

"A Journal Among Them": Colonial Discourse and
the Creation of an Imaginary Community in
the Graham's Town Journal, 1831-36

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degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of the discourse of the Graham's Town Journal in the years 1831 to 1836. An example of early Cape journalism, the Journal was established in the eastern Cape by L.H. Meurant, and owned and operated soon thereafter by R. Godlonton. The Journal was a means to represent and order a changing colonial world for an emerging middle-class merchant elite during the period of the emergence of colonial order in the eastern Cape. Through investigation of the major themes of the newspaper's discourse in this early period of its history, the dissertation highlights the imaginary sense of community and corresponding body of colonial knowledge that evolved on a weekly basis in its pages, and by which its readers projected their dreams and aspirations as to how the eastern Cape should be colonized.

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INTRODUCTION: "A Journal Among Them"

Introduction: "A Journal Among Them"¹

More than most spaces, the civilizing of the 'empty' and not so empty spaces of the eastern expanses of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope were a contested matter.² Social and economic development and prosperity had, by the early 1830s, fostered the emergence of an increasingly influential and wealthy middle-class elite of British colonists from the scheme of settlement that had initially brought them to the eastern Cape,³ and who through the establishment of a newspaper, the Graham's Town Journal, sought to promote their political and economic interests.⁴ However, through the expression of their pursuits and preoccupations, this same elite also necessarily sought to shape the nature of the colonizing project initiated in the eastern Cape by the colonial state, and within which they now found themselves both willing and unwilling actors.

¹ The title is derived from comments contained in a letter to the Journal from "PHILO". GTJ 20/01/32:3.

² This is a point eluded to by Legassick [M. Legassick, "The State, Racism and the Rise of Capitalism in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony", 333]. For the general background material to this point, see D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire 5 and 7. See also D. Denoon, Settler Capitalism, and N. Worden, The Making of Modern South Africa.

³ See B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 37 and 281, and C. Crais, "Gentry and Labour in Three Eastern Cape Districts, 1820-65", 132.

⁴ See B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism 281, and C. Crais, "Gentry and Labour in Three Eastern Cape Districts, 1820-65", in the South African Journal of History, 132. To be written hereafter as the Journal.

Subsequently, the expression of their "intentions, aims and aspirations,"⁵ in and about the eastern Cape as a source of "Public Interest"⁶ in the Journal, "presuppose[d]" that the eastern Cape's colonial elite had a "particular imagination"⁷ of the way in which, "to fill up the blank existing in the map of this quarter, of the globe."⁸ As a result, the Journal, arising in competition with other visions, was a key participant in the way that the eastern Cape was to be "thought".⁹ In particular, and towards this end, the newspaper ordered a world in which it projected an image of progression and a sense of community to the expanding middle-class, predominantly merchant-based public sphere of the eastern Cape. Yet, as it summed up this expanding and imagined community, it was a system of representational order that was meant more than simply as a representational facsimile, it was also a way of imagining to realise this construction as social reality.¹⁰

⁵ N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 106.

⁶ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

⁷ N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 106. See Thomas as well for discussion of a colonial project as a workable framework for investigation of colonial discourse.

⁸ GTJ 05/10/32:2. For point in general, refer to T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt 21.

⁹ Point derived from Said's discussion of textual attitude. E. Said, Orientalism, 92-96.

¹⁰ Idea obtained from Richard's discussion of the nineteenth-century imaginary imperial archive. He argues:

"...the archive functioned both to imagine territory as

Within its own objectives, this dissertation undertakes to add to the tradition of historical research on the Journal. Chief among the historical studies the Journal has generated is the influential work by Le Cordeur. Le Cordeur has investigated the Journal as the focal point for analysis of Robert Godlonton's life and its role in Cape colonial politics, most notably the movement for eastern Cape separatism.¹¹ Harington on the other hand, has looked at the version of "...apparent causes and significance [of] what seemed to be happening so far as certain people living at the time were concerned..." of frontier experiences, contained in the Journal's pages; in particular, he has examined the Journal's portrayal of the Great Trek.¹²

However, the dissertation seeks to move away from their more conventional approach, and instead situates itself amongst the historiographical interest in recent years, and particularly

representation and realise it as a social construction. What began as an utopian fictions of knowledge, in other words, often ended as territory...[It was] an order of social imagination so powerful that it could, in effect, construct social reality..."

T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 16.

¹¹ B.A. Le Cordeur "Robert Godlonton As Architect of Frontier Opinion, 1850-57"; Robert Godlonton; and Eastern Cape Separatism. Eastern Cape separatism is a subject also elaborated upon by T.R.H. Davenport, "The Consolidation of a New Society: The Cape Colony", in M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa, vol. I, 326.

¹² A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 5.

amongst the works of both McKenzie and Bank, in the construction of a middle-class world at the Cape in the early nineteenth century.¹³ What is of particular interest to this thesis, was that it was here, specifically in the public sphere generated by the middle-class of the Cape, that was debated the merits of various routes to civilizing the eastern Cape, often focusing around the young, maverick press of early Cape journalism.¹⁴ This sphere in other words, can be characterised as the location of a "discursive network". De Bolla notes:

...'at any specific historical juncture a discursive network articulates the 'real', it allows and controls the possibilities of representation. This network is made up of a number of discrete discourses, which interact, sometimes without hostility, at other times with considerable violence, with each other. The

¹³ See for example K. McKenzie, The Making of an English slave-owner Samuel Eusebius Hudson at the Cape of Good Hope, 1796-1807, and "The South African Commercial Advertiser and the making of middle class identity in the early nineteenth century"; A. Bank, "The Great Debate and the Origins of South African Historiography", and "Liberals and their Enemies: Racial Ideology at the Cape of Good Hope, 1820 to 1850"; N. Erlank, "Missionary Wives and Perceptions of Race in the Early Nineteenth Century Cape Colony". For the most significant study of eastern Cape colonial discourse see C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order. A constructive debate of the merits of 'colonial discourse theory' for historians is to be found in M. Vaughan, "Colonial Discourse Theory and African History, or has Postmodernism passed us by?", and D. Bunn, "The Insistence of Theory: Three questions for Megan Vaughan".

¹⁴ As Bank suggests, "The emergent Cape press provided the platform for the construction of...settler histories from the 1830s." [A. Bank, "The Great Debate and the Origins of South African Historiography", 26]. For discussion of the Cape press, also see K. McKenzie, "The South African Commercial Advertiser and the making of middle class identity in the early nineteenth century".

distance and lines of force between specific discourses varies to a great extent.¹⁵

Thus out of the varied and competing interests of the public sphere of the Cape, a colonial elite primarily situated in the eastern Cape, through the public institution of the Journal, began to articulate their particular and dynamic version of a colonizing project for the region.¹⁶ A discourse was as a result born, in part created quite naturally in opposition to other competing visions. One out of a series of arguments on the idea of colonizing the eastern Cape, the Journal's discourse at the same time was also representing the dreams, aspirations and fears of the eastern Cape's colonial elite.¹⁷

This is a study then, not so much about how the eastern Cape was, but how it was imagined to be through the pages of the Journal. The thesis may, at times, offer glimpses of colonial life and the opinions of the colonists as a whole in the eastern Cape and in particular Graham's Town, yet it does not

¹⁵ P. De Bolla cited in N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 50. Original quotation is P. De Bolla, Aesthetics of the Sublime, 7. Also see D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 1-2.

¹⁶ A colonial project, is referred to by Thomas in his work Colonialism's Culture, as a "...socially transformative endeavour that is localised, politicised, and partial, yet also engendered by longer historical developments and ways of narrating them." N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 105.

¹⁷ Refer to general comments of B. Bozzoli, "The Discourse of Myth and the Myth of Discourses", 195.

seek this reality. Nor does the dissertation investigate the discourse of the Journal for voices of the dominated--the colonized and not yet colonized--or even the less powerful voices of the colonizers, as for example found especially for women or lower-class colonists. No doubt there are many significant discourses in the eastern Cape from this period that also well deserve historical attention. Rather, this thesis looks at the creation of a specific and dominant discourse in the public domain, produced in the pages of the Journal. Towards this end, it takes the newspaper in its singular unity, focusing on some of the major representational contours of the Journal's discourse.

Subsequently, in the same way that we can define varied discourses that characterised the discursive network of the overall Cape's public sphere, the chapters of the dissertation follow the lines of some of the "discrete discourses" that constituted the Journal's discourse.¹⁸ What united the discourses however, was their deployment as power through representation in the construction of a sense of community, and an overwhelming quest for the furtherance of colonial order. For the most part, the Journal was established in defence of its middle-class public sphere in the eastern Cape,

¹⁸ P. De Bolla, Aesthetics of the Sublime, 7.

and especially as a counter to the influence of its rivals in Cape Town. Its emergent imagined community then, is to a significant extent, defined through the discursive battles that raged in the newspaper's pages. Moreover, with the creation of this sense of community, the Journal also expressed aspirations of what the eastern Cape was and could become. Chapter One analyses this process of the construction of a sense of community, but by acknowledging a discourse of spatial ordering. It examines then, the widening process of the reorganisation of space and imposition of order by the Journal's imaginary community, both within its immediate public spaces and beyond.

Chapter Two discusses the creation within the network of the Journal's discourse of a distinct discourse of commerce, in which the newspaper's imaginary community represented themselves as an "Emporium" at the periphery of the Cape and thereby the empire.¹⁹ While trade and the goods that it fostered brought further economic growth and colonization, the inherent meanings to both aided the delineation of a sense of community, and provided evidence of their pre-eminent superiority and independence. Chapter Three on the other hand, pursues the distinguishing and darker discourse of terror that articulated the greatest fears of the Journal's

imaginary community. The discourse served as a significant way in which the Journal's readers and writers defined and--the topic of the final chapter--justified the 'Other' of their imagination. However, in the continual elaboration of this discourse, the Journal imaginary community also exacerbated what they sought to contain and condemn.

For the colonial elite of the eastern Cape, their discourse began before they even touched land. Colonial mythology tells us that from the moment that the 1820 Settlers first dropped anchor within view of Table Mountain, an old wooden printing press, brought to the Cape of Good Hope from London by T. Stringfellow and R. Godlonton, was impounded by Sir R. Donkin as "inflammable material".²⁰ An implement of questionable value by anyone's standards for an agricultural undertaking, the confiscation, so it was believed, was taken as an example of the arbitrary nature of governance at the Cape.

In what could only be an act of the hand of divine fate however, the printing press was bought in 1830 by L. H. Meurant, and after a short furlough in Graff-Reinet, brought

¹⁹ GTJ 20/01/32:3.

²⁰ The press was brought from King's Printing House, Shacklewell, London by Stringfellow and Godlonton. A. Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press, 7.

to Graham's Town.²¹ The press that would soon be printing the 'settler's voice' had thereby returned to the 1820 Settlers, now settled in the eastern Cape, and it would only be a short time before it was again back in the hands of a member of Lieutenant John Bailie's party and the future editor of the Graham's Town Journal, Robert Godlonton.²² Moreover, the press and arbitrary act of seizure were intertwined as they were incorporated into the cultural fabric and mythology of the British colonists--and almost from the moment of the fabric's inception.

The colonial state had evidently introduced a radical variable to the eastern Cape with the settlement of British emigrants in 1819-20.²³ The middle-class colonial elite were ambitious and self-serving. They came encumbered with their own norms, values and expectations ground in their cultural experiences of Britain, and were also generally looking for better opportunities than life had heretofore presented them with. At the same time, "Colonial cultures were never direct translations of European society planted in the colonies," as

²¹ A. Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press, 7.

²² B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism 64, and A. Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press, 9. See also B.A. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton.

²³ Refer to J. Peires, "The British and the Cape, 1814-34", in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of Southern African Society, 1652-1820, 472.

Stoler argues, "but unique cultural configurations...[that] did more than reiterate middle-class European visions and values."²⁴ The colonial project of the eastern Cape was subsequently to be stretched and remoulded; moreover, the chief force behind its change was to be the colonists themselves, and not necessarily always by intent.

The pinnacle to the colonial elite of the eastern Cape's achievements, and the focal point for their vocalisations was a weekly newspaper, the Journal. A central institution for public representation around which an "autonomous public sphere" could be constructed,²⁵ it thus served as "a medium of communication"²⁶ through and by which its readers could regularly deliberate, come to terms with, and communicate their interests. In its pages, a colonial elite began to lay out the "boundaries and structure of the spaces" where discourse about public matters might occur.²⁷

²⁴ A. Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule", in N. Dirks (ed.), Colonialism and Culture, 321.

²⁵ J. Habermas, "Further Reflections on the Public Sphere", in C. Calhoun (ed.), Habermas and the Public Sphere, 454.

²⁶ B. A. Le Cordeur, "Robert Godlonton As Architect of Frontier Opinion, 1850-57", 148.

²⁷ P. Oui Hohendahl, "The Public Sphere: Models and Boundaries", in C. Calhoun (ed.), Habermas and the Public Sphere, 107.

Established in an environment of a middle-class, merchant-based community, Graham's Town, it is no surprise that the Journal arose with the demand by the colonists of a public institution for the communication of information on matters relating to the Cape's market economy, and civic affairs.²⁸

The Journal was envisioned to include, as a precursory handbill entitled, "The Plan of the Journal Comprises" noted:

1. The Local News of the day, particularly such matters as relate to Trade and Commerce.
2. Selections from the English and Cape Newspapers,
3. The discussion of Topics of a general nature.
4. Scientific and Miscellaneous Information.
5. Reports of Public Meetings, of interesting Law Proceedings, &c. &c.²⁹

Dealing especially with local matters, and those pertaining to "Trade and Commerce", the breakdown of categories that characterised the future Journal seemed practical and principled. Indeed, by measure of its expected content, the Journal, through a varied assemblage of advertisements, letters and articles, was expected to relate a plethora of practical and worthwhile information from,

...the earliest and most copious intelligence from the Interior; the Market process of the Frontier Districts are...to appear each Week. We propose procuring Reports

²⁸ For the role of information about markets and commerce in the production of a public sphere, see "Introduction: Preliminary Demarcation of a Type of Bourgeois Public Sphere", in J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 22.

²⁹ From a Graham's Town Journal handbill. There is a series of handbills bound with the original copies of the newspaper, located in the South African National Library. They are neither identified or dated, although Gordon-Brown refers one of the bills as handbill 506. A. Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press, 9.

from the various Magistrates courts. Observations of interest; Accounts of School Progress; Public Meetings; Shipping News; Christenings, Marriages, &c. &c. will be thankfully received...³⁰

It was an abundant assortment of material to which the Journal turned, in a sense, a whole community of information.³¹ To fulfil the above mentioned criteria, the Journal imagined its community, after some momentary hesitation prior its establishment, almost solely through English.³² It would come to depend on reports and newsworthy items passed on from reliable individuals in the Journal's locality for much of its information.

At the same time, the Journal felt no hesitation about lifting some of its material from other newspapers in the Cape, empire, or metropole. The Journal easily mixed in these strands from other discourses, mostly journalistic, to its repertoire, and it is therefore not surprising to find its discourse encompassing in subject matter innumerable places,

³⁰ From a Graham's Town Journal handbill.

³¹ B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 62.

³² Refer to one of the Journal's handbills where it states:

The difficulty of obtaining a Translator, must plead our apology to the Dutch Inhabitants, for the "ALBANIAN" being unintelligible to those who do not understand English; but should our humble efforts prove popular we will make every exertion to obviate that difficulty, and to shew [sic] that we are, in our adopted Country, united with them in the bonds of Brotherhood."

Also see B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 122, and A. Gramsci, Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, 325.

one moment appraising the growth of Graham's Town, and the next discussing the intellectual deficiency of Negroes in Bermuda.³³

In particular, the Journal elevated the significance of its imaginary community within the Cape Colony, based upon its role as a thriving "Emporium" of commerce.³⁴ The flow of trade in both imports and exports, and the commodities it brought forth, were an organising principle for the Journal's narrative. But issues of commerce alone did not create and mould the Journal's community. Positioned in the overall discursive landscape of the Cape's middle class, it wished to emphasise, on the one hand, its dissimilarity to Cape Town, a distinction perceived by the Journal, to be based on both different interests and opinions, and distance.³⁵ On the other hand, the Journal posited a crucial difference for the imaginary community's sense of identity from those beyond "the pale of civilization" and deemed savage, in the interior.³⁶

³³ "Bermuda: Advice to Preachers", in GTJ 12/11/35:3. The Journal incorporated what Anderson refers to as "parallel 'worlds'" into its discourse [B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 63]. The 'worlds' are thus both juxtaposed and rendered available as knowledge through print. Most often, these were communities to be found in the 'Atlantic World' [see N. Canny, and A. Pagden (eds.), Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800, and D. Denoon, Settler Capitalism].

³⁴ GTJ 20/01/32:4.

³⁵ See GTJ 30/12/31:2 and 22/12/36:2.

³⁶ GTJ 29/12/36:2.

Of course, the Journal would not have been possible if the information in its pages was not of interest to readers. Crucially, it was with these readers and correspondents that the Journal moulded an imaginary community. It is likely that at times, various groupings within these social parameters of the eastern Cape were active in the Journal's sphere. Yet, while advocates of the Journal's imaginary community undoubtedly changed with time and circumstance, they were most likely to be drawn from the male ranks of the colonial elite, and with connection to the immigration of British colonists to the eastern Cape in the 1820s. Many of its backers also belonged to the Wesleyan Church. While some of the more prominent members were derived from the eastern Cape's 'old' gentry, by the 1830s there was also rising and increasingly more powerful middle class interests in Graham's Town, an ambitious class of shopkeepers and merchants, who were quickly taking over from the supplanted gentry of the 1820 Settlers, that needed to be counted as among the eastern Cape's most influential members of the Journal's community.³⁷

³⁷ While much of the writing is anonymous or uses, as was common at this time pseudonyms some recurring names in advertisements for this period in the Journal include: W. Lee, H. Nourse, J. Norton, C. H. Maynard. For comprehensive coverage of the Albany elites, see Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism 51, 67-9, 72. Referring to research by Le Cordeur, one can surmise that continual or temporary Journal advocates were, 'Albany leaders' R. Godlonton, J.M. Bowker, White; merchants Maynard, W.R. Thompson, E. Norton, [67]; also Southeys, G. Wood, [72] W. Ogilvie, W. Lee, H. Nourse, P.W. Lucas, [E.L. Kift], A.W. Hoole; other business leaders such as W. Cock, T. Nelson [51]; possibly some of 'old' gentry can be included,

At the same time however, boundaries of community for the Journal were only ever imagined. The Journal's world was one of ambiguous boundaries, and largely populated by pseudonymous and anonymous speakers and readers. Therefore, it is best to suggest that the Journal's constituency was its 'readers', its allegiance to those deemed 'inhabitants', and its interests circumscribed only by what was material to them, and the stretch of the imperial globe itself.³⁸

This, is a study then, of the imagined world, in its origins from 1831-36, constructed by the Journal. In the short term, the Journal was a discursive means of representing, and one instrument for coming to terms and "dealing with"³⁹ the experiences of colonialism in a local configuration. In other words, it was a place where the colonists' understanding of the world around them was formulated and contested, and thus a source informing common sense and structure of thought. As well, it was a tool of defence and competition with the public spheres in Cape Town.⁴⁰ Taken altogether, the Journal then produced a form of power in discourse for its imagined community as a source of authority on, and for making

as for instance D. Moodie, J.C. Chase [67]; Wesleyan leaders such as W. Shaw, H.H. Dugmore, J. Ayliff, H. Calderwood [68-9].

³⁸ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

³⁹ E. Said, Orientalism, 2.

⁴⁰ N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 171.

decisions about, the eastern Cape and its immediate environs. Therefore, the newspaper became like a metaphorical colonial song, heralding the opening of a new phase in the history of the eastern Cape in the 1830s.⁴¹

In the long run, this archive of colonial knowledge generated in the Journal transcended its borders, crossing into literature,⁴² inform years of journalistic discourse,⁴³ and prove quite durable in, and monumental to the shaping of the schools of South African colonial and nationalist historiography.⁴⁴ Moreover, it would be in the pages of the Journal that the elite would foster, Cobbing suggests, a "multiple alibi" that would be passed on to professional historiography, for a continuing future of violent conflict in which they would have a definite role to play.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Idea taken to describe the colonising project of the eastern Cape and colonial reality is derived from L. Chai, Aestheticism, xiii, and M. Foucault, I, Pierre Riviere, Having Slaughtered My Mother, My Sister, and My Brother...

⁴² For the point in general, see R. Giddings (ed.), Literature and Imperialism, and E. Said, Culture and Imperialism.

⁴³ Refer to N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 31.

⁴⁴ Refer to B.A. Le Cordeur, "Robert Godlonton As Architect of Frontier Opinion, 1850-57", especially 11.

⁴⁵ J. Cobbing, "Mfecane As Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo", 518. Cobbing's conclusions, force us to reassess the colonial discourse of the early nineteenth century of this region, and as a consequence the basis to the historical archive it has informed. Refer also to A. Bank, "Liberals and their Enemies: Racial Ideology at the Cape of Good Hope, 1820 to 1850", and C. Saunders, "Historians on South Africa's Precolonial Past.

Chapter One: "Dissipation" and "Contagion": The
Journal's Discourse of Space and Order

- Open up a few corpses: you will dissipate at once the darkness that observation alone could not dissipate.
Bichat⁴⁶

"Dissipation" and "Contagio[n]": The Journal's Discourse of Space and Order⁴⁷

The imagined universe of the Graham's Town Journal, begun where many worlds met.⁴⁸ With a firm and knowledgeable gaze that looked straight and narrowly down High Street and beyond, the Journal took in the manifestation of social stratification's, which divided and encompassed as they stretched further and further into the conflict-torn region. In turn, these socio-cultural lines were related to the entrenchment of opening and variant circles of civilization upon which this new social order would rest. Yet as Said notes, "...all human activity depends on controlling a radically unstable reality to which words approximate only by will or convention", what lay beyond the civilized, as demarcated by the Journal, was darkness, something beyond knowledge and control, and therefore "monstrous".⁴⁹

⁴⁶ A. Bichat, quoted in M. Foucault, An Archaeology of Medical Perception, 146.

⁴⁷ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3 and 27/12/32:3.

⁴⁸ "The Eastern Cape during the 1830s and the 1840s," suggests Crais, "...stood at an intersection of many social worlds and at the centre of the creation of a new one." C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 150.

⁴⁹ Refer to E. Said, Culture and Imperialism, 33 and Richards. Richards suggests that "monsters" substantiate "difference", but through

In its pages, the Journal represented these social boundaries for the opinion of its imaginary community, placing Graham's Town at the centre of all that was knowable of the eastern Cape. As well, it attempted to give some sense of order to their fluctuating character by encouraging the emergence of a regime of difference by which to make their assessment.

While the Journal divided the overall cultural landscape placing Graham's Town at the centre of all that was knowable of the eastern Cape, it looked much further and delved much deeper. Roaming from the hills and streets to the hearts and minds of the 'savage' in the eastern Cape, the gaze of the Journal wished more than simply to remain a pedestrian, to the environment which had fostered it, it wished to mould it.

An important component to the process of shaping space was the

"placement...in a taxonomy, where its emergence is effectively confined and prevented from becoming a very threatening event." [T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 52]. The "monsters" in the imagination of the Journal's readers often took one of two forms. In the first instance were the infestuous and chaotic 'Others' that constantly threatened to invade from the interior. However, the images could also be of John Fairbairn and the South African Commercial Advertiser. In 1836 the Journal notes, "And now, like the Vampire, which subsists on the life-blood of its victim, he [Fairbairn] pursues his way with a perseverance and a disregard of decency which is perfectly sickening." GTJ 13/10/36:2. Refer to T. Richards, The Imperial Archive for discussion of the monsters of the imperial

public sphere. In the imaginary community of the Journal of the 1830s, a frequent theme was the apparent right of the colonialists to speak of, to judge, and to mould their immediate surroundings. Consequently, they turned to the public sphere, where, as Davidoff and Hall note, "Private individuals...[could] exert their influence through journals and newspapers, and make claims heard by government."⁵⁰ More than just gaining access to government, the presentation of views and concerns in a public text, as a consequence offered both the weight of print, and that of a wider sense of public opinion for the issue at hand to the community at large and potential outsiders.

One issue debated in the pages of the Journal in the 1830s was trade and its infrastructure. The trade in commodities shaped the institutions and where they were placed in a certain locality; conversely, the lack of trading facilities was keenly felt. In the case of Graham's Town, it had a public market; moreover, in 1832 the Journal looked ahead to plans for, "...the erection of a Building suitable for a Commercial Hall, and for public purposes not interfering with the commercial business of the Hall...".⁵¹ Yet, the next year the

imagination.

⁵⁰ L. Davidoff and C. Hall, Family Fortunes, 419.

⁵¹ GTJ 10/02/32:4. An announcement in the Journal states in 1832, "THE Committee for superintending the erection of the Commercial Hall, Reading

same plans for a Commercial Hall were a point of contention for another reader who argued, "...permit me to ask, which would be the most beneficial to the Trade of the Frontier, a good strong Bridge over the Fish River, or a Commercial Hall?"⁵² Truly this would have been a question of debate, for was it more important to improve links between Graham's Town and its overseas market, or from the interior into which it was expanding? However one looked at it, these issues in the public sphere signified a maturing of the commercial aspects to the world of the Journal, and in whatever form they took, many of the institutions mentioned in the Journal were creating an improved environment for the getting and selling of things; similarly, they were part of the evolution of "converting private interests into public virtues".⁵³

However, as the question--albeit a most dubious one--posed by "A TOWNSMAN" suggests, the issue of public opinion was not always as clear-cut as it might seem:

Room, &c. having procured the requisite Designs, Plans, and Specifications, beg to inform the Public, that a General Meeting will be held at the FREEMASON'S TAVERN on MONDAY, the 16th July next, to take into consideration the Tenders which may have been received for the execution of the work. "J.H. STEPHENSON, Hon. Sec." GTJ 06/07/32:1. Note also the, "SEALED TENDERS for Masonic Hall..." in 1837. GTJ 04/05/37:4.

⁵² GTJ 21/02/33:3.

⁵³ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 102. See also T. Richards, The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914, 4.

"TO THE EDITOR: SIR --...be obliged to some of your correspondents more learned in the law than myself, to inform me if it is lawful to have my horse sent to the Pound, out of the public street?...And further in case my horse, with two or three others, goes into my neighbourhood's garden, and he comes out to take them to the pound, when they all run away but mine, which is taken to the pound, am I liable to pay the damage done by them all?" I am, &c.

A TOWNSMAN⁵⁴

"A TOWNSMAN", seems unaware that with rights in the public domain come responsibilities. As a result, through actions, not of his own but of his wayward horse in his view, he has run straight into the vast and complicated system of socially acceptable norms and practices in Graham's Town of the 1830s. It is an increasingly established social system "fixing [the] visible world in stable logical categories with labels", dictated, as Richards notes, by the scientific logic of form⁵⁵. In turn form, as Richards points out, depended on the certainty of "comprehensive knowledge"⁵⁶ in which "the form of logic dictates the logic of form".⁵⁷ Unity or wholeness of thoughts in turn leads to coherency of knowledge. Yet, as "A TOWNSMAN" shows, it a knowledge that is also increasingly dependent upon who dominated it. As a consequence of the hegemony of this knowledge, the Journal's imaginary community expressed, not simply what others saw of its 'social body',

⁵⁴ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁵⁵ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 54.

⁵⁶ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 49.

⁵⁷ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 53.

but how it saw itself.⁵⁸ Space is moulded and ordered largely in this case by middle class values of propriety, civilization, and progressive respectability, as we see in a further example from a letter written in 1832:

There is a bad custom in this Town, which indeed amounts to a nuisance, and that is allowing stones and bricks, the rubbish left after repairing and building, to be thrown into the public road. The ladies in particular are sensible of the fact I complain of: and many of us have experienced it, by having our ankles and feet bruised and cut in consequence, against which thin shoes and silk stockings are no protection...⁵⁹

Dirt, is "matter out of place", as too are building supplies when not part of a building, but scattered about public thoroughways.⁶⁰ They and other useless "rubbish" in the streets of Graham's Town required the clear demarcation and, reinforcement, of boundaries.⁶¹ Without disposal, the building supplies were an eye-sore, a sign of disorder and lack of propriety that intrinsically ran counter to the desire for an uncluttered environment that promoted civility and commerce.

At worst, abandoned building supplies threatened the

⁵⁸ See general comments about the conceptualisation of social bodies by Tennenhouse. L. Tennenhouse, "Violence Done to Women on the Renaissance Stage", in N. Armstrong and L. Tennenhouse (eds.), The Violence of Representation: Literature and the History of Violence, 77, and C. Shilling, Body and Social Theory.

⁵⁹ GTJ 10/02/32:3.

⁶⁰ R. Darnton, The Kiss of Lamourette, 337.

individual body and its security as a physical hazard. As something that affects the fragile physical body ("ankles bruised"); not to mention the very gentility of the women of the community ("against which thin shoes and silk stockings are no protection"), the "bad custom" strikes at the very heart of respectability, and is no less the epitome of uncultivated behaviour.⁶² The dumping of building supplies rendered their refined clothing, the "thin shoes and silk stockings" appropriate to a settled, middle-class environment, as of "no protection" and thereby unsuitable.⁶³ As women were less a part of the public sphere⁶⁴--in terms of the boundaries of the household versus what lay beyond--the practice of dumping rubbish and building supplies injured those to whom

⁶¹ GTJ 10/02/32:3.

⁶² GTJ 10/02/32:3.

⁶³ GTJ 10/02/32:3.

⁶⁴ There is a scarcity of useful material for this dissertation pertaining to women in the Journal. While it would be easy to assert, as in the example under examination, that women were generally 'spoken for' in the Journal, that is, when women were 'spoken of' at all in the public sphere, this answer in itself says something about gender relations that is still worth exploring. Moreover, Erlank found the Journal to be useful in a number of instances in her studies of women at the Cape [see N. Erlank, "Letters Home: The Experiences and Perceptions of middle class British women at the Cape, 1820-1850", and "Missionary Wives and Perceptions of Race in the Early Nineteenth Century Cape Colony"]. The problem was finding anything much of substance in terms of narrative material, and without dragging more excerpts into the dissertation that are largely drawn from other newspapers. It can be assumed however, that the readership supporting the Journal emanated from a middle class basis, and would have included the "moral" and "legal" ordering of sexuality in their world view [S. Alexander, Becoming a Woman, 123]. For further details, refer to L.

social values were most sensitive to (and deemed most at risk), and thus, the most in need of protection. The "bad custom" was more than simply an affront the eye, but ruinous to the respectability of the social, and even the individual body.⁶⁵ Overwhelmingly, articles in the Journal pertaining to the town of Graham's Town itself, dwelt on the order, or the transgression of what was considered orderly in public space.

However, what was at stake in the Journal's discourse was more than simply matter out of place, but those who inhabited public spaces as well. "Pigeon-holing", as Darnton points out, "is...an exercise in power"⁶⁶, adding, "Exclusion and inclusion belonged to the same process of boundary drawing, a process that took place in men's minds as well as in the streets. But the boundaries acquire their force by being acted out."⁶⁷ In a reverse way, the proper place for objects and creatures says much of how this 'social body' set themselves apart. Similar to McKenzie's findings in the Commercial Advertiser, problems with "stray dogs" were also a popular theme in the Journal,⁶⁸ as this letter from "FLAGELLO"

Davidoff and C. Hall, Family Fortunes, 147, 181-191 and 319.

⁶⁵ GTJ 10/02/32:3.

⁶⁶ R. Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre, 186-87.

⁶⁷ R. Darnton, Great Cat Massacre, 121.

⁶⁸ K. McKenzie, "The South African Commercial Advertiser and the making of middle class identity in early nineteenth-century Cape Town", 93, and for her analysis at greater length, see 86-94.

in 1832 on the control of "all dogs found in our streets in a state of vagrancy", points out:

The abatement of a public nuisance is a benefit to the community, we are therefore under some obligation to our worthy magistrate when he lately decreed the extermination of all dogs found in our streets in a state of vagrancy. This praiseworthy act may not have bought "high renown", but the savour of the deed was nevertheless sensibly felt...⁶⁹

Beginning his letter with an incontestable truth of the benefits of removing a widespread "nuisance" on the streets of Graham's Town, "FLAGELLO" praises the response of proper authority.⁷⁰ The removal of an animal normally close to people's affections would by no means have been an emotionally easy affair. More so, the issue of their removal had apparently been a subject of public debate. However, his reasoning is quite direct, coming as it does from firsthand experience with a particularly notorious trampish canine.

"FLAGELLO" continues:

About fourteen days ago, as I was passing on my lawful avacnions [sic] I was attacked by one of these uncropped mongrels, and might have been injured only that his teeth had been worn down by constant bone gnawing. Another humble foot passenger was assailed at the same time with much more violence...⁷¹

Assailed by an "uncropped mongrel", "lawful" citizens were very nearly "injured", save but for the unhealthy state of the dog.⁷² "FLAGELLO" adds that, "On a former occasion, I was

⁶⁹ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁷⁰ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁷¹ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁷² GTJ 06/07/32:3.

unexpectedly attacked by the same dog; but a slight kick cleared my path, and sent him yelping to some hole or corner where he concealed himself from further punishment."⁷³ In this episode, fast thinking on "FLAGELLO"'s part saved him from yet another possibility of harm. No doubt it was in his mind fortunate that the days of idle "bone gnawing" while "in a state of vagrancy" had blunted the "mongrel['s]" teeth.⁷⁴ Even so, what startled "FLAGELLO", was that this very same "mongrel" had only just been "observed to fawn upon" the other man mentioned, the "humble foot passenger".⁷⁵

However, after the animated rhetoric of perilous confrontations, it is not simply public safety that has occasioned "FLAGELLO"'s letter. He later admits there to be "no great danger to be apprehended" from the "vagrant" dogs.⁷⁶ As this member of the "uncropped mongrels" proved, the horde of dogs "in a state of vagrancy" on the streets of Graham's Town were not to be trusted.⁷⁷ They could be riotously vicious--albeit with little effect--crawling in and out of "hole[s]" or "corner[s]" in the public domain, and impulsively assaulting innocent citizens such as the law abiding

⁷³ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁷⁴ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁷⁵ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁷⁶ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁷⁷ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

FLAGELLO.⁷⁸

"FLAGELLO" is thus making a stance. Surely such behaviour as expressed by these roaming dogs was antithetical to an orderly "community", and as he notes, "the public ought not to be annoyed and disturbed by the monotonous bark of some useless animals."⁷⁹ Canines have an assigned position, behaviour and value within this conception of colonial social order that they must fulfil. As Darnton suggests, "All animal life fits into the grid of an unconscious ontology", however some manage to escape, and "slip in between categories", where they come to infest unauthorised spaces.⁸⁰ In the case of dogs, they are to be obedient and predictable, and the "mongrels" in question had clearly stepped out of their roles and were hence threatening.⁸¹ On the contrary, one member of the "uncropped mongrels" managed to spontaneously assume the most aggressive and affectionate behaviour at a moment's notice.⁸² The point of the matter was public order, or who and what for "FLAGELLO", and just as importantly in what manner, they should dwell in main public spaces. To "FLAGELLO", the

⁷⁸ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁷⁹ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁸⁰ R. Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre, 186-7. Refer also to T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 7, 49 and 54.

⁸¹ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁸² GTJ 06/07/32:3.

"state" of these dogs has simply become a "public nuisance" in Graham's Town, and he wants to bring this "matter", and its possible "remedy" to the attention of the "proper quarter", who ever that may be.⁸³

What is respectable in the centre of an orderly community is at stake here. Therefore, vagrant animals such as these "uncropped mongrels" have to be brought back into control.⁸⁴ Certain animals, obviously have more of a place than others in a respectable, public place. However, "FLAGELLO"'s "remedy" was of "only a partial effect".⁸⁵ Soon, the many "snarling puppies" with their "monotonous bark" returned, to his "very great annoyance."⁸⁶ For this reason, in 1835 the Resident Magistrate for Albany organised what amounted to another 'posse' for canines. The Journal notes:

THE number of Dogs in the town having again become a Nuisance, Notice is hereby [sic] given, that all Dogs found in Graham's Town and its vicinity on MONDAY, TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th days of April, instant, will be destroyed.

Owners possessing valuable Dogs are requested to secure them within their own premises, on the days above mentioned.⁸⁷

Consequently, the writer prescribes a "remedy" of

⁸³ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁸⁴ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁸⁵ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁸⁶ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁸⁷ GTJ 10/04/35:1.

"extermination" for these "dogs found in our streets in a state of vagrancy".⁸⁸ This is a value judgement of "valuable" versus "vagrant", and in the wrong place, and of no value.⁸⁹ It is to be the total eradication from the 'social body' proper, of a disorderly and savage infestation. Similar to the rhetoric that would be applied to the social ills of England, the cure spawns from a nineteenth century scientific view of society with an overriding preference for social, moral order.⁹⁰ Thus, FLAGELLO justifies the extreme method of removing this "very great annoyance" of "vagrant dogs" in rational language, in which the dogs are "useless" and a "nuisance", and hence intrinsically of little or negative value.⁹¹ In other words, in the "Emporium of the Colony" to which the Journal's imagined community aspired, they were a blemish.⁹² Influenced by their predominantly middle-class English backgrounds, the citizens of the Journal's imaginary community looked to a more urban and industrial image for what was appropriate for Graham's Town, in which dogs, but horses and cows as well, had worthwhile social and productive roles, and do not senselessly wander town streets.⁹³ What and who

⁸⁸ GTJ 10/04/35:1.

⁸⁹ GTJ 06/07/32:3 and GTJ 10/04/35:1.

⁹⁰ GTJ 06/07/32:3. See R. Butlin, Historical Geography, 149.

⁹¹ GTJ 06/07/32:3 and GTJ 10/04/35:1.

⁹² GTJ 06/07/32:3.

⁹³ For some general points about a plausible colonial 'world view' in the 1830s, refer to C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 100, and J. Peires, "Pinning the Tail on the Donkey", 320.

are improper in public spaces is a topic touched upon again in 1832 by "JOHN BLUNT, BUTCHER", when he states:

TO THE EDITOR:SIR. --Some of your correspondents complain swelly [sic] of noisome smells in neighbourhood of some of our shops, and especially those in the road leading to the Market and Wesleyan [sic] chapel, and pretty roundly assent it all proceeds from our Slaughter Houses. Perhaps those writers are not aware that the greatest part of the stench arises from a never failing supply of dead dogs and cats, and other filth, constantly thrown into the river or on both the sides. Within these last few nights there has been a fresh supply of filth thrown in on either side of the bridge, at only a few yards distance, so that let the wind come from which quarter it will, the offactory [sic] nerves are sure to be saluted.

I don't pretend that the Slaughter house smells so sweet as a barber's shop, but let us have fair statements,

I am, &c.

JOHN BLUNT, BUTCHER⁹⁴

The river fails to exterminate--by washing away--all the disorder and ills of the community thrown into it. Apparently, one of the side effects of "FLAGELLO"'s remedy becomes noted by "JOHN BLUNT" when he suggests that "writers are not aware that the greatest part of the stench arises from a never failing supply of dead dogs and cats, and other filth, constantly thrown into the river or on both the sides."⁹⁵ Acceptable practices and the placing of things are never that straightforward. As Darnton notes, "Setting up categories and policing them is therefore a serious business...knowledge is inherently ambiguous...[and,] It has bite..."⁹⁶

⁹⁴ GTJ 27/04/32:2.

⁹⁵ GTJ 27/04/32:2.

⁹⁶ R. Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre, 186-87.

Subsequently, ambiguous animals perpetually challenged this social order, proof to, as Darnton asserts, the dubious nature of categories:

By bringing us up short against an inconceivable set of categories, it exposes the arbitrariness of the way we sort things out. We order the world according to categories that we take for granted simply because they are given. They occupy an epistemological space that is prior to thought...[and only] can be slotted into a classificatory scheme that remains unquestioned."⁹⁷

Moreover, while wayward horses, clutter or "snarling puppies"⁹⁸ were certainly a hazard and a nuisance, they were only a symptom of the serious consequences of the absence of order and effective social boundaries in a community. When authority and discipline is absent, the repercussions could lead to chaos and contamination, as the following testimony from 1832 indicates:

TO THE EDITOR: SIR, --

Some months ago an address was presented to our Civil Commissioner, representing the great nuisance of the Slaughter Houses being in the very middle of the town, and requesting him to take steps to have them removed to a place where they would not be among the inhabitants; but nothing has as yet been done in this matter. Can you inform me whether the power of executing this important subject rests with our Civil Commissioner or not? If so, why is it not done? Now, Mr. Editor, you are well aware that we are chiefly supplied with merchandise from England, where the Cholera Morbus is raging at an awful rate; now some learned medical men have shown that it is contagious, therefore it may come to us in some of the bales of goods that come here by every arrival, and what a stimulus to it is the immense quantity of dirt and filth that is accumulated about the Slaughter Houses; not that I wish to throw any blame on the Butchers, but to show the great necessity of some effectual means

⁹⁷ R. Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre, 186.

⁹⁸ GTJ 06/07/32:3.

being immediately taken to remove this immense evil.
 A Subscriber to the Address⁹⁹

Expressing their frustration, "Subscriber" employs two separate, but complimentary motifs in the letter. As it opens, the presumable emphasis in the letter is on what is respectable in the centre of an orderly community. One can envision the chaos that would ensue regularly in Graham's Town with the escape of enraged and partly-mutilated cows careening down the main through way. Obviously cows should be in pastures and butchering should be carried out out of sight (and smell).¹⁰⁰

At the same time, the logical outcome of not addressing this "immense evil"--the practice of slaughtering and indirectly the presence of cows in the centre of town--quickly leads to their roles as a "stimulus" of disease and uncleanliness within the "the very middle of the town".¹⁰¹ They add to the risk of contamination of the Journal's 'social body' specifically through the production of an "immense quantity of

⁹⁹ GTJ 27/12/32:3.

¹⁰⁰ While the ownership of cattle was a traditional "symbol of wealth" in both the Cape and Xhosa societies in the 1830s, it is plausible that urbanised colonists looked upon such stock as an older form of wealth, and therefore of less economical value. For the relative importance of cattle see H. Giliomee, "The Eastern Frontier, 1770-1812", in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of Southern African Society, 1652-1820, 426, and J. Peires, The House of Phalo, 95.

¹⁰¹ GTJ 27/12/32:3.

dirt and filth".¹⁰² A "Subscriber" warns of the potential risk of "the Cholera Morbus" contained in the steady stream of "bales of goods" from England.¹⁰³ Ironically, these imperative symbols of rational business in worldwide imperial trade and examples of what Bennett terms, "vehicles for transcribing and broadcasting the messages of power"¹⁰⁴--a subject picked up in the next chapter--could also bring with them the social ills of the imperial centre. Social disorder and disease went hand in hand in nineteenth-century middle class thought, as Comaroff notes, "...disease arises from dirt, and dirt comes of the confusion of bodies and bodily secretions--especially in torrid climes, which open the pores and encourage a process of organic and moral degradation."¹⁰⁵ But as neither the Civil Commissioner nor anyone else "with the power of executing this important subject" appeared to alleviate the situation, the letter was followed by others, including one two years later, in which the "immense evil"¹⁰⁶ of butchering in a busy, public place, was now characterised as a "DANGEROUS CUSTOM":

¹⁰² GTJ 27/12/32:3.

¹⁰³ GTJ 27/12/32:3. The outbreak of cholera in Britain was of concern to the Journal, where it noted in 1832, that the total number of cases was 7 455, with a death toll of 2 489. GTJ 22/06/32:4. Also see GTJ 27/07/32:3.

¹⁰⁴ T. Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex", in N. Dirks, G. Eley, and S. Ortner (eds.), Culture/Power/History, 123-24.

¹⁰⁵ J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge, Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 318.

¹⁰⁶ GTJ 27/12/32:3.

...I beg to bring under the notice of those whose duty it is...the fact that for considerable time been in the habit of shooting his oxen in High Street of this town!
 A FATHER OF A FAMILY¹⁰⁷

Thus, this scenario of animals and slaughter could have no part in an organised social space. The ordering of practices and things where proper was also an expression of what the Journal saw the larger community could be, that it failed at times testified as much to placing an image of what it could become as what it was not now. As well, there is little doubt that merchant interests in the Journal pressed authorities so that there would be greater regulation of the getting and selling of commodities within Graham's Town. Quite likely, they wished to eliminate what they deemed to be the negative aspects of the open market, with the organisation found in merchant stores.¹⁰⁸ Together therefore, practice and beasts reduced civilization in this outpost of the empire, and jeopardised the "Emporium of the Colony".¹⁰⁹

One ramification of the Journal's intense concern in the 1830s, with what it deemed anti-social conduct and spaces where it thrived, was a desire to reveal through the candid eye of the information and public opinion in its pages, all

¹⁰⁷ GTJ 15/10/35:3.

¹⁰⁸ In other words, the middle-class shopkeeper was in the process of making the selling of goods more mundane. See T. Richards, The Commodity Culture of Victorian England, 1-2.

that could be seen of the state of order of Graham's Town for its imagined community.

As often, the Journal seemed to find the boundaries of its social order deficient and threateningly unstable. What it saw in these transforming social relationships, was an ever widening battle over the entrenchment and defence of the emerging boundaries of civilized colonial society, with the infestation and instability that threatened, collectively it would seem, to impinge upon the very existence of its developing imagined community. Thus it wanted to make social boundaries, and those who chose to transgress them, more visible.

In discourse then, the Journal was encouraging the emergence of difference. On one side of the partition existed its imagined community enshrined in unquestioned morality, progressive and objective vision, while on the other side lay the chaotic others. Specifically, the "Colored Classes" are centred out as a problem to progress.¹¹⁰ The Journal notes:

NOBODY who has occasion [sic] to pass through the streets of Graham's Town of an evening can help being struck with the licentious and disgraceful behaviour of the Colored Classes. Every canteen is literally crowded

¹⁰⁹ GTJ 20/01/32:3. Also refer to next chapter.

¹¹⁰ GTJ 13/06/33:2.

with a motley group of frantic Bacchanalians; whilst public decency is outraged and the peace of society disturbed by their obscene vociferation's and uproarious hilarity.¹¹¹

After dark, the Coloured underclass of the community of Graham's Town erupt. They go mainly to the "canteen", at least until they begin to spill out into the town's vacated public spaces.¹¹² The Coloured underclass then congregate in the public thoroughways and render them impassable. Social spaces considered orderly and virtuous only hours before, become populated by "frantic Bacchanalians".¹¹³ Worse, the "Coloured Classes" render the towns public spaces treacherous.¹¹⁴ They have contrived to inhibit the civil liberties of the Journal's public.

The Journal is particularly incensed at the risk posed by the insults to "public decency" for the "decent" women of its imagined community.¹¹⁵ "No decent female can venture to pass along even the most public thoroughfare after dark without a protector," the Journal declares, "and even then the scenes of riot which frequently occur render it hazardous."¹¹⁶ Moreover, the very boundaries between what was assumed public and

¹¹¹ GTJ 13/06/33:2.

¹¹² GTJ 13/06/33:2.

¹¹³ GTJ 13/06/33:2.

¹¹⁴ GTJ 13/06/33:2.

¹¹⁵ GTJ 13/06/33:2

¹¹⁶ GTJ 13/06/33:2

private were violated,¹¹⁷ as the Coloured underclass and their "Obscene vociferation's and uproarious hilarity", disrupt the still of evening that should be quietly experienced in "peace[ful]" tranquillity.¹¹⁸

Consequently, the Journal calls for strong measures. It looks for decisive measures from the proper authorities. "Now," states the newspaper, "as it very evident that the grand aim of criminal punishment is the reformation of the offender and presentation of due order in society at large...".¹¹⁹ In this particular case, the Journal suggests employing the methods of Prisons in the United States of America.¹²⁰ In doing so, the Journal conceived of its environment as sick, and in particular looked for a remedy through the treatment and rehabilitation of the 'inner person', where "monstrosity" is to be found.¹²¹ The 'inner person' was prominent as a variation and an approach to the sense of self with the rise, in the eighteenth century, of evangelicalism. It was hoped in this way to be a basis for the curing of the many social ills arising from the Industrial Revolution.¹²² John Wesley stated

¹¹⁷ R. Darnton, Great Cat Massacre, 134.

¹¹⁸ GTJ 13/06/33:2.

¹¹⁹ GTJ 13/06/33:2

¹²⁰ GTJ 13/06/33:2

¹²¹ See T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 45, and M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 8.

¹²² For discussion of social ills and the impending "insurrection of the

this practical orientation as, "pray, work, and save".¹²³

Theoretically then, the chief enforcement of social conduct therefore lay with the Circuit Courts. The Journal became a part of this legal exhibition, as it dutifully communicated the highlights of each Circuit Court, where its surveillance of public behaviour made an impact in 1834, and for which the following proceedings were dutifully listed by the Journal. It took a particular interest in cases involving drunkenness and contravention of liquor regulations. In the case of P. Wichman vs. Pub. Prosecutor, "His Lordship remarked that it was the duty of every canteen-keeper not to allow persons already intoxicated to come into their canteens and get more liquor."¹²⁴ This case was followed by W. Ayton vs. Pub. Prosecutor, for, "...having permitted of notoriously bad fame to assemble on his premises between the 1st and the 31st January, 1834...".¹²⁵ Further evidence was to be found amongst the list of individuals convicted, as in 1832, for public drunkenness:

CONVICTED FOR DRUNKENNESS

July 23, --Mietje Scheepers, Hottentot, penalty 5s. or
three days imprisonment
Aug 7, --Peter Harvey, European, penalty 7s 6d.

poor", see R. Heilbroner, The Worldly Philosophers, 97-8.

¹²³ G. Mosse, The Culture of Western Europe, 161.

¹²⁴ GTJ 10/04/34:3.

¹²⁵ GTJ 10/04/34:3.

- 8, --Owen Sweeney, European, 7s. 6d.
- 9, --Benjamin Ross, European, 7s. 6d.
- 11, --Klaus Koert, Hottentot, 5s or 3 days
imprisonment with hard labour
- 15, --John Carolus, Hottentot, three days
imprisonment with hard labour¹²⁶

In a sense, the convicted are ordered, like the "never failing supply of dead dogs and cats, and other filth, constantly thrown into the river or on both sides."¹²⁷

Yet, stretching beyond the individual self to a much more general sense of community, the world of the Journal seemed a tiny space in the 1830s, defending itself against the 'moral darkness' beyond the colonial borders. For the Journal's imaginary community, the frontier border defined the extent of recognisable civilization, and was thus a key to their sense of identity. Presumably, what lay beyond the civilized, as demarcated by the Journal, was a place with constant and great possibilities for irrationality and chaos. However, in the 1830s the border was far from a stable distinction. As a pivotal convergence between the African and colonists' worlds, the borderlands of the frontier were a place of ambiguity, where the unpredictable and shifting nature of power left social order in a state of fluctuation. Just as bad, with the obvious diminishment of colonial control and knowledge as one

¹²⁶ GTJ 17/08/32:2.

¹²⁷ GTJ 27/04/32:2.

reached further beyond the Colony's external boundary, the interior was perceived by the Journal's imagined community as a most threatening place.

Subsequently, following events occurring in this distant and 'uncivilized' interior, the imaginary community of the Journal often found reason to be anxious. For instance, in 1831 the Journal printed a report of the shocking "progress of the Small Pox" beyond the Cape Colony's northern border.¹²⁸ The newspaper states:

We hasten to lay before our readers the information with which we have been favoured, on the subject of the disease which has occasioned so much loss of life beyond the Northern Frontier; and we are much gratified in thinking that it will go far to dissipate the apprehensions which have been exerted on this alarming subject among the colonists.¹²⁹

Foremost, the Journal concerns itself with calming the "apprehensions" that it discerned amongst the body of its appreciable community, "...on the subject of the disease which has occasioned so much loss of life..." in the interior.¹³⁰ The newspaper saw one of its roles to be the arbitrator between fact and fiction for its community. Hearsay and rumour lead to "apprehensions".¹³¹ Thus, the circulation of accurate details in a case such as this, will hopefully "dissipate" any potential for its imagined community to be

¹²⁸ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹²⁹ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹³⁰ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

afflicted with hysteria and fear, and particularly so when murky and "frightful" developments external to the frontier boundary threaten to spill over.¹³² Accordingly, the Journal reveals:

In consequence of instructions to the District Surgeon of Albany, to take the necessary steps for arresting the progress of the Small Pox, then making frightful ravages among the Tribes beyond the Frontier; that gentleman left Graham's Town some time ago...¹³³

Experts rush to the scene. With mention of the invasion of the African interior by the District Surgeon of Albany, the Journal is publicising the efforts that are being made at the explicit "instructions" of the colonial state, "for arresting the progress of the Small Pox".¹³⁴ The newspaper is thus accentuating the proper role of the relevant authorities for containing the epidemic beyond the frontier border. As in the case of the risk of cholera contained in imported goods, public concern rises with the fear of intrusion of the alien and potentially disruptive. It is a terror in essence, of inroads and contamination of the fledgling colonial social order by the uncontrollable, unsanitary and disorderly. The prescribed role of official power in times of crisis then, assumes the provision of leadership, authority, and protection. In this case, the responsibility of the colonial state is to "take the necessary steps," to contain the Small

¹³¹ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹³² GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹³³ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹³⁴ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

Pox epidemic spreading beyond the Cape, and thereby leave "no room for apprehending the passage of that formidable disease into the colony."¹³⁵

Yet, readers of the Journal no doubt received the report with interest for another reason. Numbering amongst them in the community a strong contingent of supporters of efforts to spread Christian and civilized practices beyond the confines of the Cape, the "information" of endeavours for aiding the "ravage[d]" peoples was certain to touch a benevolent string in their hearts.¹³⁶ Moreover, much of the "information" is likely to have come from the pen of a missionary, referred to by the Journal simply as a "CORRESPONDENT".¹³⁷ As one of the "soldiers of Christendom" forming the vanguard of colonialism, the missionary, is immersed because of obligation and zeal, in the needs and health of the interior.¹³⁸ Thus, his report brings an intense rhetoric of nineteenth-century missionary and medical healing towards the "afflicted continent", to the pages of the Journal.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹³⁶ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3. See also chapter four.

¹³⁷ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹³⁸ J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge, Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 306.

¹³⁹ J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge,

Consequently, as the District Surgeon of Albany enters the body of the African interior, his actions embody two concerns. Ostensibly he is to intercept and enclose the threat of disease. At the same time, he is to "probe into the ailing heart of Africa", as Comaroff states, as a "mission to the suffering".¹⁴⁰ The Journal continues:

On receiving information that the Small Pox was just beginning to shew [sic] itself at Campbell Town, the Doctor determined immediately proceeding to that place, notwithstanding the distance was rather more than 200 miles. At Campbell Town he was received with the utmost kindness by the Rev. Mr. Bartlett, who was in great distress, in consequence of the loss of life which had happended [sic] in that place from Small Pox, The day after the Doctor's arrival, 90 persons were vaccinated, and a quantity of vaccine matter was forwarded to Griqua Town, with a request to the Rev. Mr. Wright to send a supply of it as speedily as possible to Lattakoo.¹⁴¹

In the Journal's report, a vacuous sense of space and a notion of ever-lengthening distance pervades the details of the progress of vaccination. This representation of a largely undifferentiated and free-flowing landscape in the interior by the Journal is, as a result, for the most part imprecise. At one point in fact, the Journal locates "a Koranna kraal," in vague terms as being "within 20 miles walk of Philippolis".¹⁴² These are co-ordinates of orientation and place defined only

Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 306.

¹⁴⁰ J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge, Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 306. See also D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 20.

¹⁴¹ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

by routes of movement between the location of outposts of civilization; in this instance, the sites are the missionary stations at Philippolis and Campbell Town. Thus, the map of the body of the African interior by the Journal appears open-ended and indistinct, save for a crude sketching of a "social geography of stations and circuits".¹⁴³

Nevertheless, it is within these seemingly vast and indistinct spaces of the interior, as demarcated between mission-centred points of civilization where the brunt of the "mission to the suffering" takes place.¹⁴⁴ The colonial healers fan out in the body of the African interior in a collaborative strategy. They work tirelessly to vaccinate "persons of all colours and conditions", all the while stemming the spread of the disease before the borders of the Cape Colony.¹⁴⁵ The District Surgeon ventures to wherever "the Small Pox" might "shew" itself, travelling in one case "more than 200 miles".¹⁴⁶ "It is understood", declares the newspaper, "that Dr. Gill, District Surgeon [sic] of Somerset, was engaged at the same time ['arresting the progress of the Small Pox'], vaccinating

¹⁴² GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁴³ Refer to N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 140.

¹⁴⁴ J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge, Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 306.

¹⁴⁵ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁴⁶ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

within the limits of the colony."¹⁴⁷ Also offering assistance are the missionaries on location, such as the Rev. Mr. Bartlett. Together, the colonial healers fan out in the body of the African interior in a collaborative strategy, and work tirelessly to vaccinate "persons of all colours and conditions", all the while stemming the spread of the disease before the borders of the Cape Colony.¹⁴⁸

In the Journal's representation, the interior appears to open up and become a site of engagement with the disease. The frontier of contact is drawn as "a shifting series of points in a heterogeneous space capable of constant redefinition."¹⁴⁹ Indeed, in one sense the Journal seems to picture the expertise of colonial medicine to be erupting everywhere much like the adversary, "the Small Pox", that is being hunted.¹⁵⁰ However, there is a systematic process inherent in the medical gaze. Similarly, the Journal "...plunges into the space that it has given itself the task of traversing...", its gaze following the movements of medical expertise.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁴⁸ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁴⁹ Taken from T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 16-17.

¹⁵⁰ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁵¹ M. Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic, 136.

In the Journal's representation, the unfolding of "the necessary steps for arresting the progress of the Small Pox," correspond to increasing knowledge of both the movements of the disease and of the body of the African interior.¹⁵² In particular, the Journal's gaze moves through the interior, and focuses on the plausible point of inception of the disease. The specific "first cases" of what the report thus intimates as an indigenous strain of "the Small Pox", are found at the "Koranna kraal," previously mentioned as being "within 20 miles walk of Philippolis".¹⁵³ The Journal emphasises body counts of the "kraal", outlining the social grouping as embodying "34 persons, of which number 18 were actually suffering from Small Pox of the time of the Doctor's arrival."¹⁵⁴ In the process, people make a metamorphosis to mere facts awaiting ordering in the Journal's analysis.¹⁵⁵ For "disease", as Foucault argues, is a "non-assignable negative of which the causes, forms, and manifestations [are] offered only indirectly...".¹⁵⁶ The Journal elaborates upon its classification of the state of the Kraal's inhabitants further when it reports:

The disease was of the confluent kind, and of a far more virulent character than it was ever assumes in Europe; - the pustules were in fact so numerous, that the body presented the appearance of one unbroken sore over its

¹⁵² GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁵³ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁵⁴ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁵⁵ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 3.

¹⁵⁶ M. Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic, 196.

whole surface. Eight only of those attacked recovered; bearing, however, indelible proofs of the extent of their sufferings under this hideous disease, of those who entirely escaped its attacks upon this occasion, (4 persons only,) one, an old woman, had the disease, when a child,-- and three had been inoculated by the Rev. Mr. Kolbe, at a time when no vaccine virus could be procured.¹⁵⁷

As a consequence of the Journal's forensic labelling and ordering, the inhabitants of the "Koranna kraal", become signs by which to trace the movements and character of "the Small Pox".¹⁵⁸ "For us," as Foucault explains, "the human body defines, by natural right, the space of origin and of distribution of disease: a space whose lines, volumes, surfaces, and routes are laid down...".¹⁵⁹ The sick are tagged, with the newspaper affirming that of the "number 18...actually suffering" from the disease, "Eight only...recovered...."¹⁶⁰ As well, the Journal takes note of those "who entirely escaped" the disease's "attacks upon this occasion", as for example those vaccinated from Small Pox by the missionary, the Rev. Mr. Kolbe.¹⁶¹

A "hideous disease," then, for those whom it chooses to assault, Small Pox becomes a barbaric sounding entity, as Foucault alleges, something that "...has, as a birthright,

¹⁵⁷ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁵⁸ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁵⁹ M. Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic 3.

¹⁶⁰ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁶¹ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

form and seasons that are alien to the space of societies."¹⁶² It "ravages" the body of the African interior, and potentially assails small children, the elderly--the vulnerable.¹⁶³ Therefore, it gains the reputation as something chaotic and especially, "savage".¹⁶⁴ The experts attempting, "to take the necessary steps for arresting the progress of the Small Pox", describe it as to be "of the confluent kind," and comparatively "of a far more virulent character than it ever assumes in Europe...".¹⁶⁵ In the process the disease is separated from its European origins, a conclusion "highly enabling", as Thomas asserts, "...in the sense that the assumption that depopulation proceeded prior to the white impact located its causes in native behaviour and customs, which could then be represented in relation to the problem."¹⁶⁶

As the Journal cuts slowly into the interior-with its gaze, bodies are metaphorically described in a way, as Comaroff notes, "...suggested a body surface that was porous, dirty, and damp--that 'gave off' contagion and odour to those with whom it came into contact...",¹⁶⁷ affirmed by the Journal's

¹⁶² GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁶³ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁶⁴ There is a 'savage' nature of disease that is both its true nature and its most obedient course... Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic, 3.

¹⁶⁵ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁶⁶ N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 113.

¹⁶⁷ J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism,

statement that, "the pustules were in fact so numerous, that the body presented the appearance of one unbroken sore over its whole surface".¹⁶⁸ Foucault adds:

Disease is no longer a bundle of characters disseminated here and there over the surface of the body and linked together by statistically observable concomitance and secessions; it is a set of forms and deformations...according to a geography that can be followed step by step. It is no longer a pathological species inserting itself into the body wherever possible; it is the body itself that has become ill.¹⁶⁹

Yet, even here, in the realm of cure and disease, it is a basic moral tenet that plays a role in exacerbating the spread of the disease for the Journal. Moreover, as the Journal appraises the "Koranna kraal" in question, it can not help taking note of the apparently unhealthy living conditions in evidence.¹⁷⁰ As a purveyor of knowledge, the Journal offered a cure in the form of moral and hygienic restraint and discipline. Following from its detailed account of the environment of the "Koranna kraal", the Journal prescribes the knowledge of social morality in its representation of sickness and cure in the interior.¹⁷¹ The Journal argues:

Nothing could be more injudicious than the mode of treatment practised by these unfortunate creatures themselves, They shut themselves up in their small huts, which, being composed of mats only, by imperfectly

and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge, Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 316. See also Comaroff, 318.

¹⁶⁸ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁶⁹ M. Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic, 136.

¹⁷⁰ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁷¹ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

exclude the sun's rays; they wrap up their whole body, not excepting the head, in their karosses, and on other respects evince a desire to prevent the access of free air to their persons.¹⁷²

Following the conclusions drawn from other sources by Comaroff's study of the Tswana and Small Pox, the Journal's rhetoric of this motif places the "unfortunate creatures" behaviour, as "the mark of personal indigence or self-abuse" is much of the cause of their ailment.¹⁷³ The Journal notes some of the symptoms leading to their moral illness. The "small huts" of the "unfortunate creatures", "imperfectly exclude the sun's rays", inferring that not only are they insufficient in space, but faulty when they should be supposed to block the elements.¹⁷⁴ From the means of attire to their dwellings, the "unfortunate creatures" encourage conditions that are, one would assume, dark, moist and cramped, and all of which would block positive outside stimuli, while being conducive to the "inhalation", as Comaroff suggests, if not flourishing of disease.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁷³ J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge, Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 319.

¹⁷⁴ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁷⁵ J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge, Power,

In other words, to the Journal, the "Koranna kraal" close to "Philippolis" is a case in point of an improperly ordered social space--and its consequences. Illness then becomes, "the product of exposure and contagion, the result of bodies improperly set off from each other and from the natural elements", which in turn, as Comaroff suggests means, "Vital bodily processes were widely held to depend upon outside stimuli--especially heat, a property dense with social and moral value."¹⁷⁶ Thus, the immoral is displaced as disease in the interior:

It was in vain that Mr. Kolbe recommended them to expose themselves to the action of fresh air, --to throw off their karosses,-- to wash themselves frequently, --and to relieve the excessive thirst, of which they complained, by a free use of cold water.¹⁷⁷

According to the Journal, Mr. Kolbe dispenses moral counsel about their appearance and "everyday practice" to the inhabitants of the "Koranna kraal".¹⁷⁸ They are instructed to remove their "karosses" and "wash", and thereby "expose themselves to the action of fresh air".¹⁷⁹ As well, the

and Practice, 317.

¹⁷⁶ J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge, Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 317.

¹⁷⁷ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁷⁸ J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge, Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 316.

¹⁷⁹ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

inhabitants of the Kraal are "to relieve the[ir] excessive thirst", "by a free use of cold water".¹⁸⁰

At the same time, the moral instruction also highlights the dual role of the missionary as healer not only body but of spirit. "The early evangelists", Comaroff asserts, "conceived of themselves as restorers both of body and spirit, bearers not only of salvation, but of a healing civilization."¹⁸¹ In sacred language, Mr. Kolbe is portrayed as a divine emissary from God sent amongst the "unfortunate creatures".¹⁸² He beseeches them "to throw off their karosses," and be "exposed" to the Light of God, and so "to wash themselves" of their moral sins, and thereby "relieve the[ir] excessive thirst".¹⁸³ Yet, the "unfortunate creatures" (or 'disbelievers') seemed unable or unwilling to listen.¹⁸⁴ The Journal notes:

This wholesome practice they however at once adopted when it came recommended by the doctor; one of them observed, "that he was a man who had come amongst them, on purpose to them good; whose trade it was,-- and that it would be as foolish in them to think they knew better than he, as it would be to say that they knew more of their duty to God than Mr. Kolbe!"¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁸¹ J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge, Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 314.

¹⁸² GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁸³ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁸⁴ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁸⁵ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

The "recommend[ations]" of Mr. Kolbe, their moral and spiritual healer, are not followed in the means to care for themselves.¹⁸⁶ However, the "unfortunate creatures" reverse their position with the arrival of the medical expert.¹⁸⁷ They sensed that the "doctor" had "come amongst them, on purpose to do them good", and the grateful, tribes people, began to "throw off their karosses".¹⁸⁸ For the Xhosa, acquiescence is read as support for the colonial project, and as the Journal represents it, improvement, based upon bringing light, culture and knowledge, to the exterior, with a strong inference of the individual savage body and the body of the interior as a whole. The Journal adds:

The mortality further in the Interior it was understood, had been quite frightful; our of 7-persons attacked, 60 had died of the disease. But as vaccination has now taken place to a very considerable extent...Philioppolis alone, and the persons vaccinated, several of whom had come from distant parts of the country, having been instructed in the mode of communicating the Cow-pock to others, by means of the needle, which is used in sewing the karosses, and which they all wear; and all communication with the infected being besides being prevented by order of government, there now appears to be little or no room for apprehending the passage of that formidable disease into the colony.¹⁸⁹

The progress of the disease deeper in the body of the African

¹⁸⁶ This event stands in contrast to a point noted by Comaroff of instances where the missionaries, rather than the district surgeons were often the preferred figure for medical advice. J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge, Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 320.

¹⁸⁷ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁸⁸ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

interior, is thought to be quite serious. The deeper that the imaginary community of the Journal gazed, the more "frightful" appeared the epidemic of Small Pox, suggesting a continent that lay before it in a state of chaos and social illness.¹⁹⁰ In essence, the interior remained a source of mystery and fear for its imaginary community, born of the receding of knowledge the further into the dark interior.

In turn, it is from the outside looking in an effort to extricate the "monstrous" from the African body,¹⁹¹ that the Journal, through such reports, was to make the uncolonized and their lands comprehensible and less threatening. Through the spread of biomedical practice by the District Surgeons and Missionaries through a collective web of visitations and vaccinations, the imaginary community of the Journal has criss-crossed and scrutinised the nearby interior of the Colony, found knowledge and thereby added to their security. As Comaroff suggests, "The rhetoric of the 'geographical mission' linked the advance of reason in the interior of the dark continent with the biological thrust into the dim recesses of the human person."¹⁹² As a result, it is by the

¹⁸⁹ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁹⁰ GTJ 30/12/31:2-3.

¹⁹¹ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 52.

¹⁹² J. Comaroff, "The Diseased Heart of Africa: Medicine, Colonialism, and the Black Body", in S. Lindenbaum and M. Lock (eds.), Knowledge,

continual opening up and mapping and rendering knowable of the interior of things in the process of exploration and the subsequent dissemination of information that the colonized becomes knowable. It is presumed that by rendering them knowable that fear for the Journal's imagined community will "dissipate".¹⁹³

Therefore, the Journal attempted to gain a jealously guarded monopoly over knowledge of the eastern Cape. By giving form through a stable system of knowledge to its world, the Journal gained the power to fabricate and entrench social ideas of division and unity. In one sense, these images put in place were an exercise in forging a sense of community and identity, united by information. However, this was something far more complicated than simply "imagin[ing]" cultural territory as "representation", for the Journal wished to mould and imprint its own "social construction" on the landscape.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, as an exercise where knowledge becomes most marginal and aesthetics take over, the Journal sought to construct the beautiful and contain the "monstrous", through order.¹⁹⁵

Power, and Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life, 306.

¹⁹³ A. Bichat, quoted in M. Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic, 146.

¹⁹⁴ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 16. Refer also to R. Butlin, Historical Geography, 51-52.

¹⁹⁵ See T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 52.

Chapter Two: "The Emporium of the Colony":
The Journal's Discourse of Commerce

"The Emporium of the Colony":
The Journal's Discourse of Commerce¹⁹⁶

From its inception in 1831, the Journal represented its imaginary community by discussion of matters of "Public Interest", in terms of the political domain of the Cape,¹⁹⁷ but the community was also structured by content, more often than not relating to the relations of production of colonialism. In many ways, the basis for much active engagement in the public sphere of the middle class was framed by "a developing market economy".¹⁹⁸ In an imaginary community which was very much formed around an expanding colonial economy such as the Journal's, the display of a "traffic in commodities and news"¹⁹⁹ on its pages, positioned the Journal, as both product and representation of this continuing economic and social transformation "to modern

¹⁹⁶ The title is derived from comments contained in a letter to the Journal from "PHILO". GTJ 20/01/32:3.

¹⁹⁷ GTJ 20/01/32:3. Refer also to chapter one.

¹⁹⁸ T. McCarthy, "Introduction", in J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, xi. See also J. Peires, "The British and the Cape, 1814-34", in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820, 477, B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 46, and J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 8 and 27.

¹⁹⁹ J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 17 and 21. The commodities could be conceived as, "[a] series of signs or representations of economic changes 'underneath'". T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 18.

capitalistic production and exchange",²⁰⁰ as an integral or "extensively useful" object.²⁰¹ Thus, the imagining of the Journal's community and the making of colonial order from the surrounding chaos of the eastern Cape was to be, significantly, a material affair.

Rather than creating a "workshop", as is commonly supposed, reform after 1815 transformed Britain into the "warehouse of the world".²⁰² According to Cain and Hopkins, the emphasis placed upon the industrial side of the British economy in the early nineteenth century has understated the role of the financial and commercial sectors.²⁰³ There was greater uncertainty in economic policy alongside the changes that occurred in the economy after the end to conflict, and Britain's main interests after 1815 was an increase in trade and revenue, and a wish to balance the budget.²⁰⁴ Indeed, Cain and Hopkins note that the country was burdened by approximately 80 per cent of its public revenues servicing

²⁰⁰ T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 16.

²⁰¹ GTJ 20/01/32:3. See also B.A. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton, 6.

²⁰² P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 83. Also see C.A. Bayly, Imperial Meridian, 5.

²⁰³ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 19. Refer also to Cain and Hopkins, 38-40, and C.A. Bayly, Imperial Meridian, 253.

²⁰⁴ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 78-79, 91.

the post-war debt.²⁰⁵ It is not surprising that Britain should look to its exports, as in the past it had chiefly depended on duties as a source of revenue.²⁰⁶

However, in the nineteenth century, Britain had been experiencing a gradual decrease in exports with the rest of Europe, and the problem was not so much the volume of goods produced, as their value and the growing demands of an increasing population. Therefore, it was towards expanded reliance on the re-exporting of goods, combined with advancing manufacturing into new markets and an increased dependency on international finance that Britain turned to make up the differences in revenue for its escalating imports.

As Britain reformed, and extended and consolidated its grasp to meet these demands, the empire was reshaped. In a sense, Britain exported its market trends in migration, capital and commerce. Just as important though, the globe received British political dreams and projects, and in particular the vision of "economic progress" with a coinciding ideology of

²⁰⁵ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 79.

²⁰⁶ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and

"individual liberty, differential property rights, and political stability."²⁰⁷ This was an ideology that legitimated commerce as much for its civilizing prowess, as in its own right. Obviously settler colonies were to be significant beneficiaries of this influence, and were the place where formed, as Cain and Hopkins note "...a set of like-minded, cooperative elites who would demonstrate that the British view of the world could and should be reproduced elsewhere...".²⁰⁸

On the edge of empire, the imaginary community of the Journal displayed all the signs of emulating its mother-country while being a distinctive and important hub in the expansive economic relations of the growing Empire.

Expansion, 1688-1914, 74-5.

²⁰⁷ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 98. For greater detail upon these points see Cain and Hopkins, 88-90, 98-99. They also add:

...the reforming principles of political economy were eagerly applied to distant lands: approved property rights, individualism, free markets, sound money, and public frugality provided discipline and purpose for both moral and material life, underpinned good government and produced congenial allies."

P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 35. Refer also to D. Denoon, Settler Capitalism; C. Bayly, Imperial Meridians; and J.S. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire.

²⁰⁸ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 98. For the Cape in particular, see R. Beck, "The Legalisation and development of trade on the Cape frontier, 1817-1830", 103-05.

According to the buoyant imaginings about the eastern Cape contained in a letter in 1832 by "PHILO", "Her resources are great even at this period, when her trade with the Inland Tribes have only just beg[un] to dawn."²⁰⁹ He further adds, the center of the eastern Cape economy was Graham's Town, a town "ranking next in population and importance to Cape Town", and which "in a few years will be looked up to as the Emporium of the Colony."²¹⁰ In other words, in the middle-class Victorian world of representation in the eastern Cape that "PHILO" was no doubt a part of, Graham's Town was fast growing into a symbolic store or clearance center located on the edge of empire with a "tempting range of stocks" for sale.²¹¹

A large part of this vision of the eastern Cape's rapid growth, and specifically with Graham's Town as its economic center of significance, was the world of commodities that the colonists embraced through trade.²¹² In the Journal's

²⁰⁹ GTJ 20/01/32:3.

²¹⁰ GTJ 20/01/32:3. The population of Albany was roughly 3 000 in 1829, but had increased to an estimated 4 000 less than a decade later. A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 10.

²¹¹ B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 38.

²¹² Mitchell also defines commodity as, "...objects that can be comparable and exchangeable in terms of abstract quantity of and process we call 'production'." [Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 18. Also note Mitchell, 162-63]. For discussion of the prominent growth and

"Emporium",²¹³ imported commodities, as for instance "...a general Assortment of...Cloths, kersey, Moleskins, Velveteens, Muslins, Prints, Flannels, Baize, Voerchits, a large assortment of Ironmongery, Rice, Sugar, Ginger...", were ordered and displayed.²¹⁴ Often the objects were utilitarian, but there were signs of luxury and refinement as well. The Journal notes, "Telescopes, Thermometers, Hydrometers;"²¹⁵ "A FEW boxes of very superior Manilla Segars [sic]".²¹⁶ The objects could come from afar, and some raise questions of the logic of their importation, as for example, "Edinburgh Ale";²¹⁷ "Swedish Iron," "Sperm Candles",²¹⁸ "Canada Forks",²¹⁹ and "steam-mill flour."²²⁰ At other times, commodities such as Cape brandy and wine,²²¹ came from the Colony itself.

The trade in commodities put a colonial community on the map. The imagined community that was formulated in the pages

domination of a commodity culture in British society, see T. Richards, The Commodity Culture of Victorian England.

²¹³ GTJ 20/01/32:3.

²¹⁴ "B. Norden, Auctioneer", GTJ 29/02/32:1.

²¹⁵ GTJ 13/06/33:1.

²¹⁶ GTJ 29/02/32:1.

²¹⁷ GTJ 10/02/32:4.

²¹⁸ GTJ 16/02/32:1.

²¹⁹ "Thomson, Brothers, & Co.", auctioned by "Kidson & Jarman, Auctioneers", GTJ 06/02:34:1.

²²⁰ GTJ 22/12/36:1.

of the Journal was heavily dependent upon an ambitious class of merchants, land speculators and territorial expansionists derived from the ranks of the British colonists that emigrated in the 1830s, and who were increasingly taking over influence from the eastern Cape gentry. They arrived at the Cape with, as Peires states, "...a spirit and practice of enterprise and accumulation which soon carried them far beyond [its] borders",²²² and epitomized by no less than the Journal's future editor and owner himself, R. Godlonton. The Journal "gave voice" to "these rising capitalists of the east...".²²³ Thus, it was with this healthy sentiment towards capitalistic exchange, and the "traffic" in goods and its interests of the eastern Cape in mind that the Journal printed its first editorial,²²⁴ as it declares:

In presenting to the Public, the first number of The Graham's Town Journal, the Proprietor feels it necessary that he should offer a concise view of the motives,

²²¹ GTJ 29/12/36:1.

²²² J. Peires, "The British and the Cape, 1814-34", in R. Elphick R. and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820, 480. Also see B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 3 and 41-42, and M.D. Nash, The Settler Handbook, 13. As mentioned previously, Godlonton became editor and part-owner of the Journal in 1834 [M.D. Nash, Baile's Party of 1820 Settlers, 143-44]. Refer to Le Cordeur for mention of Robert Godlonton's possible economic motives in becoming an editor [B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 64-65], and Nash for details of his wealth, in Baile's Party of 1820 Settlers, 143-144.

²²³ B.A. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton, 5.

²²⁴ J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 17, 21. A similar point is made by Le Cordeur. B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 43.

objects, and proposed scope of his undertaking.²²⁵

In setting out the parameters of the Journal in the first editorial, "the Proprietor," begins in language both comprehensible and reassuring to what is phrased "the Commercial and other interests of Albany".²²⁶ There is a conscious reflex of utilitarian thought with an added dash of prescribed humility to the editorial, and the language of publicness and choice of topics belie the great lengths the Journal went to in its opening to highlight commercial aspects, both for the purposes of promoting the community and its own publishing enterprise. The business-like tone continues to be stressed later in the opening editorial when the Journal discusses its likely content. The Journal states:

Local Intelligence of Public Interest, connected with the Commerce and Agriculture of the Frontier; information respecting the condition of the neighboring Tribes;

²²⁵ GTJ 30/12/31:2. The first leading article (editorial), or "introductory article" as Harington terms it, was written by Major T.C. White, and assisted by W. Beddy (1799-1837). Beddy would edit the Journal for a period in 1834 [Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press, 10], but his role with the newspaper appears to have been otherwise quite insignificant [A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 7 and 22]. A distinguished Albany leader, White would present the colonist's grievances against the Somerset administration by journeying to London in 1823 [A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 15]. White (identified by Gordon-Brown as a lieutenant) was killed in conflict in May 1835 at the Bashee R. [A. Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press, 10]. Meurant, however, would seem in his reminiscences to recall only the editorial efforts of himself. L.H. Meurant, Sixty Years Ago, 87-88.

²²⁶ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

selections from the English and other Newspapers, from Periodicals and other interesting publications; Reports of Law Proceedings; the state of the Markets; together with the communications of his correspondents, and the Advertisements with which he may be favored, are all the Proprietor can offer for the present.²²⁷

The Journal affirms that it will offer a mixed collection of advertisements, letters, local reports, and articles pilfered from other newspapers that could be in origin either from the Cape or abroad.²²⁸ The Journal then expands upon how it will go about deeming items to be within the public interest, and thereby be delineated by the parameters of its discourse. It offers the editor's pledge to protect the public reputation of its "correspondents", and to remain apart from any "discussions", or rational debates that might occur:

Correspondents may depend upon the secrecy and honor of the Editor, and the Public may rely upon a rigid exercise of the Editorial prerogative of rejection, should any thing be offered unfit for the public eye, whether arising from the matter or manner of the communication; and this right he feels will be more readily acquiesced in; as the Editor will carefully abstain from taking any part in the discussions in which his correspondents may be engaged.²²⁹

While keeping an objective distance, the "Editor"²³⁰ will censor, out of public interest, and will uphold what would be considered as prudent middle class values and virtues in

²²⁷ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²²⁸ Added detail from a precursory handbill noted in the introduction. See also B.A. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton 5, and A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 15.

²²⁹ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²³⁰ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

the public sphere. Moreover, the Journal seems to be suggesting that by relegating the torrid polemics of colonial politics to columns such as correspondents' letters, so it seemed to hope, the auspicious functionalism found in the previous list of "Commercial and other useful Local Information", would then outweigh even a hint of politics in the Journal.²³¹

Consequently, commercial information was metaphorically to be like a skin of advertisements and announcements that neatly enveloped the rest of the newspaper, while masking the brunt of the Journal's politics by assigning it to the middle section of the newspaper. The Journal enlarges this stance towards politics near the end of the editorial in a flourishing diatribe aimed towards "didactic essays" when it reveals:

The Editor does not propose to inflict invariably on his readers what is usually called a LEADING ARTICLE. Perhaps he has not yet chosen a political hobby-horse; and is not prepared to witch the world with didactic essays. Be this as it may, the Proprietor confidentially hopes that his humble undertaking will prove serviceable to the Public, even if it should do no more than afford a ready and convenient means of circulating Advertisements, and of communicating Commercial and other useful Local Information.²³²

From the outset of the establishment of the newspaper, the

²³¹ GTJ 30/12/31:2. Refer also to A. Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press, 10.

²³² GTJ 30/12/31:2.

introductory editorial contains evidence of a concerted and conscious effort, to rise above the colony's internal polemics. The Journal's world was therefore initially designated to be apolitical, and driven by commerce as its clarifying and praiseworthy element.

At the same time however, the Journal is making a thinly veiled reference to what could only be the South African Commercial Advertiser of Cape Town. It is difficult not to wonder whether, even in this first editorial, the Journal was already preparing the ground for its ensuing discursive battles with its chief foe situated in Cape Town.²³³ In the past, the South African Commercial Advertiser had played a particularly active role in the Colony's contest to have a free and unfettered press, but it had also become, so the Journal insinuates, what amounted to an "editorializing press", on account of its discussion of "LEADING ARTICLE[S]" and "political hobby horse[s]".²³⁴ Clearly, in the Journal's eyes there was a visible division to be drawn between the likes of such a newspaper and itself as a more functional publication, and thereby more truly in the public's interest.

²³³ B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 43, 66.

²³⁴ GTJ 30/12/31:2. See also A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 7 and 14, and J. Habermas, The

The Journal's comments about leading articles are a surprising note as they were quite common in the newspapers of the early nineteenth century.²³⁵ Yet, in another way that amounted to the same as the Advertiser, and whether the Journal desired it or not, the development of an "effective literary presentation" in itself was tantamount to the beginnings of developing a "line".²³⁶ In other words, no matter how far the Journal tried to bury its political imperatives to the end of its first editorial, the "political hobby-horse"²³⁷ was emerging, and precisely the economic growth within which it found itself was in itself a means of delineation. The Journal continues its first editorial:

The importance of Graham's Town as a Commercial Station alone, seems sufficient to entitle it to a Local Newspaper; or, in other words, appears to insure adequate remuneration to the Proprietor.²³⁸

In the Journal's view Graham's Town, the community in which many of its readers reside, is significant. It is with great pride and gravity that the editorial notes the town's growing economic "station".²³⁹ This was a time when reputation was important, and as Davidoff and Hall suggest,

Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 184.

²³⁵ J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 183.

²³⁶ J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 186-7.

²³⁷ GTJ 30/12/31:2. A point it reiterates in GTJ 29/06/32:2.

²³⁸ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

"...middle class men strove "to be 'Someone', to count as individuals because of their wealth, their power to command or their capacity to influence people..."²⁴⁰ No doubt this applied as well when the eastern Cape's merchant elite were in some sense attempting to act in concert as a community. Bolstered then by the self-evident fact that such a "Commercial" community, by virtue of its socio-economic "importance" or growing size and significance, needs a newspaper, the Journal's "remuneration" is assured.²⁴¹ In essence, the profitability of being an "appendage[] of the market", and the fate of being tied to its imagined community are links to give the newspaper its justification and utility.²⁴² In fact, the Journal notes:

It must indeed be matter of surprise that a Newspaper has so long been dispensed with by a community distinguished for its activity, intelligence, and enterprise. At a distance of 600 miles from the seat of Government and Press, upon a soil and under a climate, in many respects totally dissimilar from those of the Western Districts of the colony, with the opposition of interests, - and the diversity of opinions, which must necessarily have existed, there could have been a deficiency of matter for profitable discussion; and as even such objects as are common to both extremities of the colony, when observed from different points of view and in different lights, frequently present a considerable change in their

²³⁹ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²⁴⁰ L. Davidoff and C. Hall, Family Fortunes, 13. Refer also to 420-1.

²⁴¹ GTJ 30/12/31:2. See also B. A. Le Cordeur, "Robert Godlonton As Architect of Frontier Opinion, 1850-57", 153.

²⁴² B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 62. Harington states, "None the less, like and together with Albany itself, it [the Journal] flourished." A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 17.

features and characteristics; the Proprietor, by opening a channel for conveying to Government and the Public the opinions of the Eastern Districts upon matters of general as well as local interest, would have had some claim to support on the ground of general utility.²⁴³

The Journal provides the framework for its "points of view".²⁴⁴ Firstly, it was an essential "channel" for the flow, specifically to government, of public opinion (at least of the 'public' the Journal professed to represent).²⁴⁵ In this dimension to the balancing of exchange of communications,²⁴⁶ one must see public opinion presupposed as something singular and significant. It was a form of "common sense" and a source of authority.²⁴⁷ In this way, public opinion was whatever was deemed "the object of public critical attention", and carried a connotation of truth.²⁴⁸

²⁴³ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²⁴⁴ GTJ 30/12/31:2. See also B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, xi.

²⁴⁵ GTJ 30/12/31:2. Baker adds, "Appeals to a wider community or public constitute that entity precisely in the choice of the terms they use...". K. Baker, "Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France: Variations on a Theme by Habermas", in C. Calhoun (ed.), Habermas and the Public Sphere, 189.

²⁴⁶ B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 43. Refer also to J. Habermas, "Social Structures of the Public Sphere", The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, 27 and 181.

²⁴⁷ J. Habermas, "Social Structures of the Public Sphere", The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 120. See also K. Baker, "Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France: Variations on a Theme by Habermas" in C. Calhoun (ed.), Habermas and the Public Sphere, 183.

²⁴⁸ J. Habermas, "Social Structures of the Public Sphere", The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 36. See also C.

In the early 1830s, governance in the Cape was largely unrepresentative. As Davidoff and Hall assert, "demand for independence from aristocratic patronage...by the 'middling' sort was not to be conferred by the gentry [upper class]; it had to be won. Collective action...was a way of doing so...".²⁴⁹ Consequently, "by opening a channel for conveying to Government and the Public the opinions of the Eastern Districts upon matters of general as well as local interest," the Journal saw itself as articulating the unique 'voice' of its imagined community, and raising issues of common interest.²⁵⁰ "In this way", as Calhoun notes, "a certain educated elite came to think of itself as constituting the public...[and] began to see themselves...not just as the object of state actions but as the opponent of public authority."²⁵¹ Therefore, the Journal was conceived as a sort of median 'voice', that was to be distinct from the colonial state; at the same time, it was to serve as a vital aspect to the process of governance, and

Calhoun, "Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere", in C. Calhoun (ed.), Habermas and the Public Sphere, 17.

²⁴⁹ L. Davidoff and C. Hall Family Fortunes, 419. For Cape context, see J. Peires, "The British and the Cape, 1814-34", in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820, 477.

²⁵⁰ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²⁵¹ C. Calhoun, "Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere", in C. Calhoun (ed.), Habermas and the Public Sphere, 9. See also J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 24 and 183. For the Journal as a community or 'settler' voice, see B.A. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton, 5-6, and "Robert Godlonton As Architect of Frontier Opinion,

the formation of a colonial order.²⁵²

Furthermore, not only was the Journal to be a means for the dissemination of information between the people and the colonial state but between inhabitants making up the various parts of the Colony. The Journal noted with an almost moral undertone, that for a "community distinguished for its activity, intelligence, and enterprise",²⁵³ and distant from the Cape's political and economic heartland in the western Cape,²⁵⁴ the dearth of any centre through which public interests, and more specifically those of the eastern Cape's

1850-57", 3.

²⁵² For comparison to the western Cape, see K. McKenzie, "The South African Commercial Advertiser and the making of middle class identity in the early nineteenth century". For further reference to communication between the public sphere and state, see N. Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", 112, and S. Benhabib, "Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jurgen Habermas", in C. Calhoun (ed.), Habermas and the Public Sphere, 78.

²⁵³ GTJ 30/12/31:2. In particular, Graham's Town at this time had a comparatively high literacy rate amongst its inhabitants for the early nineteenth century. See A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 9.

²⁵⁴ The Journal would be the first and only newspaper outside of Cape Town for eight years after its inception [A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 29, and refer as well to B.A. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton, 4]. A noteworthy point is that the weekly post took up to 5 days and had to travel 600 miles from Cape Town. B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 11.

middle class might communicate and remain informed.²⁵⁵ The self-evident differences that must arise, according to the Journal, from the, "in many respects totally dissimilar"²⁵⁶ location and occupations must create a demand for material particular to, and reflective of its locality. Therefore, the Journal's unique perspective is, in part, the basis of its utility, as are the "matters of general as well as local interest" themselves that will flow from this.²⁵⁷

Yet, the Journal is intimating more than simply that a newspaper would give the colonists of the eastern Cape a means to communicate various significant items of information. Just as important, the Journal would be in another way a balancing force in the exchange of communications, but between the eastern and western parts of the Cape.²⁵⁸ The Journal was then a structure through which power could be exercised as a place and means of engagement

²⁵⁵ If, as noted earlier, "Private individuals...exert[ed] their influence through journals and newspapers...", as suggested by Davidoff and Hall [Family Fortunes, 419], then a characteristic "general Interest" of bourgeois society was the importance of a free press. N. Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", in C. Calhoun (ed.), Habermas and the Public Sphere, 112.

²⁵⁶ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²⁵⁷ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²⁵⁸ J. Habermas, "Social Structures of the Public Sphere", The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 181. Also see B.A. Le

within its coalescing imagined community, and all the while cultivating that sense of community; similarly, the creation of the Journal was also a balancing of the power of communications with competing communities.²⁵⁹

In fact, there were few ways in which the power of public discourse was more important than in perceptions of what the Journal would have considered its community; specifically, the Journal was concerned about how it is imagined in terms of socio-economic images. Through the medium of the Journal, "PHILO" represents Graham's Town as an "Emporium".²⁶⁰ Undoubtedly in this image "PHILO" wanted to acknowledge the unique opportunity presented by the eastern Cape's bountiful resources on the edge of empire, but he also wanted to emphasize that Graham's Town and its surroundings were not unsophisticated and uncivilized. The imaginary community of the Journal was not to be thought of as emanating from a 'wild' and 'primitive' frontier town; instead, "PHILO" wanted to represent the rapid, if arduous cultivation of the frontier into something more civilized, virtuous and ordered.²⁶¹ "Perseverance," suggests "PHILO",

Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, xi.

²⁵⁹ For background material about the east-west political divide, see B. A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism.

²⁶⁰ GTJ 20/01/32:3.

²⁶¹ The struggles against adversity inherent in this civilizing

"meets with no impediments, surmounts all difficulties, and turns the barren wilderness into a garden of fruits and flowers."²⁶²

While the image promulgated by "PHILO" would have been pleasing to its community, it also doubly served to offset any less favorable portrayals and "adverse publicity" emanating from outside its sphere.²⁶³ In particular, the Journal reiterated over and over--however and whenever it could--what it considered to be the obvious divide between the eastern and western parts of the Colony. It found a perfect opportunity for this in its sweeping intolerance of any criticism coming from outsiders and specifically Cape Town, no matter how general the critical phrases may have been intended. The Journal notes in 1834:

The great bane of the Cape is said to be that most of the inhabitants only think of enriching themselves and returning home; hence they are perfectly indifferent to local affairs and matters of improvement, unless, indeed, it is something which happens to thwart their own views, or militate against their immediate interests." This remark may, it is probable, apply with some force to the

process were an important part to this imagined colonial community's identity.

²⁶² GTJ 20/01/32:3. See also A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 23, and L. Davidoff and C. Hall, Family Fortunes, 122.

²⁶³ In particular, Godlonton wished to counter the "the constant and deliberate misrepresentation[s]" of the "philanthropists...and the South African Commercial Advertiser". B. A. Le Cordeur, "Robert Godlonton As Architect of Frontier Opinion, 1850-57", 2-3.

Commercial part of the community at the other end of the Colony, but it is by no means just when applied to the inhabitants in general. It is possible there are a few mercantile adventurers amongst us, who may be considered as birds of passage, but by far the greatest number, both English as well as Dutch, have adopted this country as their home...²⁶⁴

Thus, while the commercial interests surrounding the South African Commercial Advertiser may be deemed in such "mercantile" and even mercenary terms, it did not necessarily speak for those in the eastern Cape, and represented by the Journal.²⁶⁵ While the Journal did admit that the "great bane" might involve a few members of colonial society in the eastern half of the Cape, the newspaper felt it pertinent to qualify such comments as seemed to infringe upon the moral character of those it deemed within its imaginary community.²⁶⁶ Just as bad in the Journal's eyes, the South African Commercial Advertiser was bringing into disrepute the commercial success of its community as a whole. The Journal emphasized that colonists in the eastern Cape (including "English as well as Dutch"), had "adopted" the Cape "as their home", and that it would be against their better "interests" not to be concerned with colonial "improvement".²⁶⁷ As a result, through the

²⁶⁴ GTJ 24/04/34:4.

²⁶⁵ GTJ 24/04/34:4.

²⁶⁶ GTJ 24/04/34:4. It was not uncommon for the Journal to incorporate the eastern Cape's "Dutch" community and its opinions into its own when it saw fit. See A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", especially 49-50.

²⁶⁷ GTJ 24/04/34:4.

presentation of a more favourable representation, the newspaper hoped a more encouraging climate for commercial expansion could be generated, and the parameters limited of competing spheres of Cape Town.

As the Journal furthered the cause for its own significance, it believed itself to be offering itself up as a vital and utilitarian conduit to the inner workings of an expanding colonial public life. By reflecting "the Commercial and other interests of Albany,"²⁶⁸ the Journal judged it had found the substance of what held its colonial community together; moreover, the public sphere of the middle class was often a product of active engagement with the government over issues of economics and the nature of economic relations.²⁶⁹ Therefore, the authority bound up with commanding the means of communication that the Journal would provide, was the springboard into a more favorable position of influence for its community, and ultimately the furtherance of domination. The Journal continues:

²⁶⁸ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²⁶⁹ For discussion of the precedent set in the 1820s by conflict over economic policy in the eastern Cape, see J. Peires, "The British and the Cape, 1814-34", in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820, 477, and B. A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 2. Reference to this point about the middle class more generally is made by J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 27.

But independent of these considerations, the Proprietor of the "Graham's Town Journal" is led to expect, that the Commercial and other interests of Albany, will afford sufficient matter for the support of his Paper. Its Chief Town has risen into an importance second to Cape Town only; its exports and imports approach Two Millions of Rix-dollars annually; its Traffic with the Tribes in the Interior is boundless in its extent, and promises to afford ample employment to an increased population and an enlarged capital; and the direct Trade to England has been established on a permanent basis.²⁷⁰

The Journal returns directly to details of the eastern Cape's expanding economy, and specifically the rapid growth in "importance" as a "Commercial Station" of Graham's Town.²⁷¹ To illustrate this, the Journal presents figures which "rendered" the eastern Cape "readable" and "...available to political and economic calculation",²⁷² and thereby added validity to its claims.²⁷³ In particular, the imaginary community of the Journal's growth appeared built on a "traffic in things",²⁷⁴ in which Graham's Town's role as a commercial clearance centre of sorts for the distribution and equipping of trade was central to the "exports and imports approach[ing] Two Millions of Rix-dollars

²⁷⁰ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²⁷¹ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²⁷² T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 45-6.

²⁷³ Zaret notes that statistics presented the "rule of reason over opinion" [D. Zaret, "Religion, Science, and Printing in the Public Spheres in Seventeenth-Century England", in C. Calhoun (ed.), Habermas and the Public Sphere, 229]. "Paradoxically", he later suggests, "this development provided 'opinion' with added authority." Zaret, 229-30. See also L. Davidoff and C. Hall, Family Fortunes, 26-27, 124, 202.

²⁷⁴ T. Richards, The Commodity Culture of Victorian England, 2.

annually".²⁷⁵ In such a context, information and figures of "productive powers" was "readable" not just by the Journal's imagined community, or even the Cape, but in terms comprehensible, and integrated with the global imperial market of Britain.²⁷⁶ In 1834, "the direct Trade to England [that] has been established on a permanent basis"²⁷⁷ was a topic the Journal elaborated upon in greater detail when it discussed the "EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FROM PORT ELIZABETH":

The following statement cannot be perused without the most lively satisfaction. It is, in particular, cheering to find that so great an encrease [sic] has taken place in our direct exports to the British Market. In 1832 our exports to London and Liverpool were £26,664--the following year they were £53,789...²⁷⁸

Thus, it was essential in an emerging colonial economy to be a commercial connection within the flow of trade, and not to fall into decline at the periphery of empire. At a time when Britain's economy was restructuring, the Journal's imaginary community appeared to be positioning itself economically for further growth, and to be in step with change. Improved transport and communications moved the eastern Cape in the early nineteenth century much closer to Britain, and thus shaped by its pervasive industrial influence. In the process, this trade and positioning lifted the status of the imaginary community, or at least

²⁷⁵ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²⁷⁶ T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 45-46.

²⁷⁷ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²⁷⁸ GTJ 06/02/34:2.

how the Journal's community perceived others' version of itself, whether in the metropole or in other parts of the Cape.²⁷⁹

In addition, while trade allowed "the greater part" of the output evolving from the interior, to be "shipped direct to an English port",²⁸⁰ trade links also placed both the eastern Cape's economy and social ordering into a wider imperial network. Though often enough Britain would have been the "warehouse"²⁸¹ from which the importation of things specifically for the colonists would have emanated, the market-system evidenced in the Journal was predicated not solely upon the trade with Britain, but with the empire and globe.

²⁷⁹ The chief statisticians for the Journal were J.C. Chase and R. Godlonton. Le Cordeur asserts that Godlonton did not have any "...scruples about resorting to deliberate falsification and misrepresentation of the facts about the economic advances...made by the east...". [B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 128]. Le Cordeur's point is reiterated by a correspondent as early as 1832. GTJ 27/07/32:3.

²⁸⁰ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

²⁸¹ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 83.

The bonds of trade therefore opened the Journal's community to a whole new world, or rather many worlds. In representation, the Journal illustrated this "integration" of its imagined community, and the products of the eastern Cape and its interior with the world economy.²⁸² Most often displayed on its front page, the goods advertised often seemed ad hoc and disorganized in their rambling jumble, and out of place so far from their origins, or at least from the metropole.²⁸³ In its pages, one could find for instance, "...direct from Manchester...fashionable Gingham, Polonaises, imperial and Orleans Dresses;"²⁸⁴ and, "A FEW pieces black and coloured Silks, Shoe tres and Ribbons, and ten cases Preserves, from China, as well as a case of Toys, from France..."²⁸⁵ "Linnen Damask, blue and yellow Nankeens",²⁸⁶ "Gros de Naples",²⁸⁷ "...two volumes of Rev. G. Berkley, a History of England in 5 volumes. 8vo. to the

²⁸² R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820, 522. According to Mitchell, representation in this type of imperial context left "...everything collected up and arranged to stand for something, to represent progress and history, human industry and empire...". T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 6.

²⁸³ Idea from Richards, when he notes of early nineteenth century handbill advertising in the streets of London, "...a Babel of deciphered and undeciphered languages inhabiting a common space of representation...". T. Richards, The Commodity Culture of Victorian England, 47. See also B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 62.

²⁸⁴ GTJ 30/12/31:1.

²⁸⁵ GTJ 29/06/32:1.

²⁸⁶ GTJ 06/04/32:1.

²⁸⁷ GTJ 22/12/36:1 and 06/01/32:1.

Coronation of George IV";²⁸⁸ "Moleskins, Cambrics, Prints, Beaver Hats, India Voerchits, Women's Hose, Raisins, Currants, Lisbon Port",²⁸⁹ "Stockholm Tar",²⁹⁰ "Lace Collars, Cape Shawls";²⁹¹ and "Java Rice, Brazilian Tobacco, Rosewood Chairs".²⁹² As a result, in the Journal's discourse objects from divergent locales, with possibly very different stories behind their origins, momentarily joined together en masse. In essence, the goods were splinters of discourse, goods that bound trade in the eastern Cape through the circulation of commodities to places such as India, India to Britain, and Britain back to Graham's Town in the web-like relations of imperial trade.²⁹³

Accordingly, the goods gained new meaning, as a system of objects of empire. They were components of the trade which epitomized and gave confidence to imperialism, as much as this same imperialism facilitated the movement of these objects. At the same time, the commodities spoke of other

²⁸⁸ GTJ 21/11/33:4.

²⁸⁹ GTJ 13/01/32:4.

²⁹⁰ GTJ 06/01/32:1.

²⁹¹ GTJ 22/12/36:1.

²⁹² GTJ 06/01/32:1.

²⁹³ As well, Crais would suggest that "a complex web of credit relations" was created. C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 106.

imagined "parallel worlds",²⁹⁴ that as Anderson suggests, "...had no necessary reason to know one another's existence...".²⁹⁵ Yet, printed on the pages of the Journal as part of its "mosaic", these varied and often dissimilar objects did come to create continuity in their overall appropriation.²⁹⁶ Indeed, what they often shared was little more than being a potential source of common interest to the imaginary community of the Journal.²⁹⁷

Furthermore, the emphasis on eastern Cape growth and Graham's Town's "Station" served another purpose.²⁹⁸ While drawing a connection from the eastern Cape to Britain, representations of trade in the Journal left internal colonial trade either suspiciously absent or selected so to highlight the widening gulf between the eastern and western parts of the Colony.²⁹⁹ For this reason, the Journal

²⁹⁴ B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 63. Also refer to introduction.

²⁹⁵ B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 74.

²⁹⁶ D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 43-44.

²⁹⁷ Idea from B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 62 and 74.

²⁹⁸ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

²⁹⁹ According to Ross, the brunt of agricultural production was for the Cape market. Contrary to the Journal's expectations, this trend would only increase. R. Ross, "'Rather Mental Than Physical': Emancipations and the Cape Economy", in N. Worden and C. Crais (ed.), Breaking the Chains, 159-60, and [R. Ross, "The Cape and the world

asserted:

...it is quite evident that only a very short period will elapse when our maritime intercourse with Table Bay must so materially decrease that our visits will be indeed "few and far between". The expense, delay and risk of transshipment, are insuperable bars to a continuation of the existing commercial relations between the two Provinces; but we trust, that in the course of a generous rivalry, we shall never forget that we stand indebted to the trading interest at Cape Town, for much of that zeal and public spirit which have been brought into exercise among us with the happiest effect, and with such signal advantages to the inhabitants at large.³⁰⁰

The Journal was noting the value of improved efficiency that eventually would, so it seemed to hope, remove it from dependency on the western section of the Cape that it referred to as another "Province[]".³⁰¹ With a somewhat arrogant manner, the Journal acknowledged its community's "indebted[ness] to the trading interest at Cape Town", and seemed to suggest that the two parts of the Cape enjoyed a "generous rivalry" nearing that between equals.³⁰² Therefore, the rendition of figures by the Journal was part and parcel to the process of elevating its imaginary community.

economy, 1652-1835", 255].

³⁰⁰ GTJ 06/02/34:2.

³⁰¹ GTJ 06/02/34:2. Refer to Le Cordeur for examples of the use of economic representation in the strained relations between the competing middle-class elites of the eastern and western sections of the Cape.

B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 31, 38-39.

³⁰² GTJ 06/02/34:2. Also see B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape

It seemed that the Journal used Cape Town and its influential spheres as its principal mirror and nemesis. Locating these sentiments amongst the context of the 1830s, it is noteworthy that while the eastern Cape's economy appeared to be growing rapidly in the 1830s, there were disturbing signs on the horizon for its western counterpart. In particular, agriculture, the vital sector to the Cape's economy faced the destabilizing prospect of the emancipation of slaves in the 1830s. Colonists in the western Cape feared that emancipation would lead to a drop in agricultural exports and problems with social order.³⁰³ Of course the eastern Cape, being far less dependent on slave labour, and in the case of the British colonists from 1820, openly barred from its use, was much less worried. No doubt the termination of slavery would at least hold out prospects of increasing the eastern Cape's significance within the broader sense of the Colony's economy.

Separatism, 39.

³⁰³ Ross suggests that slave-owners were deeply concerned of the effects of mass emancipation upon both the economy and social order. There was added disquiet amongst these farmers in the 1830s because of the rescindment by the British government in 1831 (and threat of further repeals) of preferential duties for Cape wines. R. Ross, "'Rather Mental Than Physical': Emancipations and the Cape Economy", in N. Worden and C. Crais (eds.), Breaking the Chains, 150 and 158-59.

However, equally important to the eastern Cape's perceived fortunes and the materialization of the Journal's "Emporium"³⁰⁴, was the proximity of Graham's Town to the periphery of the Cape's interior. Located at the cutting edge of an expanding imperial world, the town was in an exemplary position to reap the benefits of the "traffic in things"³⁰⁵ from the interior. More specifically, for colonists who became involved in trade, fast commercial footwork could prove quite lucrative, presenting them with the capital to retain or raise their level of wealth and status. The Journal notes in 1834:

With regard to our traders, similar good fortune has, on the aggregate, attended them. The Caffre Trade has now settled into a steady matter of calculation. Its precarious and fluctuating character is rapidly disappearing, and instead of trading with beads and other worthless baubles of that description, the demand is now for useful manufactured articles for clothing and for culinary purposes. The fears entertained at one time that the flood of wealth pouring into the Colony from the interior would speedily subside, are now forgotten, and it is clearly seen that the Frontier Trade is not only likely to continue steady, but also that by a liberal and wise policy towards the Caffres, and by the due...the traffic may be extended to a distance, the limit of which it is impossible to calculate. It is estimated that the exports from Graham's Town alone during the past year, will fall little short of £60,000; and it must be borne in mind that the greater part of this produce has been shipped direct to an English port.³⁰⁶

Thus, much of the optimism and objects that lifted the

³⁰⁴ GTJ 20/01/32:3.

³⁰⁵ T. Richards, The Commodity Culture of Victorian England, 2.

³⁰⁶ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

Journal's imaginary community in its own eyes, was based on "the flood of wealth pouring into the Colony".³⁰⁷ In particular, the significant trade to the tune of £60 000 that passed through the opportunistic gateway to the interior of Graham's Town, largely fuelled the quantity and quality of imports that came from beyond the Cape's shores.³⁰⁸ Even so, trade was characterized most clearly for the Journal in the "steady matter of calculation."³⁰⁹ The figures were something "readable" and reducible, once again, to the certainty of figures and statistics.³¹⁰ It was a trade with "aggregate[s]", "precarious and fluctuating" or "subsid[ing]" trends; in other words, a productive process emphasizing its aspects of flow of exchange and distribution.³¹¹

The Journal exemplified a commercial thinking that put much more emphasis on the process of exchange than on the product or economic consequences.³¹² This approach to economics certainly would have been in keeping with the time period. For the first half of the nineteenth century, commodities

³⁰⁷ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

³⁰⁸ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

³⁰⁹ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

³¹⁰ T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 45-46.

³¹¹ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

³¹² GTJ 30/12/31:2.

were very much "dead letters",³¹³ points out Richards, "...simply...stockpiled, ready and waiting to enter the long process of circulation...".³¹⁴ It is an economic model that is best exemplified in Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations, where Smith was not so much concerned with the commodities themselves, instead basing his work on "...supplies animated and actuated by the spirit of demand."³¹⁵

While no doubt having its benefits, the economic arrangement underlying the imaginary community of the Journal's aspirations, also accentuated the vulnerability of the eastern Cape's economy to events outside its grasp, whether that be just across the frontier or further afield in Britain. The Journal's imagined community apparently harboured "fears" that the trade would recess;³¹⁶ more specifically, the market was dependent upon the appreciation by the Xhosa for example, of the differences between "...beads and other worthless baubles of that description..." and "useful manufactured articles for

³¹³ Richards notes this term was originally coined by Marx. T. Richards, The Commodity Culture of Victorian England, 2 and his footnote 1.

³¹⁴ T. Richards, The Commodity Culture of Victorian England, 1 and 2.

³¹⁵ T. Richards, The Commodity Culture of Victorian England, 2.

³¹⁶ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

clothing and for culinary purposes".³¹⁷

Despite these drawbacks, trade seemed at the same time open ended, offering continual opportunities as it stretched to places such as Port Natal.³¹⁸ It was almost as if the Journal in discussing the "Traffic with the Tribes", was projecting new routes of discovery in the interior that were "boundless in [their] extent", and thereby fashioning fresh maps of the landscape.³¹⁹ The newspaper seemed to be insinuating that resources were out there and merely awaiting extraction with no social strings or repercussions attached.³²⁰ Indeed, to readers such as "PHILO", the

³¹⁷ GTJ 02/01/34:2. See A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 7-8.

³¹⁸ Harington notes, "By the middle thirties glowing reports of the fertility of Natal...made it a dreamland of the ambitious British traders...". A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 8. See also J. Wright, "Political Mythology and the Making of Natal's Mfecane", 272-91, and R. Beck, "The Legalisation and development of trade on the Cape frontier, 1817-1830", 324-25.

³¹⁹ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

³²⁰ This representation would have followed from the "empty land" discourse started in the late 1820s by the Natal traders, and further propagated by Cape-based merchants, eager to further exploit and colonize the Natal region. J. Wright, "Political Mythology and the Making of Natal's Mfecane", 275, and 277. In the case of the Journal, there is a plethora of related material in its early years entwined in the Natal discourse. See for example, "Notice respecting the Expedition overland from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope to the Portuguese

resources of the interior were construed as a form of compensation for the "past sufferings" of the British emigrants.³²¹

Even if readers of the Journal did not go so far in their views as "PHILO", the pattern of trade emphasizing the circulation of commodities "direct to an English port" and their importation in the other direction, placed eastern Cape merchant interests in an opportune position.³²² In the pages of the Journal, middle men such as "WILLIAM LEE" advertised their vital role to this process of commodity exchange in the eastern Cape:

WILLIAM LEE, begs to inform the Inhabitants of Graham's Town, and the Public in general, that he has commenced Business as a General Agent. He offers, in particular, his services to persons Trading in the Interior, and to those wishing to forward Goods or Articles of produce for disposal in the Public Market, or elsewhere.³²³

Settlement at De la Goa Bay, by Messrs. Cowie and Green, in 1829, By Mr. J.C. CHASE, Member of the South African Institution." GTJ 08/06/32:4, and also GTJ 08, 15, and 22/06/32. Le Cordeur further discusses the active role in such propaganda by J.C. Chase. B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 127.

³²¹ "PHILO", GTJ 20/01/32:3.

³²² GTJ 02/01/34:2. Harington suggests that the colonists imported a great deal, especially for the "Kaffir trade". He notes GTJ 1/5/1834. A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 8.

³²³ GTJ 30/12/31:1.

For "WILLIAM LEE", getting these things of import and export moving into the circuit of distribution was meaningful. "In the utilitarian political economy of the period," Richards emphasizes, "time spent distributing things was time lost; distribution was simply the shortest distance between the points of production and consumption."³²⁴ A freer hand for the merchants made possible with the liberalization of frontier trade in the 1830s, not only meant more efficient exploitation and distribution of resources, it also led to enhancement of their power to control and regulate the eastern Cape's burgeoning economy.

The most important manner in which to direct the market in a favourable direction for merchants interests in the eastern Cape, was through the relaxation of the tentative control that the colonial state had in matters of frontier trade. Following repeated criticism, the 1830s witnessed the state's progressive withdrawal from its past precedent of direct intervention. It abandoned the policy of officially-sanctioned Fairs along the border, choosing instead to sanction the opening of trade within the interior itself.³²⁵

³²⁴ T. Richards, The Commodity Culture of Victorian England, 2.

³²⁵ C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 111-12.

Well after the event, "PHILO" was to write, "What tyranny, I would ask, or what sort of policy could that be, that could shut up a trade so valuable, and one likely, in a political point of view, to prove of such vital importance?"³²⁶ In fact, fuelled by this "Traffic with the Tribes", there was hope, according to the Journal, that the economy of the eastern Cape would be in many senses self-sustaining.³²⁷

Subsequently, the commodities of trade in the interior came to represent increasingly confident "progress" for the Journal's imaginary community.³²⁸ As Crais suggests, for the colonists involved directly or otherwise in trading, the commodities from the interior symbolized:

...things which could be exchanged for other things. The commodity had little social and symbolic life beyond its immediate utilitarian and economic function. Ivory was transformed onto luxury goods in Europe and the profits became money in the pockets of colonists. Money became

³²⁶ "PHILO", GTJ 20/01/32:3. It is unclear exactly what "PHILO" is upset with in this passage. Presumably, his criticism was aimed at the earlier attempt in the 1820s by Governor Somerset to restrict private trade beyond the Colony, coupled with the generally wavering nature of state policy towards frontier trade in the period 1827-30. R. Beck, "The Legalisation and development of trade on the Cape frontier, 1817-1830", 215 and 249. See also C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 111-12, and J. Peires, The House of Phalo, 101-02.

³²⁷ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

³²⁸ T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 6.

capital which in many cases was invested in woolled sheep. Capital thus became self-reproducing...³²⁹

Thus, the importance of commodities from the interior lay not so much in their circulation in their present state, but in what they could become. As Crais implies, commodities from the frontier trade were more often of value when transformed into the capital backing the rising wool industry of the eastern Cape.³³⁰ In turn, land ownership also offered status to individuals in the Journal's imaginary community, and was a form of speculative investment.³³¹ For members of the merchant elite such as J. Norton and J.D. Norden, the new wealth in the eastern Cape had a further

³²⁹ C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 109. Commodities that could be exported by the colonists from the eastern Cape and its interior would have represented something entirely different as they would have for the Xhosa. See Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 110.

³³⁰ Wool was rising in importance for the eastern Cape's economy, but it would not be a major export until the late 1830s [R. Ross, "The Cape and the world economy, 1652-1835", 255]. Even so, the Journal followed the overseas wool market with increasing enthusiasm. It notes in 1833, "The declared value of the British woolen manufacturers exported from the United Kingdom for the year 1832, was 5,244,478l. 10s, 10d." [GTJ 19/12/33:4]. For a useful comparison, see Mitchell's study of the expansion of the cotton industry in Egypt. T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 16.

³³¹ For discussion of colonial land speculation, see B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 65, C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 106, and J. Peires, "The British and the Cape, 1814-34", in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820, 480. For background about the significance of land ownership in Britain, refer to L. Davidoff and C. Hall, Family Fortunes, 198.

spin-off in the brokering of property sales.³³²

In some cases however, commodities from the interior did in fact, return to the colonists, only they were now amongst the imported goods that resulted from the "flood of wealth".³³³ Again, these "...things which could be exchanged for other things",³³⁴ as Crais terms the commodities of the interior, may have been insignificant in social value to the colonists, but they very definitely had significant value and social roles when turned into manufactured goods.³³⁵ So, it was possible as Crais suggests, "Ivory was transformed onto luxury goods in Europe and the profits became money in the pockets of colonists", but similarly, "The revolutionary capacity of commodities becoming other commodities...",³³⁶ could also lead to the ivory becoming the imported "Ivory-

³³² The property sales in the Journal varied. For example, in 1836 the Journal advertised the sale of the "Family Residence of Capt. Heddle", and the "Public Sale of Henry Nourse esq. estate in Pt. Francis, De Bruins Drift". GTJ 07/01/36.

³³³ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

³³⁴ C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 109.

³³⁵ In some cases, the Journal was essentially promoting the acquirement of objects, that were once "familiar" in terms of how they were produced for the colonists, with the introduction of goods from a market-industrial society were now mass produced and 'alien' commodities from abroad. W. Leiss, S. Kline and S. Jhally, Social Communication in Advertising Persons, Products and Image of Well-Being, 51, 65.

³³⁶ C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 109.

handled balance"³³⁷ for sale in a shop window of the imaginary "Emporium".³³⁸

Similarly, while trade introduced certain imported goods for the colonists that represented status within colonial society, by trading others in the interior the colonists were as a result spreading civilization. More specifically, the trade of manufactured goods was taken as a sign of "approval" on the part of the Xhosa and other peoples to the expanding influence of the Colony in the interior.³³⁹ Herein lay the basis to the "steady flow of calculation" of trade in the interior that the Journal mentions.³⁴⁰ It was a matter of morals and presupposed meanings, for the goods represented yet another barrier between colonists and the many-headed 'Other'. Objects of civilization separated the colonists from those they deemed uncivilized. This is not to say that the colonized and uncolonized could not own civilized objects. It is to say, however, that the exchange of native resources for "beads and other worthless baubles", and more precisely "useful manufactured articles for clothing and for culinary purposes", came with an added

³³⁷ GTJ 06/01/32:1.

³³⁸ "PHILO", GTJ 20/01/32:4.

³³⁹ Refer to D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 119.

³⁴⁰ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

price.³⁴¹ They were reciprocation for, and part of the "blessings" imparted on Africa that are mentioned in a later chapter.³⁴²

Accordingly, for a materialistic culture as existed in colonial society of the eastern Cape in the 1830s, there was posited a progression beyond "beads and other worthless baubles of that description", to "useful manufactured articles for clothing and for culinary purposes."³⁴³ Therefore, the discernment of the utility and benefit of such "blessings", as was accorded, as well as their distribution lay for the most part with the colonists, and there was a direct connection to be made between these objects of trade and the improvement of "moral condition[s]" in the interior.³⁴⁴

Moreover, the calculated ordering of the Journal's world could be both a source of praise, or the premise for moral condemnation. In 1834, the Journal noted:

The district of Graff Reinet...supports 1,200,000 sheep, which either do not produce wool, or only that which is...so worthless as not to be worth shearing. Hence it

³⁴¹ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

³⁴² GTJ 14/02/33:2. See also Chapter 5.

³⁴³ GTJ 02/01/34:2.

³⁴⁴ GTJ 14/02/33:2. Also see D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 119.

follows that the district suffers a loss annually of £90,000...a price that would readily be obtained were they all woolled sheep instead of the inferior Cape breed.³⁴⁵

Ross asserts that traditionally, farmers in the eastern Cape preferred to own the more resilient Cape hairy sheep because stock was transported to market over land.³⁴⁶ However, with the growth of port trade for export and commercialised farming, the Journal appears to interpret such farming practices as antiquated and counterproductive to the Colony's, and more specifically the "Emporium"'s economic health.³⁴⁷ In contrast "...there is one farmer," proclaims the Journal, "...whose flock will very soon rank amongst the best in the Colony. 'His success,' it is observed, 'is to be attributed to perseverance...'".³⁴⁸ The farmer has exhibited practices and behaviour to which the Journal ascribes as the route to economic prosperity in the eastern Cape. In particular, his virtue in the Journal's middle-class value scheme is "perseverance", the same trait that sustained "PHILO"'s dreams of a new and more harmonious social order,³⁴⁹ and thereby the means of "turn[ing]...barren

³⁴⁵ GTJ 06/02/34:2.

³⁴⁶ R. Ross, "The Cape and the world economy, 1652-1835", in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820, 253.

³⁴⁷ "PHILO", GTJ 20/01/32:4.

³⁴⁸ GTJ 06/02/34:2.

³⁴⁹ Refer to D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 34.

wilderness into a garden of fruits and flowers."³⁵⁰

In the process of creating a colonial order in the eastern Cape then, commodities featured as yet another aspect that diminished the no-man's land between what could be categorized as civilized or barbarian. "Both economically and in a larger sense", Spurr suggests, "the colonial order depended upon at once creating and excluding its own opposite."³⁵¹ The divisive role played by commodities, solidified a sense of elitism and racial superiority in a "pseudo-aristocrat[ic]" sort of way for the imaginary community of the Journal with those amongst whom they now lived.³⁵² "The dreams of racism", Anderson notes, "actually have their origin in ideologies of class...", and consumption was necessary for forming and maintaining this sense of social status.³⁵³ As a result, in the eastern Cape,

³⁵⁰ "PHILO", GTJ 20/01/32:4.

³⁵¹ T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 164.

³⁵² B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 139.

³⁵³ Quoted from B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 136. Refer for point in general to L. Davidoff and C. Hall, Family Fortunes, 36. For further discussion of the creation of colonial "pseudo-aristocrat[ic]" groupings, see Anderson's "Tropical Gothic", B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, 137-139. Crais presents a possible scenario for the eastern Cape in, "Gentry and Labour in Three Eastern Cape Districts, 1820-65". See also P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 22-23, 28-9, and 319; M. Girouard

Crais goes on to suggest, "The revolutionary capacity of commodities becoming other commodities...reinforced the sensibilities of power and control on the part of the elite and reaffirmed their imperious position in an emerging colonial society."³⁵⁴ Similarly, what commodity better to "channel" and represent this power, influence and wealth of the colonists, and that also symbolized civilized traits more than a newspaper? One expression of pride in the community's growing economic "station" for the Journal then, was in fact, itself.³⁵⁵ Thus, returning to the first editorial, the Journal justifies what it sees as its 'frivolous necessity':

In this stage of their prosperity the Inhabitants of Albany have consented to indulge in the useful luxury of a Newspaper,--this consent has been signified to the Proprietor by a respectable body of Subscribers in Albany, Cape Town and other parts of the colony; and this expression of the Public Will has been the Proprietor's chief motive for establishing the Paper.³⁵⁶

In the increasingly prosperous 1830s,³⁵⁷ the community of the

The Return of Camelot; H. Ridley, Images of Imperial Rule, 135. If one point is clear, it is that the status of an emerging colonial elite, whether conferred or acquired, still needed to be shaped according to the particular social context they found themselves in. On this point see A. Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories", in N. Dirks (ed.), Colonialism and Culture, 321.

³⁵⁴ C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 109.

³⁵⁵ See J. Peires, "The British at the Cape, 1814-34", in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820, 476.

³⁵⁶ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

³⁵⁷ Harington notes that, "Albany...had entered a period of...general

Journal had apparently reached a level of maturity where it could "indulge in the useful luxury of a Newspaper" of their own, and thereby a telling sign of established middle-class wealth and reputation.³⁵⁸ The Journal was then a symbol of socio-economic status similar to the imported goods, and in particular for, "a respectable body of Subscribers".³⁵⁹

Derived from the communal middle class rational sphere of the Cape, "Subscribers" to the Journal would add a substantial air of "respect[ability]" to the Journal.³⁶⁰ The long precedent of attempts to circumscribe the press in Britain, had left subscriptions as the means of financing publications.³⁶¹ From this developed amongst the middle

prosperity, the growth of which was temporarily retarded but by no means terminated by the Xhosa war of 1834-35." A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 7.

³⁵⁸ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

³⁵⁹ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

³⁶⁰ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

³⁶¹ In the past, the British government had enacted taxation and legislation in various forms for the press, and Habermas implies had treated it as, "...a mere trade, subject like all other trades to police instructions and prohibitions." [J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 184, as well as R. Williams, "Advertising: the Magic System", in Problems in Materialism and Culture, 173]. In the Cape, Ordinance 60 of 1829 was enacted, (no doubt with reluctance for some in government), to legalize and regulate the press [A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 36]. While it does not appear that the Advertisement Tax applied to newspapers in the Cape, the Stamp Duty still did. In addition, it was compulsory for a publisher to provide security bonds and affidavits

class a "subscriber democracy".³⁶² It was an association of theoretically freely associating people able to speak out on issues of public or common interest.³⁶³ Far from the Journal being some speculative venture susceptible to the whimsy of market, fashion, or individual fancy, the support of its readers defined it, as far as the Journal was concerned, as an "expression of the Public Will".³⁶⁴ On this score, the Journal was far from modest about its self-importance or indispensability. The Journal was thus more than a creation of, and for the market. In fact, it was larger than simply "the Proprietor"'s original "undertaking"; the Journal was the 'voice' of the colonists.³⁶⁵

Furthermore, as the "respectable body of Subscribers" was presumably the upstanding and educated members of eastern Cape society, the subscription to a publication such as the

personally, something that required Meurant to journey to Cape Town [A. Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press, 9]. Also see W. Leiss, S. Kline and S. Jhally, Social Communication in Advertising Persons, Products and Image of Well-Being, 98.

³⁶² L. Davidoff and C. Hall, Family Fortunes, 421.

³⁶³ Refer to the work of J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.

³⁶⁴ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

³⁶⁵ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

Journal added to their reputations.³⁶⁶ In the early nineteenth century, at a time when credit was still hard to come by, a lot of the activities of business were not so much based on cold rationality, as on prestige, contacts and relationships.³⁶⁷ In turn, reputation was something best exemplified in tangible outward signs of association; in other words, it was important to cultivate social symbols of integrity.³⁶⁸ No doubt the Journal in the 1830s was one.

At the same time, the Journal seems to have broken from its traditional stance of dividing the Colony along a western and eastern division. The "Subscribers" were, according to the newspaper, a constituency embracing "a respectable body of Subscribers in Albany, Cape Town and other parts of the colony...".³⁶⁹ As ambiguous as this description of the circulation for the Journal may sound, the newspaper does seem to unite this list of readers by their acknowledgement of Graham's Town's "Commercial station", and the Journal's

³⁶⁶ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

³⁶⁷ The South African Commercial Advertiser was instrumental in, "Linking together", suggests McKenzie, "various acceptable individuals." K. McKenzie, "The South African Commercial Advertiser and the making of middle class identity in early nineteenth-century Cape Town", 75.

³⁶⁸ See P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 27, 199, and 208.

utility therein.³⁷⁰ In a practical sense, it is difficult to see how the Journal could seriously see the territorial parameters of its readership as quite so expansive. Yet, it would seem to be missing the point to then completely reject the Journal's assertion. Instead, this passage reinforces the presupposition that the Journal's community is best understood as imaginary. In the next passage to the editorial in fact, the Journal itself was quite clear that it was not really sure of its own constituency, either in area or "under whatever figure of speech the generous Public may be apostrophised".³⁷¹ The Journal states:

One grand object the Proprietor of any Newspaper, under whatever figure of speech the generous Public may be apostrophised, must be to make his speculation pay; which end can only be obtained by giving satisfaction to the Public. The Proprietor will therefore confine himself to stating the means he proposed to employ for the attainment of that Object.³⁷²

Therefore, the Journal stressed that it was first and foremost a financial venture that spoke of a world built on commerce. It was an inclusive world where middle-class, utilitarian ethics and economics were embroidered into the

³⁶⁹ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

³⁷⁰ GTJ 30/12/31:2. Harington asserts that the Journal's readership was never clear, he estimates the Journal's circulation to have been roughly 700 subscribers in 1839 [A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 36]. Le Cordeur claims that the Journal had a large circulation, in his thesis, ["Robert Godlonton As Architect of Frontier Opinion, 1850-57" 150-1], but later suggests it was relatively modest. B.A. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton, 5.

³⁷¹ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

Journal's structure, most notably through its advertisements. Advertisements in the newspaper would often begin with language that might "beg to inform",³⁷³ "respectfully inform",³⁷⁴ or notify of the, "just received".³⁷⁵ With its regular listing of Graham's Town's market prices, the Journal simply made an inventory of the range of elephant tusks, sheep, and other commodities.³⁷⁶ Bland and straightforward, the advertisements were basically a mix of the frugal and forthright. Indeed, save for a few ships accompanying announcements of goods arriving by sea, illustrations were largely absent from the advertisements of the Journal.³⁷⁷ Thus, the Journal followed a careful and parsimonious etiquette in its advertisements of the 1830s.

Furthermore, while this modest language of advertising by

³⁷² GTJ 30/12/31:2.

³⁷³ GTJ 30/12/31:1 or 06/07/32:1.

³⁷⁴ GTJ 10/07/34:1.

³⁷⁵ GTJ 30/12/31:1.

³⁷⁶ The Journal lists market prices on a regular basis, and indicated it would do so in its opening editorial. GTJ 30/12/31:2.

³⁷⁷ The ideas for this discussion of advertising in the Journal are influenced by R. Williams, "Advertising: the Magic System", in Problems in Materialism and Culture, 170-195 and 172; W. Leiss, S. Kline and S. Jhally, Social Communication in Advertising Persons, Products and Image of Well-Being, 99; T. Richards, The Commodity Culture of Victorian England, 1-15, 46-7.

the Journal was similar to that found in places such as Britain, in other ways the publication was out of step with British trends. In Britain there was a general transition towards advertisement-backed enterprises, a trend that would lead in the 1830s, to increasingly less expensive newspapers.³⁷⁸ Presumably, these newspapers then widened the exchange in communications amongst a much larger general public, and freed the press from the requirement of taking polemical stances, turning instead to the generation of profit.³⁷⁹

In contrast, while undoubtedly making at worst a modest profit in its early years, the Journal would soon follow a different path. What started out as a publishing business venture undoubtedly to compliment Meurant's printing work,³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ By the 1830s, reports, interspersed with sensational fiction filled new Sunday newspapers in England, pushing up their circulation beyond dailies. Darnton also notes that the same trend in newspapers would lead in a practical way, to the incorporation of serialized fiction in the newspapers in the 1840s, and later, in the 1860s, to the rise of the penny press. R. Darnton, The Kiss of Lamourette, 299. See also W. Leiss, S. Kline and S. Jhally, Social Communication in Advertising Persons, Products and Image of Well-Being, 99, 118.

³⁷⁹ J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, 181, 184. See also R. Darnton, The Kiss of Lamourette, 299.

³⁸⁰ See B. Anderson Imagined Communities 42, and A. Gordon-Brown, The

"His activity", as Habermas suggests of many early publishers, "...confined essentially to the organization of the flow of news...",³⁸¹ grew to have more belligerent intentions, and according to Le Cordeur, would have found that its revenue base from advertising continued to be small.³⁸² Previous to 1834, Meurant and White had teamed up to disseminate what they judged to be of interest to the Journal's readership. By the time of conflict on the frontier in 1834-35 and the editorship of Robert Godlonton in the early part of 1834,³⁸³ the Journal had moved beyond economic motivations and did not even bother to apologise for its barefaced political facets, and indeed "regular leading articles".³⁸⁴ As Harington notes, "The very tone of the paper underwent so not subtle a transformation in this year; it became more forceful, purposeful, even strident."³⁸⁵

Settler's Press, 9. Note also Meurant's establishment of the "ALBANY SUBSCRIPTION AND CIRCULATING LIBRARY AND, NEWS ROOM". GTJ 30/01/34:1.

³⁸¹ J. Habermas, "Social Structures of the Public Sphere", The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 181-82.

³⁸² B. A. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton, 5. Harington suggests evidence for the opposite. A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 17-18.

³⁸³ A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 21-22, and B. A. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton, 4-5. Gordon-Brown suggests in the first month of 1834, though he had written letters under pseudonyms: "R.G." "Kat R. Settlement" GTJ 08/06/32, GTJ 16/05/33 "A Traveller". A. Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press, 10.

³⁸⁴ A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 22.

³⁸⁵ A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 19. See also Harington, 7, and B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape

Yet at the time of its origins, the Journal was still reiterating the connection between its utility and profitability coming together as justification for its establishment.³⁸⁶

To a significant extent therefore, it was in a language of commerce that the Journal imagined its community of readers in the 1830s. Through the display of a "traffic in commodities and news"³⁸⁷ in its pages, the Journal consolidated its position of importance to the eastern Cape's middle-class merchant elite as their conduit of public communication. Specifically, the Journal portrayed its imagined community as an "Emporium of the Colony", a representation that emphasised this community's growing commercial significance at the cutting edge of empire, while at the same time countering any potential impressions from outsiders that it was wild and disorderly.³⁸⁸

Separatism, 123.

³⁸⁶ A. Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press, 10. See also B.A. Le Cordeur, "Robert Godlonton As Architect of Frontier Opinion, 1850-57", 153.

³⁸⁷ J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 17.

³⁸⁸ "PHILO", GTJ 20/01/32:3.

However, though the representations of commercial activity in the Journal's pages provided evidence of the flourishing colonial economy with global connections in the eastern Cape of the 1830s, in a world increasingly measured in terms of material objects of trade, commerce also structured the Journal's narrative and transformed the newspaper's readers into "consumer[s], of commodities and of meanings".³⁸⁹ On the one hand, the continuous flow of commodities from the interior was the crucial basis to the significance and livelihood of the Journal's imagined community. On the other hand, the trade in commodities led to the acquisition by the eastern Cape's merchant elite of imported objects of 'usefulness' and refinement. In terms of middle class values in the nineteenth century, the imported goods were symbols of moral virtue and civilized progress. The imported objects as a result served as tangible signs of ordering, and thereby as a means with which to differentiate the uncolonized from the colonists. Thus, the world of commodities that the imaginary community of the Journal had entered into in the 1830s played a particularly important role in structuring their world; moreover, the untapped wealth at the community's doorstep fuelled their "expectations" and dreams "...so reasonably entertained of

³⁸⁹ T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 162.

future happiness and encreased [sic] greatness."³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ Refer to "PHILO", GTJ 20/01/32:3.

Chapter Three: "Events of the Most Momentous Character":
The Journal's Discourse of Terror

"Events of the Most Momentous Character":
The Journal's Discourse of Terror³⁹¹

The Journal's imaginary community of the 1830s, anxiously perceived themselves located on what they considered at that time to be a pliant fringe of civilization, beyond which lay a murky sea of seemingly limitless surprises and irrationalism. As a result, their colonial reality seemed both malleable and unstable, and the community fastened their sense of identity and thereby arranged their representational world around both the "rapid improvement" of the imagined "Emporium", as well as its potential "devastation and ruin,"³⁹² occasioned through threats from the "barbarous inroad of savages".³⁹³ Therefore, darkening its discourse in the 1830s, the Journal charted an ongoing struggle for survival that picked up where the initial distress of the British colonists of the eastern Cape in the 1820s left off, only this time it was against the hovering spectres of terror spawned in the interior.

Terror began on the fringes of the imaginary community's sense of being, as what Taussig terms, "the cultural

³⁹¹ GTJ 29/12/36:2.

³⁹² GTJ 05/11/35:2.

³⁹³ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

elaboration of fear."³⁹⁴ In order to investigate the significant place that terror held in the Journal's discourse, we must look to the negative images incubated in the imagination, and how and in what form they were then transferred to the public sphere. In the context of the period preceding the Journal's establishment, British expansion had, more than anything before it, swiftly and forcefully intruded on the Xhosa peoples situated in the eastern Cape.³⁹⁵ Yet, the British invasion of Xhosa lands did not come without a heavy price in either resources or consequences.³⁹⁶ The Xhosa resisted British expansion by turning, after 1819, to strategies of guerrilla warfare, and raiding the exposed Zuurveld frontier region they had formerly controlled.³⁹⁷ Indeed, the Frontier Wars, a series of conflicts once named the Kaffir Wars, and more recently the Xhosa Wars, were, in a sense, simply the more intensive moments to what was otherwise an ongoing and grueling war of violence and attrition that unfolded in the Eastern Cape for roughly one hundred years.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁴ M. Taussig, "Culture of Terror--Space of Death", in N. Dirks (ed.), Colonialism and Culture, 138.

³⁹⁵ C. Saunders, "The Hundred Years' War: Some Reflections on African Resistance on the Cape-Xhosa Frontier", 55.

³⁹⁶ C. Saunders, "The Hundred Years' War: Some Reflections on African Resistance on the Cape-Xhosa Frontier", 67.

³⁹⁷ C. Saunders, "The Hundred Years' War: Some Reflections on African Resistance on the Cape-Xhosa Frontier", 66-7. See also J. Peires, The House of Phalo, 145-49.

³⁹⁸ Saunders raises the question of when to demarcate the beginning of

With their emigration to the eastern Cape, the British colonists "inherited", as Butler describes it, this deadly "quarrel".³⁹⁹ More to the point, their settlement on land that the Cape had acquired in its expansion deeper into regions controlled by the Xhosa, could not help but to exacerbate frontier tension.

The Journal's readers in particular were most sensitive to the frontier hostilities and destabilizing occurrences that swirled around them. In the Journal's representations, this was most in evidence during the British colonist's first large-scale conflict with the Xhosa, the Sixth Frontier War. The Sixth Frontier War was an exciting time for the Journal's imaginary community, in which it pushed all other matters to the side and endeavoured to fulfill its self-designated and validating role of informing its

what might be termed actual war(s) in the early years of conflict in the eastern Cape. He points out that conflict occurred in the region in 1779, 1812, and from 1834-5 fairly consistently onwards to 1880-1. [C. Saunders, "The Hundred Years' War: Some Reflections on African Resistance on the Cape-Xhosa Frontier", 55]. Such a description would make it hard to conclude other than that this was a long-term war of attrition that was waged. See also, B. MacLennan, A Proper Degree of Terror, and W. Beinart, W. "Political and Collective Violence in Southern African Historiography", 461-2.

³⁹⁹ G. Butler, When Boys Were Men, 113. See also J. Martin, "When the People Were Strong and United: Stories of the Past and the Transformation of Politics in a Mexican Community", in N. Nordstorm and J. Martin (eds.), The Paths to Domination, Resistance and Terror, 177-

community with a constant flow of 'Frontier Reports'. The conflict was coloured, or so it seemed at the time to the Journal, with the rise and fall of "events of the most momentous character".⁴⁰⁰ However, the Journal was faced with how to represent, and as a consequence subdue these terrifying and disruptive occurrences. So, it found composition in the Sixth Frontier War. "The Kafir drama", it noted near the beginning of the conflict, "is performing with great eclat, and may soon be expected to arrive at a most intensely interesting denouement...".⁴⁰¹ Apparently to the Journal, the war had a comprehensible script, and a plot made up of threads of "sufferings and distress", the traces of which were perceived in the frenzied motion in every corner of the eastern frontier in the wake of Xhosa instigated chaos.⁴⁰² Through imagery suggesting disorder and chaos, the "frontier inhabitants" were "driven from their homes," their "persons and families in jeopardy,"⁴⁰³ in some cases "compelled to fly",⁴⁰⁴ while others were left "wandering through the country", with their

78.

⁴⁰⁰ GTJ 29/12/36:2.

⁴⁰¹ GTJ 25/12/34:2. The word 'Kaffir' used in the Journal in this sense "indicates the unified, threatening intermmensch east of the frontier. At the same time, it had connotations of Xhosa. Quotation from A. Webster, "Unmasking the Fingo: The War of 1835 Revisited", in C. Hamilton (ed.), The Mfecane Aftermath, 241 footnote 4.

⁴⁰² GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁰³ GTJ 25/12/34:2.

⁴⁰⁴ GTJ 02/01/35:2.

"property...swept away by the savage enemy".⁴⁰⁵ The distressing impact of the "inroads" characterized the discourse, and the Journal saw its role as orchestrating this constant flow of "atrocious murders and robberies,"⁴⁰⁶ "which pass[ed] before" the imagined community's "eyes,"⁴⁰⁷ from the "plundering of the Kaffirs".⁴⁰⁸

Intrinsic to this discursive "drama" conferred upon the episodes of upheaval, the Journal structured information for the purpose of representing disruptions and disasters in its colonial reality.⁴⁰⁹ For the nineteenth century middle class to which the Journal's imaginary community were enthusiastic participants, the infatuation with order and knowledge meant that even the disruptive and terrifying had to be accounted for.⁴¹⁰ In 1834 for example, the Journal states of one incident:

Reports of the most distressing kind still keep pouring into town from various quarters. At Jan Delports, on the

⁴⁰⁵ GTJ 13/02/35:2.

⁴⁰⁶ GTJ 08/10/35:2.

⁴⁰⁷ GTJ 25/12/34:2.

⁴⁰⁸ GTJ 08/10/35:2. A book version of the war of 1834-35 was later serialised for the Journal by Robert Godlonton, and later published as, A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes: Into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope' 1834-35.

⁴⁰⁹ GTJ 25/12/34:2.

⁴¹⁰ The preoccupation with order led to private and public accounting on a wide scale. L. Davidoff and C. Hall, Family Fortunes, 124 and 202.

Fish River, about 18 miles distant the Kaffirs in great force attacked his kraals, and after an obstinate resistance, during which six Kaffirs were killed, and five or six farmers wounded, the former succeeded in carrying off the cattle and burning down the dwelling.⁴¹¹

The "Reports" arrive while the frontier is besieged by the raids of the Xhosa. But so too is the Journal and presumably Graham's Town under siege--only in their case from disruptive and terrifying information. The Journal is inundated by unmastered accounts "pouring into town from various quarters".⁴¹² As a steady disorganized stream, this information was anything but comprehensible, let alone reassuring. The "fact", after all Richards notes, "was many things to many people, but generally it was thought of as raw knowledge, knowledge awaiting ordering...".⁴¹³ Formless and fluid, the "facts" and other information from "Reports" of Xhosa attacks needed to be given some type of unity and containment.⁴¹⁴

Interpreting the precarious events that made up their existence amongst those with whom they now lived, the imaginary community of the Journal tried to peg down such terrifying "barbarous inroad[s] of savages",⁴¹⁵ and give them

⁴¹¹ GTJ 25/12/34:4.

⁴¹² GTJ 25/12/34:4.

⁴¹³ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 4.

⁴¹⁴ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 7.

⁴¹⁵ GTJ 29/12/36:2.

definitive form. To represent the terrifying, the Journal relied on the changes in the nineteenth century to the shape and significance of information as intelligence.⁴¹⁶ Ludden notes by 1840, the mechanical production of data about the empire, in particular in the form of uniform statistics, had gained greater importance, and made the empire appear associated and comparable, and consequently also made it "legible".⁴¹⁷ In 1833 the Journal listed a tally of cattle raids alongside the events of the current Circuit Court. The list in the Journal includes:

D.J. Welgemoed	7
M. Bekker	10
W. Grobbelaar	7
G. van Rooyen	50
H.J. Prinslo	28
A.J.N. van Rooyen	65
G. van Rooyen	4
W.R. Thompson	6
F. Lee	3

Total 213⁴¹⁸

However, the sum of "Caffer Robberies"⁴¹⁹ was only a symbol of the greater moral morass that underlay the Journal's culture of terror. The Journal states:

It is with great regret we learn that the depredations by the Caffers have of late encreased [sic] to an alarming amount. We understand that the Farmers of this District entertain the idea of calling a Public Meeting

⁴¹⁶ A general point from Spurr. D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 4.

⁴¹⁷ D. Ludden, "India's Development Regime", in N. Dirks (ed.), Colonialism and Culture 270.

⁴¹⁸ GTJ 03/10/33:2.

⁴¹⁹ GTJ 03/10/33:2.

for the purpose of petitioning Government...It appears morally impossible that matters can continue as heretofore; no man can tamely see his property dwindle away by these midnight plunderers...⁴²⁰

Predictably, the terrifying was often quite unquantifiable on an individual basis, and certainly if interwoven with myriad other cases. While statistics and figures, alongside miscellaneous accounts, stamped scientific truth on judgments and helped to enlighten the situation, the information in the Journal passed beyond the divides in fields of knowledge such as that of statistical economic-based data applied earlier to the representation of the progress of the "Emporium".⁴²¹

Instead, in compiling its representations during the war in 1834-35, the Journal quantified images. They fell into a macabre moral ledger of sorts, by which to tabulate the hand that fate had dealt its community.⁴²² This was a system of reference to the conflict, in what amounted to a type of ongoing rhetorical scoreboard.⁴²³ In this case in 1834, the

⁴²⁰ GTJ 03/10/33:2.

⁴²¹ Refer to Chapter Three.

⁴²² L. Davidoff and C. Hall, Family Fortunes, 26.

⁴²³ A later example from the colonial archival knowledge in the Cape of a 'scoreboard', is Cory's description of the war of 1834-35. The damage during the first few days of conflict Cory notes:

...resulted in the burning of 450 farm-houses, the driving off of 4 000 horses, 100 000 head of cattle, and above 150 00 sheep, and the turning into a desert the districts of Albany and Somerset.

Journal tallied the rapid movement of innocent people and the "barbarous inroad of savages"⁴²⁴, the "plunder"⁴²⁵ of cattle, and the "wound[ing]" and "murder".⁴²⁶ They were discursive markers dispersed throughout its narrative, and combined, the chosen information, not to mention the structures of investigation in the Journal themselves, gained new meaning as symbols of disruption.

In addition, these quantified images of distress were juxtaposed in a way that affirmed the culture of terror and disruption that followed in the wake of events, while trying to contain it. In this case in 1834, "the Kaffirs in great force" invaded the farm, but were offered "an obstinate resistance" and repelled by the farmers.⁴²⁷ The conclusion marks the apex to destruction, as flames destroy the farmer's dwelling, a forceful image Posel notes that is, "wild" and "spontaneous";⁴²⁸ however, "six Kaffirs were

G. Cory, The Rise of South Africa, 54.

⁴²⁴ GTJ 29/12/36:2.

⁴²⁵ GTJ 10/04/35:2. Godlonton himself would lose stock in 1834-35. A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 22.

⁴²⁶ GTJ 08/10/35:2.

⁴²⁷ GTJ 25/12/34:4.

⁴²⁸ D. Posel "Symbolising Violence in State and Media Discourse in TV Coverage of Township Protest, 1985-87", in N. Chabani and A. du Toit (eds.), Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa, 161.

killed" in the preceding melee.⁴²⁹ The colonists defensively inflict casualties, while the Xhosa manage in "carrying off" a traditional symbol of wealth, cattle.⁴³⁰ Thus frenzied action, while conveyed in imagery, is at the same time balanced by an adjoining image, and the actors in the rhetorical scoreboards are lumped together as stock characters of "Kaffirs" and "farmers", pitted against each other.⁴³¹

Consequently, the Journal fashioned the frontier violence into skeletal co-ordinates of action, and comprehensible imagery illustrating terror and disruption for the consumption of its readers. As was so often the case in the Journal's discourse, specifics in the excerpts remained quite vague. Indeed, the 'facts' that were presented were merely there to serve as power against threats, as Richards notes, "The peculiarly Victorian confidence that knowledge could be exploding and yet harnessed as the ultimate form of power".⁴³² Labelled and structured, missing cattle, murder and other comparable data then anchored a narrative of distress, as well as a unique framework of understanding for

⁴²⁹ GTJ 25/12/34:4.

⁴³⁰ GTJ 25/12/34:4.

⁴³¹ GTJ 25/12/34:4.

⁴³² T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 7. See also Richards, 5.

the Journal's imagined community.⁴³³

For members of the imaginary community of the Journal, being informed on the "present state" of the frontier in all its respects, was a critical aspect to their self-designated role of leadership of eastern Cape public opinion.⁴³⁴

Knowledge was the basis to comprehending "our proper duty at the present moment, and of deciding on the best mode of proceeding under the peculiar circumstances in which the country is at this moment placed."⁴³⁵

In turn, being well-versed on the frontier gave its imagined community "a great advantage", the Journal suggested, for it was the cornerstone to what the newspaper referred to as their "Experience", or similarly a growing archive of colonial knowledge.⁴³⁶ However, members of the Journal's imaginary community, and more specifically the numerous merchant class of Graham's Town and their families in its midst, were not often likely to be touched themselves by murder, destruction or any of the day-to-day conflicts generated on the frontier. Of course, many felt the tension

⁴³³ Refer to T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 65.

⁴³⁴ GTJ 13/10/36:2. Also see N. Mostert, Frontiers, 824.

⁴³⁵ GTJ 17/04/35:2.

of the frontier, and had good reason for concern about its state for the sake of present and future business, (as cold blooded as this might sound). Certainly some men, especially the ex-military personnel,⁴³⁷ would participate in campaigns as volunteer militia, or in the numerous cross-border raids.⁴³⁸ As well, some of the merchants would also have had acquaintances involved in incidents.

However, representations of the "momentous"⁴³⁹ events of disruption for the Journal were never meant so much to reflect personal as communal "Experiences".⁴⁴⁰ Indeed, it was only as communal representations of disruption that the Journal could express and its readers know, or possibly want to know, the experience of victims, as for example rhetorical scoreboards of dramatized tragedy. In other words, they experienced the Sixth Frontier War and other

⁴³⁶ GTJ 17/04/35:2.

⁴³⁷ A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 8.

⁴³⁸ Godlonton was involved in the conflict of 1834-35 as a Captain of Infantry of the local Volunteer Corps. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton, 4; A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 42.

⁴³⁹ GTJ 29/12/36:2.

⁴⁴⁰ GTJ 17/04/35:2. Black notes in his study, The Aesthetics of Murder, "...our customary experience of murder and other forms of violence is primarily aesthetic, rather than moral, physical, natural, or whatever terms we choose as a synonym for the word real." J. Black, The Aesthetics of Murder, 3.

conflict primarily as readers and citizens in the Journal's imagined community.

In 1836, with the conflict of the previous year still fresh on their minds, there were "...rumour[s] that Fort Willshire and the other military posts in the New Province will be shortly abandoned...".⁴⁴¹ For the Journal, such a course of policy was a dangerous retreat. The Journal provided evidence of these concerns in its discussions of the location and strength of the border. It noted late in 1835:

A cessation of hostilities will...afford opportunity for the completion of those military works which have been, or will be, constructed within the new territory; and which, when completed, will enable the British forces to act with rapidity and freedom upon any point...⁴⁴²

Of course, the eastern Cape frontier, as with most boundaries of the Empire, was "something of a collective improvisation",⁴⁴³ and vulnerable to innumerable determinants. As easily as British forces could be marched deeper into Xhosa lands, so too could they be withdrawn.

Yet, this retreat would undoubtedly mean the elimination of a front line of defence, when just such a military barrier.

⁴⁴¹ GTJ 29/12/36:4.

⁴⁴² GTJ 29/12/36:4.

⁴⁴³ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 3.

within the newly acquired "territory" was what was required.⁴⁴⁴ On the contrary, retreat would signify a great loss in presence created by the military forces, and the extra confidence that this generated for the colonists. Just as important, such a rumour meant the forfeiture of beneficial military posts, and thereby certainty in areas of irregular intelligence. At a time when the Journal's knowledge depended to an extent on military intelligence, retreat would lead to a distinctive reduction in ability to observe the uncolonized. Observation of course, supplied the means to knowledge. Moreover, knowledge was (and still is) seen as a means of pre-empting and overpowering threats, especially in lieu of overwhelming power, and Said notes, "...knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control."⁴⁴⁵ As well, the Journal states, "...and the troops withdrawn to those posts which are again being constructed along the old boundary..."⁴⁴⁶ would involve a reversion to the same point as prior to the conflict of the previous year. Implicitly, this passage sees a retreat from advancing certainty that imperial occupation beyond the old boundary provided.

⁴⁴⁴ GTJ 29/12/36:4.

⁴⁴⁵ E. Said, Orientalism, 36. Also see Said, 32-33.

⁴⁴⁶ GTJ 29/12/36:4.

Finally, the Journal was concerned about the withdrawal of the Colony's influence out of concern for the well-being of the "Fingoes".⁴⁴⁷ The imagined community of the Journal relied on a developing sense of 'Otherness' to separate itself from the various colonized and uncolonized in and just beyond their midst, it was a differentiation by varying degrees of "Otherness".⁴⁴⁸ The Mfengu, alias "Fingoes", were actually Bhele, Zizi, and Hlubi refugees, a more civilized segment of the 'Other', who "...in consequence [of the change in frontier boundary] are in a dreadful state of distress."⁴⁴⁹ Much as the colonists themselves had been, in part, settled as a defensive cushion of civilization on the frontier boundary, Governor D'Urban strategically settled in Western Xhosaland roughly 17 000 Mfengu after the conflict in 1835 as native intermediaries, separating the Colony from the Xhosa.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁷ GTJ 29/12/36:4.

⁴⁴⁸ It was increasingly to be, as Fanon argues, "A world divided up into compartments." F. Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, 40. Also see L. Vail (ed.), The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa, 3-4 and 11-12.

⁴⁴⁹ GTJ 29/12/36:4. See also C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 99.

⁴⁵⁰ T.R.H. Davenport, "The Consolidation of a New Society: The Cape Colony", in M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa, vol I, 274 and 278. The Fingoes, also termed the Mfengu established themselves from 1835 onwards as what Saunders refers to as "collaborators" with the Cape Colony [C. Saunders, "The 100 Years War: Some Reflections on African Resistance on the Cape-Xhosa Frontier" 63-4]. See also C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 117-8, and A. Webster, "Unmasking the Fingo: The War of 1835 Revisited", in C.

The Journal read the Mfengu's acquiescence to colonial domination as support for colonial endeavours, and it elevated them to a superior striation of 'Otherness'. "Many of the Fingoes", noted the Journal, had shown bearing towards "moral...improvement"⁴⁵¹, and to be "...rescued...from a state of the most wretched and degraded barbarism, to the condition of good and useful members of society."⁴⁵² To this end, the Mfengu were learning work habits and Christian values, and while "they have been forced to abandon them...", they had begun to "...ma[ke] gardens at King William's Town...".⁴⁵³ This productive behaviour was to be looked on favourably and encouraged, for it was consistent to the continued eastern expansion of colonial order. In a sense, the Mfengu were symbolically contributing to the creation of "garden of fruits and flowers" from "the barren wilderness" of which "PHILO" had enthused.⁴⁵⁴ Therefore, in portraying the Mfengu as more civilized, the Journal was nudging the frontier boundary westward.⁴⁵⁵

Hamilton (ed.), The Mfecane Aftermath.

⁴⁵¹ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁵² GTJ 08/10/35:2.

⁴⁵³ GTJ 29/12/36:4.

⁴⁵⁴ GTJ 20/01/32:3.

⁴⁵⁵ See C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 118.

While the evidence of "improvement"⁴⁵⁶ by the Mfengu established that expansion of the frontier boundary could be perceived to have brought with it universal betterment for all, one can also surmise that the reverse would lead to a return to moral degradation, or possibly worse.⁴⁵⁷ In particular, the Journal was quick to point out, the Colony and its Mfengu intermediaries were threatened by a history of spreading destruction not far from its borders:

Within the late British Province the system of "eating up" is carried on to an alarming extent. Several cases have come to our knowledge where the wretched victims to this deplorable custom are turned destitute upon the world, and must either steal or perish by starvation. It is said that Macomo has "eaten up" some of Suta's kraals...⁴⁵⁸

The Journal indicates that the irrational process of large-scale social dismemberment in the "late British Province", was expanding general disorder.⁴⁵⁹ The "eating up" was a threatening and seemingly endless chain reaction of violence upon violence, and destruction upon destruction, perpetrated by those in the interior upon themselves, and appeared to send one after another of its "wretched victims"

⁴⁵⁶ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁵⁷ No doubt cannibalism was a source of intense interest to the readers of the Journal, and most likely the epitome of savagery. It states in a detailed report of 1833 from New Zealand, "...in the...village a female slave named Matowe, had been put to death, and that the people were at that very time preparing her flesh for cooking." GTJ 21/01/33:4.

⁴⁵⁸ GTJ 29/12/36:4.

⁴⁵⁹ GTJ 29/12/36:4.

spiraling into chaos.⁴⁶⁰ Implicitly, the Journal greatly feared the spread of this contagious disorder into the Colony. At the same time, the Journal is expressing fears that the former refugees from this chaos the Mfengu, will be pulled into its influence once again. Indeed, in the Journal's fatherly eyes, the Fingo faced certain extermination, as it notes, "...These poor creatures should be carefully attended to, or their destruction will be inevitable."⁴⁶¹ Therefore, this representation of fears of annihilation by the imaginary community of the Journal showed their awareness that the terror of the interior extended beyond themselves, and yet could still be judged within their value scheme. In turn, awareness only made knowing the frontier to perceive its dangers all the more pressing.

Subsequently, the parameters demarcating savagery enhanced the terror in the Journal's narrative. The 'Other' is needed "for the purpose of making truth".⁴⁶² The 'Other', in this case the Kaffirs have been allowed to wander unimpeded

⁴⁶⁰ GTJ 29/12/36:4. For details of the Mfecane debate see J. Cobbing, "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo", and C. Hamilton (ed.), The Mfecane Aftermath.

⁴⁶¹ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁶² M. Taussig, "Culture of Terror—Space of Death", in N. Dirks (ed.), Colonialism and Culture, 138.

amongst colonial society. Their behaviour is represented as "mischievous", and thus disruptive and lawless.⁴⁶³ The Kaffirs bring savagery with them. Yet, they also have savagery attached to them in a textual reinforcement. The Journal enframes the Kaffir in a structure of barbarity. In other words, in the Journal what defines the Kaffir as savage is not only the effect of their behaviour, but their essential inclination to be savage, "since that is what [they are], and that is what in essence we know or can only know about [them]."⁴⁶⁴

Accordingly, this lead to the Kaffirs being treated as children. There was perceived to be, as Beinart notes, an "intrinsic violence and barbarity in African society",⁴⁶⁵ and left unsupervised, the Kaffirs would "plunder the colonists",⁴⁶⁶ creating disruptions and disorder. The Journal admonished:

We have said, make it clearly appear that it is to the interest of the Kaffir not to steal, that honesty with him is the best policy, and there may be hopes of the Colonists preserving their property, but so long as he finds there is more to be gained by plunder than by an opposite course, and that his dishonest deeds pass

⁴⁶³ GTJ 29/12/36:4.

⁴⁶⁴ E. Said, Orientalism, 93-4. For further elaboration on the topic of textual attitude see his complete discussion, 92-94.

⁴⁶⁵ W. Beinart, "Political and Collective Violence in Southern African Historiography", 457.

⁴⁶⁶ GTJ 10/04/35:2.

unpunished, so long will the farmer be robbed, and so long will the Colonial frontier be infested by the Kaffir Banditti.⁴⁶⁷

The Kaffir as 'savage' is now couched in images of gang-like "Kaffir Banditti" and infestation.⁴⁶⁸ Yet, violence against property and pestilent social disorder were only part of the violence intrinsic to the nature of the savage. Another aspect was the violence they perpetrated against the individual and social body. In the first instance, there is insinuated a self-inflicted violence by the 'Other' upon themselves in, "...the slavish oppressions and wretchedly demoralizing customs of a people who were just emerging from that thick moral darkness...".⁴⁶⁹ The past, characteristically lawless and lacking a stable moral order, weighed in heavily in the flurry of words from the Journal. After the "barbarous inroad of savages",⁴⁷⁰ the editorial in 1836 chronicles:

...we saw as it were, the axe laid at the root of all of those evils...we saw the power of the chiefs to do evil effectually controlled--their wretched and criminal superstitions counteracted--their moral and political improvement provided for--and their social condition in every respect essentially promoted...⁴⁷¹

There was a wider conflict occurring on the eastern frontier in the 1830s that this passage eludes to. It was a moral battle between good and evil, and civilization and

⁴⁶⁷ GTJ 10/04/35:2.

⁴⁶⁸ GTJ 10/04/35:2.

⁴⁶⁹ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁷⁰ GTJ 11/05/37:3.

barbarity. Further, it was a conflict with significant consequences for the 'Other', if no less for the colonists themselves. The passage notes the "chiefs", as the source of authority in Xhosa society, were "criminal" and "superstitious", having failed particularly as practitioners of moral leadership.⁴⁷² In the Journal's representation, they remained undifferentiated and obdurate. Moreover, they are rooted, metamorphosised like trees. But these are not trees of wisdom, instead, the "chiefs" are more analogous to untended flora, waiting for the colonial "axe" of moral judgement.⁴⁷³

Nevertheless, the Journal countenanced for another, and in its eyes more significant aspect, of frontier violence. This, of course, was the violence aimed at the Colony itself. Such violence left "...the farmers...murdered and plundered...", in the wake of Kaffir-instigated chaos and suffering.⁴⁷⁴ Equally for the Journal, "...their [colonist's] helpless families are thrown upon the world...", articulating an image of longer term and deeper consequences.⁴⁷⁵ The colonists, in particular the innocent

⁴⁷¹ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁷² GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁷³ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁷⁴ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁷⁵ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

and unprotected, fly, forced to retreat in terror before the wave of infestation and disorder. Ultimately, the "plundered and murdered"⁴⁷⁶ colonists of the eastern Cape are thrown upon a hostile environment. In 1836, the "migratory" farmers were forced to "plung[e]" into the moral darkness beyond the frontier:

Did we not see...the cup of wretchedness thus filled to overflowing...The inhabitants are flying for their lives. Hundreds of valuable and industrious men with their families are plunging into the wilds of the interior--goaded to desperation, and resolved at all risks to quit the country...".⁴⁷⁷

The Journal points to the recent "migration" of farmers as an image of people descending through the colonial barrier into the darkness and savagery of the interior, exposing themselves to the extremes of the culture of terror.⁴⁷⁸ On them, unlike the yet to be colonized "chiefs",⁴⁷⁹ is bestowed action. The "migratory" farmers move, they fight, they fly.⁴⁸⁰ Again and again, the Journal returns to the image of desperate movement by faceless colonists. Also dissimilar to the "chiefs"⁴⁸¹ who become trees before the moral axe wielding Journal, the "migratory" farmers identity of Dutch-Afrikaner or Boer background is inferred when the Journal notes, "...we cannot blame, though we pity, the unfortunate

⁴⁷⁶ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁷⁷ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁷⁸ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁷⁹ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁸⁰ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁸¹ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

men who are thus driven to expatriate themselves from the land of their birth."⁴⁸² Therefore, the "migratory" farmers are simply added by the Journal to those grievous with Cape Town.⁴⁸³ They are a valuable asset, now lost to the wilds. Ominously, near the end of the passage brief but significant allusion is made to a much wider ongoing confrontation:

One man has been taken alive, and says that Major Dundas killed them in Kaffirland, and therefore they retaliated upon the white people. The assertion, however, cannot bear upon the Bazulus under Masselikatse, who Major Dundas never saw, but upon the people who about a year ago fled from Kafirland to this place.⁴⁸⁴

Colonial knowledge advanced only so far as colonial power.⁴⁸⁵ Yet the Journal takes the words spoken by, or rather interpreted from, the individual "Bazulu" as a misinterpretation of events.⁴⁸⁶ It becomes a moment when the various lines of colonial knowledge do not intersect quite so definitely; critically, by not correlating with previous knowledge, the individual "Bazulu's" very authenticity has been questioned.⁴⁸⁷ As was so often the case in colonialism, the knowledge that was disseminated was ambiguous. Dirks

⁴⁸² GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁸³ GTJ 22/12/36:2. Harington suggests that Godlonton was not fully aware of the grievances of the Voortrekkers, at least at the beginning. A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and The Great Trek, 1834-1843", 50.

⁴⁸⁴ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁸⁵ N. Dirks, "From Little King to Landlord", in N. Dirks (ed.), Colonialism and Culture, 176.

⁴⁸⁶ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁸⁷ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

suggests:

...as colonial knowledge was both facilitated and certified by colonial power, there were always serious limits to what colonial powers could know. Colonial knowledge was frequently based on misunderstandings that led to an uneasy relationship between knowledge and power.⁴⁸⁸

While the Journal attempted to make visible the unknown and hence terrifying, it did not automatically make them knowable. It would appear that at this particular time, the Journal has reached the margins of what the Journal could presumably know. An important component to the ordering of this colonial knowledge was the gradation of behaviour and morality of the 'Other'. Significantly, acts of violence marked out such an imagined, moral order. Thus in a widely fluctuating frontier region of interaction, the "Bazulu" highlights the uncertainty of causation and identity.⁴⁸⁹ He also highlights the "unambigu[ity]" of the right to perform such acts of violence according to the Journal.⁴⁹⁰

The nature of violence thus sheds light on the all-encompassing and widespread social impact of the introduction of colonial order in the eastern Cape of the early nineteenth century. As "The extinguishing of one

⁴⁸⁸ N. Dirks, "From Little King to Landlord", in N. Dirks (ed.), Colonialism and Culture, 176.

⁴⁸⁹ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

⁴⁹⁰ C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 126.

world announced another", notes Crais, the colonial violence of the period became more focused, channelled by the 1830s towards the African body.⁴⁹¹ This colonial order contained aspects of the changing system of control and domination of the body, from the public scaffold to the prison, theorised by Foucault in his seminal work Discipline and Punish.⁴⁹² Moreover, the collision in colonial history of legitimate and illegitimate violence, and thus its root cause of social upheaval, is exemplified by the instance of capital punishment for the colonized. It was common practice, beginning in the eighteenth century, for criminal trials to be regular features of reading material directed to a public audience and who, it will be noted, were generally without legal training.⁴⁹³ In a letter from Somerset in September 13, 1836 the Journal illustrates:

The Massoeto Kafir, APRIL, alias Titzanee, was executed here this morning at quarter past nine o'clock, A.M. He was convicted of murdering his wife at the farm of Mr. Pietersen at Gooba. He was tried at the Circuit Court held in October 1835, but the sentence was deferred, and at the last Circuit Court sentence of DEATH was passed upon him, and his body was delivered over to the district surgeon for dissection. He was executed...in the presence of a numerous concourse of spectators, both white and black, amongst which were several Kafirs and Fingoes...on the morning of his execution the Rev. Mr.

⁴⁹¹ C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 126. See also Crais, 125-27.

⁴⁹² M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish, especially 8.

⁴⁹³ J. Black, The Aesthetics of Murder, 33. Harington similarly suggests that the narratives of executions in the Journal were "mercifully not frequent, but, one fears, quite popular." A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 16.

Bennie was with him at 6 o'clock, where he prayed with him a considerable time in the Kafir language, and again prayed in the same language at the place of execution, after which the drop fell and the unfortunate fellow ceased to exist.⁴⁹⁴

The "political ritual"⁴⁹⁵ of the public execution symbolized the extension of the middle-class moral order into the eastern Cape.⁴⁹⁶ An execution in front of an audience, such as that of Titzanee, was the most dramatic and, of course, final exhibition of discipline. It reinforced the role of the state as an "instrument in punishing", and as a foundation for colonial identity.⁴⁹⁷ The execution also divided society into two distinct groups, "white and black", the dominate and the many dominated, "Kafirs and Fingoes".⁴⁹⁸ For the dominate colonists, crime and its properties of transgression were a source both of curiosity and dread. Titzanee became, as it were, a focal point of these feelings.

At the same time, the execution embellished colonial discourse.⁴⁹⁹ The Journal re-enacts Titzanee's execution in

⁴⁹⁴ "Execution (From a Correspondent)", dated "Somerset, Sept. 13, 1836." GTJ 15/09/36:1.

⁴⁹⁵ C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 126.

⁴⁹⁶ C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 115.

⁴⁹⁷ This point is further illustrated by C. Crais in, The Making of the Colonial Order, 125-7.

⁴⁹⁸ GTJ 15/09/36:1.

⁴⁹⁹ See also C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 126.

narrative for the benefit of ordinary colonial readers, and implores them, "To identify with power," as Bennett implies, "to see it as, if not directly theirs, then indirectly so...".⁵⁰⁰ First, Titzanee is identified by his underclass and Christian title (most likely designated) of "April".⁵⁰¹ As sentence of execution "was passed upon him",⁵⁰² Titzanee (through murder) was, "exposed...to death through death."⁵⁰³ A failure in the scheme of things, he is killed. In effect, Titzanee is dissolved in discourse as an individual self, and his temporality turned to nothingness.⁵⁰⁴ And afterward only God, dutifully appealed to with the assistance of the Rev. Mr. Bennie, is left to pass final judgment on his spirit in perpetuity. Thus, the terrorizing by the 'criminal' was thrown back on the criminal. The terrifying

⁵⁰⁰ T. Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex", in N. Dirks, G. Eley, and S. Ortner (eds.), Culture/Power/History, 130.

⁵⁰¹ GTJ 15/09/36:1.

⁵⁰² GTJ 15/09/36:1.

⁵⁰³ Foucault states, "...the desire to know and narrate how men have been able to rise against power, traverse the law, and expose themselves to death through death." M. Foucault, I, Pierre Riviere, Having Slaughtered My Mother, My Sister, and My Brother..., 206. See also J. Black, The Aesthetics of Murder, 20.

⁵⁰⁴ Racevskis notes of self:

...such an identity is closely bound to the notion of essence, a being, and is...to be considered a product of the epistemological configuration that gave rise to the figure of "man" at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Identity is therefore inextricably enmeshed in...the power/knowledge effects applied by discourse.

K. Racevskis, "michel foucault, raneau's nephew, and the question of identity", in J. Bernauer and D. Rasmussen (eds.), The Final Foucault, 21-2.

was thereby rendered less terrible by its execution with a legal form of terror.

However, the narrative of the execution lends a wider sense of ambiguity to the exhibition of power. In the particular instance, Titzanee is not portrayed as would be a European criminal. It was common in the early nineteenth century in Europe, to reconstruct the criminal as a "lyrical subject" for public consumption.⁵⁰⁵ For this, we can take note of another instance of one who wandered beyond redemption as chronicled in the Journal. In 1836, it was reported that Private John Barton also transgressed into moral darkness. After having shot his N.C.O., he too faced the price of ultimate punishment--extinction of the self.

Reporting on Barton's crime, the Journal put great emphasis, not on the crime itself or even the execution, but narrated his previously loose and immoral life, confession and subsequent ability to free himself from his moral darkness. His transgression and punishment are recited in socially and morally acceptable terms, similar as would be found in contemporary European broadsheets in what Foucault calls

⁵⁰⁵ J. Black, The Aesthetics of Murder, 32 and 46.

"songs of murder".⁵⁰⁶ Barton states in his address to the spectators, "He hoped his fate would be a warning to them all to flee from lewdness and drinking. Liquor and bad women were the root of all kinds of wretchedness...".⁵⁰⁷ Thus, an execution in discourse becomes orchestrated. "With an audience", notes Kappelar, "torture becomes an art, the torturer an author, the onlookers an audience of connoisseurs."⁵⁰⁸

The colonized did not speak. The colonized as criminal, in this case, Titzanee is silenced by terror. Yet, it is a

⁵⁰⁶ "Songs of murder" as defined by Black were "testaments" reported to the public, in which the subject, "speaks and is murderous" [Black, The Aesthetics of Murder, 32]. As Foucault notes:

In these strange poems the guilty man was depicted as coming forward to rehearse his deed to his hearers; he gave a brief outline of his life, drew the lessons of his adventure, expressed his remorse, and at the very moment of dying invoked pity and terror [Foucault, I, Pierre Riviere..., 207].

As both Foucault and Black attest, though these "songs" were written as to be in the first person, they were unlikely to be the actual words of the convicted. For original description, see M. Foucault, I, Pierre Riviere, Having Slaughtered My Mother, My Sister, and My Brother..., 207, and J. Black, The Aesthetics of Murder, 32.

⁵⁰⁷ "Execution: John Barton (private)". GTJ 17/11/36:4. The preceding events before this passage are as follows:

On arriving at the fatal spot he leaned his head for a few second upon his hand as he sat on the coffin, and...He then mounted the scaffold with a firm step, and knelt down while the Chaplain offered up a prayer. He then stood up and briefly addressed the specators,[sic] and particularly his fellow soldiers...

⁵⁰⁸ S. Kappelar, The Pornography of Representation, 8.

complex terror. First, he is silenced by the hegemonic discourse of the Journal's representation. Titzanee faces the fabricated culture of terror that has brought the Journal's community together at the foot of the scaffold in a ritualistic venting of collective anger.⁵⁰⁹ Second, he faces the enforcement of structural, legitimate terror. Titzanee's creation of terror, one borne of irrationality, is thus punished by rational terror. Finally, there is the terror within himself. Unlike his European counterpart, Titzanee is not given the words of lament for his crime by the Journal. He remains for all intensive purposes in both "reality" and in narrative, silent.

Afterward, Titzanee becomes an object of dissection. It is plausible that the dissection was in the hopes of finally opening up his silence, of discovering knowledge, of finding an answer to his inner workings and nature.⁵¹⁰ "The residence of truth in the dark centre of things is linked", asserts Foucault, "...to this sovereign power of the

⁵⁰⁹ C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 125-27. For further explanation of this idea of collective violence, see W. Beinart, "Political and Collective Violence in Southern African Historiography", 456-57.

⁵¹⁰ In the aesthetics of the Journal's discourse, "What begins as a desire for something within an impression ends then as a quest for something beyond it." From L. Chai's discussion of aesthetics in, Aestheticism, xi.

empirical gaze that turns...darkness into light."⁵¹¹ Therefore, Titzanee was found guilty according to the moral order, "...a member of a common society with a shared system of meaning as it branded him a pariah."⁵¹² However, the question remains whether he ever acknowledged the character he was to play in this particular colonial project and discourse; indeed, or whether his knowing would have made much difference.

At the dawning of a new colonial order in the eastern Cape, the Journal turned local lore into colonial knowledge by the power of print and public dissemination, which told "stories about the power of language to naturalise the structures of domination".⁵¹³ This configuration of power, however, was aimed primarily at those colonists making up the imaginary community of the Journal, a stubbornly defended discursive space appropriated from the Cape's overall public sphere, and not, at least at this point, at those who were deemed colonized and uncolonized.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹¹ M. Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic, xii-xiv.

⁵¹² C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 126.

⁵¹³ N. Dirks, "From Little King to Landlord", in N. Dirks (ed.), Colonialism and Culture, 175-6.

⁵¹⁴ N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 57.

One of the key aspects of the Journal's appropriation was a discourse of terror. A product of the colonial imagination, terror in the Journal's discourse would seem at first sight to be contradictory to any desired ends, and certainly as a language of normalizing colonial domination. In fact, it would be difficult to substantiate an argument of the beneficial nature of terror in most historical scenarios.

Yet, equally important, the Journal's colonial discourse derived some of the power of its influence from its often contradictory nature. The discourse of terror constructed by the Journal as an example of this, both spoke of the dangers to its imagined community, and provided it with a glue of hegemony which placed the Journal and its community at its very centre. Thus, terror was imperative to the construction of the structures of the Journal's discourse, and similarly of colonial consensus-building. Ironically, the "structures of feeling",⁵¹⁵ inscribed in the Journal did not necessarily distance the Journal's imaginary community in its process of exclusion from those it deemed as savage. Instead, terror drew the colonists closer to the savage in its demarcation of identity and quest to uphold civilization through an intimate and interdependent relationship. In the

⁵¹⁵ M. Taussig, "Culture of Terror--Space of Death", in N. Dirks (ed.), Colonialism and Culture, 137.

process, the imaginary community of the Journal was pulled into a relationship with terror as its constant partner.

Chapter Four: "One of the Greatest Blessings":
The Journal's Discourse of Justification

The world is what it is; men who are nothing, who allow themselves to become nothing, have no place in it.⁵¹⁶

"One of the Greatest Blessings":
The Journal's Discourse of Justification⁵¹⁷

By the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century, the eastern Cape became the object of increased attention that eventually went beyond simply securing a frontier border. One of the consequences of the emergence in the 1830s of a middle-class merchant elite in the eastern Cape, was to add a vocal presence to this "distant frontier of the British Empire".⁵¹⁸ In particular, the Journal's imaginary community expressed, however inconsistently and hesitantly, to formulate and implement their idea of colonization in the eastern Cape, if not also how to go about reaching it.

As a consequence, the filling in the map of the African interior became an exercise in filling in the topography of the colonists' minds. "The new frontier," as the Comaroffs note in a similar context, "rather, was simultaneously a

⁵¹⁶ V.S. Naipaul, A Bend in the River, 9.

⁵¹⁷ Comment contained in a letter from "AN ALBANY FARMER AN INHABITANT", to the Journal. GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵¹⁸ C. Crais, "Gentry and Labour in Three Eastern Cape Districts,

state of mind, an unfolding set of power relations, and a formless landscape over which people with infinite ambitions strove to assert a very definite form of control."⁵¹⁹ In essence the readers of the Journal were in an active process of modifying the way that the eastern Cape was thought'. Such imaginings led to a convergence, as Said would assert, "between real control and power, the idea of what a given place was (could be, might become), and an actual place...".⁵²⁰

Subsequently, the imaginary community of the Journal of the 1830s attempted to come to terms with facets of the colonial experience through an ongoing process of organizing, influencing, and representing their particular brand of colonial knowledge about the eastern Cape in the pages of the newspaper. Yet all of the colonial imagining were by no means false or not 'real'. Colonial cultures, after all, are best viewed not simply as an accompaniment for the political and economic imperatives that drive a colonial society. Instead, colonial cultures are interwoven in the acts of colonization themselves, as Thomas notes, "even what would seem its [colonization's] purest moments of profit and

1820-65", 129.

⁵¹⁹ J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution, vol. I, 273.

⁵²⁰ E. Said, Culture and Imperialism 93, and see also 5.

violence have been mediated and enframed by structures of meaning."⁵²¹ Moreover, what were imagined were the relationships that bound the Journal's community together, as well as the nature of these connections; likewise, the very social group this engendered, was made up of numerable sub-groups for specific purposes at equally specific times.⁵²² In an editorial on February 14, 1833, the Journal published a review of the recent "Wesleyan Missionary Society Annual Meeting".⁵²³ The Journal begins:

Last Monday we had an opportunity of attending the annual meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, held at Graham's Town, and were highly gratified by hearing the favourable report of the continued success of that highly interesting and useful Institution.⁵²⁴

The room would, no doubt, be filled with the respectable men of Graham's Town, and in particular members of its influential Wesleyan community.⁵²⁵ Gathered in the comfort of each other's companionship, this annual ritual of collective affirmation reinforced the significance of its members in the improvement of the Colony and its hinterland, and thereby of colonial expansion in general. They were analogous to a men's club, or the geographical societies

⁵²¹ N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 2.

⁵²² See D. Wahrman, Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780-1840.

⁵²³ The editorial came to my attention in an article by Cobbing. Refer to J. Cobbing, "Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo".

⁵²⁴ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵²⁵ For further detail, refer to B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape

that would become popular in later decades of the nineteenth century,⁵²⁶ no doubt in part because they traded facts amongst themselves that masqueraded as a matter of interest and 'common concern'. It was a ceremony then of convincing the converted, in which the attendees of the meeting tallied up the scorecard of their favoured missionary society and thereby the community's moral soul and achievements for the year. It a review of colonial involvement in the interior, an appeal⁵²⁷ and "alibi" for colonial involvement, it is framed as an appeal for protection and consequent moral improvement of those in the interior. The Journal notes:

The labour of Missionaries are, to the inhabitants of this district, of peculiar importance, inasuch [sic] as to them we are indebted for a considerable measure of that success and prosperity which we now enjoy as a trading community; and to their continued efforts do we mainly rely for an extension of that commerce to which we look forward to the support of our rapidly encreasing [sic] population.⁵²⁸

In paying tribute to their disciples of civilization, the Journal emphasized the missionaries' leading role in bringing economic prosperity to the eastern Cape through the "extension of...commerce"⁵²⁹ with peoples in the interior. Amongst the speeches made on this day to the sympathetic crowd, the Journal takes special note of the Rev. Shaw's words. The Journal states:

Separatism, 67-68.

⁵²⁶ Idea derived from D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 50.

⁵²⁷ D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 34.

⁵²⁸ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

It was well observed by one of the speakers, (the Rev. W. Shaw) that our geographical position, with regard to an intercourse with the interior, of this vast continent is of the utmost importance; and this fact must strike the most superficial observer, when we consider the great efforts that are making to diffuse the light of knowledge amongst the tribes beyond us.⁵³⁰

From his commanding view and expertise, the Rev. Shaw affirms the eastern Cape's significant positioning as a vital nexus of "utmost importance" for interaction with the "vast continent".⁵³¹ The imaginary community of the Journal could pride itself in a newly gained significance. They are participants, in other words, in the spreading of moral light. The Journal continues:

It appears that since the arrival of the British Settlers, thirteen years ago, twenty places of worship have been erected by this one Society, which has now 700 persons enrolled as its members; and that they have under tuition in the numerous Schools established within this district and in Caffreland, no less than 2 200 Scholars.⁵³²

The moral light, that has been brought to this dark corner of the empire begins, not surprisingly, with the arrival of British colonists in the 1820s. As "PHILO" would assert, "Where was Graham's Town ten years since? Inhabited by a few isolated individuals, whose power was Law, and whose indulgence [sic] proverbial."⁵³³ Adjacent to the fringe of empire, the British colonists have been, and continue to be

⁵²⁹ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵³⁰ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵³¹ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵³² GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵³³ GTJ 20/01/32:3. Refer also to Le Cordeur on the issue of further

integral as mediators and initiators of the "diffus[ion]" of the "Light of knowledge",⁵³⁴ to the interior. Schools have been established, and regular worship has commenced "within the last year [at] five new Chapels",⁵³⁵ and the readers of the Journal contributed directly towards this end. The monetary figures of "upwards of One Thousand Pounds Sterling",⁵³⁶ have translated into impressive statistics of moral improvement. The Journal continues:⁵³⁷

It was pleasing us to learn, that some of our traders were aiding the efforts of the Missionaries by promoting education; and in diffusing the knowledge of divine revelation; and thus while the Traders and Missionaries can unite their labours in scattering around the germs of civilization, our intercourse with distant tribes will be facilitated, and the interest of the Frontier advanced in the same proportion.⁵³⁸

Through information supplied by the "Traders and Missionaries",⁵³⁹ the imaginary community of the Journal is able to create and maintain a presence in the interior. In the ongoing battle that was fought in the interior between what was seen as moral darkness and light, they unite harmoniously in the Journal's discourse, in an efficient spreading of the word of God and "the germs of civilization" through the interior to even its most remote, and thereby

immigration. B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 125-26.

⁵³⁴ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵³⁵ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵³⁶ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵³⁷ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵³⁸ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵³⁹ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

depraved parts.⁵⁴⁰ These "germs" are "education" and "the knowledge of divine revelation", and are, in "the interest of the [entire] Frontier as self-validating benefits."⁵⁴¹

At the same time the Journal's gaze creates difference. Difference is exemplified in the sense of remove that "distant tribes" provides.⁵⁴² The distance may in part be physical, but is also a moral divide between civilization and savagery. It is a distance that allows the "suffering" of the interior to be a "common concern" of the Journal's community, but one which, as Spurr suggests is, "...out there: contained, defined, localized in a realm understood to be culturally apart."⁵⁴³ Symbolically, the Journal embodies difference in its representation with the exhibition of a live "Native"⁵⁴⁴ (nameless) that has accompanied the missionary come native authority and spokesperson, the Rev. Mr. Boyce:

During the meeting to which we have alluded, a Native was introduced to the assembly, habited in the full

⁵⁴⁰ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵⁴¹ Benefits which would lead to the belief as Spurr notes, "...a colonised people is morally improved and edified by virtue of its participation in the colonial system." D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 32-3.

⁵⁴² GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵⁴³ D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 25.

⁵⁴⁴ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

costume of a Zoolo warrior. The Rev. Mr. BOYCE stated to the Meeting that this person was one of the Fetcana...⁵⁴⁵

Thus it was not so much by means of language or culture that the Journal's judgement is based, but rather by the staking out of difference that is exhibited on an individual level via the aesthetics of physical appearance. As Spurr notes, "...the body is that which is most proper to the primitive, the sign by which the primitive is represented."⁵⁴⁶ Labelled for the audience and judged an authentic object of exotica, the 'Zoolo-Fetcana' adds authority to the narrative. It is then to the Journal to add categorization, and history to the Zoolo-Fetcani warrior.⁵⁴⁷ Moreover, it does so by clarifying his degree of 'Otherness' by a moral gradient.

The Journal states:

...this person was one of the Metcani (Maceesas) who had been defeated in 1828 by the commando under Lieut. Col. SOMERSET. The speaker observed that that expedition had been the cause of the salvation of thousands and tens of thousands of lives,-- inasmuch as the people dispersed by the Commando were wretches of the most atrocious character.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁵ GTJ 14/02/33:2. The "Fetcani", notes Cobbing, "...[was a] word the Tembu applied to enemy bandits or sometimes to local rivals, and the Boers to describe any people whose cattle they happened to be raiding." J. Cobbing, "Mfecane As Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo", 500. However, Peires suggests fetcanie was a word describing a military unit. J. Peires, "Matiwane's Road to Mbolompo: A Reprieve for the Mfecane?", in C. Hamilton (ed.), The Mfecane Aftermath, 237.

⁵⁴⁶ D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 20.

⁵⁴⁷ Also see L. Vail (ed.), The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa, 3-4 and 11-12.

⁵⁴⁸ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

The Zoolo-Fetcani came from what appears to be the Matiwane that had met the combined forces of the Thembu, Xhosa, Mpondo and British at the Battle of Mbolompo on August 27, 1828.⁵⁴⁹ Standing before the audience, the events of disruption in the interior which he is purported to have witnessed are recounted. The Journal states, "They had laid waste all the country between the Umzinvoobo and Bashee, and their path, whichever way it took, had been marked by desolation and death."⁵⁵⁰ The people gained flight paths, seemingly less human and more chaotic the further they scattered. This irrationality is the epitome of the spread of moral darkness. Similarly, the people of the interior are like the spread of Small Pox mentioned earlier, in motion in the African body distributing a disease of irrational anarchic violence.⁵⁵¹

However, Somerset's military expedition had been the source of "the salvation of thousands and tens of thousands of lives," and thus validated the benefit of colonial involvement on, and beyond the eastern frontier.⁵⁵² The Journal notes:

⁵⁴⁹ See J. Peires, "Matiwane's Road to Mbolompo: A Reprieve for the Mfecane?", in Hamilton, C. (ed.), The Mfecane Aftermath, 214.

⁵⁵⁰ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵⁵¹ See chapters one and two for greater detail.

⁵⁵² GTJ 14/02/33:2.

He [Zoolo-Fetcani] felt it necessary to state that much to the Meeting, because he was aware that the expedition alluded to had been greatly misrepresented; but he considered it in its consequences to have been one of the greatest blessings which had ever occurred to this part of Africa.⁵⁵³

Indeed, the colonial forces were saving humanity, as was suggested by the Rev. Mr. Boyce, who "has resided [sic] for several years as a Missionary [sic] amongst the Amapondas, and is from his situation, his industry, and his intelligence qualified beyond all others to pronounce decidedly...".⁵⁵⁴ At the same time the Journal suggests this statement to be at odds with recent claims made by the followers of the South African Commercial Advertiser, and in particular "MR BANNISTER".⁵⁵⁵ The Journal continues decisively:

One [the Rev. Mr. Boyce] has had the benefit of sound practical knowledge, and sees facts as they really are, -- the other [Mr. Bannister] was an amiable enthusiast who saw everything through a false medium, and whose plans are the mere dreams of a distempered but warm imagination.⁵⁵⁶

Through the appropriation of the Zoolo-Fetcani's voice, body and opinion, he is proof that the interaction between the eastern Cape and the interior has been of benefit to not only the colonists. This is further substantiated by the words of the Rev. Mr. Boyce. Therefore the transcribed moment of the public speech was appropriated, frozen,

⁵⁵³ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵⁵⁴ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵⁵⁵ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

arranged and exhibited in the discourse of the Journal for its audience. As a discursive gaze penetrating the interior of the African body, the Journal concludes the interior is found morally wanting.

Yet what was as much at issue in this passage between the two newspapers was public representation, or rather who is able to make them. Thomas would suggest in fact, that the issue at hand had little to do with events in the interior. "A discourse is often not a set of notions that exists for itself", he argues, "but a discourse against another."⁵⁵⁷ Public perceptions or appearances were at stake in the report of missionary work. In this case, the South African Commercial Advertiser and the Journal were both challenging the truthful "mirrors" of public representation.⁵⁵⁸ All of the animosity expressed between the two newspapers seems somewhat surprising in light of the Journal's initial tributes in 1831 to its counterpart in Cape Town. Following in its footsteps, or so it believed, the Journal praised the South African Commercial Advertiser as "a brilliant example

⁵⁵⁶ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵⁵⁷ N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 143.

⁵⁵⁸ As Kappelar asserts, "The mirror, if not transparent, reflects, and it is above all 'faithful'...it should not arise in terms which would make this concept of the mirror--and hence of reality--problematical." S. Kappelar, The Pornography of Representation, 2-3.

to all around".⁵⁵⁹ Yet criticism endangered the newspaper's respective attempts at the "elaborat[ion]" of a "culture of civil society".⁵⁶⁰

Nevertheless it must be remembered that various colonial interests were the flip side to the "intercourse" of missionaries.⁵⁶¹ The missionaries are equally important as intermediaries for the Journal's readers and the interior, and in much the same vein must be categorized the spread of "the light of knowledge".⁵⁶² For, as the "Traders and Missionaries" circulated "the light of knowledge amongst the tribes beyond us", they carried back knowledge to the Colony.⁵⁶³ There is mystery in dark and unknown bodies, things that are hidden or closeted away from knowing. Such things are revealed, as Foucault notes, by the "thin flame

⁵⁵⁹ From a Graham's Town Journal handbill. For further detail about the South African Commercial Advertiser, see K. McKenzie, "The South African Commercial Advertiser and the making of middle class identity in the early nineteenth century", and L. Meltzer, "Emancipation, Commerce and the Role of John Fairbairn's Advertiser", in N. Worden and C. Crais (eds.), Breaking the Chains.

⁵⁶⁰ N. Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", in C. Calhoun (ed.), Habermas and the Public Sphere, 113.

⁵⁶¹ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

⁵⁶² GTJ 14/02/33:2. See L. Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, 112-119. Also refer to R. Beck, "Bible and Beads: Missionaries as Traders in Southern Africa in the early nineteenth century", and J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution.

⁵⁶³ GTJ 14/02/33:2.

of the eye" of observation.⁵⁶⁴ By continually exploring the dark interior, the Journal's gaze illuminates the dark, if only for what it specifically seeks and previously knows. The gaze shapes the knowledge it uncovers from the interior. It is this same knowledge, accumulated locally in different but interlinked situations, that made the frontier region a social crucible for those who wish to influence its colonization. This knowledge plays a prominent role for example in 1835 after the Sixth Frontier War, where the Journal returns to the theme of containing and ordering space on a grand scale:

It often happens that experiments in government are attended with the most injurious and lamentable results; and whenever this is the case, the best mode of proceeding is to recur to first principles.⁵⁶⁵

In particular, the archive of knowledge in the Journal placed great emphasis on what it referred to as "Frontier policy".⁵⁶⁶ It was "Experience" of observing "an important settlement established," and "of watching its progress," only then to "witness[] its destruction".⁵⁶⁷ It was also knowledge of "Frontier Policy" that reached back to the beginnings of British settlement of the eastern Cape itself, and it is obvious that the Journal thought the 'colonizing' of the eastern Cape was something that should, or rather

⁵⁶⁴ Refer to M. Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic, xiii-xiv.

⁵⁶⁵ GTJ 17/04/35:2.

⁵⁶⁶ GTJ 17/04/35:2.

⁵⁶⁷ GTJ 17/04/35:2.

could, be interpreted as rational, predictable and structured. Colonization, to the newspaper, had "system[s]", "scheme[s]", mode[s], and indeed "Polic[ies] that followed "natural" trajectories."⁵⁶⁸

From this "Experience" was comprehended the imaginary community's best means of behaviour, or "our proper duty at the present moment, and of deciding on the best mode of proceeding under the peculiar circumstances in which the country is at this moment placed."⁵⁶⁹ Thus, the Journal wanted to "harness" knowledge, "as the ultimate form of power".⁵⁷⁰ Foremost, government must have an unbending will to its principles. But how then does the Journal envision this system? It sees a "chain of villages"⁵⁷¹ as a barrier to protect against future invasions of the Colony. The Journal in singing the praises and virtues of the eastern Cape also appears to be supporting emigration to its imaginary community, (a place already populated by colonists who had arrived by, and decried the ineptitude of British emigration schemes), of yet more colonists. In a similar way that the prosperity generated by trade sustained "PHILO"'s dreams of a new and more harmonious order, based

⁵⁶⁸ GTJ 17/04/35:2.

⁵⁶⁹ GTJ 17/04/35:2.

⁵⁷⁰ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 4.

on "turn[ing]...barren wilderness into a garden of fruits and flowers",⁵⁷² it was only sensible in view of future prospects, that the eastern Cape, as it "...promises...ample employment to an increased population and an enlarged capital...", should be promoted as a place for emigration.⁵⁷³ The newspaper notes the villages would emphasize economic self-sufficiency with their wide breadth of skill:

Every village would furnish employment for the school master,--for the wheel-wright, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the brick burner, the mason, the tailor, the shoemaker, and last, but not the least, for that anomalous personage, as he has been called, the jack of all trades, justly pronounced as the most valuable of all settlers.⁵⁷⁴

Frontier defence would derive strength from the simplicity and rationalism of its design.⁵⁷⁵ Moreover, the breadth of skill in the villages will lead to economic stability for the villages, and no doubt the markets for the proprietors of the Colony's "Emporium" as well.⁵⁷⁶ The Journal states:

It might also have its store or shop,

Where musstard, flannel, nails, tea, coffee,
toys--
Dolls for young lasses, whips for sturdy boys;
Where hats, shoes, bonnets, cloaks and ribbons fine,

⁵⁷¹ GTJ 17/04/35:2.

⁵⁷² Letter from "PHILO", GTJ 20/01/32:3. Refer to C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 106, and also D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 34.

⁵⁷³ GTJ 30/12/31:2. See also B. A. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton 5-6, and Eastern Cape Separatism, 2-3.

⁵⁷⁴ GTJ 17/04/35:2.

⁵⁷⁵ See T. Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 38.

⁵⁷⁶ GTJ 20/01/32:3. Le Cordeur would suggest it was specifically to raise land values. B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 65.

Where oil and vinegar, and corn and wine;
 Where hinges, locks where crockery galore
 Are mingled grotesque round the well filled store.⁵⁷⁷

What the setter's wanted however, was not so much more of themselves', as a way to buttress their status as consumers. Equally important, the barrier of villages envisaged by the Journal would act like a manacle of rings of civilization around the neck of the interior. As the Journal asserts:

It must even be remembered that we are not an insular people; and hence were the Kafirs to be totally exterminated before to-morrow, our situation could not be improved thereby in the slightest degree. On the contrary, it would in all probability be much worse, and it might bring to our doors a far more numerous and formidable enemy in the tribes living beyond the Kafir territories.⁵⁷⁸

Thus, what lay beyond the frontier was a question of great significance. Crucially, those who were designated as more civilized 'Others', buffered something possibly much worse, and that touched the deepest fears of the colonists. Beyond the frontier, knowledge becomes myth, a matter of aesthetics--formation, containment, control--and the art of colonization. The further from the knowable, the more marginal becomes knowing and the more blurry becomes form. "All knowledge acknowledges Richards, "becomes marginal at the margins."⁵⁷⁹ Systemized difference is only possible through a system of knowing, but knowledge in turn, can only be derived from that which can be represented.

⁵⁷⁷ GTJ 17/04/35:2.

⁵⁷⁸ GTJ 17/04/35:2.

⁵⁷⁹ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 71.

In the Journal of 1835, the most "monstrous" of all were the Zulu leaders and their warriors. As a discursive motif that would quickly become one of the most popular in the colonial archive, the Zulu's formed an integral part of colonial identity. They were the "imperial threat" par excellence, something that seemed irrational, uncontained, and hardly within the realm of conception.⁵⁸⁰ In other words, the Zulu's went beyond the monstrous to take on characteristics of what Richards refers to as that of mutants. "A mutant eludes science's quantitative grasp of number and magnitude", Richards suggests, "it signals the presence of irrational, rather than rational, modes of changing form."⁵⁸¹

The Journal was intimating that the "Zoolo[s]" were the main cause of the disruptions and eruptions in and from, the Colony's immediate interior. The newspaper characterized events of the interior as having had "chiefs" propelling tribes asunder, and "...practicing the old game of extermination against all the Tribes in their vicinity...",⁵⁸² in a "deliberate policy" that left Natal "devastated".⁵⁸³ Moreover, the Journal's imaginary community

⁵⁸⁰ Idea for Zulu as monstrous mutants derived from T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 61. See also Richards 52.

⁵⁸¹ T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 58.

⁵⁸² GTJ 06/07/32:2.

⁵⁸³ Refer to J. Wright, "Political Mythology and the Making of Natal's

saw the spectre of a collision with the Zulu for themselves and the "...tribes in [their] more immediate neighbourhood, who are just beginning to estimate the advantages of place, and to put forth some signs of improvement..." as terrifying.⁵⁸⁴ To the Journal, irrational violence and social upheaval had become the norm for Natal.

Therefore, the imaginary community of the Journal was haunted not only by the fear of a recurrence of the "inroads" of 1834-35, but by the prospect of the monstrous occurrences of the interior spilling over into the Colony, and realising deeply held fears of acts, or the threat of acts of violence and disruption. What was feared was the resurgence of the un-civilized and uncolonized into the Colony, inverting, as Richards suggests, "the customary direction of colonization...", as "the periphery attempts to colonize the centre..." in revenge.⁵⁸⁵

As the Cape Colony influence expanded eastwards in the 1830s, the Journal's imaginary community found a world that was at times incomprehensible and uncontrolled. At the

Mfecane", 273-4.

⁵⁸⁴ GTJ 06/07/32:2.

⁵⁸⁵ See T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 58 and 61.

forefront of representations of the interior, the Journal characterized beyond the frontier as a place of moral darkness, and sought to incorporate this image as fabricated differentiation into the colonial world that it exhibited for its imagined community. In other words, the interior was a place for which dreams were made. Moreover, by including the interior into the fabric of identity and local epistemology of its imagined community, the Journal was also deploying it as a defence in its political battle of representations with competing Cape middle-class interests in the Cape's public sphere. As a result, the inscription of the Journal's own brand of knowledge in colonial discursive space was an act of reinforcement against perceived internal and external threat to its imagined community.⁵⁸⁶ It thus wished to appropriate the way in which relations between the eastern Cape and its adjacent hinterland were to be understood and represented.⁵⁸⁷ At the same time, the Journal justified colonial involvement beyond its borders by displacing colonial purposes upon the uncolonized and recently colonized, while actively sublimating these very same peoples and their lands.

⁵⁸⁶ Idea from D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 124.

⁵⁸⁷ Idea from D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 28.

Conclusion: "A Journal Among Them"

Conclusion: "A Journal Among Them"⁵⁸⁸

In 1831, the Graham's Town Journal was established as a newspaper in the eastern Cape. Part of the eastern Cape colonial culture that emerged in the early nineteenth century with the influx of British colonists, it organized a local genealogy of knowledge that left an impression far beyond its immediate expression in print. For the historian, the Journal and the spirit that filled its pages continues to be a colourful aspect amongst the tapestry of Cape history.

In particular, the Journal was a means in the 1830s of representing and ordering a changing colonial world for the expanding middle-class, predominantly merchant-based public sphere of the eastern Cape. By analyzing its discourse in its initial period of publication and while it was acquiring literary facets to its journalism,⁵⁸⁹ we can thus study it as an example of colonial discourse during the process of the ordering of a new colonial order under the tutelage of the British in the 1830s.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁸ The title is derived from comments contained in a letter to the Journal from "PHILO". GTJ 20/01/32:3.

⁵⁸⁹ The characteristic of literary journalism referred to in this sense is the entering into the political realm, in terms of reports containing "ideologies and viewpoints". J. Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, 181-2.

⁵⁹⁰ Refer to C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order. In addition,

By taking the Journal in its singular unity in the years 1831-36, we can see that it combined a series of discourses. An organizing medium then to the flow of representations both of outside and within its own world, the Journal imparted patterns, images and meanings to the material transcribed onto its pages. It organized the hearsay, lore, and observations of its locality "with which [the Proprietor] may be favoured", and sprinkled in liberally information of other newspapers and publications, to create a mosaic "by communal design".⁵⁹¹ In the sum of its parts then, it was as a discourse of discourses that the Journal gave form and configuration to colonial experience in its own locality, and thereby to the world around it.

Subsequently, the Journal created a sense of community. Although imagined, for the time that it existed this community was no less real. It was a community in constant need of defence and protection from threats outside its boundaries. It was in these "struggles" that a sense of community was forged, and in turn served as the basis of the colonial elite's sense of identity. Moreover, it was also from the

as I was in the process of completing the dissertation, an informative work by T. Keegan entitled, Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order was released.

⁵⁹¹ GTJ 30/12/31:2, and secondary comments by D. Spurr, The Rhetoric of Empire, 43.

imaginative working out and setting down in print of experiences in texts such as the Journal, that local colonial knowledge gained its sense of immutability and consistency. In the fight against an aleatory existence for its imagined community, the Journal's narrative breached the discontinuities that had made up recent eastern Cape colonial experience, and gave local events prominence and significance. It thereby rooted events into the flow of representations of empire.

An ordered world in a newspaper such as the Journal projected an image of progression to the expanding middle-class, specifically merchant-based public sphere of the eastern Cape. However this system of representational order was created to be more than simply a depiction of colonial reality. In its discourse, the Journal tried for its imagined community to straighten out the lines, to cover over the untidiness of colonialism in the eastern Cape, and thereby make more precise and organized the social structures, and boundaries to the world in which this community was centred. In other words, the Journal was actively moulding the reality in which it was a participant.⁵⁹²

In particular, the Journal's weekly narrative was reconfiguring its imaginary community in location and status as the focal point, and budding "Emporium" of the Cape Colony.⁵⁹³ Both underlying and organizing this social order in the 1830s was the rapid expansion of a commodity culture. A commodity itself, and advertising commodities, the Journal exalted the material progress of its imagined community, while simultaneously turning "private interests into public virtues".⁵⁹⁴ It emphasized the significance of its imagined community as the junction between a flourishing trade with the interior, and the highly coveted direct trade with England. In turn, this trade also arranged the groundwork for a transition in the agricultural basis of the eastern Cape from its more provincial tradition of cattle farming, to one geared for the export of wool. The Journal was then a symbol of growing civilized maturity on the edge of the Colony or a "useful luxury" of sorts, and an indispensable investment for a prosperous merchant-based community.⁵⁹⁵

But issues of commerce alone did not create and mould the Journal's community. Positioning itself in the overall

⁵⁹² Refer back to T. Richards, The Imperial Archive, 16.

⁵⁹³ GTJ 20/01/32:4.

⁵⁹⁴ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914, 182.

⁵⁹⁵ GTJ 30/12/31:2.

discursive landscape of the Cape's middle class, it wished to emphasize, on the one hand, its dissimilarity to Cape Town, a distinction perceived by the Journal, (whether expounded in detail or not), to be based on both different interests and opinions, and distance.⁵⁹⁶ No doubt, concern over the control of the eastern Cape economy by Cape Town played a part.⁵⁹⁷ On the other hand, the Journal posited a crucial difference for the imaginary community's sense of identity from those beyond "the pale of civilization", and deemed savage in the interior.⁵⁹⁸ Of course, much like other colonial newspapers of its age, including the South African Commercial Advertiser, the Journal shared a faith in the progressive, normative and civilizing nature of British imperialism and colonialism. This was no surprise as there were few alternatives to this predominate certainty that buttressed what seemed to be inevitable British accumulation and expansion.⁵⁹⁹

However, any similarities, in particular between the two Cape colonial newspapers, ended there. The Journal reached out beyond its imagined community and drew sharper and more expansive social lines in the discursive terrain. As it did

⁵⁹⁶ Refer to GTJ 30/12/31:2.

⁵⁹⁷ B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 123.

⁵⁹⁸ GTJ 29/12/36:2.

⁵⁹⁹ See E. Said, Orientalism, 95, and Culture and Imperialism, 176.

so, it pulled in 'Others' in a baffling array of categories. At one extreme they were "poor creatures", and at another the reduction of the 'Others' were barbarous, criminal, superstitious, and immoral in their ways.⁶⁰⁰ Yet, at a time when the eastern frontier was very much a contested site of interaction and conflict, the Journal was highlighting the insecurity of margins as it tried to solidify them. In fact, the Journal actually deemed these departments of the mind more ambiguous, as Thomas asserts, "...[texts] cannot be imagined in any simple way as expressions of whole colonial projects: [they] mostly obscure the messy circumstances and confusions of the encounters they related to."⁶⁰¹

The Journal's authority upon matters of the eastern Cape was therefore a jealously guarded attribute. It tried to defend its imagined community against the "insidious whispers" of the "philanthropists" and the South African Commercial Advertiser on issues of the frontier.⁶⁰² Located on what it considered at that time to be the fringe of civilization, and consequently heavily swayed by its influence, the Journal was less concerned with directing a social agenda for the public

⁶⁰⁰ GTJ 29/12/36:2.

⁶⁰¹ N. Thomas, Colonialism's Culture, 168.

⁶⁰² GTJ 22/12/36:2.

sphere,⁶⁰³ than it was in controlling the representations within which they were thus circulated. Unlike the Journal's rival "cloaked under the guise of philanthropy and high principle" in Cape Town, in the choice of its direction the Journal found it difficult to approach the events of the frontier with any sense of detachment or dispassion.⁶⁰⁴ It felt it had better arguments from firsthand and better qualified sources, and thus wanted to grant its authority proper value.

At the same time as the Journal rhetorically wrestled with its "philanthropic" rivals in Cape Town, it was also conferring stark differences between itself and those in the interior.⁶⁰⁵ In positioning its imaginary community both inside civilization and on its very fringe, cut out from the Cape's middle-class sphere proper, and employing Africans as another means of differentiation, it is possible the two battles were interlinked for the Journal as more than just subject material to be disagreed upon. Somehow, both had a link in terms of the formation of identity for the Journal's imaginary

⁶⁰³ As discussed by McKenzie. Refer to K. McKenzie, "The South African Commercial Advertiser and the making of middle class identity in the early nineteenth century". See also A. Bank, "The Great Debate and the Origins of South African Historiography".

⁶⁰⁴ GTJ 13/10/36:2.

⁶⁰⁵ GTJ 22/12/36:2.

community.

The Journal was interested in the consolidation of power for its imagined community in formal structures of political representation. In the Journal's eyes, its community and the new social order they were participants in forming, was to be judged on its virtues, and moral and civilized standards. To reach this end, it placed and portrayed itself as the legitimate and respectable mechanism for the conveyance of middle-class popular opinion.⁶⁰⁶ In addition it highlighted, for this imagined community, the grave shortcomings to its surroundings of what might, at least in perception, inhibit the step into political representation.

Ambiguity beyond the frontier no doubt led to the manufacture of a culture of terror.⁶⁰⁷ The Journal emblazoned death and fear upon the landscape of the eastern Cape at the same time that it wished to defeat it. The violence of colonial imposition, but reversed and projected back on to those deemed savage in the eastern Cape, served as a foil to "improvement"

⁶⁰⁶ Refer to GTJ 30/12/31:2 and 20/01/32:4.

⁶⁰⁷ Idea derived from M. Taussig, "Culture of Terror--Space of Death", in N. Dirks (ed.), Colonialism and Culture.

in the Journal's discourse.⁶⁰⁸ Terror rose to an apex in images of the "disorienting actuality"⁶⁰⁹ of the interior of Africa, and in battles against the intrusion of this disruptive and genocide-bearing world upon the Colony.

The parameters of time under study in this dissertation, thus mark off a dynamic and formative period in the Journal's discourse. This is not to say that the "discrete discourses" that constituted the Journal's discourse in any way came to an end.⁶¹⁰ However, it is to suggest that the context, and in particular the socio-cultural environment of the Cape's middle-class sphere that had brought about the Journal's inception in 1831 was changing, and in turn informed its discourse.

Of course, the Journal's 'golden age' in the early 1830s, and as described in this thesis could not last. On the one hand, following the conflict in 1834-35, internal opposition amongst the inhabitants of the eastern Cape towards the Journal and its views became more conspicuous. In particular, as Le Cordeur notes, "There had never been much love lost between

⁶⁰⁸ Refer to GTJ 30/12/31:2 and 20/01/32:4.

⁶⁰⁹ E. Said, Culture and Imperialism, 33.

⁶¹⁰ P. De Bolla, Aesthetics of the Sublime, 7.

the man of the frontier farmers and the commercial classes of Graham's Town."⁶¹¹ The "dishonesty" and greed, as well as more specific and contested issues as for instance illegal arms trading and war profiteering by Graham's Town's merchant elite, led to a corresponding loss of support amongst farmers on the frontier for the newspaper that was deduced increasingly to represent only those merchant interests.⁶¹² In turn, dissension disrupted the seeming unity backing the Journal's representations of the world. In addition, the boundaries of its imaginary community were more clearly defined while the arbitrary and ambiguous nature of the Journal's imaginary community was highlighted.

Similarly, just as the Journal had been established in opposition to the newspapers emanating from Cape Town, (a public sphere that had seen the Journal as well as the Zuid-Afrikaan created specifically as rivals to the South African Commercial Advertiser), the Journal itself soon came to generate opposition in the Cape, and more particularly within its own immediate middle-class support base.⁶¹³ A myriad

⁶¹¹ B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 146-7.

⁶¹² B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 146-7. Le Cordeur suggests the merchants thought, "...the risk of war [in 1834-35] was worth taking..." [147].

⁶¹³ A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 14.

assortment of more and less successful newspapers came and went in the Cape of the late 1830s and 1840s.⁶¹⁴ Whether or not they were successful in terms of profit or popularity, several such as the Government Gazette, the Colonial Times, The Echo and the Cape Frontier Times were meant specifically to offer readers alternatives to the authority of the Journal and its viewpoints.⁶¹⁵ So, as the Cape's public sphere in general widened, the booming of the Journal's 'voice', if no less diminished, was no longer able to claim so assuredly the harmony and unanimity of its discourse.

In addition, whether as an effect of the agitation for greater political representation and influence by the middle-class, or externally-imposed reform, the colonists of the eastern Cape were given greater bearing in what they most desired, the moulding of their immediate environment. The improvement came in the form of an explicit role in the newly established municipal administration. Godlonton and other members of the eastern Cape's colonial merchant elite were also conspicuous

⁶¹⁴ For example, publications began as the Cape Town Mail in 1841, The Mediator in 1837, and the De Ware Afrikaan in 1838. A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 136 footnote 35.

⁶¹⁵ A.L. Harington, "The Grahamstown Journal and Grahamstown, 1834-1843", 30-35. According to Gordon-Brown, Godlonton was challenged from 1836 onwards [103]. For reasons for which I am ignorant, Meurant seems to have spent time printing one of the Journal's competitors, the Cape Frontier Times under Franklin. A. Gordon-Brown, The Settler's Press,

participants in the preliminary committees.⁶¹⁶ In the process, municipal power officially consummated their role in the creation of a colonial order in the eastern Cape. Given legitimate tools for domination, the colonists were thus better equipped to turn the hopes and aspirations they represented in the Journal into reality.⁶¹⁷

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⁶¹⁶ B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 70. The Journal makes note of "Committees" in 1836, "...appointed to discuss the Regulations, which it became their duty to draw up for the future regulation of the town, under the Municipal Ordinance." In particular, the question was raised as to the "...expedien[cy] or necess[ity] to make any regulations for Coolies...". GTJ 08\12\36:3.

⁶¹⁷ Municipal reform was part of the constitutional reforms between 1834-36 [C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, 151]. Le Cordeur argues that reform was more an issue of political power and "...removal of the restraints imposed by the central government...[and] little--if at all--concerned with the extension of democracy...on the frontier." B.A. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, 31.

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