magaliesberg mountains:

Sir Herbert Baker traces the inspiration of his work to Cecil Rhodes, in the first instance. Then to Lord Milner and his young men from Oxford, who, with many South Africans, following the example of Rhodes, began a period of house-building after the Boer War, in the new colonies. And, lastly, to General Botha and General Smuts, when they decreed that the administration should be housed in the noble Union Buildings. (ibid:81)

Fairbridge visits Pretoria, taking tea with General Smuts and his wife, 'Ouma' Smuts, at their farm outside the city. 'What General Smuts does not know about the trees and flowers of South Africa is not knowledge. [a line borrowed from the description of Benjamin Jowett in the fabled 'Masque of Balliol'] He keeps a small part of the farm clear for the study of native grasses. So far he has identified a hundred and fifty varieties on this patch alone – and all England has only two hundred.' (ibid:84) She photographed Smuts with his pet blue crane.

Pretoria, with its Union Buildings, jacaranda trees, and Government House, is described before Fairbridge departs for Lydenburg and the Transvaal Lowveld, touring through the spectacular mountain passes, visiting the Woodbush where the Phillipses farmed and Buchan romanced, the small mining town of Pilgrim's Rest, and various agricultural and tree-planting projects. She travels through the Zoutpansberg, observing the development of the citrus industry, and then heads east over the Drakensberg into Natal where there is much informed botanizing. A trip to Eshowe in Zululand prompts her to compare the highway and its populous pageant of social types, colourful Indian costumes, and Zulu folk with their red ochre hair and karosses, with Kipling's description of the Great Trunk Road in north India. She visits cotton and sugar plantations and Zulu kraals, then turns back to the city of Durban:

It was with regret that we left the picturesque native huts and the dignified Zulu of the wilds behind us, on our return drive to Durban. It was like the shifting of scenes at a play to find ourselves

once more passing between the tawdry little Indian houses and the women in lovely colours sitting on the ground, with piles of oranges and naartjes set out for sale on white or blue cloths. In the rivers were numbers of Indian women, standing knee-deep in water, regardless of the pink and yellow garments that hung damply about them, as they slapped gaily-coloured skirts and saris on the stones and hung them out in the sunshine to dry. The Hindoo temples glittered like wedding cakes. On one I had a passing glimpse of figures in plaster, the Gods of India looking down on their children who no longer feel themselves to be strangers and sojourners in South Africa. (ibid:135)

She expands on the issues which led a decade later to the Tongaat improvement project:

It is odd that people who wash their clothes so meticulously should be content to live in squalor. I should have more diffidence in dwelling on this point – for India is very sensitive of criticism in South Africa – were it not that Srinavasa Sastri himself, with all the weight of Indian civilization behind him, was at that very moment addressing the Indians of Tongaat, through which we had passed, and telling them that if they wanted to secure the respect and consideration of the Europeans amongst whom they lived they must mend their ways, send their children to school and live more cleanly. (ibid:135)

Griqualand East follows as a destination, where the main topic is the settlement of farmers from England under Milner's scheme, the prospects for agriculture, and the conviviality of the farming community. There are fine descriptions of the Basuto men and women. The topographical descriptions are tempting in their enthusiasm. She journeys on, up from Matatiele along the northern edge of the 'Quathlamba or Drakensberg' alongside the mountainous kingdom of Basutoland (Lesotho), through the eastern Free State, and down via Cradock in the Eastern Cape to the University town of Grahamstown, the 'Settlers' City' or 'City of Saints', which 'has an old-world air, as of some English country

town. ... Life is dominated by the churches and the schools, as in many English cathedral cities'. (ibid:152) At St Andrews, which came to be run by Fairbridge's nephew Ronald Currey and was long associated with the Fairbridge family, she inspects the memorial to Milner, a flag used as his pall in Canterbury Cathedral and given to the school by Violet Milner 'in memory of his work for South Africa and the Empire'. The next stop is a farm 'on which a newcomer to the land had settled with his wife five years ago':

Not only does he possess a flock of thriving sheep, but a charming house, where his clever wife has worked miracles inside and out, with petrol-boxes and blue paint, and with some fine old furniture and gay chintzes as well. She has created a pleasant English country-house, and her terraced and paved garden is a vision of loveliness after the rains fall.

This man was the wise type of settler. He did not buy his land before seeing it, as so many have done, but went from district to district until he found what he wanted. He did not attempt to grow, upon dry land, citrus fruit or anything else that is dependent for its life on water, but chose land bearing plenty of Karoo bush, and put sheep on it. It has been a struggle, but he was won through almost the worst drought on record. (ibid:155)

From Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape Fairbridge heads back west through the Garden Route by train, to Oudtshoorn, centre of the ostrich feather industry, in the Little Karoo. 'From the train we had a glimpse of one lovely gable on a house that seemed to have lost all the rest of its former charm':

If these houses of South Africa had been in America, how she would have loved and treasured them and preserved them from destruction! It would be easier to bear the loss of them if rural South Africa were giving more thought to the houses that are taking their place. The new and smaller country towns are fast assuming an aspect of deadly monotony, all the houses alike and all with corrugated iron roofs. (ibid: 162)

She drives from Oudtshoorn over the Montagu Pass to George, into the foothills of the Outeniqua Mountains, and enters again into botanical topics. The town of George is described as 'the island valley of Avalon' for English immigrants, with its fine climate, green landscape, modest cost of living, and 'modest English cathedral'. She travels in the 'post motor' along the exuberantly lush Garden Route to the coastal town of Knysna, in the company of the local Conservator of Forests, infusing professional arboricultural discourse into her text. The 'safety of this exquisite place is seriously threatened by the presence of a large settlement of Poor Whites on the hilltop above it'. Fairbridge then provides an explanation of this social phenomenon of the 1920s:

First comes the Roman-Dutch law of inheritance by which every property, however small, is divided between the heirs. At first this did not much matter, for two and a half centuries ago the farms were so large that they might be cut up between a dozen children and yet each would have room to live and farm. But to-day the position is a different one. The portions have become so small that the owner is merely a squatter, not a farmer, or they have vanished altogether; but he has always lived on the land and has had no training to fit him for a town life. So he drags out a miserable existence, scratching the ground for food, or goes as a *bywoner* [share cropper] on the farm of a more prosperous owner – the *bywoner* works for the farmer on a system akin to the *mezzaria* in Italy. But Italy has no colour-question to complicate the position of her peasant-farmers, and the white man in South Africa who sinks in the scale of civilization may easily sink lower than the Bantu, who, by the way, is sometimes a great gentleman and not sunken at all. (ibid:171-2)

She continues with the topic, discussing 'early and improvident marriages', large families, little education, the drought, and the attempt by the Dutch Reformed Church to 'stem the evil by founding large colonies of Poor Whites'. She wishes they had not founded such a colony in the natural environment of the Knysna.

Trees, *Nuxia Floribunda*, *Virgilia Capensis*, stinkwood and yellow-wood, *Ekebergia Capensis*, *Sparmannia Africana*, and hosts of flowering plants are

discussed, during the drive along the well-watered and fertile coastal plain from Knysna to Plettenberg Bay. She returns to Cape Town along the Cape South Coast, and back into the green winelands and dairy farms of the Western Cape. Her epilogue is written back home at Paradise, as she indulges in a set of classical and Mediterranean comparisons:

On that night of nights, when the awed whisper ran through the world – ‘Pan – Pan is dead’ – did the gods of Greece and Rome in very truth droop and die? Or were they drawn into the service of the new faith, and bent to its use, until the altars which had been raised to Venus Anadyomene became the altars of the Blessed Virgin, and the garlands which had been twined for the brows of Apollo rested upon the head of St John?

....

And if this be so, and Pan and the fauns and dryads not dead, but only in their own places, we in the Cape Peninsula know where they are to be found. Mark Phoebus Apollo as he rises in his strength from behind the Drakenstein mountains.

....

Still more gold, and yet still more – like Danae’s shower over the sleeping earth.

In only one other land are there such sunrises. Once, at five of an April morning, I saw the day-spring in Spain. From behind the Sierra Nevada, white with eternal snows, broke the sun. It glimmered on the little channels of the wide Vega; it glittered on the tiled roofs of Granada; it changed the yellow towers of the Alhambra to pearl and mother o’pearl; it flushed the distant mountains with wine-colour. All Spain seemed bathed in glory – the glory of her past.

But, to those who watch the sun break from behind the South African mountains, it is a sign set in the sky, a beacon-light of hope for the future of this young country. (ibid:186-7)

She brings in a different frame of reference again:

Come higher up the hill-side to where, from a great rock, you may see your goodly heritage, from Cape Point even to Table Bay. The forest primeval still remains in places, such as Kirstenbosch, though fast falling elsewhere. There is a mighty clump of silver-trees, gnarled and twisted, but crowned with radiance, where once I heard a little boy say in hushed tones – ‘This is the wood of fairies and enchantments.’ And so it is. Did we not know, on good authority, that Puck has never left England, we should look for him here. But sit still – very still – and the silver-tree wood will soon be full of voices which will charm you with no mortal spell. (ibid: 188)

In *The Pilgrim's Way in South Africa* Fairbridge gives herself the space to sum up all her interests, the full stock of her imagining of South Africa. These range from Cape Dutch antiquities to urban progress, Baker's architecture and landscape aesthetics, immigration, agriculture and horticulture, botany, memorialism, homage to her pantheon of Rhodes and Milner, and passing references to her contemporaries, Kipling and John Buchan. The book is the first of a long tradition of topographical studies of the country, and where it draws on clichés of description it must be remembered that, in the discursive stock of nation-building, the worn metaphor is also the well-tried building tool. Her descriptive frames of reference, as in much travel writing of the day, and as in the discourse of the ‘Mediterranean’ Cape, draw on Southern European models which may be understood not so much as reductive, as seeking to celebrate South Africa's place within a cosmopolitan world.

Her views on demography, black South Africa, and social questions, are far from helpful. However, her intended readership was British, within a view of South Africa that held out, even at the time of huge political change both internally and within the context of the Commonwealth at large, a desire for a continued liberal anglophone community of spirit. This community would prize its ‘goodly heritage’ as redefined by Cape antiquarianism, and at the same time forge a modern and international society with political, economic and sentimental bonds with Britain and the ‘sister dominions’. With the changing facts of global economics and empire politics this desire was, already, something of an illusion, and in this respect

Fairbridge's work is now an archive to a long-gone Edwardian universe of values.⁹ Apart from the dated politics and social views, however, her broad and many-faceted understanding of the new state still informs much of what is taken for granted as typically 'South African'.

As a coda to this thesis the following passage from *The Pilgrim's Way* (189-90) epitomizes this desire. Fairbridge seeks to yoke the Cape to Mediterranean Europe, and she imagines this link to exhibit both a picturesque antiquity and progressive modernity. Like all writing of the period concerning the Cape-to-Cairo connection it is both a prospect (a northward-oriented picturesque landscape), and a prospectus for projected schemes of development:

Home again, up the winding road and over the Kloof Nek to where Cape Town glitters below you, as she lies in the lap of the mountains.

The glow of moonlight still rests on the summits of the mountains across the bay, but the water is deep, dark grey now, with silver gleams where the lazy waves break at the city's feet. She is ringed with jewelled lights, as is Naples, and through the lights a long, straight road cuts northward, always northward, through smiling vine-lands and the parched Karoo to cities yet unborn, and — at long, long last — to Cairo.¹²

¹ Grogan's descendant Tony Grogan, a Cape Town artist, published a book of illustrations made in Malawi in 1994 entitled *Between the Cape and Cairo* (Grogan, 1995).

² I am grateful to the Automobile Association of South Africa for some of this information.

³ See for instance Rogers (1959), Smith (1961), and Oberholzer (1996).

⁴ See Herbert Baker's mythologising of Table Mountain as the spirit of Rhodes, in which, drawing on Shelley's 'Prometheus Unbound', he lays over the myth of Adamastor (devised by the Portuguese Camoens) the antique myth of Prometheus (Baker, 1934:159-66). Rhodes is, for Baker, a Promethean figure. The myth also appears in stucco work in Baker's Rhodes House, Oxford.

⁵ This is not to deny the subjectivity of indigenous Africans in such events as the Rhodes funeral, but rather to indicate that imperial and colonial writers such as Millin were, at one level, interested only in a coercive discourse of appropriation and justification. To state the thesis of these two chapters reductively perhaps, the overall effect of the multitude of articulations of the imperial Cape-to-Cairo fantasy was meant to be just such appropriation and justification. As Leon de Kock (1996:190) has stated, 'the larger text of English in colonial South Africa not only buttressed, but extended the work of a haphazard yet ultimately murderous imperialism in the country'. It is needful to reconstruct and examine the ambiguities of coercion, co-optation and resistance as regards the subjective position of black Africans in such events as that described by Millin, and it is needful to pursue the question of a 'staggered orientalism' from perspectives other than the British imperial one, for instance from the very significant point of view of reports by Cape Muslims of their *Haj* or pilgrimage to Mecca; but that is beyond the scope of these chapters which have

the limited intention of sketching a discursive field that was generated from a largely British colonial and imperial complex of desires.

⁶ See Martin Hall (1995) for a discussion of the colonialist mythology invested in the late twentieth-century hotel and casino complex of Sun City and the Lost City, in South Africa's North-West Province.

⁷ Pamphlet published by the Cape Times, 1916.

⁸ Oxford University Press archive, Amen House letterbooks, 70, 278.

⁹ Oxford University Press archive, Amen House letterbooks, 64, 482-3.

¹⁰ Oxford University Press archive.

¹¹ The war memorial at Winchester College was designed by Herbert Baker, and is linked to a memorial shooting range funded by Lady Violet Cecil in memory of her son George.

¹² The significance of northern orientation in South Africa is partially that, to take best advantage of the sun in the Southern Hemisphere, 'desirable properties' are north-facing; but the idea of a northward orientation is also linked to the idea of colonial expansion. The statue of Cecil Rhodes in the Company's Garden in Cape Town faces and gestures to the north, with the inscribed legend 'Your Hinterland Lies There'. The Palladian-styled Rhodes Memorial on the slopes of Table Mountain also faces north; and one of Herbert Baker's earliest mansions in the exclusive Johannesburg suburb of Parktown was dubbed 'Northwards'. An important article by Jeremy Foster (1996) develops this topic in relation to landscape architecture. Foster is working at present on a project which deals with the colonial ideologies entailed in rail travel in South Africa.

Conclusion

In the twentieth century South Africa passed through two broad phases of anti-colonial struggle – the break from British imperialism and the end to white domination. Fairbridge's work was conducted from the liberal perspective of the Cape, which assumed that the British connection would endure and be a guarantee of civil rights, and that a colour-blind franchise would be extended across the Union in the fullness of time. It was also conducted from an immensely idealistic interpretation of South Africa's place within the British Commonwealth of Nations, and its relation with Britain or, more particularly, England. The success of this vision was assumed to depend on swinging the white voting majority in South Africa from Dutch or Afrikaans-speaking to anglophone. South Africans of English descent were assumed en bloc to be loyalist in political sentiment, which was far from the case. The means to achieve this advantageous balance of voters lay in immigration from Britain, and it appears that a great deal of loyalist heritage-invention for the Union was conducted with one eye to the promoting of immigration.

Much of the work which has been discussed was presented before the world as a kind of prospectus – a view to the land, not only in the classical sense of landscape prospect, but as a viable business proposition. There is a long tradition of books written about South Africa which are gauged not only for tourists but for prospective immigrants. A comprehensive annotated bibliography of these (from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1960s) would form a kind of secondary Africana, which in fact is what Dorothea Fairbridge was engaged in producing. From travel writing and documentary studies to the novel, early twentieth-century South African authors in English sought to explain the land and its people – not primarily to their own readerships, but to markets in Britain.

Afrikaans literature had a decidedly different role to play, in establishing the new language and in forging an internal national identity for the *volk*. These different markets produce very different kinds of voices, and different forms of literary energy, or structures of feeling. Those South African writers in English who have endured are those who were closest to the second category, writers such as Pauline Smith and Herman Charles Bosman, not because they were working to any programme of national agenda such as were Langenhoven, Preller, or Van Wyk Louw, but because

their imagination was free from the thickets of protocol and of illusory vision in which Fairbridge hedged herself.

Raymond Williams's concept of 'subjunctive performance' which was applied above to the genre of the new pageantry is appropriate to the overall project in which Fairbridge was involved. The imperial project entailed hopes, wishes, intense gestures, pledges -- in sum a discourse of performative rhetoric that tended to address an audience at a pitch and a level of reality remote from the mundane, opportunistic, and contentious internal politics of the country. When Froude visited her father at Mimosas in 1875, Charles Fairbridge proudly conducted him round his fine garden, saying 'I want to show you, Mr Froude, what we can do in South Africa'. He received the crushing reply: 'Mr Fairbridge, I have not come to South Africa to see what you *can* do; I have come to see what you *are doing*'.ⁱ The subjunctive mood is proleptic, engaging with conditions, possibilities, and potential rather than with the reductively indicative mood of the actual. Perhaps it is, then, an intimate aspect of the imagination, and therefore a continuing feature in the national imaginary. The metonymic detail with which Fairbridge was acquainted as an antiquarian becomes lifted into ceremonial metaphor through the transforming and anticipatory power of a collective imagination that, in each generation, finds new rhetorical forms for its expression.

Dorothea Fairbridge's account of South Africa is thus not only dated, but framed within a vision that eluded the grasp of the seer as does a mirage in the desert. It is elite, imperialist, and English to the point of divisiveness even while the rhetoric engages recursively with the concept of reconciliation. Having said that, it remains to be borne in mind that each generation has inevitably produced markedly different discourses on South Africa. As mentioned above, a new hagiography that was centred on the person of Jan Smuts replaced the preoccupation with Cecil Rhodes in the 1940s and 1950s. Successive major moments in the public history and public culture of South Africa, such as the Voortrekker centenary, the Jan van Riebeeck tercentenary, and the celebration of the new South Africa in 1994 each form the nucleus of a fresh set of discourses which are remote from the enthusiasms and concerns of the time of Union. A study of the way in which these are inflected, and how they shift with the passage of time, would be a rhetorical study of the evolution of the idea of South Africa, an idea which is necessarily problematic owing to the considerable variety within South African demography and culture.

Alongside these shifting discursive formations, however, Fairbridge and her coteries contributed materially to the public culture of South Africa in ways which structurally reflect the textual imagination but which outlast the rhetoric, laying the base for numerous public institutions which are taken for granted as part of the national heritage and birthright of all South Africans. These include notably the National Monuments Commission or Heritage Commission, and the importance of ecological tourism for the economy, including the 'floral kingdom' of the Western Cape and the Kruger National Park in Mpumalanga Province (the old Western Transvaal). Other issues which Fairbridge promoted, such as architectural preservation, Africana, the cultural image of the 'Cape Malay' community, traditions of memory and memorialism, and horticulture, have further enriched South Africa in specific ways. Lawrence G. Green, who wrote a series of much-loved anecdotal and topographical books on South Africa in the 1940s and 1950s, is a pivotal figure as regards white South African popular identity and memory in the transition years between Fairbridge's milieu and the apartheid generation. He vigorously acknowledges not only Dorothea, but also her father and his nephew William Ernest Fairbridge, for their very substantial contribution to Africana. (L.G. Green, 1949: 77-80) Further, as Henri Deherain (1931) comments, Fairbridge's work was a contribution not only to her own anglophone community but also to the cultural identity of Afrikaans-speaking Republican South Africa.

Ironically perhaps, but perhaps inevitably, old concepts such as the colonial pan-African vision of Rhodes, the performance of national identity in large-scale public events, and the 'inventing of tradition' and recuperation of heritage, as well as the drive for reconciliation, are again part of the nation's public agenda with the concept of the African Renaissance, the populist role of international sporting tournaments, the recovery of the lost patrimony of black South Africans, and the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Dorothea Fairbridge was justly described by Thelma Gutsche as a 'nation builder', but construction and reconstruction are the task of each successive generation. 'To each his work. Ours to see that there be no flaw in the solid foundation; theirs who come after us to place the coping-stone', says Olaf Bergh in *That Which Hath Been*. Some foundations last, others were indeed flawed, but the structures and the bricolage left from the work of builders such as Fairbridge are intimately bonded into the fabric of South African public culture.

¹ Ronald Fairbridge Currey, unpublished memoir, 'From Victoria to Fouche', 17.

Appendix I

'From the Cape to Cairo'

From Cape Town's mountain-minster, from Durban's lake of sleep
The steeds of steel are hasting, their inland tryst to keep;
From Inyak and Algoa, from rock-barr'd Buffalo --
For whereso'er the white men fare, those steeds of steel must go.

Across the tawny desert that slender thread is flung,
O'er arch'd and column'd granite the bridge of bronze is hung;
Beneath the Rainbow Forest 'tis washed with torrent spray,
And thru' the sand, one burning band, sparkles the living way.

By silent Tanganyika the thunder-wheel shall beat,
By all the land-bound waters shall press those flaming feet --
Shall pierce the central forests for many an endless mile,
Burst with their freight through Egypt's gate, and race beside the Nile.

The oldest of the cities shall see earth's newest things;
The oldest of the rivers shall feel their rushing wings.
Oh, messengers of magic, not vainly are ye spent;
The word ye give makes nations live, and binds a continent!

Lance Fallaw, 1909.

Appendix II

A Historian of Good Hope – Dorothea Fairbridge, by M. Henri Deherain, Keeper of the Institute Library. Extract from the *Bulletin de la Section de geographie*, Paris, 1931, 215-20 (translated from the French)

Un Historien de Bonne-Esperance - Dorothea Fairbridge, par M. Henri Deherain, Conservateur de la Bibliotheque de l'Institut

Miss Dorothea Fairbridge, who died at the Cape of Good Hope on the 25th August 1931, left works on the history and the historical geography of South Africa which to my knowledge have not been evaluated in France at all, but which are well worthy of comment.

Dorothea Anne Fairbridge was born in the Cape of Good Hope around 1860, of English stock. Fairbridge, her father, and her mother, nee Andersen, were both descended from English settlers who had arrived in the Cape in 1820. At this time, with the Cape becoming a British colony, the British Government deemed it necessary to inject, after a fashion, some British blood into a population which had hitherto been exclusively of either Dutch or French origin.

Miss Dorothea Fairbridge's father was a solicitor by profession, but he was also an enlightened bibliophile, and had amassed at his villa 'Mimosa' at Sea Point, on the Cape Peninsula, a collection of books, and in particular of history books, which he later bequeathed to the Cape Town Public Library. In this studious atmosphere Miss Dorothea passed her early childhood, before being sent to England to complete her education. In the course of her life she often returned to England. Her last stay was in 1930. She came then to spend a few days in Paris, where I was fortunate enough to make her acquaintance in person, though we had already known each other for many years through our respective work. She was in fact essentially English, and very attached to the land of her distant ancestors, but at the same time she had succumbed to the charm of the country to which her grandfather had emigrated, and she had become very South African. She had made a study of the flora and the ornithology of South Africa – there were few people as well versed as she was in the birds of the Cape.

But it was to history in the main that she devoted her life, and she came to it in a rather roundabout way, through taking sides in an ancient controversy which came to light again at the beginning of the century.

Anyone who knows anything of the history of South Africa will be aware of what is referred to as the Van der Stel affair. Willem Adriaan Van der Stel, Governor of the Cape from 1699, was accused in 1706 by a group of settlers of tyrannical rule of the colony, of preventing settlers from freely selling the produce from their lands and smallholdings, and of lining his pockets at their expense. Some of the settlers took their complaints to the Council of the 17 Directors of the Dutch East India Company in Amsterdam. The Council found in favour of the plaintiffs and upheld their complaint. Willem Adriaan Van der Stel was recalled to the Netherlands. The affair came to light again in the early years of this century, and Miss Fairbridge wrote a historical novel called 'That Which Hath Been' on the subject. She sided vehemently with Van der Stel against the settlers. As it happens, I had earlier written biographical notes on both the principal adversaries of Van der Stel – Henning Huysing and Adam Tas, based on his diary, part of which had been found. When I spoke to Miss Fairbridge, we were amused to find ourselves firmly on opposing sides of the barricade, but I saw in the violence of the terms Miss Fairbridge used in speaking of her adversaries Huysing and Adam Tas – my clients, in the event – what passions this two-centuries old quarrel was still able to arouse in the Cape. I shall add that she did not convince me of the innocence of Van der Stel, and I was especially struck by the way in which all the French settlers of the Cape at the time took sides against him.

After this Miss Dorothea Fairbridge sailed into calmer waters. In 1922, she published a very beautiful book entitled 'Historic Houses of South Africa', with an interesting text and perhaps even more interesting illustrations. Miss Fairbridge had collected a number of engravings of old houses belonging to settlers in the Cape. In the book are reproduced, often in colour, pictures of old French colonial houses, which even now still have French names: Burgundy, Lormarins, Bien Donne, Rhone, Picardie, La Provence, Nonpareil, and so on.

It was through 'Historic Houses', too, that we came to know the name and work of a French architect completely unknown in France. Louis Thibault arrived in the Cape in 1781 in the regiment of one Muiron, one of the troop corps sent by the government of Louis XVI to the aid of the Dutch colony, which the English had at the time intended to conquer, settled there, took up his profession of architect once more and built monuments, some of which are still in existence.

Miss Dorothea Fairbridge then published the letters of two highborn English ladies who had both spent long periods in the Cape: one of them was Lady Anne Barnard, the other Lady Duff Gordon.

....

In both these works, the method which Miss Dorothea Fairbridge chose involved not just the citation of a large number of personal letters by her two subjects, but in linking the texts of the letters to each other with an intelligent commentary in which her deep knowledge of the history of the Cape stands out.

Both volumes have the additional merit of being handsomely illustrated by a selection of engravings from the author's own collection.

Miss Dorothea Fairbridge also published a small book entitled 'A History of South Africa' (London, Oxford University Press, first edition 1918, final edition 1928), which I would warmly recommend to anyone who wanted a concise overview of the history of South Africa.

She travelled widely in the Cape Colony: two of her other works are travel books, in which she wrote of the beauty of the countryside and of the landscape – outdoor books, in fact. They are entitled 'The Pilgrim's Way in South Africa', 1928, and 'Along Cape Roads', 1929.

Literary activity in no way hampered Miss Dorothea Fairbridge from playing a full part in the daily life of the Cape. Right at the start of the Boer War she founded the 'Loyal Women's Guild', which was a meeting-point for all women who wanted to offer whatever help they could in mitigation of the evils of the war. The women's group in the event outlasted the hostilities. Miss Fairbridge also played her part in the foundation of the 'National Society', whose object was the protection of the country's historic monuments and notable sites. She was a great friend of Lord Milner, who played a substantial political role both in Egypt and in South Africa, and she spent the last two years of her life preparing the statesman's letters for publication.

In an article on Miss Fairbridge's life, the 'Cape Times' wrote 'Her death will cause a great void in the lives of all those who had the good fortune to know her and her work. She was modest and had a natural charm which was greatly appreciated by all her friends, and she was so knowledgeable and well-read that she could converse on a wide range of topics with competence'. For thirty years, Miss Dorothea Fairbridge was a leading figure in Cape society.

At the present time we are witnessing a rare phenomenon. The Afrikaners, for so long indifferent to their history, are currently taking a keen interest in it. Past political events, customs, the formation of their language are all capturing their attention. Miss Dorothea Fairbridge certainly played a leading part in this intellectual resurgence which is a feature of South Africa now.

Bibliography

Alston, Madeline

1929: *From an Old Cape Homestead*. London: Bodley Head.

Anderson, Benedict

1991 (1983): *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Arts Council of Great Britain

1981: *Lutyens: The Work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens*.
London: Arts Council of Great Britain.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin

1989: *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*. London: Routledge.

Attwell, Eric

1997: *The Road to London*. Port Elizabeth: Palladian Press.

Baker, Sir Herbert

1909: 'The Architectural Needs of South Africa,' *The State*, May 1909: 512-24.

1934: *Cecil Rhodes: By his Architect*. London: Oxford University Press.

1944: *Architecture and Personalities*. London: Country Life.

Beegle, Mary Porter, and Jack Randall

1916: *Community Drama and Pageantry*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Beinart, William

1994: *Twentieth Century South Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beit, Sir Alfred, and J.G. Lockhart

1957: *The Will and the Way, being an Account of Alfred Beit and the Trust which he Founded*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Belcher, M.L.

1932: *Cape to Cowley via Cairo in a Light Car*. London: Methuen.

Bernal, Martin

1987: *Black Athena* vol. 1. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Boehmer, Elleke

1998: *Empire Writing: An Anthology of Colonial Literature, 1870-1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Boeseken, A.J.

1959: 'Theal as Baanbreker', *South African Archives Journal*, 1, 33-42.

Bosco, Andrea, and Alex May, eds.

1997: *The Round Table, The Empire/Commonwealth, and British Foreign Policy*. London: Lothian Foundation Press.

Boughton, Rutland, and Reginald R. Buckley

1911: *Music-Drama of the Future*. London: William Reeves.

Brendon, Piers

1991: *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism*. London: Secker and Warburg.

Brennan, Timothy

1990: 'The National Longing for Form', in Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 44-70.

Bruce, W.S.

1903: *Our Heritage: Individual, Social and Religious*. London: Blackwood.

Buchan, John

1903: *The African Colony: Studies in the Reconstruction*. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

1940: *Memory Hold-The-Door*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Buchanan-Gould, Vera

c.1950: *Vast Heritage*. Bellville, Western Cape: Beau Rivage.

Buckley, Reginald R.

1911: *The Shakespeare Revival and the Stratford-upon-Avon Movement*. London: George Allen and Sons.

Bulpin, T.V.

1970: *Discovering Southern Africa*. Cape Town: Books of Africa.

Cannadine, David

1994: *Aspects of Aristocracy*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

2002: *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Cape Town, the Town Clerk

1911: *The Cape of Good Hope: Being the Official Handbook of the City of Cape Town*. Cape Town: Corporation of the City.

Castle, Wilfred T.F.

Undated, circa 1948: *Syrian Pageant*. London: Hutchinson.

Caton-Thompson, Gertrude

1931: *The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reaction*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Coetzee, J.M.

1988: *White Writing: On the Culture of Letters in South Africa*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Cohn, Bernard S.

1983: 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Inventing of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 165-210.

Colvin, I.D.

Undated, circa 1909: *South Africa* (Romance of Empire Series). London: T.C. and E.C. Jack.

Le Comité du 'Livre-souvenir' Des Fêtes Jubilaires

1911: *Les Fêtes du Troisième Centenaire de Québec: 1608-1908*. Quebec: Laflamme & Proulx.

Connon, F. Wallace

1946: *World Government: The Drama of the Ages*. London: Covenant Publishing Co.

Conrad, Joseph, with Ford Madox Ford

1925 (1901): *The Inheritors, an Extravagant Story*. Edinburgh: John Grant.

Cooper, Alan Amos

1986: *The Freemasons of South Africa*. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau.

Court-Treath, Stella

1927: *Cape to Cairo*. London: Harrap.

Cubitt, Geoffrey, ed.

1998: *Imagining Nations*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Curl, James Stevens

1991: *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry*. London: Batsford.

Curtis, Lionel

1934-1937: *Civitas Dei*. Three volumes. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Darnley, Viscount (ed)

1932: *Frank Lascelles, Our Modern Orpheus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dart, Raymond

1925: 'The Historical Succession of Cultural Impacts upon South Africa', *Nature* 115, 425-9.

Davol, Ralph

1914: *A Handbook of American Pageantry*. Taunton, Mass: Davol Publishing.

Deacon, Janette

1996: 'A Tale of Two Families: Wilhelm Bleek, Lucy Lloyd and the /Xam San of the Northern Cape', in *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen*, ed. by Pippa Skotnes. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 93-113.

Deherain, Henri

1931: 'Un Historien de Bonne-Esperance: Dorothea Fairbridge', *Bulletin de la Section de Geographie*, 1931, 215-20. privately translated into English, 1994.

De Kock, Leon

1996: *Civilizing Barbarians: Missionary Narrative and African Textual Response in Nineteenth-Century South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Derrida, Jacques

1982: (1968), 'The Pit and the Pyramid: Introduction to Hegel's Semiology,' in *Margins of Philosophy*, translated by Alan Bass. Brighton: Harvester.

Dod's Peerage

1915: *Representative British Freemasons: A Series of Biographies and Portraits of Early Twentieth Century Freemasons*. London: Dod's Peerage.

Douglas, Ann

1977: *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Driver, Dorothy

1995: 'Lady Anne Barnard's *Cape Journals* and the concept of self-othering', *Pretexts*, 5 (1-2), 46-65.

Driver, Felix, and David Gilbert, eds.

1999: *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Duff Gordon, Lucie

1865: *Letters from Egypt, 1863-65*. London: Macmillan.

1875: *Last Letters from Egypt*. London: Macmillan.

1927: *Letters from the Cape*, annotated by Dorothea Fairbridge. London: Humphrey Milford.

Du Plessis, I.D.

1939: *Maleise Liederskat: 'n Sangbundel vir die Kaapse Kore*. Cape Town: Nasionale Pers.

1953: *The Malay Quarter and its People*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

1972: *The Cape Malays*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

Du Toit, S.J.

1898: *Di Koningin van Skeba of Salomo syn oue Goudvelde in Sambesia: Historiese Roman, met Prente*. Paarl: D.F. du Toit.

Eagleton, Terry.

1983: *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fairbridge, Charles

1904: *The Fairbridge Library: a Catalogue of the Collection of Books formed by the late Charles Aken Fairbridge and preserved at Sea Point, Cape Colony*. Edinburgh: Constable.

Fairbridge, Charles, and John Noble

1886: *Catalogue of Books relating to South Africa*. Cape Town: for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition Committee, by W.A Richards and Sons.

Fairbridge, Dorothea

1910: *That Which Hath Been*. Cape Town: Cape Times.

1913: *Piet of Italy*. London: Mills and Boone, and Cape Town: J.C. Juta.

1915: *The Torch Bearer*. Cape Town: J.C. Juta.

1918: *A History of South Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1922: *Historic Houses of South Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, and Cape Town: Maskew Miller.

1924 a: *Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape of Good Hope*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

1924 b: *Gardens of South Africa*. London: A. and C. Black.

1926 a: *The Uninvited*. London: Edward Arnold.

1926 b: *Skiddle*. London: Oxford University Press, and Cape Town: Cape Times.

1927: *Letters from the Cape by Lady Duff Gordon*. London: Oxford University Press.

1928 a: *The Pilgrim's Way in South Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.

1928 b: *Along Cape Roads*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller.

1931: *Historic Farms of South Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.

Fairbridge, Kingsley

1927: *The Autobiography of Kingsley Fairbridge*. London: Oxford University Press.

1974: *Kingsley Fairbridge: His Life and Verse*. Bulawayo: Books of Rhodesia (reprint of the 1927 edition with extra material and poems).

Fallow, Lance

1909: *An Ampler Sky*. London: Macmillan.

Filewod, Alan

1987: *Collective Encounters: Documentary Theatre in English Canada*.
Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Forster, E.M.

1936 (1934): The Abinger Pageant, in *Abinger Harvest*. London: Edward
Arnold.

1940 (1938): *England's Green and Pleasant Land: A Pageant Play*. London:
Hogarth Press.

Foster, Jeremy

1996: 'Landscape Phenomenology and the Imagination of a New South Africa
on Parktown Ridge', *African Studies* 55: 93-126.

Frank, Katherine

1994: *Lucie Duff Gordon: A Passage to Egypt*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Fransen, Hans

1993: *A Cape Camera: The Architectural Beauty of the Old Cape*,
Photographs from the Arthur Elliott Collection. Johannesburg: Ad Donker
and Jonathan Ball.

Frazer, Maryna

1980: *The Story of Two Cape Farms*. Johannesburg: Barlow Rand.

Freemasonry

1911: *A Library of Freemasonry*. Philadelphia: John C. Yorston.

Fussell, Paul

1975: *The Great War and Modern Memory*. London: Oxford University
Press.

Garlake, Peter S.

1982: *Great Zimbabwe Described and Explained*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.

Gayer, Mary Hazell

1928: *The Heritage of the Anglo-Saxon Race*. London: The Covenant Publishing Co.

Girouard, Mark

1981: *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Glassberg, David

1990: *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas

1985: *The Occult Roots of Nazism: The Ariosophists of Austria and Germany, 1840-1935*. Wellingborough: Aquarian Press.

Grant, Eric

1988: 'The Sphinx in the North', in *The Iconography of Landscape*, edited by Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, 236-53. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gray, Stephen

1979: *South African Literature: an Introduction*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Green, Lawrence G.

1949: *In the Land of Afternoon*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.

Green, Michael

1997: *Novel Histories: Past, Present, and Future in South African Fiction*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Greene, Graham

1957 (1936): *Journey Without Maps*. London: Pan.

Greenhalgh, Paul

1988: *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Greig, Doreen

1970: *Herbert Baker in South Africa*. Cape Town: Purnell.

Grogan, Ewart Scott, and Arthur H. Sharp

1902: *From the Cape to Cairo: The First Traverse of Africa from South to North*. London: Thomas Nelson.

Grogan, Tony

1995: *Between the Cape and Cairo: Tony Grogan Paints Malawi*. Blantyre, Malawi: Central Africana Books.

Gutsche, Thelma

1966: *No Ordinary Woman: The Life and Times of Florence Phillips*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.

Haggard, H. Rider

1985 (1885): *King Solomon's Mines*. Johannesburg: Ad Donker.

1886: *She*. London: Longmans, Green.

1887: *Allan Quatermain*. London: Longmans.

Hahlo, H.R., and Ellison Kahn, eds.

1960: *South Africa: The Development of its Laws and Constitution*. Cape Town: Juta.

Hall, Martin

1995: 'The Legend of the Lost City: Or, the Man with the Golden Balls', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21,2, 179-99.

Hall, R.N.

1905: *Great Zimbabwe*. London: Methuen.

Hallett, Robin

1975: *Africa Since 1875*. London: Heinemann.

Hallward, Reginald Francis

1912: *A Plea for the National Support of Mural Art*. Gravesend: Woodlands Press.

Heap, Peggy

1970: *The Story of Hottentots' Holland*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

Hegel, G.F.W

1872 (1834): *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, translated by J. Sibree. London: Bell and Deldy.

Herd, Norman

1982: *Killie's Africa: The Achievements of Dr Killie Campbell*. Pietermaritzburg: Blue Crane.

Heywood, Christopher

1982: 'Birds, Beasts and Flowers: The Evolutionary Context and Lawrence's African Literary Source', *D.H. Lawrence Review* 15, 87-105.

Hobsbawn, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds.

1983: *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E.J.

1990: *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hockly, H.E.

1948: *The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa*. Cape Town: Juta.

Howard-Williams, Geoffrey

1949: *Laughing at Life*. Cape Town: Central News Agency.

Humphreys, Barbara.

1994: *Empty Cradles*. London: Doubleday.

Huxley, Aldous

1941: *Grey Eminence*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Irving, Robert Grant

1981: *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi*. London: Yale University Press.

Jacobson, Dan

1994: *The Electronic Elephant: A Southern African Journey*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Jaff, Fay

1975: *Women South Africa Remembers*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.

Jansen van Vuuren, I.L.

1973: 'Die Beeld van Willem Adriaen van der Stel in die Geskiedskrywing en in D.J. Opperman se Versdrama, "Vergelegen"'. Unpublished MA thesis University of Potchefstroom for Christian Higher Education.

Jenkins, Elwyn

1997: 'The fall from grace of Kingsley Fairbridge', *English Academy Review*, 14, 73-86.

1998: Review of *Fairbridge. Empire and Child Migration*, by Geoffrey . .
Sherington and Chris Jeffrey. Ilford, Essex. Woburn Press, 1998. *English
Academy Review*, 15, 279-280.

2000: 'Children's literature and British child emigration schemes. A missed
opportunity', *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 35 (1), 121-29.

Jeppe, M. Shamiel

1989: 'I.D. du Plessis and the Re-invention of the Malay, circa 1935-1952',
University of Cape Town: Centre for African Studies monograph.

Juta, Jan

1972: *Background in Sunshine: Memories of South Africa*. New York:
Charles Scribner's Sons.

Juta, Rene

1909: *The Masque of the Silver Trees*. Cape Town: Juta.

1910: *The Cape Peninsula*. Cape Town: Juta.

1924: *Cannes and the Hills*. London: Martin Secker.

Karsten, Mia C.

1951: *The Old Company's Garden at the Cape and its Superintendents*. Cape
Town: Maskew Miller.

Keath, Michael

Undated, circa 1992: *Herbert Baker: Architecture and Idealism, 1892-1913,
The South African Years*. Gibraltar: Ashanti.

Kendall, F.K.

Undated, circa 1925: *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*. Cape Town: Juta.

Klopper, Sandra

2000: *Peter Magubane: African Renaissance*. London: Struik New Holland.

Koperski, Karl

2000: 'William Fehr (1892-1968) and his Contribution to the Study of South African History and Culture'. Unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Stellenbosch.

Kruger, Loren

1999: *The Drama of South Africa: Plays, Pageants and Publics since 1910*. London: Routledge.

Ledger, Sally, and Scott McCracken, eds.

1995: *Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leibbrandt, H.C.V.

1887: *Rambles Through the Archives of the Colony of Cape of Good Hope, 1688-1700*. Cape Town: J.C. Juta.

1896-1906: *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope*. five volumes. Various publishers.

Leighton, J.M.

Undated, circa 1983: *South Africa House in the Making*. No publication details.

Leipoldt, Louis

2000: *Stormwrack*, ed. by Stephen Gray. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau.

Lenta, Margaret

1992: 'Degrees of Freedom: Lady Anne Barnard's Cape Diaries', *English in Africa* 19,2, 55-68.

Lenta, Margaret, and Basil le Cordeur, eds.

1999: *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard*. Two volumes. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society.

Lewin Robinson, A.M.

1954: 'Charles Aken Fairbridge and his Library, Part 1: Biographical Sketch', *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* 9,2, 32-49.

1955: 'Charles Aken Fairbridge and his Library, Part 2: Literary and Bibliographical Work', *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* 9,3, 74-93.

Lewin Robinson, A.M., Margaret Lenta, and Dorothy Driver, eds.

1999: *The Cape Journals of Lady Anne Barnard, 1797-1798*. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society.

Lewis, Cecil

1984: *Gemini to Joburg: The True Story of a Flight over Africa*. Harmondsworth: Viking.

Lighton, Conrad

1951: *Sisters of the South*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.

Lock, N.K.

Undated, c.1946: *No Wine for the Governor*. London: The Bodley Head.

Long, B.K.

1908: *The Framework of Union: A Comparison of Some Union Constitutions*. Cape Town: The Closer Union Society.

Lowenthal, David

1996: *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. London: Viking.

Lugard, Sir Frederick F.

1922: *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. London: Blackwood.

Mabbot, J.D.

Undated, circa 1940: *The State and the Citizen: an Introduction to Political Philosophy*. London: Hutchinson.

McClintock, Anne

1995: *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge.

Mackenzie, John

1995: *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Macnab, Roy

1983: *The Story of South Africa House*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

MacSymon, R. M.

1990: *Fairbridge Arderne and Lawton: A History of a Cape Law Firm*. Cape Town: Juta.

Madden, Frederick, and D.K. Fieldhouse, eds.

1982: *Oxford and the Idea of Commonwealth: Essays Presented to Sir Edgar Williams*. London: Croom Helm.

Mallows, Wilfrid

1985: *The Mystery of the Great Zimbabwe*. London: Hale.

Markel, Ann B.

1993: 'Walls of Isolation: The Garden Fortress of Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel', *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series*, 7, 71-83.

Martienssen, Rex

1928: 'The Golden Road: Impressions of an Architectural Pilgrimage to the Cape', *The South African Architectural Record*, 13, 50, 29-32.

Martin, Denis-Constant

1999: *Coon Carnival: New Year in Cape Town, Past and Present*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Martin, Julia

2002: *Writing Home*. Plumstead, Cape: Carapace Poets.

Matenga, Edward

1998: *The Soapstone Birds of Great Zimbabwe: Symbols of a Nation*. Harare: Africa Publishing Group.

Mayson, J.S.

1861: *The Malays of Cape Town*. Manchester: J. Galt.

Meyer, Stephan

1996: 'Fact(or) Fiction in Dominee Du Toit's Inscription of the White Queen into the Origin of African Civilisation — Notes on an Extract from *Di Koningin fan Skeba*,' *Alternation* 3,2, 130-47.

Millin, S.G.

1952 (1933): *Rhodes*. Johannesburg: Central News Agency.

1966: *White Africans are also People*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.

Milner, Alfred

1894: *England in Egypt*. London: Edward Arnold.

1909: *Imperial Unity: Speeches Delivered in Canada in the Autumn of 1908*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Milner, Violet, Viscountess

1951: *My Picture Gallery, 1886-1901*. London: John Murray.

Mitchell, Timothy

1988: *Colonising Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mitter, Partha

1977: *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mossop, E.E.

No date, circa 1927: *Old Cape Highways*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller.

Murphy, Graham

1987: *Founders of the National Trust*. London: Christopher Helm.

Murray, Mareschal

1964: *Under Lion's Head: Earlier Days at Green Point and Sea Point*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

Nash, Andrew

1985: 'Colonialism and Philosophy: R.F. Alfred Hoernle in South Africa, 1908-11'. Unpublished MA thesis. University of Stellenbosch.

Nel, P.G., ed.

1990: *J.H. Pierneef: his Life and his Work*, translated by R. Malinaric. Cape Town: Perskor.

Newby, Howard, ed.

1995: *The National Trust: The Next Hundred Years*. London: The National Trust.

Newton Thompson, Joyce

Undated, circa 1951: *Gwelo Goodman, South African Artist*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.

1968: *The Story of a House*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.

Nimocks, Walter

1970: *Milner's Young Men: The 'Kindergarten' in Edwardian Imperial Affairs*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Oberholzer, Obie

1996: *Beyond Bagamoyo: A Journey from Cape to Cairo*. Cape Town: Hotazel.

Opperman, D.J.

1956: *Vergelegen*. Cape Town.

O'Sullivan, B.

1990: 'A Report on Drilling and Trenching on the Woltemade Flats, Cape Town, in 1988 and 1989', *South African Journal of Science*, 86: 487-8.

Parker, Louis-Napoleon

1928: *Several of My Lives*. London: Chapman and Hall.

Paton, Alan

1964: *Hofmeyr*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Pemble, John

1987: *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peters, Carl

1977 (1902): *The Eldorado of the Ancients*. Bulawayo: Rhodesiana Reprint Library.

3. Plaatje, Sol T.

1916: *Native Life in South Africa*. London: King.

1995 (1931) 'Along the Road to Cairo Land', in *Sol T. Plaatje, Selected Shorter Writings*, ed. by Tim Couzens and Brian Willan. Grahamstown: Institute for the Study of English in Africa.

Plomer, William

1984 (1933): *Cecil Rhodes*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Postma, Annabi

1995: *Governor or Robber Baron? The Story of Vergelegen and Willem Adriaan van der Stel*, Somerset West, Cape: Annabi Publishers.

Preller, Johan F.

1959: 'The Leibbrandt Appointment', *South African Archives Journal*, 1, 28-32.

Prevots, Naima

1990: *American Pageantry: A Movement for Art and Democracy*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press.

Quinn, Malcolm

1994: *The Swastika: Constructing the Symbol*. London: Routledge.

Raphael, Lois A.C.

1936: *The Cape to Cairo Dream: A Study in British Imperialism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rassool, Ciraj, and Lesley Witz

1993: The 1952 Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and Contesting Public National History in South Africa. *Journal of African History*, 34, 447-68.

Redgrave, J.J.

Undated, circa 1945: *Africa: From Cape Town to Cairo*. Cape Town: Juta.

Roberts, Brian

1969: *Cecil Rhodes and the Princess*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Robins, R.H.

1969: *A Short History of Linguistics*. London: Longmans.

Rogers, Dorothy

1959: *Jeopardy and a Jeep: Africa Conquered by Two Women Professors*.

London: Robert Hale.

Ruskin, John

1849: *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. London: Smith, Elder.

Said, Edward

1978: *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

1993: *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage.

Saker, Harry

1980: *The South African Flag Controversy, 1925-1928*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Sampson, H.F.

1948: 'Phoenician Shipwreck on the Cape Flats', *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 3,10, 34-40.

Samuel, Raphael

1994: *Theatres of Memory*. London: Verso.

1998: *Island Stories*. London: Verso.

Schoeman, Karel

1992: *Only an Anguish to Live Here: Olive Schreiner and the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902*. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau.

Semmel, Bernard

1968: *Imperialism and Social Reform*. New York: Anchor Books.

Sen, Gertrude

1948: *The Pageant of India's History*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co.

Shaw, Gerald

1975: *Some Beginnings: The Cape Times, 1876-1910*. London: Oxford University Press.

Sherington, Geoffrey, and Chris Jeffrey

1998: *Fairbridge. Empire and Child Migration*. Ilford, Essex: Woburn Press.

Smith, Anna

1970: 'Collecting Africana Books', *South African Digest*, October 16, 1970.

Smith, Anthony

1961: *High Street Africa*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Smith, Anthony D.

1991: *National Identity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Snyman, J.L.P.

1952: 'The South African Novel in English, 188-1930.' Unpublished MA thesis, University of Potchefstroom for Christian Higher Education.

1965: 'Dorothea Fairbridge', *Femina and Women's Life*, 11 February 1965.

Stamp, Gavin

1977: *Silent Cities: An Exhibition of the Memorial and Cemetery Architecture of the Great War*. London: Royal Institute of British Architects.

Stevenson, Michael

1997: 'Old Masters and Aspirations: the Art Collections of the South African Randlords'. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town.

Stevenson-Hamilton, James

1993 (1937): *South African Eden: The Kruger National Park*. With introduction by Jane Carruthers. Cape Town: Struik.

Strage, Mark

1973: *Cape to Cairo: Rape of a Continent*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Summers, R.F.H.

1975: *A History of the South African Museum, 1825-1975*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

Sutcliffe, Peter

1978: *The Oxford University Press: An Informal History*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Swaisland, Cecillie

1993: *Servants and Gentlewomen to the Golden Land*. Oxford: Berg.

Teich, Mikulas, and Roy Porter, eds.

1990: *Fin de Siècle and its Legacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Theal, George McCall

1912: *Catalogue of South African Books and Pamphlets*. Cape Town: Cape Times.

Tillyard, S.K.

1988: *The Impact of Modernism: The Visual Arts in Edwardian England*. London: Routledge.

Tredgold, Arderne

1990: *The Ardernes and their Gardens*. Cape Town: Arderne Book Trust.

Trollope, Joanna

1994 (1983): *Britannia's Daughters: Women of the British Empire*. London: Pimlico.

Trotter, Alys Fane

1898: 'Old Cape Homesteads and Their Founders', *Cape Times* Christmas Number, December 1898.

1900: *Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope* (including a chapter by Herbert Baker on the origins of old Cape architecture). London: Batsford.

1903: *Old Cape Colony: A Chronicle of her Men and Houses from 1652 to 1806*. London: Selwyn and Blount.

Van der Post, Laurens

1983 (1976): *Jung and the Story of Our Time*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

1986: *A Walk with a White Bushman*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Von Hoffman, Carl

1936: *Jerry on Safari: A 7000 Mile Journey from Cairo to the Cape*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott.

Van der Watt, Liese

1996: 'Art, Gender Ideology and Afrikaner Nationalism: A History of the Voortrekker Monument Tapestries'. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Cape Town.

Van Oordt, Johan Frederik ('D'Arbez')

1898: *De Strijd om Recht: Een Verhaal uit de Dagen van Gouverneur Willem van der Stel*. Amsterdam: HAUM.

Van Vuuren, I.L.J.

1973: 'Die Beeld van Willem Adriaen van der Stel in die Geskiedskrywing en in D.J. Opperman se Versdrama "Vergelegen"'. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Potchefstroom for Christian Higher Education.

Walker, Cherryl, ed.

1990: *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*. Cape Town: David Phillip.

Warner, Marina

1985: *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

Waterfield, Gordon

1937: *Lucie Duff Gordon: In England, South Africa and Egypt*. London: John Murray.

1967: *Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Watson, R.G.T.

1960: *Tongaati: An African Experiment*. London: Hutchinson.

Weinthal, Leo

1902: *Round Africa by the Deutsche Ost-Afrika Line: A Guidebook*. London: A. Andrews.

1908: *Fascinating Egypt: A Bilingual Guide-Book to Nile-Land and its Wonders from the Delta to Uganda*.

1922: *The Story of the Cape to Cairo Railway and River Route, 1887-1922*, 5 vols. London: The Pioneer Publishing Co and *The African World*.

Wheatcroft, Geoffrey

1993 (1985): *The Randlords: The Men who Made South Africa*. London: Weidenfeld.

Wheeler, M., ed.

1995: *Ruskin and Environment: The Storm Cloud of the Nineteenth Century*.

Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Williams, Raymond

1979: *Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review*. London: New Left Books.

1994 (1973): *The Country and the City*. London: Hogarth Press.

Winter, Jay

1995: *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Winter, Jay, and Emmanuel Sivan

1999: *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wittenberg, Hermann

1998: 'Ruwenzori: Imperialism and Desire in African Alpinism', *Proceedings of the South African Society for General Literary Studies (SAVAL)*, 235-44.

Wolf, James B.

1991: 'Imperial Integration on Wheels: The Car, the British and the Cape-to-Cairo Route', in *Literature and Imperialism*, edited by Robert Giddings, 112-27. New York: St Martin's Press.

Wood, Charles W.

1894: letters published in *The Argosy*, vols 57 and 58.

Woolf, Virginia

1928: *Orlando*. London: Hogarth Press.

1941: *Between the Acts*. London: Hogarth Press.

Yates, Frances

1996 (1966): *The Art of Memory*. London: Pimlico.

Young, Robert

1990: *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. London: Routledge.

1995: *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London: Routledge.