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OHMS

Helen Binckes

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Members of UCT Roll of Honour form of service leaflet, UCT, Commemoration Service 1st October 1919.
All listed as Casualty Type: Commonwealth War Dead.

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Aling, John
Anderson, Charles Alexander
Anderson, Morris Caldwell
Anderson, Julius
Aulsebrook, John Frederick
Auret, Ben
Barrish, Mengo William
Beauclerk, Nevill
Bennetts, Eric Augustus
Bertram, Cyril Robertson
Brink, Johannes Hieronymus
Brooke, Cyril Thornthwaite
Brounger, W.H.P.
Brown, William
Chadwick, Henry Slingsby Osler
Childe, Letterstedt Frederick
Cooke, Arthur Eyre
Cooke, Evelyn
Dale, James Ritchie
Danzig, Morris William
Davis, Edwin Bertrand
De Bruijn, Douglas
Dell, Stephen Arthur Hayton
Dickson, Walter Michael
Doble, Frank Edward
Dreyer, Johannes Hubert

Driver, Hubert Weeks
Earp, Edwin Errol Findlay
Elliott, Henry George
Ferguson, George Reid Henry
Forman, Moses
Girdlestone, Horace Wilfred
Goodall, Arthur Morton
Green, Arthur Knolles
Griffiths, Percival
Hambridge, Percy George
Hamilton, William Robert
Harries, Fred
Hattingh, Diedrich
Haynes, John Henry
Hermann, Julius
Hewat, Bertie Barron
Hoal, Francis Garner
Hobson, Alec Carey
Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik
Hofmeyr, Robert Ernest Murray
Horne, Cecil Edmund
Hughes, Edward Philip
Hugo, Stephen Hofmeyr
Immelman, Lawrence Godfrey
Irving, Aubrey Gordon
Jacot, Edouard
Kensit, Edward George
King, Francis
Kohler, Heinrich Gerhard
Latham, Edgar Retief
Lazarus, Cyril Henry
Lewis, Charles Williams
Lewis, Reginald Cameron
Liebson, Abraham
Lundie, Eric Balfour
Maasdorp, Arthur
Maasdorp, Norman
Marks, Louis Tedeschi
Maskew, Allan Wilson
McClure, Hugh Cecil
McGregor, Andrew William
McGregor, William
Metcalf, Cecil David
Metelerkamp, George
Minnaar, William Rorich
Moll, Tobias Mortimer
Morris, Hugh
Murray, Andrew Haldane
Naish, Jasper Paul
Noaks, Geoffrey Vaughan
O'Meara, J.J.
O'Reilly, Graham Alexander
Penrose, Keith
Platnauer, Leonard Maurice
Plowman, Leslie
Poole, John Evered

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Poultney, Harold Ortlepp
Powell, Frederick Gill
Power, Walter
Radloff, Heinrich
Rail, Richard Angwyn
Rainier, Henry Aubrey
Reid, John Duckworth
Rimer, James Cook
Robinson, Valentine Mansergh
Rogers, Reginald Herbert
Rosen, Harry David
Schaffer, Harold
Scheepers, Johannes Christoffel
Scheepers, Francois de Villiers
Schur, Philip
Scott, Quinten
Smuts, Charles Lawton
Spijker, Edward
Spilhaus, John Arnold
Stahl, Alfred Magnus
Starfield, Baron
Steytler, Edward Dickinson
Stock, John Launcelot
Syfret, John Eustace
Theron, William Voight
Tiffany, Harry Waddington
Tredgold, John Clarkson
Van der Hoff, Clement Lewis
Versfeld, Joshua Metcalf
Wahl, Mathew Daniel
Walton, Ernest
Watters, James Campbell
Wiener, Louis de Villiers
Woodhead, Harry
Wright, George Drennan
Wynne, Arnold

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Oritur Honor Militis Sacrificio

OHMS ‘ON HIS (or) HER MAJESTY’S SERVICE’ is stamped on all mail emanating from the British government.

The official announcements carrying news of war casualties would have been part of this service. The Wounded, Missing or Killed notifications would have arrived by post to all the next-of-kin during and after the war: over three million of them (Taylor) and anticipated in dread, read in sadness.

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Preface

The book is about the poppy as visual symbol of all that was lost in World War One: especially the youth, of all participating countries. It tries to relate the life cycle of the plant to some events and emotions of the war, its end, and into memory: each succeeding generation continuing the cycle.

Due to the personal meanings which are attached to symbols, readers may well appropriate their own interpretations additional or alternate to those which are suggested.

The Flanders and other poppies of some gardens in Rondebosch are displayed here in their natural comeliness, transmuted into lifelong symbol, and printed in gratitude for the sacrifices so sorely and sadly rendered during World War One.

The work is dedicated to the 119 staff and student members of UCT who died on active service during that war.

Rondebosch, 11 November 2008.

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The Poppy

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What is the meaning of flowers at the feet of statues and memorials? They demand attention and merit a measure of enquiry . The photographic images and accompanying words, are a vehicle in which to present a way of contemplating the symbolism of war and therefore war itself, and its repercussions.

A symbol is a device that stands for something other than itself: a concrete object representing an abstract idea or ideal. The ability to form symbols is a human archetypal phenomenon. The application is idiosyncratic: the same object may represent different attributes in various cultures or individually. When sacred, the symbol may be termed a hierogram or hierograph. Colours as symbols have strong emotive projections and similarly, meanings are interchangeable among groups and individuals.

There are 200 species of *papaver*, common name poppy, of the family *Papaveraceae* (26 genera). So-called probably because the stems and capsules exude a thick milky-like liquid; the word 'pap' meaning thick milk or in South African English, maize porridge, derived from Low German *pappe* from Latin *pappare* to eat. By association, the

sacrifice of the sons on the battlefield echoes the gift of their mothers, in the suggestion of the life-nurturing pap/milk of infancy and the poppy's white fluid.

The genus is widespread with diferent species occurring inAsia, NorthAfrica, Europe, North America, and one each endemic to Australia and South Africa, the latter being P. *arculateum* (Thunberg) which is prevalent in farmland where the soil is frequently disturbed. The four petals are an orangey red and the seed capsule is elongated.
P. *argemone*, as an exotic, occurs quite frequently in South Africa, also on disturbed land. It has white petals and silver grey leaves. It thrives partly because its armour of numerous spiky hairs is rejected by hungry animals.

Various other species of Papaver are grown as a spring garden flower in South Africa. For example, P. *rhoeas* or Corn or Shirley poppy is the Flanders poppy and red, and P. *orientale* which is native to Southern Europe along the coast line toArmenia, are scarlet with a black or deep purple blotch at each petal base, often long enough to form a short radiating cross. They easily hybridise, so variations occur alongside, intermixing with the dominant species.

The legend which pre-dated War World One (WWI) was that when the field of Waterloo was ploughed, the red poppies sprangto life from the blood ofthe slain soldiers. In 1815 the battle-dead were left on the field, buried in masses later and with no permanent nor individual memorial; no grave stelae nor rolls of honour walls. It was an easy transition to transmute mangled bodies into regenerating red flowers and a comforting healing of the psychological wounds for the surviving local inhabitants.

P. *somniferum* is the species of poppy producing heroin, an opoid drug, providing drugged sleep and therefore for getfulness and oblivion. The drug comes from the white milky liquid in the seed capsule of the plant. The word 'heroin' is derived from the Greek *heros* meaning hero: when drugged, before sleep, the subject takes on, vicariously, the attributes ofheroism, seemingly courageous, or 'Dutch courage'. (Dutch referring to the alcoholic drink gin, which was made in Holland). The capsules are distinctively round-shaped, one of which can contain as many as 32,000 seeds (Linnaeus).

The poppy was well-known in Greek antiquity, being dedicated to Hypnos the god of

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sleep, and Morpheus the god of dreams. Persephone was picking poppies when Hades abducted her (O'Connell) and thus poppies came to represent the annual death of na - ture, which of course was followed by recurring fecundity: from 32,000 seeds within one pod on one plant of many such pods, there was a good chance that something would re-vive.

The continual recurrence of life in nature presumes immortality – into the future. And so, from the bloody war-death of the soldier-subject, to poppy as symbol-object of remembrance by the survivors: at the same time as sleep, oblivion and Lethe the red-dark river transporting the souls of the dead into the Underworld.

Morphine, used for centuries, is the principal alkaloid in opium: its use being carefully controlled medically as a pain killer. Used extensive ly in the dressing stations and hospitals of the battlefields of WWI, P. *somniferum* was grown prolifically in England during the nineteenth century; tincture of opium being a constituent of the fashionable drug laudanum.

The red poppy P . *rhoeas* and the yellow wild mustard Brassica *kaber* were the first flowers to arise out of the spring muds of Belgium and France after the intense fighting and disturbance of the land. The English name 'Flanders poppy' was soon coined.

The common name 'poppy' may be derived from the French *poupee* meaning 'doll': the seed capsule is reminiscent of a doll's head. In fact I remember as a child in the 1940s making dolls' house characters and using the dried capsules as the heads and drawing faces on them. In symbolic terms this epithet may be carried further insofar as the synonyms 'doll' and 'puppet' equate with soldier troops acting in response to a higher authority; cynically, the playthings of governments and powerless to direct their own destiny.

Like dolls discarded, abandoned on the theatre of infancy or puppets string-tangled and unwanted after performance, the soldiers were fragmented, strewn into anonymity by the mechanisms of conflict, lying and subsequently buried where they fell, causing the natural and cultural landscapes of the war regions to be irrevocably altered: after reclamation, the dead hold tenure and exercise suzerainty, for evermore.

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The word 'poppyhead' refers to the carved wooden bosses on Medieval and later, church pew ends, deriving again from *poupee* as they too were thought to resemble dolls, not as is sometimes stated, from the poppy flower.

Throughout time flowers have been symbols of great potency, different varieties carrying different meanings, and flowers as offerings have been in use since time immemorial; an example being the posy of Egyptian wild flowers which was found near the entrance inside the tomb of the XVIII Dynasty King Tutankhamun, placed there at the closure of his Thebes valley tomb around the year 1327 BCE.

Poppies are not the only flowers to be associated with death. The carnation, chrysanthemum, lily, roses, mixed bunches and bouquets in general have been offered as tributes on graves, sites of death and places connected with death, for centuries if not millennia.

> '...
> Nor there if they yet mock what women meant
> Who gave them flowers.
>
> ...' (Owen: from *The Send-off*)

Flowers are the climax of the floral life cycle. A typical flower consists of sepals on a stem which enclose the bud of petals. These in turn encircle and protect the infant reproductive organs, male and female, of stamen and pollen-carrying anther, the carpel of style-supported stigma, and the ovary containing one or more ovules which develop into the seed after fertilization. The seedcases or fruits protect the embryo plant within the seed, which will be the start of the next season's cycle of life, the new generation.

The poppies which are featured in the book are all annuals; short-lived, as were the soldiers. The poppy is classified as an unspecialised flower, in that it can be pollinated by any crawling creature carrying the pollen from anther to stigma. Which brings to mind the images of crawling soldiers of the battlefields; wounded, fertilizing the enveloping soil.

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It seems fitting that the red poppy came to represent the blood of a young soldier's life; the life-flowing blood of his body which had been cut off before maturity, before he has had time to journey through all of life's stages and accompanying rites of passage. The equation with the flower, its annual death and regeneration merged into symbol, gave hope to the survivors in the image of reincarnation, and a building block for the creations of memory.

*****

Nowadays an integral part of war remembrance ceremonies is the offering of artefacts constructed of artificial poppies. Artificial flowers are a remove away from the natural object: stand-ins for the natural tributes, but they none the less represent a genuine response to the dignity of memory on such occasions. Practically, the poppy as enduring symbol transported to all corners of the world at various times of year , has to be manufactured, due its seasonal flowering period and fragility.

The artificial flower industry was not new. The products had been used as embellishment on women's hats and dresses in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, sweated labour[1] being the means of their production. Payment to the workers being for example: Buttercups 3d gross, Geraniums 7d gross, Violets 7d gross, and roses 1/3 to 3/6 gross. (Quoted in Beckett and Cherry Ch.3). No mention of artificial poppies at this time.

In Britain it was, and remains the war-disabled men and women members of the British Legion (founded 1st July, 1921) who fabricate the poppies, raising much-needed finance for the continuing work of the organization. Individual flowers are made to be worn in lapel button holes.

Wreaths and sheaves formed from the 'blooms' are the traditional bearings at official honourings of the military, naval and air dead of the wars.

1 Sweated labour' is a term referring to the conditions of low pay, excessive working hours and unsanitary conditions, as defined by the Royal Commission (1890). The Sweated Industries Exhibition in London (1906) was a deliberate ploy of the *Daily News* to draw political and social attention to the plight of the workers, male and female.

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The poppy as symbol expressed in stereotypical and synthetic likeness has become synonymous with Remembrance, especially in the English-speaking world.

*****

Moina Michael while working at the YMCA Overseas War Secretaries in New York is reputed to have been the first person to have worn a poppy in remembrance: on November 9th, 1918. Her colleague, Secretary of the French YMCA, Madame Guerin bought one from her: thereby starting the industry of artificial poppy making and selling. The funds derived from such sales would endow the widows and orphans of the war, firstly in France. Then they were made from woven silk cloth; now they are of stiff paper and plastic.

Thus the introduction of a new species. 'Poppy: an artificial red poppy flower to mark Remembrance Day' (Collins). Its corolla is simplified to two paper petals and a leaf, fused to its plastic stem by a black central disc which bears the words 'POPPY APPEAL'. A rudimentary thorn has been added to the stem so that a pin can pass through, fixing the poppy to the lapel.

By Armistice Day 1921 the red poppy had becomeentrenched in Britain and the Commonwealth, France and the United States of America, as the universal symbol of remembrance; a metaphor for the blood that was shed on the fields of battle. Already the flower had been immortalised in the poem 'In Flanders' Fields' by Canadian, Surgeon Colonel, John Macrae (1872-1918. First published in *Punch*, December 1915); possibly written in response to the death in battle of McCrae's friend Alex Helmer.

*****

The symbolic representation of flowers is age-old. For example, stonework on graves and memorials often presents decorated reliefs of flowers and foliage, reading as artificial flora, as are the exquisite diadems of antiquity often buried with their aristocratic owner, which were made of fine gold and standing-in for specific leaves and flowers which carried symbolic meaning. They are the art of craftspeople and are integral with

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the structure or the burial at their inception and remain in place, albeit unseen by the living. Truly lasting offerings for the dead.

In a brief essay Stacy Chambless (March 2004) examines the genesis and subsequent burgeoning of poppy symbolism in the British public's psyche. The poppy of WWI has literary antecedents where metaphor and symbolism equate the sleep, dreams, memory and oblivion with the poppy products heroin, opium and morphine. Red, the colour of blood, which was shed in battle, becoming the obvious colour denoting the sacrifice and self-sacrifice of warriors.

Before the adoption of the poppy, wreaths had tended to be formed of roses, often red, and laurel or bay leaves all natural rather than artificial. Ann Elias in her essay *War, flowers and visual culture* maintains that

> 'artificial flowers – immune to decay – symbolise everlasting memory.
> Conversely, fresh flowers – flesh-like and organic - are
> stark reminders of the bodies of unreturned soldiers: even more so,
> dead flowers'

reminding one (quoting Gregory) that at the first-year anniversary of Armistice Day the British government banned the placing of fresh flowers at the Cenotaph because their decay was unsightly: too close in image to the decaying bodies of the soldiers which had been left on the battlefields. The difficulties of the disposal of the large amount of composting flora in the centre of London would presumably also have had a share in the decision.

In the past, after battles, human and animal remains had been used as compost on the fields as a way of disposal. Or pyres were built around the mounds of dead bodies, the red flames heating the air and lighting the sky, in a wreath of dusky smoke and stenchy aroma. The phenomenon of fields containing individual remembrances had not yet entered the consciousness of the survivors.

What is the purpose of offering, ritualistically, artificial flowers and wreaths and then taking them away at the end of the ceremony, to be put safely for future use?

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Artificial flowers do not naturally decay: they become tatty and tawdry if left for too long. And the confections are often costly to make, thus retrievalwhile in their pristine state is the obvious solution, so that they may be re-used, but to see them being taken back at the end of a ceremony demeans the essence and the emotions which are em - bedded at the ritual of offering.

Some are incredibly ugly, kitsch[2] really, and cannot be said to add any sanctity to the occasion. They are inert. Cut fresh flowers moulder away and become part of botanical detritus, returning to the soil eventually, carrying a symbolism of regeneration and continuity. Whereas artificial tributes, by being carried away and stored, never change with nature and the stand-in cannot symbolise archetypal change and decay for re-birth.

Plastic and beribboned confections at the feet of monuments do not have lingering meaning whether they are taken away or remain, polluting the surroundings. There is a poignancy on visiting a memorial the day after a ceremony, memories lingering and thoughts about the past stimulated, on seeing the bright cut flowers laid to rest there: artificiality projects a different emotion.

But wreaths and buttonholes of artificial poppies have become the norm and their genesis is an interesting one, but I cannot agree with the statement that in their artificiality they symbolise everlasting remembrance. Part of the strength of the symbolic meaning is in the renewal of annual ritual celebrations of the war dead: memory is activated, thereby perpetuating remembrance, not leaving it stagnant to moulder 'for evermore' in the eventual defragmentation of the constructed images of flowers.

*****

wild mustard: Brassica *kaber*. An annual weed with heart-shaped cotyledons, producing bright yellow flowers and alternate, irregularly lobed leaves with toothed margins. A single plant is capable of producing 2,000 to 3,500 seeds in one flowering.

2 kitsch: a word from the German coined in the 1960s to refer to manufactured objects which are derived from real art or nature. Often a work of kitsch will superficially titillate the emotions by appearing as sentimental, false and trivial: pseudo-sentiments which have zero creative value.

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The seeds may lie dormant for sixty years and only come to flourish when the soil is disturbed. In the fields of Ypres wild mustard sprang up alongside the poppies after 1916, if not earlier: one of the sights of the 'landscape of memory'. (*Lost Past*, p. 30).

Occasionally its image is seen on disc covers and brochures in conjunction with poppies but it is not directly associated with the symbolism of remembrance.

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*****

In the cycle of regeneration, the coming into being again, and again, and again, it is evident that WWI did not prevent future hostilities.

In nature, regeneration is implicit in the cycles of life of each species and their interaction. It seems as though war is an inevitable part of human degeneration after regeneration implying an irresistible force at work: the resurgence of desire for domination and possessions does not seem to end.

During the week before Remembrance Day, red poppies are worn with pride, gratitude, humility, and in remembrance, by ex-servicemen and women, the bereaved-in-war and the general public of all ages; a secular symbol, open to the world to display. One million manufactured poppy petals fall on the audience in the Albert Hall, London at the annual Remembrance Festival.

The art historian Herbert Read (1893-1968) in *'A short poem for Armistice Day'* mused on the irony of war wounded, disabled men and women producing artificial poppies. (Neil Hanson, 2007 quoting David Roberts, *Minds at War*).

Controversy has arisen recently in Britain over the wearing of the red poppy on November 11th. Under the misapprehension that, because of its red blood colour, it signifies war, and that by displaying it, the perpetuation of war's glorification, a movement was recently mooted seemingly by a TV presenter whereby the wearing of a white poppy signifying peace, was proposed as the politically correct action, rather than the wearing of a red one.

The Telegraph (London) newspaper hosted an online investigation wherein people could write their feelings on the matter. The cross-section of respondents was interesting: mainly Britons consisting of war veterans, bereaved, families, and young comrades and veterans of the present on-going wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. In other words, people wanting to remember their forbears within recent memory, or just out of it, in gratitude for the supreme sacrifice.

The results were overwhelmingly in favour of wearing the red poppy.

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The painting is on the inside of a white-painted *kylix*, or cup, which would have been used as a vessel for use in funeral or commemoration rites for the deceased.

The bird, either a dove, or more probably a raven sacred to Apollo, often represented the spirit of the deceased for whom the god is pouring a libation, from a *phiale*.

The young and ef feminate Apollo sits on an elegant folding chair , carved in the de - sign of lions' paws and legs, and wears the ceremonial ankle-length *chiton*, the two parts being joined only at the shoulders, by tied ribbons and maybe a pin or fibula. Around his waist is the woollen *himation* and on his lap is his lyre with sounding-box of tortoiseshell, held in place by a thick strap, possibly leather , around his left wrist. His sandals are lightly thonged, leaving his feet exposed and resting on the ground. A subtlety in design is the breaking-out of his right foot into the surrounding space of the flat white ground, beyond the defining circle of the vessel's bowl. His laurel-crowned head, denoting achievement in the arts, is dressed in an elaborate array of curls.

In this guise the figure of Apollo is most closely associated with his relationship to the Muses and hence, the arts. The seated position in this example would be allied to rituals of mourning and corresponds to his action of pouring a libation.

The name of the painter is unknown. However the accuracy of line, the architectural simplicity and the austerity of surface combine to create an image of profound sanctity denoting an artist of great skill: an expensive offering to a (now), unknown person, who may have been associated with the arts.

The symbolic depiction of the god, who is performing a human act of veneration, would have brought a consoling immediacy to the mourners. The passage from life on earth, to the river Lethe and transportation to the everlasting Underworld can be seen to equate with the time of closure in acceptancethat the mourned is no more alive.The material object, the *kylix* in its fusion of functional and symbolic form, and accompanying ceremonial become the mediators between acceptance of death and commemoration of the dead person.

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...and you...

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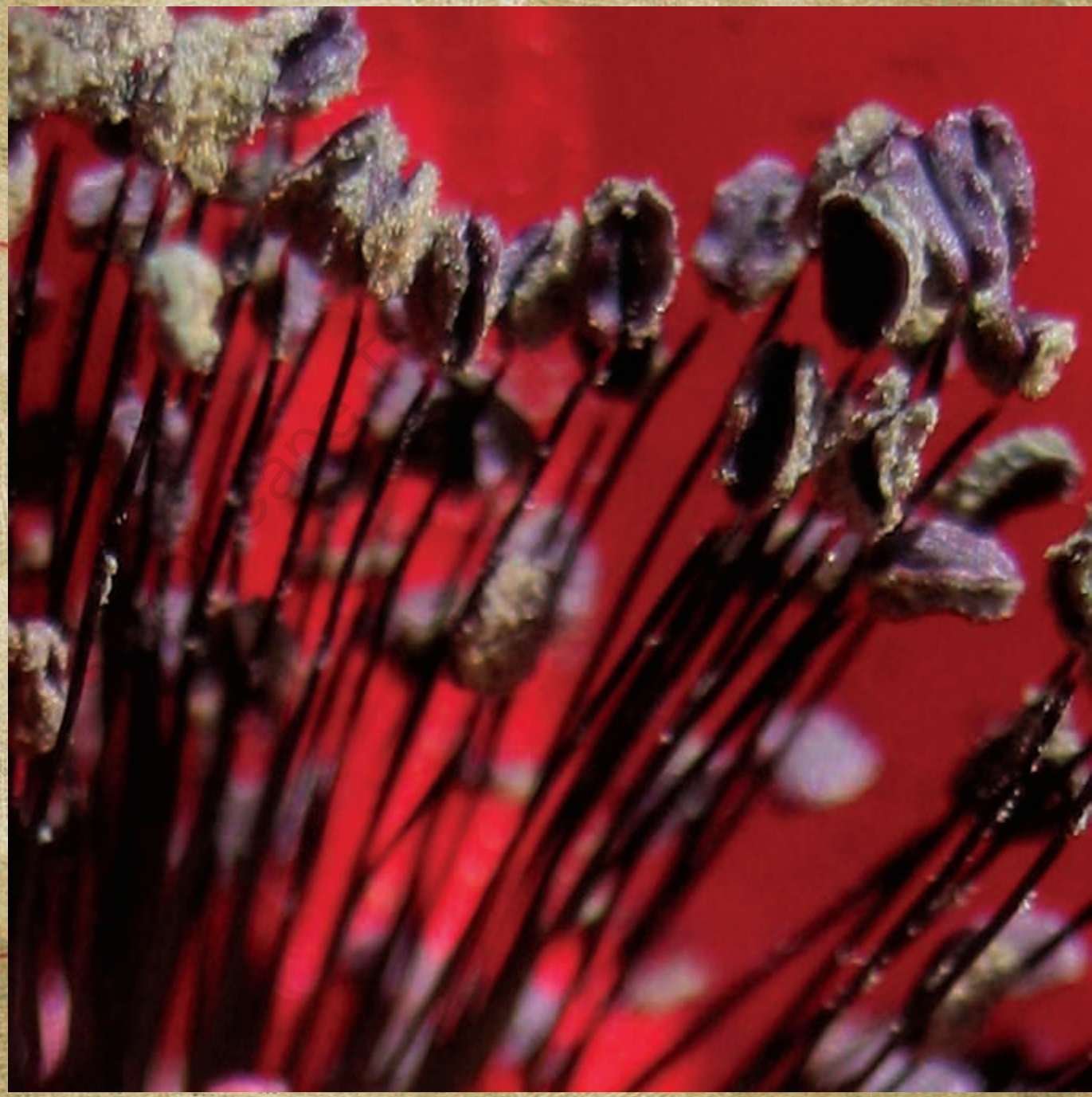

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rite of passage: the beginning

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rite of passage: cast off

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University of Cape Town

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of Cape Town

summer of an afternoon

loneliness of a long day

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explosion

unclear vision reject

University of Cape Town

fatigue

fragment

University of Cape Town

sacrifice of the main colour

the colour of blood shed

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University of Cape Town

University of Cape Town

University of Cape Town

University of Cape Town

after the rain

University of Cape Town

iron cross

University

University of Cape Town

rest in peace

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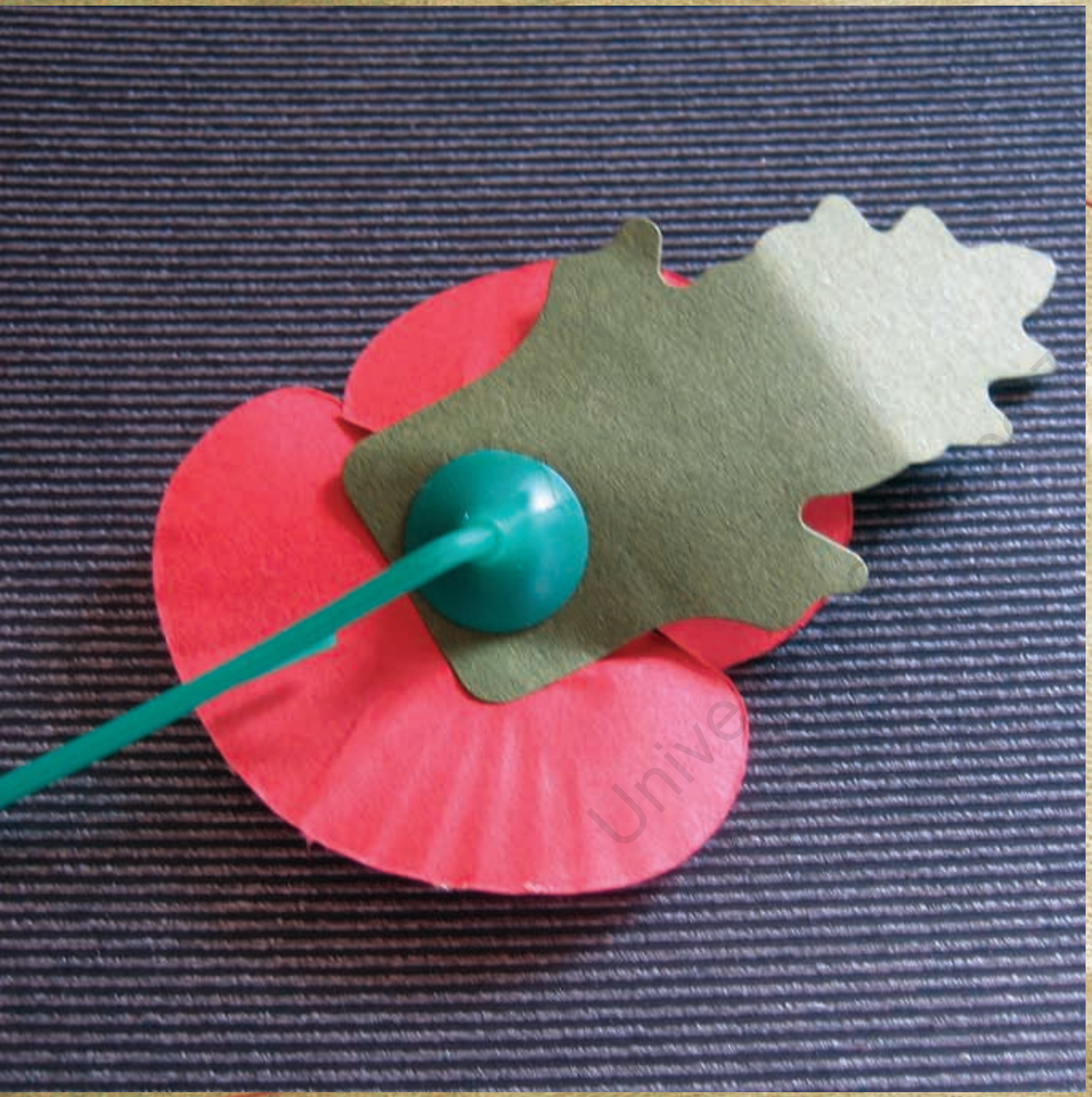
trophy: flanders' poppy 1916



Papaver *artificialis*

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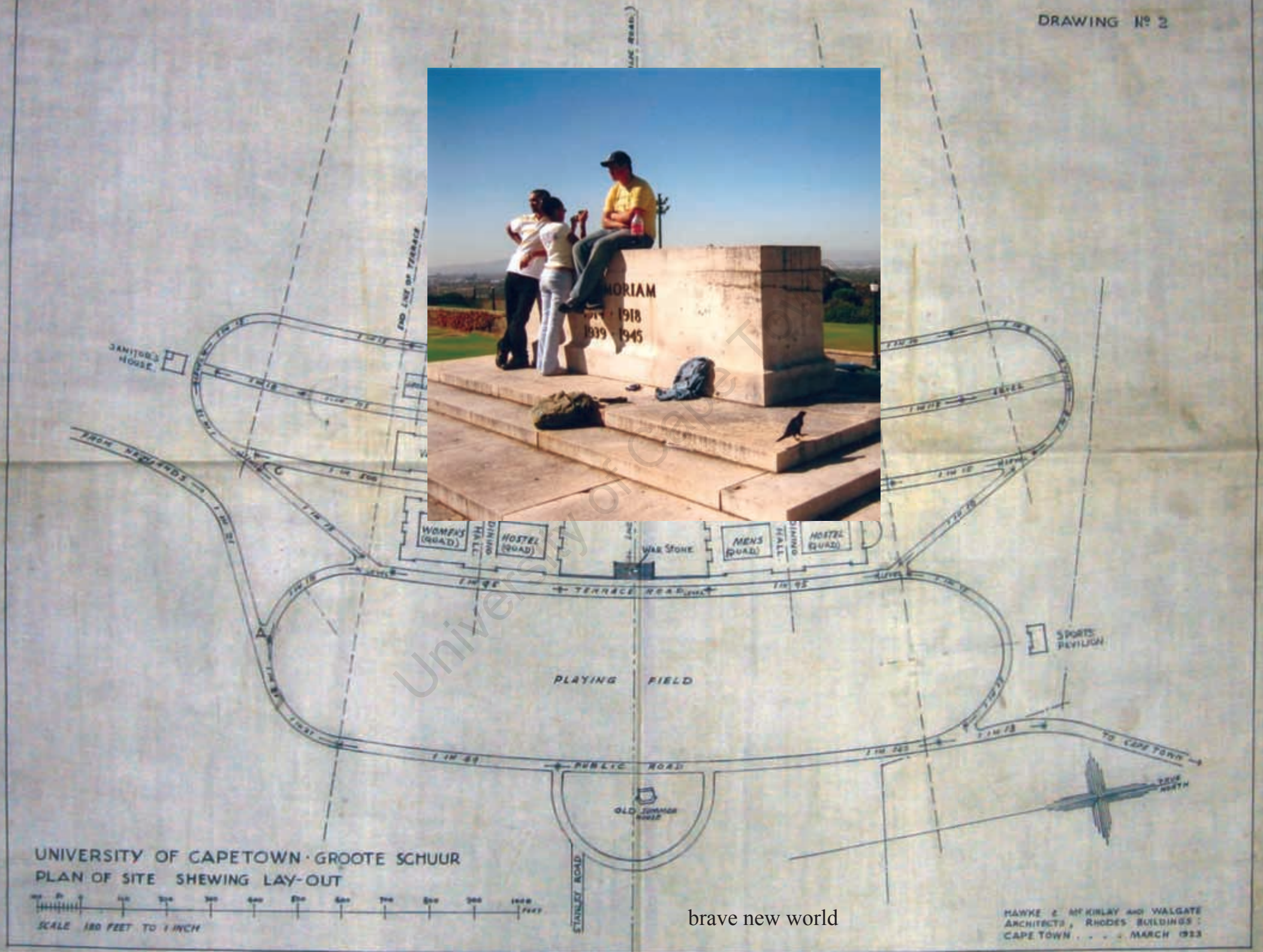

brave new world

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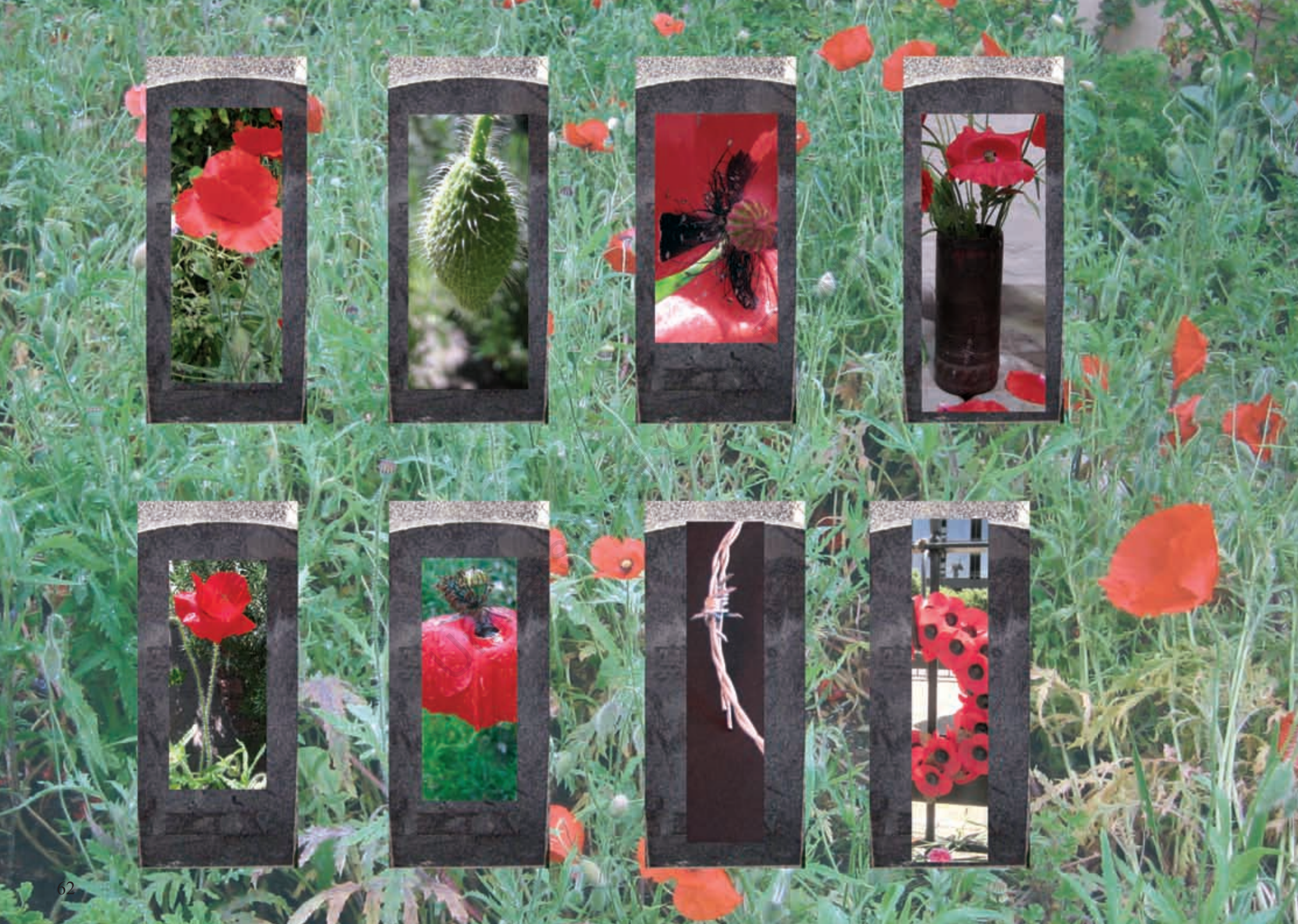

Honour is born in the sacrifice of a soldier

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Oritur Honor Militis Sacrificio

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Edward Spijker

Henry Aubrey Rainier

Johannes Hieronymus Brink

Edwin Bertrand Davis

Stephen Hofmeyr Hugo

Louis de Villiers Wiener

Graham Alexander O'Reilly

Percival Griffiths

Cecil Edmund Horne

Eric Augustine Bennetts

Harry David Rosen

Arthur Eyre Cooke

George Drennan Wright

James Ritchie Dale

Abraham Liebson

William McGregor

Louis Tedeschi Marks

Arthur Morton Goodall

Edward Dickinson Steyler

Henry Slingsby Osler Chadwick

Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr

Edouard Jacot

John Launcelot Walmsley Stock

Moses Forman

Harold Ortlepp Poultney

W.H.P Brounger

Aubrey Gordon Irving

Walter Power

Julius Hermann

Andrew William McGregor

Keith Penrose

Tobias Mortimer Moll

Frank Edward Doble

John Frederick Aulsebrook

Arthur Maasdorp

Stephen Arthur Hayton Dell

Alfred Magnus Stahl

Hubert Weeks Driver

Hugh Cecil McClure

George Metelerkamp

Johannes Christoffel Scheepers

Percy George Hambridge

Charles Williams Lewis

Ernest Walton

Menzo William Barrish

Joshua Metcalf Versfeld

Francis King

Geoffrey Vaughan Noaks

Reginald Herbert Rogers

Francis Gardner Hoal

John Evered Poole

Edgar Retief Latham

Quinten Scott

Diedrich Hattingh

Charles Alexander Anderson

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John Eustace Ridge Syfret
Norman Maasdorp
Heinrich Radloff
Harry Woodhead
Richard Angwin Rail
Baron Starfield
Murray Andrew Haldane
Clement Lewis Van der Hoff
Fred Harries
John Henry Haynes
Cyril Robertson Bertram
Mathew Daniel Wahl
Valentine Mansergh Robinson
Arnold Wynne
Cyril Henry Lazarus
Hugh Morris
Morris William Danzig
Jasper Paull Naish
Harold Schaffer
Arthur Knolles Green
Charles William Rorich Minnaar
Charles Lawton Smuts
Nevill de Vere Beauclerk
Leslie Plowman
William Voight Theron
Walter Michael Dickson
John Duckworth Reid
William Robert Hamilton
Horace Wilfred Girdlestone
Bertie Barron Hewat
Ben Auret
Edward Philip Hughes
Leonard Maurice Platnauer
James Cook Rimer
Edward George Kensit
Evelyn Cooke
Cecil David Metcalf
Alec Carey Hobson
George Reid Henry Ferguson
Reginald Cameron Lewis
Philip Schur
Francois de Villiers Scheepers
Eric Balfour Lundie
Cyril Thornthwaite Brooke
Johannes Hubert Dreyer
Harry Waddington Tiffany
Robert Ernest Murray Hofmeyr
Letterstedt Frederick Childe
J.J. O'Meara
William Nimmo Brown
Douglas De Bruijn
Frederick Gill Powell
John Arnold Spilhaus
Morris Caldwell Anderson
Henry George Elliott
James Campbell Watters
Allan Wilson Maskew
Lawrence Godfrey Immelman
Heinrich Gerhard Kohler
John Clarkson Tredgold
John Richard Smith McClure
Edwin Errol Findlay Earp

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There have been many poems whichallude to the poppyas symbol for lost youth and remembrance. For purposes of this book I have selected three that are most fitting in the present context.

In the Trenches

I snatched two poppies
From the parapet's ledge,
Two bright red poppies
That winked on the ledge.

Behind my ear
I stuck one through,
One blood red poppy
I gave to you.

The sandbags narrowed
And screwed out our jest,
And tore the poppy
You had on your breast...
Down - a shell - O! Christ,
I am choked...safe...dust blind, I
See trench floor poppies
Strewn. Smashed you lie.

Isaac Rosenberg (1890-1918)

In Flanders Fields

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

Colonel John McCrae (1872-1918)

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A short poem for Armistice Day

Gather or take fierce degree
trim the lamp set out for sea
here we are at the workmen's entrance
clock in and shed your eminence.

Notwithstanding, work it diverse ways
work it diverse days, multiplying four digestions
here we make artificial flowers
of paper tin and metal thread.

One eye one leg one arm one lung
a syncopated sick heart-beat
the record is not nearly worn
that weaves a background to our work.

I have no power therefore have patience
these flowers have no sweet scent
no lustre in the petal no increase
from fertilizing flies and bees.

No seed they have no seed
and their tendrils are of wire and grip
and buttonhole the grip
and never fade

And will not fade through life
and lustre go in genuine flowers
and men like flowers are cut
and wither on a stem

And will not fade a year or more
I stuck one in a candlestick
and there it clings about the socket
I have no power therefore have patience.

Herbert Read (1893-1968)

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The emblems on the stelae are superimposed on the gravestone of Able Seaman T J Mernin. Royal Navy 180561. H.M.S. "Kent", died 18th July 1916. This gravestone was standing in the stoneyard of Clift's at Paarl, in May 2008, waiting to replace the damaged one in the Naval Allotment Row A, Grave 49, Dido Valley, Simonstown graveyard.

OHMS is a visual essay produced auxiliary to the degree of Master of Arts in Historical Studies, University of Cape Town: the focus of the thesis being about WWI remembrance in and around Cape Town.

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---------- This is a helebook. 2009. Rondebosch. ----------

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South African public memorials of World War One.

A historical view of processes in public memorialisation through their symbolic content, with particular reference to Cape Town.

Helen Euphrosyne Constance Binckes.

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA Historical Studies.

University of Cape Town.

January 2010.

Supervisor: Dr. Bill Nasson.

University of Cape Town

Abstract

The dissertation is an attempt to unravel the sentiments which are embodied in war memorials by examining the conditions and events of the war as a way into understanding the motivations of the survivors, who brought them into being. The memorials in Cape Town do not exist in isolation, and therefore it was expedient to refer to both the art and architecture of death in general, through modern history up to contemporary prototypes, particularly the war memorials in northern Europe. The symbolic content is of paramount importance. Photographs, in the Appendix, will visually illustrate many points which are referred to during the course of the study. Each memorial embodies its unique set of cues for articulating an interpretation.

To do this it is necessary to present the background of the War, 1914-1918/19[1] in terms of the intricacies of South African social and political dynamics: the war lives at the Front and the home lives in Cape Town. Initial information came with the viewing of the memorials in their present localities, so that the dialogue of interpretation between the art object-memorial and the viewer, could be set in motion. Out of that dialogue came the structure for the study of Cape Town memorialisation.

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[1] The French government had recognized the end of the war as being after the Treaty/Peace of Versailles on July 1919, many of their monuments testifying to this date. Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14-18:Understanding the Great War* p. 170.

Foreword

The dissertation consists of two parts, which are bound separately. The first is the text and the second, the photographs of the memorials.

An addendum is the book *OHMS*, which is a reflection about the poppy flower as a symbol of sacrifice and remembrance. It is an investigation which is expressed in the form of an art book, synthesising ideas and photographic images, which arose out of working on the dissertation. A disc of the book is included in the submission, together with one hard copy.

Artificial poppies are sold annually on and around Remembrance day, 11th November, by members of the S A Legion. This organisation is associated with others like it, around the world, caring for ex-service men and women and their dependents, particularly providing housing and work. It is apolitical, non-racial and non-sectarian. It is National, having branches at major cities in South Africa. The Cape Town branch has residential premises which border on UCT property, very near to the SS *Mendi* memorial which is described in the dissertation. The Legion originated in the British Empire Service League (South Africa), (BESL), which had been formed by Earl Haig and the South Africans, General Smuts and Major-General Lukin. The first meeting was held in the Cape Town City Hall on February 21st 1921. It had been realised by the founders that the returning service personnel were suffering great personal and social hardships on re-entering civilian life and that support structures were required. It is a direct outcome of World War One and in a sense is a continuing, living memorial of mainly, South African origin.

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The Casualty details of those who died on active service and who are mentioned in the text, occur from page 78. Together with all known Commonwealth war dead they are available on the Commonwealth War Graves Commission Debt of Honour website.[2] Having lived with their names and biographical details during the years of this study, it seemed expedient to include them thus.

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[2] http://www.cwgc.org/debtofhonour.asp

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I would like to dedicate the work to my grandfather:

Ambrose Alexander Ionides (London) 1878 – 1915 (Ypres).

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Part I Prologue: perspectives on South Africa in the War.

Reminders of the World Wars and others, before and after, are part of the back-drop of daily living in the cities, towns, villages and farmlands of both the countries which were enemy-invaded and those which were not. In Europe, the British Isles, the Commonwealth countries and the USA, on all continents, countless public memorials attest to the bravery, the patriotism, loyalty and honour of all those who had died in the declared cause of freedom and justice. The tombstones in the cemeteries, the monuments, the names of the men and women on the great walls of memory are an integral and dominant fabric of their environments and are unavoidable to the passer-by. The memorials were built in part as '... springing from a genuine response to the tragedy of war',[3] and arose out of 'the grief people felt for the men who had died in the Great War [and which] has left perceptible traces even to-day.'[4] Inglis[5] suggests that the term 'war memorial' was not used in the British Empire until 'monuments had to be made for a larger, more nearly total war.' That is, World War One, and continuing thereafter.

Such memories of the war in South Africa are not so evident, existing as they do in less profusion and in places more circumscribed, but none the less were inspired by similar motives and erected with the same care and intentions. They are often in the nub of the original cities of the Provinces. They represent an important involvement in South Africa's imperial evolution which was intimately linked to that of the then

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[3] Alan Borg *War Memorials* (Leo Cooper, London ,1990) p. 84.

[4] Stephane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker *14-18: Understanding the Great War* (Hill and Wang, New York, 2000) p. 180.

[5] Ken Inglis *Sacred Places* (Melbourne University Press, Australia, 1998) p. 49.

Mother country and its Commonwealth. Therefore it is not surprising that the memorials reflect the strong ties which existed. In fact, the almost exclusive use of homeland British artists and architects in the local memorial building strengthened the identification with Empire. However, to some extent there are some differences, which will become apparent during the course of the study.

The discussion tries to locate the memorials generally within the art historical framework of Alan Borg, the social necessities for memorialisation propounded by Jay Winter, the individualism of memorials as explained by Ken Inglis and the ways in which the bereaved of nations tried to come to terms with their losses. As described by Stephane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker.[6]

By 1914, Cape Town was a flourishing city, the Legislative capital of South Africa since Union in 1910 and an international sea port, where business and trade prospered. New civic, industrial, educational and domestic buildings reflected the growing urbanization and expanding modernity. The constant influx of people seeking places to live and work, added to the already naturally increasing population growth of black and white.

Underlying the prosperity were social ills endemic to most cities: unhygienic conditions, poor health, poverty and underemployment, added to which, landed property was mainly owned by white people[7] which relegated a large proportion of the

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[6] Alan Borg *War Memorials*, Ken Inglis *Sacred Places*, Jay Winter *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, Stephane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker *14-18: Understanding the Great War*.

[7] The Land Act of 1913 decreed that 87% of the land of South Africa was annexed to white ownership. This ruling had the effect of officially relegating most blacks to the status of tenants, squatters and servants.

population to tenant status. Blacks were disenfranchised, disempowered and tended to be regarded by whites as inferior on the social scale. Social and cultural groupings tended to be polarised and politicised, with the working classes of all races voicing grievances and seeking justice, along the lines of the Socialist movements in Europe.

On the war front, the internal strife between patriots and German sympathizers, notably some Nationalists, together with the threat of invasion from German South-West Africa, endangered the stability of the Union government. The Anglo-Boer War was barely a decade past and the fledgling Union was fragile. South Africa's fighting force was now asked to take up arms again; for the British Empire with its allies, to maintain freedom from German invasion and subsequent alien hegemony.

Cape Town was largely an English-speaking community whose allegiances were directed towards the seat of Empire. Once the Union Parliament had committed to war in the Allied cause, the city, by virtue of its geographical position, became the nearest manning port to Europe. The railway ensured regular communication with the rest of the country, and all who went to fight in Europe from South Africa would have passed through the harbour portals: a fact that was acknowledged in the siting of the public memorial in Adderley Street, the 'Victory'. In addition, the city, being the seat of Parliament, meant that the National Roll of Honour was placed there, where it still resides. At Union, Pretoria had become the Administrative capital of the country. These two cities, Cape Town and Pretoria, publicly commemorate those South Africans who were killed at Delville Wood: both memorials being designed by Herbert Baker, the English architect and friend of Cecil Rhodes, and both have a central rotunda surmounted by the symbolic bronze group 'Brotherhood', the prototype being incorporated in the memorial arch at Delville Wood in France.

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The upsurge of recent interest in DNA ancestry and family trees have given the memorials of World War One an added relevance in contemporary society, although real remembered time of the war epoch has finally come to a close with the recent death of French infantryman Louis de Cazenave[8] aged one hundred and ten years, William Stone, Royal Navy, one hundred and eight years, Henry Allingham aged one hundred and thirteen, who had served in the Royal Air Force, and Harry Patch, a machine gunner at Passchendaele, aged one hundred and eleven who died a week later. By accident of longevity, Patch was the longest surviving known veteran of World War One.[9]

English War literature.

War poetry, diaries, personal accounts and memoirs, eye-witness reports, military, naval, air force reports, fictions, dramas, music, documentary film and feature films were rarely memorials at the outset of their production but may have become so, depending on the intentions of their re-presenters later, for example, *All Quiet on the Western Front.* [10]

Over the past two decades, now some ninety years on, there has been a proliferation of literature, both fact and fiction, bringing to mind the events of the

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[8] *Cape Times*, 21.01.2008.

[9] Their deaths in late July and early August 2009 have been widely reported in the British media.

[10] Martin Gilbert *First World War* (London, Harper Collins, 1995) p. 535.. Erich Maria Remarque *All Quiet on the Western Front* was first published in Germany in January 1929. In March it was published in Britain. The following year Universal Studios in Hollywood made the film which was one of the earliest talking films and won two Oscars.

War in its many guises. Information hitherto withheld from the public domain, points of view and interpretations continue the fascination for the events and their effects. *Oh! What a Lovely War* by Charles Chilton (1967), *The History Boys* by Alan Bennett (2004), *War Horse* by Michael Morpurgo (1985), *Birdsong* by Sebastian Faulks (1994), the *Regeneration* Trilogy by Pat Barker (1991-1995) represent just a few examples of contemporary writers to interpret the war three or more generations on. An off-shoot may be the deepening awareness of the original memorials by the audiences and readers.

In their war-life, the combatants had formed the closest of bonds with their service groups, living only for the present, not knowing the progress of the war as a whole, cut-off from their former civil or military lives. The close indignities of trench life under the worst conditions possible made for kinship coherence of a kind not experienced in civilian life or regular peace times. The outpouring of poetry that has become a familiar legacy to the English-speaking world was an immediate and personal way of expressing these enhanced emotions and ultimately, often posthumously while the war was in progress,[11] passing them on. The creation of the memorials was further removed in time, and seldom conveyed the depths of such passion so intimately. That is not to diminish the memorials but it puts them at a different level of intensity, being built by the survivors, not all of whom had experienced the horrors of war at first hand.

Successive impulses within society have been responsible for the changing character of war-writing along the decades. A turning point in the style of war poetry had come after the Dardanelles debacle (ended 26 April 1915) when

[11] For example, Rupert Brooke (1887-1915), Julian Grenfell (1888-1915), Wilfred Owen (1893-1918), Isaac Rosenberg (1890-1918).

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writing became more introspective, becoming protestations about the futility of war, rather than idealisations in noble dreams of patriotism. The first phase had been the war poetry written by participants at the Front, pre-Somme (1916), in which war and its consequences were romanticised, patriotism extolled and the gallant young knight performing his rites of passage in an exemplary show of arms where masculinity was applauded.

Of these early romantics, Rupert Brooke died in a hospital ship in the Aegean Sea on 23 April 1915, on the way to Turkey, his grave being the only British war grave on the island of Skyros and assiduously maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC).[12] Julian Grenfell died of wounds in France, 'still preserving his idealism. 'Their deaths marked the end of romantic poetry in this war. Their successors would write in a very different vein.'[13]

Factual accounts of the horrors of the battle zones by survivors, were complemented by poets turning to the waste of the war, expressed in irony, despair, and sadness; emotional involvement of the crusading spirit was now replaced by disenchantment and an aggressive hatred of the war.[14] Isaac Rosenberg,[15] who had lived for a time in Cape

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[12] Angus Ross, in *The Penguin Companion to Literature* (1971) from L.P.Jacks *Life and Letters of Brooke* (1917).

[13] Philip Warner *World War One: a Narrative* (Cassell, London, 1995) p.90.

[14] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker *14-18.* And quoting Serge Bernstein and Jean-Jacques Becker in *Victoire et Frustrations: 1914-1919 (*Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1990) and *Histoire de l'anticommunisme en France* vol. I: 1*917-1940.* (Paris, Orban, (1987).

[15] Isaac Rosenberg, King's Own 1st Bn. (Royal Lancaster Regiment) died 1 April 1918. Balleul Road East Cemetery, St. Laurent-Blagny, France. Memorial reference: V.C. 12. 'Buried near this spot.'

Town, was one of them. However, the prose style of John Buchan,[16] who was selected to write the official account of South Africa's war involvement suggests that the rhetoric of the early days was not fully abandoned, as will be noted below.

The 'cultural demobilization' process continued until sometime in 1925 'when public opinion realised that ... the Great War had opened and would never be closed.'[17] Serge Bernstein and Jean-Jacques Becker suggest that a third phase, in the late 1920s and into the 1930s, was reflected in contemporary literature, where the possibilities of writing about the atrocities which had generated fear, cowardice and torture, provided an uneasy closure for the surviving victims, whose continuing lives took on new characteristics, not least 'a hardened pacifism'. 'That was one of the great paradoxes of the Great War: it was *accepted* in 1914-18 and much later *rejected'*.[18]

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[16] John Buchan *The South African Forces in France* (Thomas Nelson, undated).

[17] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14-18.* Quoting Serge Bernstein and Jean-Jacques Becker *Victoire et frustrations:1914-1919* (Paris, Editions du Seuil,1990) and *Histoire de l'anticommunisme en France,* vol. I: *1917-1940* (Paris, Orban, 1987), ch. 6.

[18] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14-18*, p. 170.

Chapter 1.

Background. Europe: 1900-1914.

Better education and a larger degree of literacy had allowed for compounded articulation of thought. Therefore desires for greater social equality and a political voice on both personal and national issues increasingly dominated daily life. People were not only politically aware but were also furnished with the tools to inaugurate change.

Modern needs fed into innovative scientific technological inventions aiding progress and comfort: unfortunately, also into arms and ammunition manufacture. Genuine interest in the natural world and exploration and discovery to even remoter parts of the planet had encouraged popular learning by public lectures, the building of technical colleges, skills training and evening classes for the masses. All this made for a more articulate nationhood.

In Europe, escalating popular nationalisms along ethnic lines were finding expression in militaristic groupings in which violence was a common denominator. While at the same time, governments had been involved in competitive arms acquisition and increasing mobilisation since the end of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. Manoeuvres for supremacy at sea had been fluctuating. Capitalism and imperialism went side by side with socialism and a view of equality in democracy. Communism beckoned.

No single country really knew the extent of the arms race in relation to its neighbours. No population really knew its own military strength.

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Alignments, jostlings for positions of supremacy on the map of Europe and the world, were the order of the day. 'The strength of nationalism is the key to the inner nature of the Great War'[19] and it threatened legitimate powers by terrorism and revolution. Nationalism in war masked the inner, potentially dangerous differences between internal factions and groupings which would have led to civil war, which in fact was to happen in Russia.

Time was spent by governments in quelling uprisings and fighting the popular desires for change, rather than in building up more egalitarian social structures. Trade union members were vociferous in their demands for better pay and equalisation of prospects. Suffragettes strove for universal franchise. Left-wing *avant garde* artists and writers in most countries proliferated, voicing their feelings and aspirations in new forms and techniques to better illustrate their frustrations. The strength of nationalisms would have aided the mythologizing propagandas of each power when it came to war.

The British and South African Home Fronts. 1914-1918.

A report[20] in February 1916 of a speech by the Duke of Connaught at a banquet which was given in Ottawa, in honour of the Australian Premier, under the heading 'What the war has done for the Empire' reads as follows: '... one important result of the war had been that those who only knew each other by sentiment were now thrown together as comrades in arms. This fact was bound to cement more closely the different parts of the Empire.'

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[19] A.J.P.Taylor ed. *History of World War One* (Octopus, London, 1975) p.16.

[20] *Cape Times* Reuter SAPA. London. Thursday 24 February 1916.

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The Empire was a useful pool of human material when that of the Mother country was running thin. It was rich, too, in material resources to supply, from all parts of the globe, the machinery of war in all its needs.

The belief which had been expressed above, by the Duke was a tool which permeated the continuation of the war, while it continued, so that the hierarchy of the *status quo* could be maintained. In South Africa the perceived bonding of Boers and British would therefore have strengthened Empire in a region of emerging strategic wealth: gold, diamonds and associated labour.

The war was not fought on British soil[21] therefore damage to urban, rural and marine environments was negligible in the home country and those of its Empire. However, the threats of invasion and the victory of the enemy were spectres which forced the authorities to recruit ever-increasing numbers of young men to fight, young women to care for the dying and wounded, and non-combatant labourers to strive both in and out of the war zones.

Families and communities of all countries and societies suffered the loss of breadwinners and the normal course of daily life would have been disrupted by the absence of people-power. Those at home lived in constant fear of hearing of the death of a family member and the frustration of not-knowing were realities which would have complicated inter-personal relationships.

The newspapers were the main source of war-knowledge. Reports on the events of and alluding to, the war were telegraphed speedily. There were also cinemas which screened carefully put-together reels for public consumption, glorifying the part played

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[21] For the first time there was increasing threat from the enemy aircraft as described in Neil Hanson *First Blitz* (Doubleday, London, 2008).

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by the Allies and ignoring the brutalities and horrors. The governments of many countries engaged in censorship, the withholding of facts, and the spreading of false information. No-one in the field, or out of it, knew the true strengths or weaknesses of their own country's situation. The fantasies had begun here; with the hero-making jingoism in the popular press and in meetings at home.

The creation of Union in 1910 and the participation of South Africa as an active self-governing member nation within the British Commonwealth had placed obligations on the Dominion, the earliest of which was participation on the side of Empire against the threats posed by the Central Powers: she could not be neutral. Land invasion, political and civil domination and loss of personal liberty would have been not only the fate of the British Isles had Germany been victorious, but also that of the widespread countries of the Commonwealth, none of which was a sovereign state.

By 17 October 1915, six thousand six hundred and eighty two troops had arrived in southern England from South Africa, with the intention of soldiering in France. Altered plans had meant that in early January 1916 the SA Brigade was sent to Alexandria, to fight alongside other Imperial forces, with the GOC of the forces in Egypt, Lieut. General Sir John Maxwell, ex-Governor of Pretoria, expressing the hope that it would soon have the chance of meeting the enemy.[22]

From the press in Cape Town.

The letters from the Front, in newspapers, written by returning personnel were often the first source from which the South African public learnt about conditions there.

[22] John Buchan *The South African Forces in France* (Thomas Nelson, London, undated) p. 27.

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On farms and in towns and villages, where labour skills and expertise were required in factories, agriculture, trades, professions and businesses more women were entering the formal work market. Gold continued to be mined, processed and assessed ready for sale, diamonds saw the light of day in local jewellery shops and glittered on society's fingers. Union fruit was harvested in growing quantities, especially from the Western Cape region, and found its ultimate home in the army messes and hospitals in Europe, as did butter; and wine and brandy to fortify those in command. Tobacco was ever-needed by the troops either in loose form or in cigarettes. Wool was continuously worked by women at home into comforts for the winter troops and much appreciated by them.

Thus were many South African products to be buried and reprocessed on the fields of battle with their corpses after the carnage. A foreign Wood became forever South Africa.

Superficially, life for the white elite at home was not unpleasant in its humdrum way, despite great rumblings which were enlarging on 'the Native question' or 'the Imperial question',[23] both of which were articulated in the minds of the conservative colonial psyche as threatening disruptions to their way of life.

But looming on the horizon of the early twentieth century was not only the 'Native' and 'Imperial' questions but also the demon of socialism. The predicament of the dispossessed and poor, the continuing policy of segregation was not only an eternal tragedy but was responsible for the fragmentation of interests and separatism.

Land, farms, suburban dwellings, livestock and produce were advertised, auctioned, mortgaged, bought and sold: furniture, furnishings, clothes for men, women and

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[23] *Transvaal Leader* April 1915.

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children, sugar, medical remedies were all advertised in the daily newspapers, reflecting robust trade and business transactions.

Births, marriages, civilian deaths were reported in the announcements columns. Falling white birth rates in South Africa were discussed at high levels with a certain naiveté, seeing that many prospective fathers were off fighting for Empire.

In all this, much of the reality of warfare was ignored, glossed over or skewed into daring feats of glorious heroism, 'stirring deeds' and 'amusing anecdotes'. Where were the death notices of the names of the fallen South Africans: white and black? A few slipped in. Supposedly well-known to the reading public, even if vicariously, these were possibly to seal the illusion of belonging to the real seat of Empire in London.

Saturday editions announced immediate church services, encompassing all churches situated within the municipal boundaries of Cape Town and beyond, making the reader assume that society was strictly church-going. The Monday editions often reported sermons preached which dealt with war issues, using holy writ to illustrate the points of discussion. The melding of the secular with the religious hopefully urged the enlisting of more young men and nurses.

Cinema was large on the list of entertainments, showing films of both fiction and newsreels, and specially-made propaganda footage to convince the viewing public of the responsibility of government and its works in relation to the war.

Morale at home was also boosted and buoyed by tales of the repulsed Hun and the repulsive behaviour of the Germans, and their torturing which was reportedly totally at odds with the Geneva Convention. The brief beam of soldierly mutual friendship and camaraderie of Christmas 1914 had been equally mutually quashed by both High Commands, with the Christmas truce quickly destined to legendary status and lost hopes of what might have been.

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The snippet announcing the march of ten thousand German women in Berlin[24] demanding bread and peace which was speedily and successfully aborted by authority, passed without comment. However, the odd note of humanity did creep in. '... burying of German dead ...'.[25]

'Deeds of valour' and eye-witness stories were disconnected in the reported script with the actual practicalities of life on the battle field: the fear, the dread, the agony, the pain, the death and fragmentation not only of bodies of comrades, the land, buildings, and communities but of all reasonable social structures expected of one's upbringing. . Then there was the artificial structure of an army which took precedence over all other forms of living. None of this, by design, reached the consciousness of the general public, so that recruitment would not be adversely affected.

Life for the wounded in the hospitals was recorded in cosy terms.[26] It was reported that the 'Wounded' arriving in London were cheerful, had enjoyed optimum space on the train, that all arrangements had been excellent and a bugler boy was still clutching his bugle with his remaining arm, on arrival at Waterloo Station. Three hundred unassisted walking wounded were welcomed by a huge crowd. Thousands of well-wishers had lined the routes to the London Hospital and had been given a continuous ovation. In other words, the arrival became a spectacle. But such sightings would also

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[24] *Cape Times* 03.03.1916.

[25] *Cape Times* 05.12.1915.

[26] *Cape Times* 02.9.1914. From our own correspondent. The Monday editions often carried reports of church services and sermons from the previous day.

have brought the war and their distant loved ones nearer to the civilian masses who were thus given a chance to express gratitude collectively.

There was a 'Notable sermon' preached by the Rev. J.A. Campbell at Stellenbosch Presbyterian Church,[27] the subject being Solomon's dedication to Israel's unity in the Temple.[28] It is interesting as it gives some answers to the question: From 2 Chronicles chapter VI, verses 34 and 35.

Why are we fighting? He gives three reasons. i) To achieve the supremacy of law and moral considerations between nations, so that ii) their citizens may have 'a place in the sun' while developing their own national lives and characters, and lastly, iii) for the ultimate peaceful progress of civilization and humanity, and all that makes life worth living. Therefore '... We ask God for more of the spirit of sacrifice, of endurance, of courage, of hopefulness to fight till the cause is secured.'

God would thus be the arbiter of the desired peace. Germany was seen in the throes of a tyranny of ideals which were alien to its true traditions and spirit, and the war was seen as a conflict of ideals: 'the triumph of our enemies would be the overthrow of everything for which South African patriots have contended and the backset of civilization and Christianity here and elsewhere.'

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25 Now the United Congregational Church, van Riebeeck Street.

26 From 2 Chronicles chapter VI, verses 34 and 35.

A report published in the Transvaal Leader[29] after Second Ypres was Homeric in its narration: 'Thrilling tale from the trenches. Supreme courage from eye-witness, a prominent unidentified South African'. The future of the war was uncertain but 'we must continue to fight with all our strength and leave nothing to chance.'

Advertisements in local newspapers.

The guiding principle of advertising is deceit, to delude consumers, not to provide information about the product.[30] Here there was a double delusion: of non-information about the product and misleading the readers about the conditions of the war.

There were numerous advertisements in every edition of, for example the *Cape Times*, covering every conceivable piece of merchandise available to contemporary living. The front pages consisted purely of advertisements. The wording was sometimes accompanied by line illustrations: furniture, men's and women's clothing both under and outer wear of which women's corsets, the female armour, ranked high. Soon after the war had begun, the captions had made use of military and war terminology, to be augmented by illustrations and quotes, supposedly by veterans of the field.

A full-page advertisement, which was on-going, reads as follows: 'Brandy for Heroes, Commando for Conquerors. Drink success to your troop. Commando outside means something extra good inside ... the oldest brandy house ….' and 'Don't preach, practice patriotism, ondersteun Botha en drinkt zyn bezondheid op/in Commando. Cape

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[29] Reported in the *Cape Times* 5.12.1915.

[30] Noam Chomsky *Failed States* (Penguin, London, 2007) pp.220-221, who continues that this premise goes back at least to Adam Smith, 1723-1790.

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Colony's choicest Brandy.' And for those who did not drink brandy: 'Mazawattee: true economy in war time! 7-9 cups for 1d.'

'War to the knife but peace and prosperity to you at Rosen's re-organization sale. Ask for Rosen's catalogue and see the terrible slaughter. 8 shillings buys a pounds worth. Furniture warehouse Sir Lowry Road.' The advertisement by Rosens furniture sellers became too close in its banality, contrasting as it did with the real events on the fighting lines. For example, Lance Corporal Harry David Rosen, Machine Gun Corps 116th Coy, aged twenty six was killed on the 30 November 1917. He was the son of Mr and Mrs M. Rosen of 9, Alexandra Avenue, Oranjezicht, Cape Town and is memorialised at Tyne Cot. He had been at the South African College before continuing his studies at the National Mental Hospital London. His name is on the UCT roll of honour. He had been born in London and enlisted under United Kingdom nationality, as had many from South Africa.

From 1 December[31] the advertisements had taken on a different tone reading:

> The Home Beautiful. Nothing wins the good housewife's enthusiasm like a well furnished home, and no better selection of it can be found in Cape Town than displayed in our showrooms. Rosen's have the reputation to maintain in War time as well as in time of Peace, and as matter of Business Policy are keeping prices low and quality high. Take advantage of our Model Plan of Easy Terms; spread over a period of 1, 2, 3 years. Rosen's Furniture: Warehouse 63-67 Sir Lowry Road, Cape Town.

[31] *Cape Times* 01.12.1917.

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The show had to continue, but in muted vein and to the point; the rhetorics of advertising deceit being buried with the slaughtered. The cult of the Soldier was the ploy used to sell merchandise[32] feeding the needs of the reading public, the trend having begun during the Anglo-Boer War.

The continuous pleas for recruitment of yet more men, especially invoked after heavy battles, makes for chilling reading amidst increasing accounts of the war on all fronts.

The statistics of those known dead or unknown missing, assiduously telegraphed via Reuters News Agencies, surely would have alerted the reading public into the dangers of probable annihilation on the battlefield. The periodic photographic studio portrait illustrations of war leaders and the elite of all countries, even announcing their deaths, did little to promote the war image in the field of battle of for example, the British Tommy, Commonwealth volunteer or French *poilu*: or the enemy, the German *Fritze*. The blurred images of sinking ships or shell explosions were a world removed

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[32] Glenn R. Wilkinson 'To the Front: British newspaper advertising and the Boer War' in John Gooch ed. *The Boer War: Direction, Experience and Image* (Frank Cass, London, 2000).
'The stereotypical images reinforce already held views. The image of 'The Soldier' was used to sell many commodities – from 'paint to cigarettes'. The image had to be acceptable – the *real* soldier – otherwise they would not have sold the product. Also, 'the soldier' was topical and struck to the heart of the nation's concern. By the end of the century anything was advertised, becoming proletariatized.
The cult of 'the soldier' was increasingly associated with masculinity, a healthy life and youth and virility: 'a symbol of order, control and civilization "where these elements were felt to be increasingly in peril.'" p. 206. Cigarettes were an attribute of masculinity. The cult of the soldier was used to dispel 'the crises of modernism felt [by males] to be eroding the foundation of British greatness.' (p.212/3)

from the relative cosiness of home and could not describe the terror of war at the Front on land, at sea and in the air.

Recruitment[33] and Black South African enlistment.[34]

South Africa, together with the other Commonwealth members, was badgered by the government in Whitehall to supply service personnel, expertise, arms and accoutrements to swell its coffers, as the war took its toll expanding, extending and extinguishing for four long years. Her men were integrated as volunteers into the fighting forces and ancillary units on all fronts, most numerically in Northern France and Belgium where they acquitted themselves well, with bravery and honour, either dying on the battlefields, suffering wounds and injuries in hospitals or surviving to arrive home and take up again the threads of their, mainly civilian lives.

White South African women served as nurses in the hospitals and dressing stations of the battle sites and in Britain. Black women mostly remained in South Africa, playing their usual roles in society, community and family. Although African men had been prevented from bearing arms or to be part of the fighting forces after Smuts had declined their offers to do so, pronouncing it a 'white man's war', their energy, strength and skills were required in large numbers to such an extent that they were actively

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[33] Albert Grundlingh *Fighting their Own War. South Africa Blacks and the First World War* (Ravan, Johannesburg, 1987) Chapter 3. Recruitment. p. 57.

[34] J.S. Mohlamme, 'Soldiers without reward. Africans in South Africa's wars' in *South African Journal of Military History* vol. 10. No. 1.

recruited from the start of hostilities, as they had been in the Anglo-Boer War.[35] In Africa they served as civilian batmen and labourers and were formed into a Labour Corps assisting General Louis Botha in German South West Africa and General Smuts in German East Africa.[36]

Although they were non-combatant, they were nevertheless exposed to the usual war dangers: being under fire and at risk of capture by the enemy Germans and all the other physical and psychological hardships that were the lot of combatants anywhere.

In East Africa, many black men worked as transport drivers, dock and railway workers, porters and carriers. The conditions were arduous and the work strenuous in the bad and tropical climate which was conducive to the spread of malaria and other diseases. The men were the supply lines carrying wood, food, ammunition, materials for bridges, wireless apparatus, telegraph wire and medical supplies. The mortality rate was as high as eighty per cent in one area near the coast, with the men dying in misery which the inadequate medical and hospital facilities had hastened. All conditions mitigated against a high survival rate.[37]

At the start of the war, black non-combatant labour had been used in German South West Africa and German East Africa with impunity on both sides. About five hundred had been employed as stevedores in Walvis Bay unloading war supplies for the Allies.

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[35] Then they had been recruited by both Boer and British and some did in fact carry arms. Grundlingh *Fighting their Own War*.

[36] Grundlingh *Fighting their Own War*, p. 20. Approximately 74,000 Africans were recruited to serve in Africa and Europe during WW1.

[37] Grundlingh *Fighting their Own War*, p. 88. According to Major-General R. A. Ewart, the QMG in East Africa the mortality rate from disease of blacks was higher than that of whites due to the different kinds of work undertaken by the members of the two groups.

Others had been involved on the South West Africa/South Africa borders during the Rebellion/Campaign of 1915 in animal transportation, ammunition and supply transport wagons, and as rail repairers and builders; the last working in relay teams day and night as the lines of communication needed to be open and unobstructed at all times.

Once the death toll was rising and more men were needed in Europe the Imperial government asked for non-combatant, therefore black, recruits so that more domestic men would be released for active combat. British public opinion was against these 'foreigners' working on British home soil, so they were sent to the theatres of war in France, to work directly with the armed forces in quarries, forests, orderly duties and as stretcher bearers. The Colonial Office was not happy about this, nor was the ruling party in South Africa. It was feared that a taste of working alongside white men in a common cause would contaminate the satisfying master-servant status of civilian colonial life. The black men were deployed under the strict proviso that they were to be housed in compounds in France similar to those on the Kimberley diamond mines. Thus their war experiences were becoming a dubious home from dubious home.[38]

Similar controversy at home had accompanied the black contingent on their journey overseas. Nothing, it was feared, might be the same again: the white colonials would lose authority. The labouring classes would have had a taste of social equality in Europe which they would not, it was foreseen, relinquish post-war, thus upsetting the comfortable white-master-black-servant hierarchy of the past.

Indigenous Africans constituted almost one third of the total number of one hundred and sixty one thousand of South Africans involved in the two actions of war in Africa.

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[38] Grundlingh *Fighting their Own War* Ch. 2, p.37.

They received very little official recognition at the time and only appear sparsely in later historiography although some were awarded medals.[39]

Ultimately, seventy thousand[40] black male non-combatants were enlisted to serve as ancillary staff in the South African Native Labour contingent on the Western Front. Thus the colonial master-servant attitude of both military and civilian South Africans held good into the military structures of the war and into the field.

Sol Plaatjie (1878-1932) and Dr. John Dube (1871-1946) as prominent leaders of the ANNC and Dr Abdullah Abdurahman (1873-1940) a leader in the Coloured community, were active in the recruiting drive in both the Black and Coloured populations, once the campaign had got under way. General Louis Botha and the Governor-General Lord Buxton became actively involved, missionaries and churches added their persuasions: the recruits were lured by empty promises of money, good food, ...[41] Many of the women were opposed to their menfolk enlisting: possibly due to the breadwinner being absent, possibly killed or incapacitated and also for political motives. Chiefs and commoners were often divided over the question of enlistment.

'... The scheme to mobilize Africans for service abroad ... generated a wide range of issues, reflecting conflicting ideological and material interests.'[42] By the time that news of the tragic sinking of the SS *Mendi* on February 21st 1917 with six hundred and

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[39] H. Taprell Dorling *Ribbons and Medals: Naval, Military, Air Force and Civil* (London: George Philip, 1941).

[40] 75,000: Grundlingh *Fighting their Own War*. p.57. Ch 4, p.87. The contingent was disbanded in France before Armistice.

[41] Grundlingh *Fighting their Own War* p.64.

[42] Grunglingh *Fighting their Own War* p.60.

sixteen black Africans losing their lives had reached South Africa, morale would not have been high.

Despite widespread reluctance many others did enlist, and High Command was able to replace the gaps left in ranks by the unrelenting deaths on the war fronts. Ultimately. The war produced over ten million individual tragedies, reducing humans to so-called animal existences in the interminable decaying trenches, where a semblance of life continued: stinking, alternating between searingly hot and shivering cold, slimy and muddy, flea and rat infested, noisy, congested, bored, dangerous and beset by fear. The aftermath of war for its survivors was not always for remembrance but for forgetting.

Although all members of both the combatant and non-combatant forces from South Africa enlisted as volunteers, on-going debates, discussions, advertisements and meetings encouraged or cajoled more and more young men to take up arms for 'Empire, King and Country': tacitly, a code for the death of many brave, heroic and fine specimens of young South African manhood,[43] who would be dying for Empire, King and Country and the belief in a free world, the continuation of a pre-war imperial *status quo* returning post war.

The shaming White Feather movement which had been taken up by the women of Cape Town had come to an end in July 1916, once news of the conditions on the Somme front had been released, the worst engagement to date in which the South African forces had taken part, many of them Capetonians. Following on was the turnabout creation of the Carillon peal of thirty nine bells, installed in 1923, in the City

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[43] Buchan *The South African Forces in France.*

Hall as a living memorial by the local women to the men of Cape Town who had lost their lives in the war.[44]

The need for burials.

The need for European burial had been evident after the first soldier had been killed. However the manner in which the war burials happened varied with time and place. Initially where possible, the bodies had been returned to their home countries to be interred, and the wounded to hospitals either at home or into the field hospitals and dressing stations.

Before long, it was obvious that the dead had to be buried where they had fallen or as near as possible as was expedient, due to the large numbers being killed and the speed of hostilities. The makeshift graves on the battlefields were dug at night, during a period of ceasefire so that bodies could be retrieved from no-man's land and carried to the nearest burial site. Sometimes, they were buried where they had fallen. The bodies of the enemy, if in occupied enemy territory, were buried there. The field padres would officiate, affording hurried but dignified rites of passage to the dead and short comfort to the surviving.[45]

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[44] Website reference http://www.gcna.org/data/ZACPTNCH.HTM. It was installed in 1925 and enlarged in 1954. The present carillonneur is Donovan Baguely.

[45] The padres were in the front lines, performing their tasks bravely and unflinchingly under dreadful conditions suffering a high mortality rate. A short account of their various activities is given by Malcolm Brown *The Imperial War Museum Book of the First World War* (Pan Books, London, 1991).

Contested boundaries were constantly shifting which added a complication to an already complex situation. Cemeteries were also made near the hospitals so that those who succumbed to wounds could be placed there, in relatively safe resting places. All efforts were made to identify the dead: relevant markers, often trophies from the body such as a helmet or cap, buttons, a letter or an empty shell case were left. Fabricated *en masse* wooden crosses were hastily placed on the individual's grave, waiting for more permanent committal. It was better to assume that all were Christian in equality of death, rather than be lost in the *melee*.

Before the end of 1914, two cemeteries had been hastily made near the Marne[46] as conditions were no longer conducive to the repatriation of the mounting numbers of corpses. The general public of all countries was still being kept in ignorance of the true situation. Meanwhile the Allied and German trenches which stretched from the Channel to the Swiss border were already a stinking mess of mud and blood, fly-ridden and plagued by voracious rats, the sounds of bombarding artillery fire, so loud that it could be heard in southern England.

The British and Commonwealth public especially, had been preoccupied about the fate of their family members who had died in the various war sites because they were on foreign soil, and far from home. Early on it had been agreed that to bring the bodies home would be impossible for many reasons, not the least being that in death it was

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[46] Neil Hanson *The Unknown Soldier* (Corgi, Random House, London, 2005) p.34.

deemed that all are equal and therefore rich and poor, servant and master would lie where they had fallen.[47] Often there were no bodies, they having been shattered on where they had fallen.[48] Often there were no bodies, their having been shattered on impact. There are no burials of those killed in action, in home soil on the British Isles. The graves that are there are of those people who had died of wounds or of disease, having been repatriated whilst living.

A letter in the Cape Times of 30 December 1916, when the war was twenty nine months old (with twenty three to go until ceasefire)[49], describes field burials as '... one duty at this time which every man would gladly avoid' and continues:

> When you come to France after the Great Peace, ... These green crosses are German; the white are English. They dot the countryside in these shell-churned battlefields of the Somme with a touching impartiality. On some of the mounds you will find (a trophy) as a mark. No one touches these things. Thousands of soldiers march past. The ground is never trodden on, nor its trophies disturbed. Even the village children will not touch. These are sacred spots already. They

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[47] Philip Longworth *The Unending Vigil* The Imperial War Graves Commission in a statement of January 1918 had made clear that all who had fallen in war 'should receive equal honour under a memorial which should be the common symbol of their comradeship and of the cause for which they had died.'

[48] Philip Longworth *The Unending Vigil* The Imperial War Graves Commission in a statement of January 1918 had made clear that all who had fallen in war 'should receive equal honour under a memorial which should be the common symbol of their comradeship and of the cause for which they had died.'

[49] Reuter's Special Correspondent (author unnamed), *Cape Times.* British Headquarters, France dated 20 November 1916.

will be sacred spots for all time.

The writer was unconsciously presaging the great constructed landscapes and monuments of the Imperial War Graves Commission.[50]

After 1918.

Up to ten million people were killed in battle during World War One, most of them young or very young men, and millions more people died from war related causes.[51] No-one will ever know the exact figure and the casualties were so many, that an approximate rounding-off in general terms makes sense and in many years the number of known deaths increased slightly, as remains of the Missing were newly-discovered. Twenty one million were recorded injured. More than ten thousand South Africans had lost their lives by the end of hostilities.

The numbers of civilian losses were equally appalling. Nearly fifteen million people died due to military action, starvation and disease largely brought about by the dire conditions of war.[52] Forty six million human lives were affected at first hand.

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[50] The Imperial War Graves Commission had been established in July 1917. An explanation follows below.

[51] David Stevenson *The History of the First World War* (Allan Lane, Penguin, London, 2004) p. 544 gives 9,450,000 war dead.

[52] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker *14-18.*

Paul Fussell *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford University Press, 2000)

Neil Hanson *The Unknown Soldier...*

John Keegan *The First World War* (Pimlico, London, 1999).

Added to all that, the viral influenza pandemic or Spanish 'flu' further decimated and reduced an enervated society by claiming in total seventy million lives globally.[53] Sweeping across Europe from East to West, the German army was affected before those of the Allies.[54]

Environmentally, in France alone about sixty thousand square miles of rural and urban lands had been deflowered by 1919 and over four hundred and ten thousand buildings ruined. In Europe generally, Belgium, France, Russia, wherever the war had been intensely and repeatedly fought it denuded forests, tunnelled and cratered earth. Deserted farms, ruined towns and villages everywhere bore testimony to the devastation. Early wanderers in the landscapes found orientation by linking the cemeteries and scattered graves. The motherlands and fatherlands were peopled by battle-scarred soldiers on crutches, lacking limbs, disfigured faces, out-of-work men and women, neglected children and anguished families.

The political, social and cultural consequences had projected the communities of nations into unknown, unthought-of hardships and a new world order. The latter prospect had been apparent in pre war months in the stirrings of social revolution in the countries of Europe but had been held back somewhat, by the energies of war and the nationalisms of both friend and foe.

Of the ten million lives which were lost, the vast majority were young men, leaving parents, widows and children, friends and fiancés, who were thus forced to re-create their lives. First of all in sadness and in grief, perhaps in anger and bewilderment: then practically and materially, with reduced incomes and lonely child-rearing.

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[53] Philip Warne *World War One* (Cassell, London, 1998) p. 52

[54] Pope and Wheal *The Macmillan Dictionary of the First World War* (London and Basingstoke, 1995).

Equally, serving women also took their toll, mainly as nurses in the field hospitals, hospitals and recuperation centres away from the fighting areas, and overseas. The nurses witnessed terrible wounds and deaths, looked after shell-shocked patients who evinced the most bizarre behaviour, and had to be compassionate and appear undaunted at all times. Many also died in the Spanish 'flu epidemic. This was a baptism of fire for all women: munitions factories workers and their unhealthy lifestyles added to hardships and the irony of creating weapons of war whilst in the midst of grieving and mourning must have had a detrimental impact on the psychological well-being of some.

With the war, social dynamics had had to change and women had become freer to choose careers and work in previously male-oriented spheres. In addition, the hard-won female enfranchisement of 1920 in Britain was the start of an almost imperceptible general awareness of women's rights, of greater equality in all spheres of social and political life.

Surviving imposed psychological problems. These included guilt at being the survivor and living with that guilt, being accepted back into post war society while coping with trauma and its attendant unwilled aberrations of behaviour, physical disabilities and dark memories which could not be shared.

Psychological suffering had often been unexpressed due to lack of means: these included social, cultural, psychomedical and linguistic factors. There were two streams of dealing with loss: taboos within families on mentioning the names of their dead, and paradoxically, an almost overwhelming display of grief, a flaunting of emotion in kitsch-like mini installations of photographs, flowers real and artificial, draperies, death notices and sentimental prose and poetry, heroic male figures in the arms of angels or classical female icons of myth. The sales of black mourning material for women's clothes had so increased in demand by mid 1916, by which time so many men had been killed, that the French government banned the wearing of black by their womenfolk.

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The image of a nation in mourning promoted too much gloom and despondency, lowering the nation's morale, [55] but in so doing, closed an opportunity for the expression of grief.

Four empires had been destroyed in the course of the war,[56] women had taken on responsibilities and jobs that had previously been carried by men. New kinds of work and female financial independence and the loss of so many people weakened the pre-war order of a hierarchical and patriarchal society. Government coffers were strained to the utmost in caring for the wounded, repatriating and lastly, in some cases, pensioning their war service personnel. The war had bequeathed bereft mothers, wives, children, fiancés, extended families, friends and colleagues and an unnaturally large proportion of single women[57] to the post war world. Nations were in mourning, the mourning needed to be articulated, and the practicalities of burial required immediate and on-going attention.

Precedents, the establishment of the Imperial War Graves Commission, memorial structures.

Monuments had been erected after the American Civil War, after various colonial wars, after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, but

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[55] Pat Jalland 'Victorian death and its decline 1850-1918' in Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings *Death in England: an Illustrated History* (Manchester University Press, 2000).

[56] Austria-Hungary, Germany, Ottoman, Russia.

[57] Wendy Holden *Shell-shock. The Psychological Impact of War* (BBC, London, 1998) p.24.

> it was after the Great War that they became universal, recalling the omnipresence of the 1914-1918 tragedy throughout the world of the former belligerents, except in Russia which had become the Soviet Union.[58]

Since antiquity, the war dead have been buried after battle, usually in mass and unmarked graves, or cremated in mass fires. Commemoration of each individual by name, on a stone set as a marker above the grave is a modern concept first expressed after the American Civil War of 1861-1864 in the battlefields around Gettysburg. The soldiers were buried where they fell, without distinction of rank or hierarchy, their headstones marked by name, the families refusing for their identities to be lost to posterity, thus affirming by the citizens, their newly-gained democracy.

An exception of a sort is the memorial mound at Marathon in Attica, the battle in which the Greeks had overcome the Persians against great odds in 490 BCE. There, inscriptions on a stone stele recorded the names of the hundred and ninety two Greek heroes noted by Pausanias in 110 CE.[59] The connection between this far-off event and the post-1918 war burials suggests a serendipity which parallels the use of Classical semiology in the World War One memorials.

The largest memorials to the fallen of World War One are on the battlefield sites and in cemeteries adjoining these: very many are in northern France and Belgium. Some are in the countries and cities of the victims' origins. The great period of the reconstitution

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[58] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker *14-18* p.188.

[59] Pausanius was a 2nd century CE historian and geographer.

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and interpretation of the battlefields landscape was during the 1920s and lingered into the 1930s. The building of cemeteries and memorials was integrated with the topology of the sites involving careful decision making about what to preserve, what not to preserve: whatever was done would be a reconstruction based on fragments of the sites' histories. The one component that was not lacking was space: the reconstructions eventually leaving in place certain features such as the vast shell holes, trenches and roads which marched across the farmlands. Thus was created a new and sanitized landscape for the new world, acknowledging war's footprints on a vast scale.

It had been the refusal to accept lack of recognition of the fallen by the bereft families of all status in their millions, that was a strong motivating factor behind the widespread monumentalisation movement, as it had been after Gettysburg.

The **Imperial War Graves Commission** grew out of the small Red Cross Mobile Unit which had been active from 1914. In turn, this became the **Graves Registration Commission** with Major (later Sir) Fabian Ware as the Director.[60] Units with Officers were formed who sleuthed out more and more British graves, affixed crosses and erected inscriptions with a growing corps of gardeners and other maintenance individuals. And in February 1916 the organization became the **Directorate of Graves Registration and Enquiries,** until 1919 when its task was completed. Its burden had

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[60] Fabian Ware had been a member of Milner's administration in South Africa during his Governorship.(Longworth) but not a '*kindergarten*' member. According to J. Lee Thompson *Forgotten Patriot* (Fairleigh Dickinson: Cranbury, NJ., 2007) notes & pp.41 and 42. citing Walter Nimocks *Milner's Young Men: the 'Kindergarten' in Edwardian Imperial Affairs*. (Duke University Press: Durham NC, 1968) the true members of the group, recognized by the others, were Curtis, Duncan, Perry, Robinson, Wyndham, Feetham, Hichens, Dove: Brand, Kerr and Malcolm were added later.

been ‘to register the graves of the soldiers who fell in the different theatres of war, to keep them in order, and to mark them with temporary wooden crosses’.[61]

The identification, burial and memorialisation had become more onerous with the continuation of the war. There were mounting fatalities, shifting boundaries and desecration of the land by trench digging or by shell-cratering, often where the aforementioned graves were in place. Thus, the Directorate’s structure had been broadened to become the **National Committee for the Care of Soldiers’ Graves**, under the jurisdiction of the Army, and the presidency of HRH the Prince of Wales[62], meeting for the first time on the 27 March 1916. Its activities extended the work of the Directorate, dealing with the question of permanent memorials which were to be built after the war.[63] Ware was a member of this Committee, presumably being able to act as liaison between the two parties in addition to his designated duties on both.

By the beginning of May 1916, Ware’s men had registered over fifty thousand graves and provisionally selected the sites for two hundred cemeteries. With increasing war participation by the Imperial forces and increasing losses in all forces, by early 1917 Ware had proposed an **Imperial Committee for the Care of Soldiers’ Graves** which on 21 May 1917 was constituted under Royal Charter and the patronage of the Prince of Wales as the **Imperial War Graves Commission,** (IWGC), becoming, in March 1960, the **Commonwealth War Graves Commission** (CWGC) as it is to-day,

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[61] *First Annual Report of the Imperial War Graves Commission. 1919-1920.*

[62] His presence has a South African link in that he was the first Chancellor of the University of Cape Town, holding office from 1918 until his assumption of sovereignty in 1936.

[63] Philip Longworth *The Unending Vigil* (Leo Cooper, S. Yorks., 2002) p.64. Much of the following information comes from this account: the history of the CWGC.

manning and caring for all British military war graves throughout the world.[64] Under the remit of the IWGC were the design and planning of the graves and cemeteries.

It was and still is, the policy of the Commission that all casualties would be equal in death, hence the uniformity of the rows of stelae, standing as sentinels over the interments, placed not in order of military or civil status but randomly, usually in their rows, as nearly as they had happened there. The names on the honour lists on walls and in books are arranged alphabetically by surname in their relevant regimental units. The designation of rank is given more to add identification to the person rather than for any other reason.[65] The order usually reads under regiment or affiliation thus: rank, military number, first and given initials, surname.

The committee of renowned and experienced architects and planners included Sir Herbert Baker, Sir Reginald Blomfield, Sir Rupert Lorimer and Sir Edwin Lutyens each of whom is mentioned in this dissertation. Sir Frederic Kenyon, Director of the British Museum brought an artist's eye to the proceedings.

Gertrude Jekyell[66], the eminent horticulturist and an associate of Lutyens advised about suitable species for planting. She worked on at least five of the cemeteries in northern

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[64] The CWGC now cares for the commemoration of over 1.7 million service men and women from the two World Wars, in 150 countries. Besides the United Kingdom, the member states are Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, South Africa. The annual budget for 2008 was over 43 million pounds sterling. The costs are borne in proportion of the numbers of their war graves by the governments of each member country: that of South Africa being 2.1 percent of the total, amounting to point nine of the value of total grants or nine hundred thousand pounds sterling.

[65] An important factor as there are many with the same combination of given and family/surnames.

[66] Gertrude Jekyll 1843-1932. It was a man's world. Most of the males with whom she had professionally collaborated on an equal basis, had been knighted.

Europe, including Delville Wood, and had personally contributed thousands of rooted cuttings from her Sussex garden. Each grave was to have a mix of colourful flowers reminiscent of a cottage garden in the English summer. The manipulation of nature on a Baroque scale resulted in the shrouding of the ugliness of the battlefields at the height of their desecration and in the immediate aftermath of the war.

British and Colonial sculptors, metal workers and masons carried out the art and decorative work associated with the memorials and South African botanists, some from Kirstenbosch, assisted the staff at Kew Gardens in the regeneration of the landscapes abroad. It is interesting to note that George Kensit, closely related to Harry Bolus and Assistant in the Herbarium, was killed at Delville Wood. A description of his memorial follows later. Decisions about designs and planning by the Commission were in consultation with military personnel of all ranks, and the general public, in an effort of inclusivity. It is amazing that on such a vast scale consensus was reached within a short time.

Although the memorials conform to a general pattern there is variety according to the topology of each site, the flora which depends on climate and soil types, and in the great gateways, sculpted monuments and ground plans, and placement of the structures.

In addition to Ware, Baker and Lutyens, two of the founding Commissioners had had close links with South Africa: the High Commissioner the Rt. Hon. W.P. Schreiner (P.C.C.M.G), and Sir Rudyard Kipling who had spent ten years in the country before the war, keeping contact until his death in England in 1936.

The cemeteries of the IWGC are bounded by simple perimeter walls, often enclosing the sites of action where the soldiers had fallen. Those who were known to have been killed in a particular action, their bodies blown to bits and strewn about, unrecoverable, are remembered in great rolls of honour on the inner side of the

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perimeter walls or elsewhere within the structures, their names, rank and regimental affiliation carved in stone by the tens of thousands: reading as a litany of the dead. For example, at the Menin Gate at Ypres, some 54,896 names are inscribed. The structure at Thiepval, the largest, bears 73,000 thousand names, including those of many South Africans. In the larger cemeteries there is a kiosk where a short war history of the area may be read and a register box contains the ground plan of the burial site, a list of the burials and a key to the placing of the names of the unknown whereabouts of the fallen. Two central monuments would be erected within the cemeteries: the Cross of Sacrifice and the Stone of Remembrance or Great War Stone.

The stone Cross of Sacrifice on a stepped octagonal plinth, designed by Blomfield from an idea of Baker, with a double edged bronze Sword of Honour attached, unsheathed and downward pointing, would be in all cemeteries of forty graves or more. It varies in overall size, from eighteen to thirty two feet in height, depending on the numbers of graves in the cemetery. It majestically dominates the area directing the viewer's eye vertically: towards the sky, the symbol of heaven. The Cross would bear the inscription, 'O grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ'. That overt Christian message was exclusive to those of other faiths or none: the bronze sword was presumably signifying the arms of a 'soldier of Christ', thus equating the battlefield deaths with that of Christ's.

The addition of the sword added to the already Gothic-ness of the cross. The downward position indicates that its owner is at rest, beyond fighting. Tall crosses had been markers in Medieval English towns, the Eleanor crosses being examples. Swords were redundant as a weapon of war by 1918. Therefore, its image here is of a crafted decorative artefact, which is symbolic of a nostalgic concept of the knight in armour, not of the ravages and destruction. Compositionally, it fits the space down the shaft of

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the cross rather well. Its symbolism is wide and various: this one is identified with war. If a sword is two-edged it is a duality, standing for creation/destruction, life/death: contrary but complementary.[67] To push the allusion further, it could suggest that after death on earth one has moved to the life thereafter. At some sites the sword has disappeared, presumably stolen, melted down for its metal content.[68]

The Stone of Remembrance designed by Lutyens, was based on Classical proportions and derived from studies of the Parthenon. The design includes the device of entasis which subtly corrects the visual distortion by slightly curving the straight upright and flat surfaces. It is pure geometry, altarlike, bearing no allusion to any faith, and was usually fashioned from one block of stone. It was placed in cemeteries of over a thousand graves. Lutyens had not been happy about their exclusion in the smaller cemeteries and permitted concrete replicas to be placed in some: Plumstead in the Cape Peninsula, is a case in point. Where it had been difficult to transport the stone in one piece he had allowed for it to be cut into manageable blocks and erected on site.

There are over six hundred in CWGC cemeteries to-day. They stand solidly and horizontally on a broad stepped plinth and are invariably inscribed with a quotation from the Apocrypha Book of Ecclesiasticus[69]: 'Their name liveth for evermore', from the writer's praise of Israel's heroes. In form, the Stone is reminiscent of an ancient

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[67] J.C. Cooper *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols* (Thames and Hudson, London, 1978).

[68] Theft and vagrancy occur at several CWGC sites throughout the world, adding to the maintenance costs of the commission. Missing parts are renewed in most instances. But not in Plumstead, it seems.

[69] *Ecclesiasticus* 44 xiv.

Egyptian mastaba that was built in adobe over the burial as a marker and protection for the body.

Both the Cross of Sacrifice and the Stone of Remembrance make focal points around which paths or lawns lead to the rows of graves and to the cemetery walls where the thousands of names of the fallen may be read.

From these early, war-time deliberations, already symbols and quotations, either by inclusion or exclusion are coming into the concept of Great War memorialisation.

There are only two of the Stones outside of CWGC cemeteries.[70] One commemorates the citizens of Edinburgh in Scotland, placed under an arch of the City Chambers. Lutyens is said to have been unhappy about this as, while it acknowledged his original slablike concept, the pristine clarity was lost by the addition of surface inscriptions and the proportions are not as finely tuned. The second one, although smaller but in the original proportions, is on the UCT campus; surely erected with the permission of Lutyens, during his association with Solomon and Walgate about the first buildings there. Discussions of the cemetery at Plumstead and the UCT Stone of Remembrance follow below.

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The graves and headstones.

> … those who have given their lives are members of one family, ...,
> in death, all, from General to Private, of whatever race or creed,

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[70] In correspondence with Mr Peter Holton, Head Office, CWGC and Brig. Gen. J. H. Potgieter, Secretary, SA Agency, CWGC. In fact the Edinburgh Stone is not of the same design, although 'on similar lines' (website of the City of Edinburgh Council).

> should receive equal honour under a memorial which should be the common symbol of their comradeship and of the cause for which they died.[71]

Each 'cemetery will be marked by rows of headstones, of a uniform height and width, the graves themselves being levelled to a flat surface and planted with turf and flowers…. Giving the appearance as of a battalion as on parade…' The individual headstones would 'go far to meet the wishes of relatives, who above all things are interested in the single graves'.[72]

Each headstone would bear the national emblem or regimental badge, name, unit rank, regiment, date of death and age of the deceased (if known), above an appropriate religious symbol or none. A short inscription chosen by the next of kin was allowed at the base of the stone but not always accepted. The New Zealand government, for example, decided that it was more equalising to have none, whilst Australian epitaphs add a sobriety in their many allusions of being interred so far from home. The important element was that of the measure of choice, which was granted by the Commission. The Missing had no personal epitaph as they had no grave.

In Cape Town, Paarl granite was the original material chosen for the stelae, its source being in reasonable proximity to the cemeteries at Maitland and Plumstead. Once that had become scarce, Rustenberg granite was imported from the Transvaal: these were just two of the thirty varieties of stone used throughout the cemeteries of the Commission.

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[71] Longworth, *Unending Vigil* p. 33. *Commission's Report* of January 1918.

[72] Longworth, *Unending Vigil*, p. 34. *Kenyon's Report* of February 1918.

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The treatment of unidentified burials, the bodies too mutilated to be recognised, often outnumbering identified ones, had given cause for intense discussion about the headstone inscriptions, between the bereaved families, Commissioners and general public. Finally in the cause of the 'preservation of a sense of order and community' it was decided to erect headstones above the unknown graves, blank of personal details, bearing only the words 'a soldier known unto God', the choice of Kipling: poignantly so, as he was mourning his son John, with no known grave at the time.[73] These project an ache of sadness over and above those emotions which are inevitably stirred on walking around the cemeteries. Their names would occur on the rolls of honour, but would be disconnected to their mortal remains.

Graves of members of the Mercantile Marine (MM) who had lost their lives due to enemy action and who had died at sea, sinking to a watery bed, were included in the official War Graves' remit while the known MM graves would be treated in the same way as all Commission graves.

Those who had died at sea or in the air are memorialised at various places most relevant to the manner of death. For example, the victims of the SS *Mendi* are named in Holybrook memorial Southampton, as that is the nearest seaport to the accident[74] or those eight, whose bodies had washed ashore were buried in the nearest CWGC site, in England, France and Belgium.

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[73] In fact his grave was found, identified and inscribed with his name and particulars at St. Mary's ADS Cemetery at Loos in July 1992.

[74] The SS *Mendi* has now been declared a war grave. Therefore the remains are inviolate and will never be lifted.

The bodies of civilians who had died due to bombings or other war causes were interred in local cemeteries and do not come under the jurisdiction of the CWGC. Sometimes one or more war graves with their regulation headstone are to seen in the local cemetery or churchyard among the civilian burials where it was too isolated, not possible to embellish the site or inexpedient to remove the body.

National post war attentions were objectified in mourning for the war dead. As expressed in the creation of the CWGC, these great landscapes of memory became their graveyards: the battlefields becoming paradise rather than necropolis. City squares were populated in sculpted stone and bronze, church walls and secular halls are textured with inscribed names. An enormous amount of public and personal initiative, time, money and effort were expended in the creation of the memorials after the First World War, the many being updated to signify remembrance of the dead of the Second World War, the Korean War and later. At Armistice Day and other ceremonies in South Africa and elsewhere, these original memorials now include remembrance of all those who have given their life for their country, whatever their creed or race, in any conflict, in the declared cause of freedom, thus bringing them into contemporary relevance while keeping the older memories alive in consciousness. They are a public affirmation of faith in nationhood and a homage to past heroes, among other functions.

Commission burials on the home fronts, including South Africa,[75] are usually grouped and demarcated within the local civil cemetery or else in single graves[76] of those whose bodies were either repatriated early in the war, or who had died of wounds, in local hospitals,

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[75] The cemetery at Plumstead , being one of them.

[76] The cemeteries of Christ Church, Constantia and St. John's Wynberg each contain a few of these isolated graves.

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being well enough to have travelled home. Sometimes the grave of a foreign ally or the enemy was interred in another's country. The next-of-kin were increasingly concerned about the location of their family member's final resting place and manner of committal, flowers for the grave, and so on. Reports and letters to the press to this effect were proliferating from mid-1916, the *Cape Times* being a good local example.

Only Americans and the French had had their country's permission to repatriate the bodies for private burial, so that the bones could rest close to their ancestral remains. resulting in the removal of '240,000 in coffins representing about 30 per cent of the 700,000 identified bodies whose families were entitled to ask for them.'[77] From the summer of 1922 in France half of the bodies were unidentifiable and therefore the remains were put in ossuaries: that of Douaumont (the first part) was inaugurated as late as 1927.

The German dead in Allied soil were not repatriated and remained where they had fallen or near-by, in marked graves wherever possible, many to a grave. The British missing on German soil are likewise buried where or as near as where they fell. 'Ware believed that the Commission had united France, Germany and the British Common-wealth "in an organised movement of common remembrance of the dead of the Great War."'[78] If this was so, sadly it was not to be lasting, echoing the tragedy of the Christmas Truce of 1914.

In essence, the War had concerned individuals. Individuals were conscripted, or as in South Africa, volunteered.[79] It was as a family member that one's situation was

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[77] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14-18,* Gr. Brit.: Profile. p. 215.

[78] Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, p.157.

[79] This is a moot point. See above and Grundlingh, *Fighting Their Own War*.

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followed, by the wireless, telegraph, mail and word of mouth. It is their names which identify the mourned, whose personal and unique names are spelt out on rolls of honour and read at services. Other biographical details such as rank and affiliation and dates endorse personal identification. That is how they were known in war-life and remembered in death.

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Chapter 2.

Remembering or forgetting.

There was hardly a family in Europe untouched by loss, as the vast scale of casualties and desecration was so overwhelming. Memorialisation was an immediate response to the human casualties of war. The makeshift graves for the maimed and strewn bodies on the battlefields were a daily necessity. The formation of the Imperial War Graves Commission became the outcome of the concern of the imperial government and the military to act in a practical and caring way for the dead, and to try to provide consolation for the surviving.

The need to mourn, or to forget, the dead.

> The symbolisation of the dead person is fundamental, by whatever means: a grave, a cenotaph, or something that belonged to the person ... The metonymy ... is essential for mourning: it allows the living to focus their grief on a support that gradually becomes a substitute for the body of the deceased.[80]

and 'A successful design for a certain kind of war memorial has to achieve resolution of mourning, loss and grief through the overcoming of negativity.'[81]

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[80] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14-18*, p.217 quoting Marie-Frederique Bacque *Le Deuil a Vivre* (Odile Jacob, Paris) p.108, signifying the shift in meaning, for example, from the corpse to the tomb.

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The war dead are part of the psychological past of the survivors, and it is this premise which is seminal to the interpretation of the great memorial building after the First World War. The need to commemorate[82] the dead became an almost archetypal need after the carnage of 1914-1918. With the progress of time and the succeeding generations, that need has become objectified. It can be explained as a series of stages which are outlined in the following paragraphs.

Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker[83] refer to the stages as 'circles of mourning', with the community of soldiers as being in the first circle. One of the atrocities with which they had had to contend while still in the front lines, was that of repeated and agonising bereavement after the deaths of their fellow companions.

Firstly, there was the bereaved generation of family, old and young, friends and comrades who would grieve and mourn the known and beloved dead. The comrades on campaign, who would have been the last to have seen them alive, had seen them die often in horrendous circumstances. For example, there were numerous times when the living were propped up against the corpses in the trenches while shooting at their enemy.

Secondly the next generation, were the children who would have remembered narratives about the dead from the mourners above, but who would have been too young to have known them: vicarious or pseudo-grieving for the person perhaps,

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[81] Michael Rowlands, Remembering to forget, in Adrian Forty and Susanne Kuchler *The Art of Forgetting* (Berg, Oxford, 2001) p.137.

[82] Chambers *Concise Dictionary* **commemorate:** to call to remembrance by a solemn or public act: to celebrate: to preserve the memory of.

[83] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker *14-18,* p. 204.

having constructed a mental image which would have been stimulated by narratives, photographs, letters and other inheritances.

Thirdly, there was the grand-generation who may have honoured the dead, their ancestors, but who would not have known them, and therefore not grieve for them as individual personalities. Possibly, rather a sadness of family loss of what had been or what might have been, would have permeated remembering imaginations. This is the generation, many of whom are alive to-day, that 'perhaps [in which] ... we should look for the existing scars of the great mass massacre of 1914-1918.'[84]

Fourthly, there was the future generations who would honour the dead of past generations who had died in conflict for certain ideals: of liberty and peace, for a better world, so that their children and children's children may live a good and free life. And so on: for evermore, as is proclaimed on so many of the World War One-World War Two memorials and monuments.

Fifthly, after the immediate future, the memorials may come to embody an element of ancestor worship and ultimately pass into legend and folklore, (witness Marathon, for example) the progress of time affording a less personal respect but one not necessarily less profound.

Remembrance is the act of remembering, the state of remembrance in which past events are brought to mind and consciously reconstructed, the mental image being expressed in an end-result. A war memorial may be that expression, and the ceremonies which take place around it on specific anniversaries.

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[84] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker *14-18,* p. 9.

Memory is the part of the brain which functions as the bank, storing current sensations of a person's experiences so that they may be recalled at need, modifying behaviour and action.

Memories may be immediate, less recent or long-term. They are selective, the selection of what is remembered or what is forgotten may be deliberate or unconscious and is dependent upon the subject's psyche, mood and intention at the time.

It is impossible to remember some event which is not personal; that hasn't happened to the subject. In other words, the war experiences of the dead who are memorialized and remembered, died with them. The living remember something other, vicariously. The war veterans were the best able to imagine the war experiences by recalling their own experiences with comrades in battle, being active agents in the events. However, in many cases, their testimony for various reasons was not to remember, against being the active agents in the memorialisation movement and this standpoint was, and is, respected. Henry Allingham did not speak about his war experiences until he was a hundred, by which time he felt it his duty to speak for his generation and those, his mates, who had perished while he had survived: his final message being about the utter futility of war.

The events are imagined. In writing of the Holocaust memorial in Berlin, Young, using a term from Hirsch, calls this imaging 'post-memory'.[85]

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[85] James Young *At Memory's Edge. After-images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture.* (Yale University Press, New York, 2000). Marianne Hirsch *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1997) and Family Pictures: Maus, mourning and post-memory *Discourse* 15, no. 2 (1992-1993) pp.3-29.

On the acknowledgment and acceptance by the war survivors[86] that something had been gained in the sacrifice of those who had died, the dying for a cause, the dead are deified in the idea of the collective. It was believed by the memorial builders that the role of the living was to recognise this debt and to collectively reciprocate by the outward, tangible and visible expression of public memorialisation. The legacy of the massive war deaths resulted in the great war cemeteries, memorials and monuments which are in all parts of the world.

The creation of memorials is linked to a series of psychological events in human behaviour, applying both singly, or collectively: the components may run concurrently and be short- or long-term.

Memory.

'Tension between history and memory is being reborn as one between discourse and feeling, between secular critical practice and therapeutic practice. But it need not be so ....'[87]

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[86] The term is inclusive, referring to both war veterans and civilians. 'Spectators' are another group: for example the Red Cross workers, nurses and orderlies, who were in the midst of war carnage but advocates, with the Papacy, of peace. Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker *14-19*. p. 137. The list goes on: the labourers, the reporters, ...

[87] Michael Rowlands and Christopher Tilley 'Monuments and memorials' in Chris Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuchler, Mike Rowlands, Patricia Spyer *A Handbook of Material Culture* (Sage, London, 2006) p.505.

'Memory as re-enactment merges with recent work on trauma theory to promise recovery from loss and denial.'[88] In other words, the bringing to mind of the events of personal trauma becomes catharsis and a means towards closure.

> Memory work is thought ... to subvert the totalizing varieties of historicism because our epoch has been uniquely structured by trauma and its effects.... Nora's belief that true memory has disappeared could be challenged by the growth of heritage studies showing that memory survived as an authentic mode of discourse in the use of material culture or as a counter-history that had challenged the false generalizations of exclusionary history.[89]

After itemising explanations for a new memorializing of the past the authors conclude that 'memory is now inseparable from identity politics as a post -1980s feature linked to post-modern crises in historical consciousness and the production of totalizing narratives'.[90]

And re-invention of the past is the present reality which has to be acceptable to contemporary society. Hence it may be altered by, for example, the up-dating of the Cape Town memorials, making them inclusive and symbolic of remembrance of all

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[88] Rowlands and Tilley *Handbook* ... p.501, referring to S. Feuchtwang The transmission of loss and the demand for recognition in S.Radstone and K. Hodgkin *Regimes of Memory* (Routledge, London, 2003).

[89] Rowlands and Tilley *Handbook* ... p. 501. Referring to Samuel .*Island Stories* ...

[90] Rowlands and Tilley *Handbook* ... p. 501.

South Africans who have died in war and struggle for the cause of justice and peace, rather than their original and contemporary exclusivity.

The memory of events or people is second-layer: the memory is not the event itself. Memories are constructed in the gap of time between the real and the imaginary, the outer and the inner personal worlds combining to produce a new entity – the constructed memory. The longer the gap, the more time there is for elaborating on the construct and the more opportunity for public interference, for persuasion and elaboration.

This is the realm of the imagination, creative thinking, myth-making, literary construction, story-telling, fantasising: in other words, the human encounter with the world. The arts are a major part of imaginative endeavour, allowing a vehicle for unfettered and inventive expression.

The constructed object-as-embodiment-of-idea becomes the catharsis for psychological change within the bereaved person who is seeking solace from their grief. The inner, altered state becomes personally expressed by a new or renewed ability to cope with life, contributing to and participating in society again, Bacque's 'support that gradually becomes a substitute for the body of the deceased.'[91]

Thus imaginative mental projections, such as the making of a war memorial, or its contemplation, may afford psychological coping mechanisms which enable the person to manage, control and direct emotional and practical behaviours which are acceptable to oneself and society, acting as catalyst for a daily life worth living: bringing to mind rememberings about that which has been lost.

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[91] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14-18*, p. 217.

However, the impact of the visual image, or sound, which has been stimulated by the viewer's memory associations, state of mind, and mood, may change or alter further perceptions and actions moving on to a second, synthesising narrative. For example the visual impact of a war memorial may stimulate a series of thoughts about the victims and the experiences of war and one's own part in it. However it may also provoke negative feelings against the design of the memorial which would interfere with the intended purpose of intercession.

Feelings of ambivalence, disturbance and unease which may occur on viewing some monuments may be deliberate projections intended by the artist in order to imply That the wastage, horror or whatever of war and are not necessarily negative. Rather, they could ensure the artistic success of the work by for example, creating a forum for discussion about war and peace. But they may not heal.

The remembered must have been thought to be worth remembering. 'A wasted, destroyed life that has been proved to be of no importance is humiliating to the living':[92] suggesting that the myth begins with the re-construction of a pre-war life that was already heroic or which contained the potential for it. It is easier to honour heroes than ordinary men and thus to subsume their previous failings in the act of mythologisation. Not so. The war had been so ghastly that by dying for the common cause in such conditions, I believe that they automatically became heroes, whatever their previous lives: the war creating contemporary heroes, not reflections of a nostalgic past. As did those who had survived such ravages, burdened, severely damaged and changed for evermore.

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[92] Michael Rowlands, 'Remembering to forget: sublimation as sacrifice' in Adrian Forty and Susanne Kuchler *The Art of Forgetting* (Berg, Oxford, 2001) p.137.

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Objects of memory, when being viewed, may become active agents with therapeutic powers, the prop for the activation of memory experiences and a successful closure. Psychological closure has to have been achieved by the mourners before a memorial can be usefully meaningful to the viewer, otherwise it will continue to open wounds which cannot be coped with.

Healing denotes a process of change from an undesired, unmanageable state of health to a desired and manageable one.

The therapeutic role of war memorials.

The aim of therapy is to heal and to make possible a renewed state of being: to work through the emotional state of grief towards mourning so that living with loss is possible both in the present and the future.[93] Part of the methodology is to work towards the idealization of an excruciating experience by sublimation, to be able to live with the pain by transforming it, to objectify it by promoting neuronic re-positioning within the brain.

The bereavement of entire nations was on a scale never experienced before. The sadness, shock, anger and resentment that were felt in varying degrees by all members of the surviving populations would have been exacerbated by some measure of guilt in military and government quarters. The memorials were the focus for rituals which allowed for healing over time. In the case of a civic war memorial: the decision-making involved in the original motivation (collective action which can be construed as re-action), selection of the location and placing, collection of the monetary contributions

[93] Grief therapy as a discipline is a relatively modern intervention in healing.

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in the form of donations or grants from the mourners on a public or an individual basis, consultation over the design with the relevant people. All these activities would have intervened for the atonement needed in high places.

The same would have applied on community and personal levels. The interaction between members of church or secular groups and among family members would likewise have aided the recovery process on a more intimate scale. A coming to terms with the past, in the present, so that the future may be managed.

Psychological suffering was unexpressed due to lack of means: social, cultural, psychomedical, linguistic. There were two streams of dealing with loss: taboos within families on mentioning the names of their dead, and paradoxically, an almost overwhelming display of grief, a flaunting of emotion in kitsch-like mini installations of photographs, flowers (artificial), draperies, death notices and sentimental prose and poetry, heroic male figures in the arms of angels or classical female icons of myth. The sales of black mourning material for women's clothes had increased in demand until mid-1916.

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Bereavement and mourning.

The steps involved in the mourning after the death of a loved one can be explained in a sequence of mental activities which are outlined below.

1. The initial knowledge of the death of the person. Bereavement which is accompanied by shock and grief creates a state of mourning for the lost one. The situation is made more palpable in a war-death, where there is no body around which to perform and share in the funeral rites with family and friends.

Freud[94] states that mourning is an outcome of grief which is subconsciously aimed at keeping the loved one alive. Identification with, idealization of and unsuccessful transference into the dead one are the conscious processes whereby the individual experiences grief: processes of change of self, being moulded by the absence of the other. The making or planning, contribution to, and contemplation of a memorial may assist in the resolution of the conflict within. As may participation in ceremonies and rituals attached to them.

2. Reaction to the shock of loss and sadness of bereavement involves choices and decision-making over time, short- or long-term. It takes many forms depending on the individual circumstances of the bereaved such as character, personality, family and social customs of religion and secular mores, financial status, redistribution of domestic arrangements. Various emotions come into play: for example, remorse, anger, forgiveness, sorrow, empathy, bewilderment and so on. The decision whether or not, to build a memorial would be part of the process of reaction.

3. Actively bringing to consciousness the trauma of excruciating experience by memorizing: one's own pain, that of others, the death of self, the death of others, brutality, the killing of others, secondary feelings of guilt, 'how could I have prevented it?', 'it needn't have happened'.

4. Expression of these memories which in the case of the WW1 memorials became a concerted, deliberate and massive undertaking of public mourning of nations, an

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[94] 'Remembering to Forget...' in Forty and Kuchler *The Art of Forgetting,* p. 130,quoting Sigmund Freud in *Mourning and Melancholia* in *A General Introduction to Psycho-analysis* (Star Books, New York, 1943) stresses that while in a state of grief, the subject is involved 'in a complete alienation from the present and the future' but that grief is not neurotic unless it becomes morbid.

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outpouring of grief and sadness such as the world had never seen before. Those examples which are discussed in this dissertation are part of this endeavour. Expression may also be in the denial of remembering, turning one's back on events. Joe Samuels is a case in point.[95]

Denial as a valid reaction after trauma is supported in recent research led by Dr Mark Seery[96] into the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in Washington on 11 September 2001, acknowledging that it is not always expedient to express at length, experiences of shock and trauma. Some people prefer 'to keep a stiff upper lip', or in medical terminology, 'repress': nature's way of surviving potential neurotic overload and breakdown.

5. Closure, the final stage of mourning, is an active process of letting go so that remembering enters the realm of ideas and associations which may, after that, then creatively attach themselves to any object or action. 'What puts this reconciliation beyond doubt is the fixing of these ideals in the enduring form of a memorial and the social context in which this is done. It is this metamorphosis that harnesses intensities

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[95] Bill Nasson *Springboks on the Somme* (Penguin South Africa, Johannesburg, 2007). Joe Samuels had survived three major hospitalisations, their recuperations and a shipwreck, as a volunteer, for Britain in the South African Expeditionary Force. He had been the lone survivor of his platoon at Delville Wood. At the end of the war all he had wanted to do was to return to his South African home and be reunited with his civilian parents and siblings: to forget his past recent experiences. His way of dealing with his grief, disgust, sadness and anger was to forget, his aim, to work for himself, not to be messed around. The searing heat, the disorientation and the memories of battlefield experiences so awful resulted in a repressive silence ... 'the dead were to be left on the field of battle, left as inconsolable loss rather than as an object for rituals of bereavement and mourning.' (p. 197) He could never attend funerals.

[96] Dr. Mark Seery. University of Buffalo. Reported briefly in *The Weekly Telegraph* June 4-10 2008.

and ideas to a process of individuation and explication'[97] so that the subject can move on, in an altered state of consciousness, having either managed to live healthily with bereavement, or alternatively remaining in a state of morbidity. Part of closure would be the feeling that by the sacrifice of one's family members and friends and the subsequent grief and mourning for them, one is personally contributing to the memorial.

The advances in medical research and practice by 1914 had been tested to the extreme during and after the war and had certainly helped to save lives and ameliorate suffering. But saved lives were sent to the Front, to fight or die or be wounded again, and again. Many died of disease due to inadequate sterilization and lack of present-day antibiotics. At times the pain was so great that the 'saved' had wanted to die.

The pioneering doctor in war-psychology was W.H.R. Rivers the psychologist who worked as RAMC Captain at Craiglockart War Hospital, near Edinburgh. He had realised that men even of the highest bravery in war could suffer and succumb to overwhelming fear, which in extreme cases had left them unable to control their actions and emotions: hence the so-called dereliction of duty, cowardice, lack of loyalty and patriotism, and absconding which earned at least three hundred and six British and Commonwealth serving men courts-martial, the youngest aged sixteen. The sentence was death by firing squad, which was composed of their comrades: as a 'good example'. A belated memorial has been erected in England at the National Memorial Arboretum Staffordshire, reflecting a modern understanding of the psychological circumstances these men had suffered and at last offering a measure of closure to their families.

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[97] Rowlands 'Remembering to Forget...' in Forty and Kuchler *The Art of Forgetting,* p.137.

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Rivers was familiar with the ideas and practices of Freud on and in psychoanalysis. He thought that the driving force behind human activity was the need for survival and therefore when that survival was direly threatened under extreme circumstances, as in trench warfare, behaviour was unconsciously altered so that the threat was concealed by certain mental disorders or neuroses: the unconscious making the subject not to be responsible for his actions.

Technological advances in medicine had their grimmer counterpart in the 'improved' mass destructive weapons of war, which made for worsening types of wounds, pushing medical ingenuity to the extreme.

The art work is a way of controlling the intangible, it is an intermediary which can be seen, experienced materially by vision and touch, linking the outer world with the inner spiritual domain. In order for it to work, to perform the miracles, magic, healing, the viewer or audience must believe. Thus, power is twofold. Power is given to the individual in that he/she has the ability to control the intangible, and therefore the object in which that power is vested becomes able to exert its own, intangible power. It is a two-way process between the art object and the viewer, in the present case between the bereft and the memorial.[98]

The memorial-art work becomes the vehicle for psychological change within the person who seeks solace from their grief. The change is partly the product of the time which passes during and after the catharsis rendered by the image and associated actions, whether outwardly expressed, or remaining as inner, physiological neurone

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[98] Mireille Holsbeke, ed. *The Object as Mediator. On the Transcendental Meaning of Art in Traditional Cultures* (Ethnografisch Museum, Antwerp, 1997).

adjustment. The inner altered state becomes expressed by a new or renewed ability to cope with life and to contribute to society.

A successful closure is the result of the above sequence of stages in the mourning process. Sometimes there is no closure: rather a state of pseudo-closure in which the subject appears to be coping, not-coping with loss. The memorial is not the catalyst for atonement, expiation or amendment, nor becoming the concretization of closure. It comes after the event of closure. The outcome of psychic reconciliation of mourning is the acceptance of the above conscious processes.

Acknowledgment of the importance of the death and destruction, of the sacrificial act, the dying for a cause, is matched by that of the loss-transmuted-to-acceptance that the events did occur, they will not be forgotten. By the acknowledgement that something had been gained by their sacrifice, the dead are deified in the idea of the collective. It is the role of the living to recognise this debt and to reciprocate so that the sacrifice, the surrender of the self, has been recognised. Thus commemoration came to be a duty of citizenship.[99]

The subject of the visionary lies beyond conscious experiences of human passion, the emotional experiences of love, fear, hate or indifference and speaks to our intuition which is embedded in archetypal or collective unconscious events: a deeper level of understanding than that of personal idiosyncracies. Intuition points to what is unknown, the deeper recesses of the human psyche. The visionary quality, which is expressed by intuition, is never stereotypical. This quality in a work of art cannot be explained logically or scientifically: it is transcendent, carrying a power which is universal and which cannot be explained in everyday terms. It is lasting and speaks to us through

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[99] Nasson, *Springboks* ..., p.222.

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space and time and is '... compensatory to the conscious attitude.'[100] 'That is to say (it) can bring a one-sided, abnormal or dangerous state of consciousness into a state of equilibrium in an apparently purposive way.'

According to Jung[101] there are two forms of art: to inform and to create an atmosphere. He saw art works, literature, as falling in the continuum between the two poles of 'psychological' and 'visionary': the former being ruled by the conscious will and the latter by the unconscious.[102] The art work exists alone and refers to itself, once it has left its maker's hand and psyche, becoming part of the public domain.

It is inert, 'alive' only in the minds of the viewers when in contact by its form and content. It is not an appendage of the artist or writer and must not be interpreted as such: rather it records the thought and emotional processes in relation to the subject-content, of the artist during its gestation and through to completion. The coming-into-being of the final product contains the healing element, if art is used as the artist's therapy. The power of the image to raise emotions or to quicken our blood, as does great art, transcends ordinary judgement. Many memorials achieve this power depending on the viewer's point of view and willingness to be open to the projections of the artist's work.

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[100] Carl Gustav Jung, Psychology and Literature in McConkey *The Anatomy of Memory* (Oxford University Press, 1996) p. 157.

[101] Jung, Psychology and Literature in McConkey *The Anatomy of Memory* (Oxford University Press, 1996) p.146 ff.

[102] Jung, Psychology and Literature in McConkey *The Anatomy of Memory* (Oxford University Press, 1996) p.157.

War memorials and monuments. Antecedents and styles.

John Buchan, who had been appointed the official historian of the South African forces in France during World War One, saw the conflict as mirroring contemporary neo-Classicism in art, representing the troops as 'matching the best virtues of Classical Greece or Rome', being 'reincarnations of infantry hoplites or legionnaires at Marathon or Cannae.' [103]

This mental construction of the South African Dutch-English fighter into the ideal of 'the masculine personification of a Classical empire in Africa,' ignored the mass of the indigenous and immigrant black populations and women, their needs and aspirations. Dreaming further, he saw the Springboks as 'crusaders who had battled for the northern islands from which they had sprung.' [104]

The identification with the crusading spirits had been perpetuated when the coffin of the Unknown British Warrior was buried in Westminster Abbey in 1920 with a real medieval crusader's sword, from the royal Collection, strapped to the lid. And romantic identification was further cemented when it was realised that crusader casualties were also left far from home, unidentified, resting places unknown. A poster (Number 108 in the series), artist unknown, published by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, London, in 1915 showing a St. George figure on his steed slaying the dragon with the

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[103] Nasson, *Springboks ...,* p. 217, discussing John Buchan *The South African Forces in France.*

[104] Nasson, *Springboks ...,* p. 218.

words 'Britain needs you at once' gave pungency to the concept.[105] Thus were the imperial youth stimulated into enlisting.

Architectural forerunners of the monumental graveyard.

'The continual reappropriation of forms of material culture may subvert the dichotomies of pre/post-modern and memory/historical consciousness.' [106]

There must be some motivation or need in the continual action and reaction of cultural forms that transcends the creation of completely innovative art. In fact, art always builds upon itself along the continuum between reproduction and innovation, in whatever proportions, it is iatrogenic whatever the form and content; it cannot exist in a vacuum, even the Dadaists used art materials and techniques to convey their messages of Anti-art. The reappropriation referred to above must be leavened with an appreciation of the two poles of the continuum, and the manner in which the traditional forms are interpreted in the new work. There are many reasons for resurrecting the forms of the past:

> Tombs dating from three or four thousand years before Christ, are the earliest surviving monuments in the history of western architecture. Investigation of the origins of architecture, so powerfully expressed in

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[105] James Aulic *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Imperial War Museum and Thames and Hudson, London, 2007) ill. no. 126 Britain needs you at once 1915, pub. by The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, London.

[106] Rowlands and Tilley, Monuments and memorials in *Handbook* ... p.501.

> the eighteenth-century passion for archaeology, thus resulted in the discovery of innumerable artefacts associated with death: tombs, mausolea, sarcophagi, altars, cenotaphs, and funerary urns.[107]

Vitruvius Pollio, active between 46 and 30 BCE had written the only fully surviving *Treatise on Architecture* from Antiquity, the work carrying enormous influence in the *oeuvre* of the Early Renaissance architects. However, the tome ignored monuments to death, thus leaving the field wide open to personal interpretation in the minds and hands of Renaissance Man and followers.

Twentieth century grave architecture, sculpture and planning derive from the prototypes of the Age of Enlightenment from around 1750 onwards, when sepulchral art in the Neo-Classical style flourished all over the Western world, its antecedents of Antiquity being studied and drawn by, among other enthusiasts, architectural students.

There is growing evidence that the sculpture of antiquity was highly coloured and often patterned, giving life to the images,[108] contrary to the Neo-Classical preference for restraint, in monochrome white, grey and black marbled funerary and other figures. The antique sculptures would have been discovered with the merest traces of paint and gone unremarked. In fact, for their purposes too high a colour would have mitigated against the content/narrative/message.

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[107] David Watkin, Monuments and Mausolea in the Age of Enlightenment in Giles Waterfield ed. *Soane and Death* (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London) p. 9.

[108] *Smithsonian* July 2008.

Sir John Soane (1754-1837) was the chief exponent in England of the art of death, both as a lecturer in architecture and architectural history, and as a practising architect: his preoccupation with 'the Furniture of Death' [109] took up a great part of his long life.

He was attracted to the commemorative architecture of the past not only naturally, due to his melancholic frame of mind but also because their elements contained the forms of pure geometry, which could be purely and creatively exploited and expressed in abstract ways, without recourse to any functional everyday practical use.

In addition, he enjoyed demonstrating how the ancient designers did not always work according to set rules and Laws of architecture: for example Ionic columns are surmounted by a full Doric frieze in the 'Tomb of Theron' at Agrigentum in Sicily. In other words, it was possible to express creativity and invention within the strict rules of mathematics and adapt to individual dictates of function and site.

The Cylinder/column, Pyramid/obelisk, Triangle/pediment, Cube, and Circle and Rectangle, the two latter being in plan as well as elevation, perfectly expressed the quiet mood which was required in funerary ornament and were diametrically opposed to the exuberance and figurativeness of the earlier High Baroque.

Death architecture in Antiquity expressed many human qualities by their style, symbolic references, placing and imagery: namely civic virtue and pride, beauty and order, moods of mystery and sadness and seriousness. Artefacts extolled moral virtues and the victory of heroism where honour in war death was greatly esteemed. They combined both secular, worldly values with religious beliefs in their forms and content. They proclaimed the deeds of any individual whose family or associates could afford a fitting memorial. Partly due to over-crowding in a crowded city space, the monumental

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[109] Summerson of Soane in Waterhouse *Soane and Death,* p. 9.

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way, leading in to a city had become the norm during Roman times, with extant examples at for example, Via Appia in Rome and Arles in southern France.

The Campo Santo at Pisa, part of the Christian cathedral complex, became beloved of neo-Classical architects as it contained antique tombs, effigies, frescoes, inscriptions and contemporary mausolea. This conglomeration represented the continuance of death and therefore the revival of life. It was chiefly the great men of Pisa who were commemorated here.

The eighteenth century love of landscape gardening became Romanticised into 'The Elysian Fields' where the dead enjoy everlasting life, at Stowe in England. Here gardens of the dead were planted with cypress trees, yews and dark brown foliage heightening the mood of 'sacred melancholy'[110] which was secular rather than religious.

It was the German, Christian Hirschfield, a protagonist of the English garden design tradition in his *Theorie de l'art des jardins*[111] who recommended that the Stowe prototype be 'transferred to the creation of public cemeteries in the form of gardens'.[112] And Soane's teacher, Sir William Chambers, had proposed that the places of the dead be 'transformed into one magnificent vast Garden'.[113]

The first public cemetery to be built following the Stowe example was the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris in1804, initiated by Napoleon, resembling a necropolis of old, and immediately became a tourist attraction, which it still is.

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[110] Quoted in Giles Waterhouse *Soane and Death* (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 1996) p. 13.

[111] In 5 volumes, Leipzig 1779-85.

[112] Waterhouse, *Soane* ... p. 15.

[113] Waterhouse, *Soane* ... p. 13.

Members of the eighteenth and nineteenth century public liked to cogitate upon and have romantic thoughts in melancholy settings, dreaming of the heroic past and a golden age of perfection. The Neo-Classical forms based on geometry exactly suited their cogitations. Languid human figures, super-real in their marble petrification were added, together with uplifting written text immortalizing a loved one or important event.

However, it has been noted by Cannadine[114] that the attitude of bordering sentimentality which had been growing throughout the nineteenth century had reached its apogee by mid-1916, when the ravages of the war intensified and the public realised that death in battle was a more harrowing business than the imagined heroic sacrifice for one's country. Remembrance now became internalised with the awareness of mass horror and cruelty. There was thus no single reason for the remembrance movement of the early twentieth century.

Thus, monuments to illustrious individuals and events had become part of urban planning and landscape and by the mid-eighteenth century three types of monument had become accepted: the 'Roman' tomb standing alone, in a landscape setting and containing the bones of the mourned one; the monument, as for example, the pyramid or obelisk which could be either alone prominently in the landscape or part of an urban plan, always being commemorative, the tomb being elsewhere; and, thirdly, the mausoleum, a 'house' which contained the tombs of the dead. Only prominent men or the moneyed classes were remembered in these monumental structures.

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[114] Discussed in Joy Damousi *The Labour of Loss* (Cambridge University Press, 1999) referring to David Cannadine *War and Death in Modern Britain* p. 215.

In the private sector, the great area cemeteries of London, Highgate and Norwood come to mind. A Valhalla[115] set out under dark foliage, the elaborate tombs with symbolic insignia being approached on gravelled walkways and where seasonal wild flowers proliferate: these have long been places of sombre beauty to be enjoyed not only by the immediate mourners but by the public at large. Examples of the style may be seen in the older cemeteries of Cape Town, civil and religious, although now often suffering dire neglect.[116]

Indirectly, then, the prototypes for the post-war 'landscapes of memory' were in place.[117]

The image often bears the name of the spirit, a Christian saint for example, or an ancestor. Image and real spirit become fused in the minds of the believers, hence the danger of the worship of graven, material images of the outer world replacing worship of the inner spirit.

Therefore, realistic statue images, especially in three dimensions or the semblance thereof, would be more able to intercede in the grieving process than a simplified, abstract image or symbol on a war monument. The image embodies the individual's meaning. However, the unsculptured grave headstones of the memorial cemeteries, by their profusion alone, and their relentless and repetitive placements do not require further embellishment to meet the points of intercession and mourning.

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[115] John Gay and Felix Barker *Highgate Cemetery. Victorian Valhalla* (Salem House, New Hampshire, 1984).

[116] The graves and headstones of St. Paul's churchyard in Rondebosch come to mind. The whole is in a state of disrepair, with the war memorial being the exception. A discussion of the latter follows below.

[117] Samuel Hynes *The Soldiers' Tale* (London, Penguin/Pimlico, 1998). The new landscape which replaces 'the strange landscape [of war which is] the annihilation of what *landscape* means'. p. 53.

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The reinvention of the art forms of past cultures may be a deliberate ploy to glorify constructed memory. In other words, it is argued that, for example, Neo-Classical forms which are often used in war memorials, are used for glorification *per se.* Equally, one could argue that it is the familiarity of some of the forms of lost cultures which offer a way-in to the understanding of the work and therefore to the intention of the maker. The powers that be would seek to use a Victory to promote the idea but it is the idea of Victory that is glorification; the style (art object) conveys the idea. It is not the idea itself.[118]

Judaeo-Christian forms of memorialisation became re-cast with national characteristics grouping them. The sacredness of war memorials and monuments has been retained,[119] although there is a distinction between the British and French commemorative structures. The former are 'war memorials', stressing death due to the war which was responsible for the traumatic aftermath endured by all survivors: mourning, grieving and commemorating both the war and survivors, and war dead. The latter French, 'monuments to the dead', stress the end of the life, the dead-ness proclaiming heroism in the supreme sacrifice *pro patria*.

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Heroism and the Fallen Soldier.

The 'supreme sacrifice' means that someone has died so that others may continue to live. And when war memorials bear that wording it could be part of the myth-making

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[118] Holsbeke, ed., *The Object as Mediator...* 'Ancestors, saints and other spiritual intermediaries are often represented in the form of statues', p. 15.

[119] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14-18* Chap 8. p. 186.

of the community of authority, a thought after the event, because so many of the soldiers had had no choice in their fate. Supposing that they were sacrificed by a higher authority than their earthly superiors, God, rather than High Command, meant that the latter were exonerated from blame for the death of the nations' sons and daughters. The idea of sacrifice had come after mobilization and war had started. It was a comfortable concept for those in command, both civil and military and seemed to carry justification for the war, battle or engagement. Whether sacrifice was seen as given or taken is a moot point of belief.

Sacrificial patriotism seems to have been a myth constructed by the German army authorities in order to explain away the loss of one hundred and forty five thousand young soldiers at the battles in the Langemarck/Bixchote region by November 1917. It was here that the German Army constructed the transformation of the youth becoming the man, perpetuating the legend into Hitler's Third Reich and giving rise to much literature about the manliness of warriors.[120]

The ideal of the Greek hero was to 'grace many a war monument'.[121] Pagan imagery had come alongside emerging Christian symbols, which in turn later became the dominant iconography for religious memorials: Christianity gave hope of a life hereafter. The soldier's suffering was thus being equated with that of Christ on the cross.

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[120] George Mosse *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford University Press, 1990).

[121] Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers ...*, pp. 71/2.

A strong motivating factor in the creation of the American Civil War cemeteries and mourning landscapes of the 1860s was the need of the families to acknowledge the past lives of their kin which had ended so tragically. Across time and the world, by the end of the Anglo-Boer War in 1901, this need had become entrenched after which, collective commemoration by the British had become the norm.

Inglis differentiates between 'Fallen Soldiers' Memorials' and 'Soldiers' Memorials' in writing of the Anglo-Boer War. The former was a monument to those who had died/fallen 'cleanly, heroically, sacrificial' giving their lives in war. The term 'fallen' was sanitising the horror of the ways in which they had died under, for example artillery fire, already inventing presentable images and directing imagined contexts. The veterans and the general public were to be shielded by fine words from the realities entrenched in war outcomes. A horrible death was transmogrified into metaphor. Therefore, a suitable public face of remembrance was of a 'whole, embalmed and shrouded' soldier. The latter term, 'Soldiers' Memorials' could be used to describe memorials not only to the dead but also to include the survivors, all of whom would have campaigned together.

It is the 'sacredness'[122] of monuments that has been maintained and a distinction is made between British and French commemorative structures. The former are 'war memorials', stressing death due to the **war** which was responsible for the traumatic aftermath endured by all survivors; mourning or grieving, and commemorating the war, the survivors and the war dead. The latter French, 'monuments to the dead', stress the end of the life and proclaim heroism in the supreme sacrifice, representative of 'civil religion'.

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[122] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *1914-1918* Ch. 8, p. 186.

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The French had rejected the idea of 'living' or 'utilitarian' memorials such as scholarships, stadia and hospitals.[123] It was the entitlement of the dead to have their names inscribed on the monument. There were no epitaphs on individual grave stelae. As in Britain, almost every town and village has their civil-religious memorial to their dead of World War One, updated to World War Two.

Arthur Danto[124] defines the differences between memorial and monument. Memorials are about the healing embraces of remembrance and reconciliation, being erected in memory of a person or people and/or an event, and are usually in commemoration of the dead rather than of living people. They are built in the spirit of community.

A memorial invites introspection and interpretation, whereas a monument is celebratory, outwardly proclaiming a historical event, 'petrifying history'.[125] Memorials may also be monuments just as monuments may be memorials. Rowlands[126] maintains that 'Memorials become monuments as a successful completion of the mourning process.' In the dissertation I refer to memorials for that is usually what they were at their origin. The definition 'monument' comes later and is a more subjective connotation.

We turn now to a local public memorial.

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[123] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *1914-1918* p.187.

[124] Rowlands, Remembering to forget ... in Forty and Kuchler, *The Art of Forgetting* p. 130.

[125] Neville Dubow *Imaging the Unimaginable. Holocaust Memory in Art and Architecture* (UCT, Cape Town, 2001), quoting Nietzsche.

[126] Rowlands in Remembering to forget ... p.131.

Wynberg Cemetery. Anglo-Boer War memorial.

The memorial is central on one side of the St John's Anglican church cemetery in Wynberg. A huge granite cross is atop an unworked granite boulder from the lower slopes of Table Mountain in Newlands, part of the 'hen and chickens' group of natural stones. It bears, in small letters, the some 150 names of the British soldiers killed in the Anglo-Boer War with the inscription, 'To these brave men who died at Wynberg for their country in the South African War 1899-1901 and lie buried here this monument is erected by a friend of the army .... .' At its inception, therefore the structure was envisioned as a monument rather than a memorial by the builder.

Art historical period.

'...in the years 1911-14 there was for a time both in sculpture and in painting a certain uniformity in all countries which was a uniformity of experiment.' Attributed to a 'profound dissatisfaction with all existing academic styles: artists seeking for some new line of thought or process of creation, leading in various directions.'[127] The dissatisfaction was due to unease with the social state and political hegemonies which in turn led to the search for a style in which to express these human predicaments. The old social order was outdated, so thus were the art forms which had conveyed them.

A search for essential forms and the geometry within, rather than for surface beauty was the over-riding concern. Casson maintains that the resulting works were so

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[127] Stanley Casson *Twentieth Century Sculptors* (Oxford University Press, 1930) p.122. He was writing about Western art, mainly British sculptors.

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profoundly similar in style, subject and method that they were indistinguishable one from another but that the coming of war had effectively put a stop to this experimentation. In the decade after the war, in Britain, experimentation with new materials and lack of direction had not yet led to any lasting, integrated works matching form with content. He cites Barbara Hepworth as a young sculptor of promise, along with John Skeaping. He was chiefly writing about British sculptors, working from a conservative, traditional and safe mode, omitting the excruciating Expressionism of, for example Kathe Kollwitz[128] whose 'Family Group' weeps over the graves of the Germans in Vladslo forest cemetery in Poland, mourning in personal terms with her husband Karl, their son Peter, through whom all war-dead youth are touched. A cry for humanity in the wastage and carnage of a war based on technology and machines, the style perfectly equated the content of the message.

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[128] Kathe Kollwitz was born in Konigsberg in 1867. She and Karl, her doctor husband lost their second of two sons, Peter early in the war. His brother Hans enlisted in the medical corps.
25,664 men are buried at Vladslo. Peter is one of them. He had been born in Berlin in 1896. Aged 18 he had been caught up in the euphoria of youth, idealizing the war, volunteering for one's country, heroism in sight after a short war. He had been the first of his regiment to die, in the confusion of burst shells, out of order soldiers, at Dixmude. Something in his mother died too. Cowley, 2003. p.476. Her art was outlawed by the Nazis, proclaimed as being decadent.

Part II

Chapter 3. South African memorials.

On the 16 September 1914, the Hex River train disaster resulted in eight members of the Kaffrarian Rifles who were being transported to Cape Town, being killed. A cairn of stones surmounted by a cross was erected in their memory, at the site of the disaster near the Touws River tunnel. It could be argued that this was the first war memorial of WW1 in the Western Cape, although not an official military one.[129]

Cape Town Memorials.

The WW1 memorial sculptures in Cape Town fall within the traditional, realistic mode of statuary, conveying the specific message of their instigators with an emphasis which differs between them. The Delville Wood precinct in the Gardens extols the idea of Brotherhood between South African Boer and British. The so-called Cenotaph in Adderley Street primarily describes South Africa's role in the Imperial military victory over the enemy.

The architectural Great War Stone of pure geometry, at UCT embodies personal gratitude and remembrance, indelibly integrated into its environment. The City Hall

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[129] *Cape Times* 16.09.1914. Re: 'Hex River train disaster carry members of the Kaffrarian Rifles to Cape Town. 'Guard arrested. Cairn of surrounding stones surmounted by a cross, erected on the site of the disaster, the Touws River tunnel siding memorializing eight men. One hundred were injured and taken to surrounding hospitals.'

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mural specifically names those of the 1st Cape Corps who had died in the war and acknowledges all of the regiment who had accompanied them to the theatres of war.[130] The National Roll of Honour gives due recognition to all nine thousand and seventy nine South Africans who are named there. National, City, Business, School, Rolls of Honour express respect and gratitude to each named individual within their pre-war social groups. The memorials in Anglican churches are personal, local and religious, often soldiers of Christ echoing Christ's death in the supreme sacrifice. The war cemeteries are all-embracing and military.

The SS *Mendi* memorial in Mowbray is a late atonement of the debt to a previously under-acknowledged group of war victims, members of the South African Native Labour Corps. As such it makes for the re-examining of contemporary war memorials. Those who are remembered here had perished at sea before arriving at their war destination in France.

In common with all, the local WW1 memorials are documents to history referring to both past and present, becoming subsumed in generalities as time progresses and priorities change. In their genesis, they reflected contemporary, national cultural, political and religious mores which were underpinned by respective philosophies. They are structures to be contemplated, passed by, from time to time being the centre of memorial events often of a military nature. However, whether or not a psycho-analytic

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[130] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *14-18*, p. 187. It is interesting to note that Australian World War One memorials almost invariably carried the names of all who went to engage in the war, whereas in South Africa the custom varies. The writers maintain that Australia was 'the only country that rejected conscription throughout the war'. This statement is inaccurate: South Africa too, did not have conscription.

interpretation of the monuments is useful in understanding the minds of their creators is not part of the discussion.[131]

Much of South African war memorialisation seems to have taken its cue from English customs and the Anglican Church. The majority of local parochial memorials are to be found attached to Anglican churches: the other non-conformist and Catholic religions not usually having them.

It was a war in which the fortitude, bravery and stamina of individuals were recognised and acknowledged in its memorials, as well as glory in a victorious outcome. So was gratitude from the living to the dead who had given the sacrifice of their lives, acknowledging the sadness of so many young lives lost to their futures, family, society and the world.

> It is this which distinguishes the First World War memorials, for they were designed and built out of authentic feelings of pride and sorrow. In examining the various forms they took it is important to remember that they were envisaged as "living" memorials, to recall for current and future generations the sacrifice of war.[132]

All of the examples of local WW1 memorials which are discussed here are expressive of 'collective memory', so-called because they are out in the realm where remembering has become open and shared by society, away from the closeted

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[131] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, p.161. He maintains that there is no way in which such an interpretation helps in an understanding of 'the minds of their creators, patrons and users.'

[132] Borg, *War Memorials* p. 84.

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introspective musings of the individual. All but one, the manuscripted National Roll of Honour, were designed around urban architectural settings or in cemeteries.

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Honour Roll: form of service leaflet, UCT, Commemoration Service 1st October 1919. All listed as Casualty Type: Commonwealth War Dead. [133]

Aling, John; Anderson, Charles Alexander; Anderson, Morris Caldwell; Aulsebrook, John Frederick; Auret, Ben; Barrish, Mengo William; Beauclerk, Nevill de Vere; Bennetts, Eric Augustine; Bertram, Cyril Robertson; Brink, Johannes Hieronymus; Brooke, Cyril Thornthwaite; Brounger, W.H.P; Brown, William Nimmo; Chadwick, Henry Slingsby Osler; Childe, Letterstedt Frederick; Cooke, Arthur Eyre; Cooke, Evelyn; Dale, James Ritchie; Danzig, Morris William; **Davis, Edwin Bertrand**; De Bruijn, Douglas; Dell, Stephen Arthur Hayton; Dickson, Walter Michael; Doble, Frank Edward; Dreyer, Johannes Hubert; Driver, Hubert Weeks; **Earp, Edwin Errol Findlay**; Elliott, Henry George; Ferguson, George Reid Henry; Forman, Moses; Girdlestone, Horace Wilfred; Goodall, Arthur Morton; Green, Arthur Knolles; Griffiths, Percival; Hambridge, Percy George; Hamilton, William Robert; Harries, Fred; Hattingh, Diedrich; Haynes, John Henry; Hermann, Julius; Hewat, Bertie Barron; Hoal, Francis Gardner; Hobson, Alec Carey; Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik; Hofmeyr, Robert Ernest Murray; Horne, Cecil Edmund; Hughes, Edward Philip; Hugo, Stephen

[133] Those names which are in bold are mentioned in the present text.

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Hofmeyr; Immelman, Lawrence Godfrey; Irving, Aubrey Gordon; Jacot, Edouard; **Kensit, Edward George;** King, Francis; Kohler, Heinrich Gerhard; Latham, Edgar Retief; Lazarus, Cyril Henry; Lewis, Charles Williams; Lewis, Reginald Cameron; Liebson, Abraham; Lundie, Eric Balfour; **Maasdorp, Arthur**; **Maasdorp, Norman**; Marks, Louis Tedeschi; **Maskew, Allan Wilson**; **McClure, Hugh Cecil; McClure, John Richard Smith;** McGregor, Andrew William; McGregor, William; Metcalf, Cecil David; Metelerkamp, George; Minnaar, Charles William Rorich; Moll, Tobias Mortimer; Morris, Hugh; Murray Andrew Haldane; Naish, Jasper Paul; **Noaks, Geoffrey Vaughan**; O'Meara, J.J; O'Reilly, Graham Alexander; Penrose, Keith; Platnauer, Leonard Maurice; **Plowman, Leslie**; **Poole, John Evered**; **Poultney, Harold Ortlepp**; Powell, Frederick Gill; Power, Walter; Radloff, Heinrich; Rail, Richard Angwin; Rainier, Henry Aubrey; Reid, John Duckworth; **Rimer, James Cook**; Robinson, Valentine Mansergh; Rogers, Reginald Herbert; **Rosen, Harry David**; Schaffer, Harold; **Scheepers, Johannes Christoffel**; Scheepers, Francois de Villiers; Schur, Philip; Scott, Quinten; Smuts, Charles Lawton; Spijker, Edward; Spilhaus, John Arnold; Stahl, Alfred Magnus; Starfield, Baron; **Steytler, Edward Dickinson**; Stock, John Launcelot Walmsley; Syfret, John Eustace Ridge; Theron, William Voight; Tiffany, Harry Waddington; **Tredgold, John Clarkson**; Van der Hoff, Clement Lewis; Versfeld, Joshua Metcalf; Wahl, Mathew Daniel; Walton, Ernest; Watters, James Campbell; **Wiener, Louis de Villiers**; **Woodhead, Harry**; Wright, George Drennan; Wynne, Arnold.

The University received its charter on April 2nd 1918. By then, building plans had already begun between the University Building Committee and the architect Joseph

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Michael Solomon (1886-1920), a Capetonian by birth and a Bishops' boy by schooling. On matriculating he had entered the architectural practice of Sir Herbert Baker in Cape Town.

Here he was encouraged to undertake further study in Greece and Italy: a kind of latter- day Grand Tour of the Classical monuments of Antiquity, so beloved of Baker. There being no formal education in architecture locally, this was a way to further study. On his return he entered private practice with a partner, A. C. Marshall who was based in Johannesburg. The practice attracted important commissions, UCT being one.[134] In terms of the agreement of undertaking, so that he might become attuned to modern university requirements, Solomon had visited some British and American universities, returning in August 1917.[135]

For the next three years, Solomon worked on the planning of the new University, the completion of which he would never see. At the Council's request he had taken on an Assistant, Charles Percival Walgate, a young architect from London with experience in Baker's Indian office and other satisfactory credentials. It was he who had supervised the continuation of Solomon's plans after the latter's suicide on 20th August 1920, taking on additional partners and practising as Hawke, McKinley and Walgate. He was sensitive to Solomon's wishes, honouring the original character of the planning and design although being forced, often because of financial restraints, to make

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[134] Among Solomon's Cape Town commissions was the restructuring of the Old Town House in Greenmarket Square, converting it into a museum gallery for Sir Max Michaelis' collection of seventeenth century Dutch and Flemish paintings and prints, now a part of the cluster, Iziko Museums of Cape Town.

[135] At the same time Mr A. T. Babbs was appointed Quantities Surveyor. The firm he founded exists to-day.

adaptations in some of the buildings, possibly the major change being the dome over Jameson Memorial Hall being altered to a double pitched roof.

In December 1918 ,Lutyens had accepted an invitation from Senate to be supervising architect and advisor before the crucial engineering on site began. To that end, he had spent about six weeks from March 17th in 1919, in Cape Town, reporting most favourably on the design:

> I should like before I leave for England to emphasise my report wherein it deals with the general layout of your new university buildings at Groote Schuur. The disposition of the several buildings and their architectural relation to each other and the site are in my opinion most excellent and I can suggest no other way either for economy or effect.[136]

This accolade should have been a morale-boosting affirmation from the *maestro* for the increasingly harassed Solomon.

It is interesting to note that prior to this, on 19th December 1918, a telegram had been received from England: 'Baker much regrets obligations India and here, especially war cemeteries, render visit Cape Town impossible'[137] turning down the request, thus making Lutyens second choice. That was ironic: he ,too, had had obligations in India, England and to war cemeteries.

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[136] Letter from Lutyens to Council and Building Committee, April 1919.

[137] *UCT Council Minutes* January 1919.

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Individual memorials on campus.

Professor Weiner's grandson Lieut. Louis de Villiers Weiner, Royal Air Force was killed while on a photographic patrol over the enemy lines in the vicinity of Bapaume, on 4th November 1918.[138] He had been a student; during the war in letters to his grandfather '... he referred to the University in terms of intense affection and with sentiments of pride and ever cherished the hope that he would return to continue his studies ....'.[139] Thus was started the Louis Weiner Bursary for students of Economics which exists in a slightly different form to-day.

In compliance with the wishes in Professor Pearson's will, a brass plaque was erected on 3rd November 1920 in the Bolus Herbarium[140] and reads as follows:

> To the memory of Edward George Kensit. Assistant in this Herbarium. 1912-1915. Who fell in action at Delville Wood July 18, 1916. He volunteered for a dangerous mission: although wounded early in its execution. He carried out his instructions painfully retracing his steps he gave the information required and fell dead. *Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta.*

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[138] From a letter dated 6 February 1919 written by Professor Wiener to Dr. Beattie, Vice-Chancellor UCT.

[139] From the same letter.

[140] The Bolus Herbarium was in the Bolus family home, Sherwood in Kenilworth, until being moved to UCT. The house has been altered to be a retirement and frail care home.

He had enlisted as a Private in the SA Infantry 1st Regiment under South African citizenship. He was thirty seven years old when he died. His name is inscribed on Thiepval Memorial Pier, Face 4C. He had lived in Bathurst Road, Wynberg and was married to Harriet Margaret Louisa Bolus (1877-1970)[141], the great-niece of Harry Bolus (1834-1911) who had appointed her Curator of his private herbarium. On his death the collection passed to UCT, Mrs Kensit remaining as Curator until her retirement in 1955 aged 77.

The Latin comes from the sixth book of the Aeneid by Vergil, when Aeneas is visiting the Underworld. It is a description of those in the Elysian Fields who have lived exceptionally worthy lives,[142] including those 'who by their worthy deeds made people remember them with gratitude' and translates: 'Their temples are crowned with a snow-white fillet.'[143] This is another allusion to Classical Antiquity, and its heroes as role models.

A memorial to a former member of UCT which is not on campus, is a plaque to Second Lieut. John Evered Poole in the Anglican Church at Stanford. He had enlisted under British citizenship in the Royal Engineers 73rd Field Coy., dying of wounds on 22 August 1917 aged twenty three years[144] and was the only child of John (Jack) Evered and Henrietta (nee Stroud) Poole of Mossel River, Hermanus, Cape, South Africa. Born

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[141] In 1957 Harry had married Sophia Kensit whose brother William was his Assistant.

[142] Being heroes during their lives and remembered as such, rather than being promoted in the after life.

[143] An interesting play on words: the temple being a part of the facial structure and 'crowned with a snow white fillet' and a built structure to house the image of and/or to worship the god. Also a semantic connection with the Knights Templar.

[144] CWGC states that he was aged 33. As his parents had married in 1893, I think that he would have been 23 years old.

at the farm Wortlegat, Caledon, South Africa he was buried at Lijssenthoek Military Cemetery: Reference XVI. A. 5. The memorial uses the 'King's penny'[145] which is mounted above a small brass plaque bearing the words 2/Lt. J. E. Poole Royal Engineers. Died of wounds in Belgium 22 Aug 1917 on a hatchment- shaped[146] block of wood. He would have been the first cousin of Major-General John Evered Poole (1902-1969) who distinguished himself in World War Two and after.[147] His parents would have had the memorial erected in their local church.

Poole was one of the 119 men of UCT who had left the relative security of home, work and daily life and who never returned. He was wounded, died in a military field hospital and was decently buried with the appropriate field funeral rites, his remains lying in a marked grave.

His ritual was unlike that of, for example, Leslie Plowman South African Infantry 2nd reg., son of Sir George and Lady Plowman of Pietermaritzberg, aged 33 who is memorialized at Pozieres, his name being inscribed on wall panel 95-98 there, the whereabouts of his mortal remains unknown.

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[145] 'He died for freedom and honour' are the words around the circumference. The Classical female figure of Victory holds a wreath over the name of the person. The King's 'penny' was sent on application by and to the next of kin of all who had died on Active Service.

[146] Appropriately, as hatchments were originally painted wooden diagonal squares or lozenges which displayed the arms of a dead person, hung on his or her house before being transferred to the parish church. They were edged in black, the arms being displayed on a gold background.

[147] The cousins, of whom there were more, shared a grandfather Major William John Evered Poole (1838-1932) who was married four times, so the genealogy becomes complicated.

Or that of Harold Ortlepp Poultney who has nothing after his name in the Commonwealth War Graves Commission Debt of Honour.[148] Remembered but almost forgotten. The war fates of all 119 UCT members have not been traced in detail.[149]

Another memorial on campus, is that of **Andrew Weatherby Beauchamp Proctor**, a survivor of the hostilities and highly decorated. The bronze plaque of a three-quarters profile head is mounted on a wooden panel and placed on the wall in the Manuscripts and Archives Library. It reads as follows: 'Andrew Weatherby Beauchamp Proctor, V.C., D.S.O., M.C. (BAR), D.F.C, Captain, Royal Air Force. Graduate of this University 1920. 1896-1921. Simple service simply given to his own kind in their common need.'

And in the history of SAC School in Newlands is the following under his photograph: 'Captain A.W Beauchamp-Proctor, VC, DSO, MC and DFC, matriculated from SACS in 1912. One of the most highly decorated fighter pilots of either European war, he was tragically killed in an air accident at Upavon, England in 1921.'[150]

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[148] Internet site of CWGC in which is listed all the names and known relevant particulars of British and Commonwealth War Dead of all wars under their remit. It is a kind of memorial in itself and is universally available at no charge.

[149] Another name of interest is that of **James Cook Rimer**, 2nd Lieut. Royal Flying Corps 43rd squadron died aged twenty on 17th March 1917, son of James Cook Rimer of the Civil Service Club, Cape Town, named on the Arras Flying Services Memorial in Belgium. He was a descendant of James Cook the explorer.

[150] Neil Veitch *SACS 175: A Celebration* (SACS 175 Book Committee, Cape Town, 2003).

The photograph was surely the prototype for the portrait medallion showing him wearing his RAF cap. A letter of condolence was sent to his parents from UCT Council.[151]

On Commemoration Day, 1st October 1919 the memorial service to all the UCT dead of WW1 took place in Hiddingh Hall on the Orange Street campus. This was the anniversary of the foundation of The South African College ninety years previously.

The Stone of Remembrance, Memorial precinct UCT.

The Stone is made of a single slab of Table Mountain Sandstone quartzite, pale grey in colour. It was quarried from a large boulder of the Muizenberg mountain at Raapkraal, near the small suburb of Lakeside.[152] The surrounding slab stones forming the base and three steps of the memorial were from the same natural boulder. The dimensions of the overall plan were finalised at 3.52 m by 70cm. by 1.4m high, being the dimensions in Lutyens' specifications of the smaller Stones in the War Cemeteries. Ten sheets of blueprint plans of detailing for the Stone, prepared in October 1918, were sent from Lutyens' office in 10 Queen Anne's Gate, London and handed over to the architects in Cape Town on the third of May 1926.[153]

The mass of the Stone is said to be twelve tons. In 1918 the cost, estimated by the CWGC would have been five hundred pounds sterling. It was not in the remit of the

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[151] *UCT Council Minutes*, 28 June 1921.

[152] The contractor was George Edward Chinn whose grandson. The quarry can still be seen from the road. *Cape Times* 21.09.1928.

[153] These are now in the Manuscripts and Archives Library of UCT.

contract, rather being paid for out of funds which had been privately donated, the estimated cost locally being one thousand pounds.

The first recorded mention of a memorial structure was in June 1917 when Solomon had mooted the possibility of an inscribed stone memorial listing all the names[154] to honour the members of the University who were dying on active service. By 17th November[155] the concept had been crystallized into a stepped plinth, surmounted by a tall cross, reminiscent of Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice and shown in Solomon's small sketch pencil drawing. The design may have been rejected early as the University was a secular one and not even all its members, either dead or living, were Christian.

Council minutes 26 August 1919 reads as follows:

> The University and the War. So far as it has been possible to ascertain, about 750 past and present students[156] have been on active service or engaged on work of national importance. Unhappily many have laid down their lives, the number of these being so far as is known about 95, and it is proposed to have a permanent and suitable memorial to them in the University.

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[154] *UCT Council Minutes* November 1917.

[155] The plans are deposited in the Manuscripts and Archives Library, UCT and were made accessible by Mrs Lesley Hart. The sketch may have been an *aide memoire* to his measured plans. The drawings retain a freshness which any measured drawing lacks.

[156] This estimate would have included both UCT members and those of the earlier SAC.

In fact, the final toll was one hundred and nineteen.

The Stone of Remembrance on UCT property surely came about from the close contact between Solomon, Walgate and Lutyens via the University Council.

By March 1923 the 'War Stone' was clearly marked on the site plan on the East-West axial line which was drawn up in the offices of Hawke, McKinley and Walgate in Cape Town.

The Stone of Remembrance 'forms an integral and prominent part of the whole general scheme...'[157] It is in line with the statue of Cecil Rhodes, the benefactor of the land, the embedded stone commemorating the first sod turned by Sir Otto Beit[158] on 2nd July 1920 and the apex, the Jameson Memorial Hall. The memorial walk is a secular echo of the sacred ways of Antiquity.

On July ... 1927, before the advent of students, the Stone was in place, having travelled up the railway from Lakeside to Rondebosch on a custom-made gantry during the night, avoiding disruption to the regular commuter time table.

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[157] *Cape Times* 21.09.1928.

[158] On pavement below is a horizontal incised dark granite stone which reads as follows *University of Cape Town here Sir Otto Beit K.C.M.G. LL.D. turned the first sod 11.V11.MCMXX* and *Universiteit van Kaapstad Hier heft Sir Otto Beit K.C.M.C. LL.D. de spade in die grond gestoken.*
This line of memorials forms part of the UCT Heritage Walk. The stone does not mark the spot which was somewhere near the Summerhouse as the weather had been so bad that the quagmire conditions of what was to be the Memorial Walk made the ceremony of foundation laying impossible. Cape Times. .Letterbook. Babbs, Labdon and Partners Library, Cape Town. UCTQ vol.3 No.41920, p.159 via Phillips.

Another mention of it comes at the end of Eric Walker's college history[159] which was written for the centenary of UCT in 1929 and the year in which the campus moved from Orange Street to Groote Schuur, the Upper campus as it is to-day.

In 1945 the Stone was re-dedicated to include the memory of all those of UCT who had died in the Second World War. There was another ceremony of remembrance to all UCT personnel who had died in WW2, on Armistice Day 1967.[160]

In 1962 the Professor Architecture, Thornton White had been asked by the Senate via Mr J. Lipschitz, Chairman of the Campus Committee to design a guard ring of iron chains around three sides. He was not keen on the idea as it 'would be both negative and provocative of misuse.'[161] After careful deliberation and alternative suggestions, which had included measured drawings and quotation of costs for a steel fence, the idea was dismissed, leaving the Stone in its pristine and accessible state.

The site is arguably one of the most beautiful natural settings for a university anywhere: Solomon had had the idea of an Italianate style for the whole complex, the Table Mountain slopes being reminiscent of the landscape of Italy. One can still walk from the Main Road from Mowbray/ Rosebank, up the Japonica walk, past the Summer House, under the 'new' freeway across the Rugby fields and, turning sharp right ascend the first flight of stone steps and cross Rugby Road to face the Stone immediately above. On each side are the two residences, in a paved and landscaped area; severely

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[159] Eric A. Walker *The South African College and the University of Cape Town: 1829*-1929 (*Cape Times*, Cape Town, 1929) p. 123.

[160] Information from Manuscripts and Archives Library, UCT.

[161] Correspondence between Prof. Thornton White and Mr J. Lipschitz, Chairman UCT Campus Committee. *Minutes of Council* 2 August to 18 December 1962.

symmetrical in style and Neo-Classical in planning of space. The Stone is placed centrally on east-west axis of the pediment of Jameson Hall entrance portico[162] and Devil's Peak's highest point. Eastwards, it faces the Cape Flats and the sea, greeting the morning light as one would have approached at the start of the day's lectures. The Hottentots Holland mountains can be seen towards the north-east.

The views are staggering, whatever the weather. The axial centrality is striking, and architecturally emphatic. The pivotal Stone is the highest point on its island of finely wrought masonry, and focuses attention in the carefully designed integration of buildings and landscape. It commands attention as a piece of pure sculpture, a folly among practically functional structures. The geometric and abstract character of the plan projects an austere beauty in its simplicity, unifying both the vertical and the horizontal axes of the core of the campus buildings, rather bleak when uninhabited and relying on the student population to bring it to life.

The planting is a mixture of indigenous and exotic, selected for its appearance and durability and one wonders whether the introduction of *Cupressus* sp. was as a result of the precinct becoming a memorial site or whether they were part of the original Italianate scheme. Cypress trees were sacred in Antiquity, reaching to heaven and said to be immortal due to their evergreen nature and longevity: they were associated with death and immortality. They are also useful trees in an architectural setting due to their

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[162] Solomon's original thumbnail sketch and resulting site plan show a dome surmounting the Jameson Hall, behind the triangular-pedimented colonnaded portico. In fact this was never built, the Hall having a regular pitched roof of terracotta tiles, although the four supports for the dome are built into the existing structure.

shape and height. Acanthus are also planted in some beds around, referring to the leaf of Composite column capitals so frequent in Roman architecture.

Symbolic interpretation may be taken further. Tall and upright tree trunks were used as ships' masts ferrying the sailors across the ancient seas: an analogy to Chaeron ferrying the dead across the river Lethe from the light of the living to the darkness of the dead.

In keeping with the stylistic concept, during the planning stage, the width between the residences in relation to the central portion had been reduced from 400 feet to 300 feet, after a comparison with some of the grand courts in Europe.[163] The fact that comparisons were made between such significant and well-known urban spaces, as Wren's Greenwich Hospital, Bernini's St Peter's Colonnade and Square, Le Notre's Versailles and Le Vaux's Louvre, demonstrates the architectural importance and site sensitivity with which the original planners and architects had regarded the Groote Schuur University environment.

The Stone resembles a cenotaph: 'a monument erected to a deceased person whose body is buried elsewhere'[164] as is the great Cenotaph in London, designed by Lutyens.

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[163] Greenwich Hospital London between the front blocks 265 feet, opening in Colonnade St Peter's Rome 350 feet, Forecourt Versailles 400 feet, Place de Carrousel Louvre Paris 450 feet. The last two being considered 'excessive' for the site, by the University Council Committee. *UCT Council Minutes* of 18 May 1921.

[164] Massingham *Miss Jekyll...* p.140 **cenotaph:** a monument honouring a dead person or persons who are buried elsewhere, an empty tomb signifying burial elsewhere.

The Cenotaph: the monument erected in 1920 in Whitehall, London, designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, honouring the dead: now dedicated to those who fell in both World Wars and later. The original Cenotaph had been a hastily constructed timber and plaster fabrication made for the first service of

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Here, the Stone stands-in locally for the remains of those buried on the war battlefields, far from home. The 119 war dead of UCT had served in South West Africa, East Africa, Egypt, Turkey, France, Flanders, in the waters of the Mediterranean, in the air and elsewhere. In 1947 it was re-dedicated to include the war dead of UCT of World War Two, the new dates being added at that time.

It was designed and built to be not only for remembrance but surely also as a constant reminder of the sacrifice of contemporary comrades to the post war generations of staff and students as they went about their work.

In sacrificing their young lives they were to forego their future and their potential. Some had been married, others were brothers, the McClure siblings, Andrew and Hugh, who had died within 6 days of each other, or only sons, all leaving family, friends and colleagues. They were all volunteers: many in the South African Infantry, a few in the South African Heavy Artillery and about half in various British regiments and the Royal Navy, Field Artillery, Military Labour Corps, the RFC and the RAF, Royal Army Medical Corps, South African Horse, SA Native Labour Corps, representing ranks from Private to Major, Trooper and Flight Lieutenant: ranging in ages from 19 to 40 years, the majority were in their twenties and were a wide-ranging representation.

Some are buried in the military cemeteries, some are named in the lists of the Missing, whereabouts unknown. Their names are recorded on their grave stones, or on the great walls of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. They are remembered

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Remembrance in Whitehall London on Armistice Day. It had proved to be so popular that the stone replica was built, as it is to-day, becoming a rallying point for truth, justice and peace demonstrations, besides being central to the nation's Remembrance functions.

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at home, re-occurring on the memorials of their churches and schools, and in the National Roll of Honour in Parliament. Their names were read at the first Remembrance ceremony on 1st October 1919 which was conducted at the Hiddingh Hall and are printed in the form of service booklet for that day.[165] The men are listed in alphabetical order of surname, followed by their given names, without rank, title or job description. The Governor General, Lord Buxton, had written a message which was included:

> ... They gave everything in defence of Honour and Justice, and in order that the world might have peace; they kept nothing back. And we, who are reaping the harvest of their sacrifice, must do all in our power to make ourselves worthy of our heritage, for that is the best memorial we can offer.

Lord and Lady Buxton had lost their nineteen year old son, Denis Sydney, in 1917.[166] He was a 2nd Lieut. in the Coldstream Guards, his name is inscribed on the Tyne Cot memorial, his death adding a poignancy to Buxton's address.

The statement crystallizes the perceived meaning of the war and perpetuates the beliefs which were enmeshed within the Allies' ideal. In a way it echoes the words of

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[165] 1st October was Commemoration Day, being the date of the founding of the South African College in 1829.

[166] 9th October 1917.

Sr. Hildegarde, principal of St. Cyprian's School for Girls in Cape Town: 'The only worthy memorial we can raise to those who have fallen is a better and a purer world.'[167]

Not only is the Stone pivotal in plan and elevation but also it is central to the spirit of place that was to become the centre of tertiary learning for thousands of students over the years: a reminder that blood was sacrificed at the beginning, as in any birth. The toll was enormous for a fledgling University: a hundred and nineteen members lost, out of around seven hundred, as well as many being absent, on active service, caused repercussions in all areas of the organisation. Had it not been for the war and the need for memorialisation, the precinct may have taken on a different character.

It was originally intended that the quotation from Ecclesiasticus would be inscribed on both the East and West elevations, as it is on the CWGC stones in the cemeteries. The proposal was to have Afrikaans on the former and English on the latter, however it now reads, in applied bronze uppercase characters, 10 cms. high: 'IN MEMORIAM 1914-1918 1939-1945', possibly changed as the quotation would have looked rather cluttered on this smaller Stone. The bronze characters are placed over incised lettering on the western face while the surface of the eastern prospect is not cut.

The use of Latin projects gravitas and impersonality, at the same time as universality, and is particularly appropriate in a university setting of that era. It is memory petrified and condensed into one solid block of granite: fine, refined, cold, featureless, well expressing the finality of death. To the present generation of residence students it is referred to as 'the mem stone'[168] and a shortened history is on the interpretation board of the UCT heritage walk. It is interesting to note that the logo for

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[167] *St. Cyprians' Magazine* no. LXVI May 1916.

[168] In conversation with Zerene Haddad, past student resident of Fuller Hall.

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UCT heritage is a stylised version of Solomon's measured and water coloured original concept drawing which shows the proposed domed Jameson Hall.

But being an inscribed memorial it is so much more than that. For the simplicity of the inscription echoes the simplicity of design and verifies the adage, 'less is more'.[169]

It would have been designed to be in full view of most of the people using the campus: the students of the residences on either side, the staff, students and visitors who approached the campus from the Rondebosch/Rosebank Main Road, walking up past the rugby fields and on to the stairway leading to the centre of campus. In fact, as it is seen now, by all who approach and leave campus across the rugby fields, and by whoever drives westwards along the lower road. It also features in most panoramic views of the University Upper Campus, due to its central position.

On October 18th 2008, it was cleaned of lichen, tic-tac adhesive and poster detritus, making it appear lighter in tone, as though new. The upkeep is the responsibility of the campus maintenance department which outsourced the specialised cleaning. It is in a good state of structural repair and reasonable surface condition. The shallow split on the west face is a natural fissure and is levelled with grout every so often.

The reminder of the Stone would have projected historical memory-identity. It had been a conscious and deliberate reminder about certain recent and traumatic events in history, in this example as it impinged on the lives, or deaths, of the University community.

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[169] A term used by Mies van der Rohe architect and instigator of the Bauhaus.

Delville Wood memorials.

Bois d'Elville, anglicised to 'Delville Wood', colloquially 'Devil's Wood', near Longueval in France, nine miles from the small town of Albert had been a major German defensive location. It became the target for capture by Allied troops as part of the general onslaught in the area of the river Somme from July 1st 1916.

> For original Brigade[170] survivors, the shattered Wood signified a sacred place of observance of fallen comrades, as small clusters of July 1916 veterans began returning to mark their loss after the Battle of the Somme. In 1917, and again in 1918, parties assembled on the devastated battleground for memorial services, and individuals tried to add dignity to the charred resting places of the dead by erecting rough wooden crosses, cairns and other makeshift markers, including a buck's hoof and a shred of Transvaal tartan.[171]

France.

The Allied forces commanded by Brigadier-General Sir Henry Lukin were under orders to take and to hold the Wood at all costs.

South African forces were mainly deployed in northern Europe playing a role in the Somme offensive in July 1916. From July 1st into the night of the 19th two thousand

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[170] South African Brigade.

[171] Bill Nasson *Springboks* ... p. 219.

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eight hundred and fifteen 'Springboks' were either killed, wounded or missing, being a quarter of the total South African casualties. Such concentration naturally justified the site as becoming the national war memorial, to remember all South Africans who had died in the war.

The main battle had lasted four days during which the Brigade,[172] composed of 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th South African Infantry regiments attached to the 9th Scottish Division of the British army, displayed great courage, determination and tenacity in the heat of action. The conditions were awful: four hundred shells a minute from enemy heavy

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[172] Some 3,153 troops.

Brigade: a military formation under one command, in Britain consisting of four infantry battalions amounting to 4,000 men, in France two infantry regiments amounting to 6,000-8,000 men.

Company: a sub-division of a regiment.

Platoon: sub-division of a company.

Corps: tactical unit of an army of about 40,000 personnel: catering corps, medical corps, … Usually consisting of two divisions.

Regiment: commanded by a colonel and constituting the largest permanent unit. The South African members of the BEF were either deployed in to British regiments or remained in the SA ones which were

Infantry: foot soldiers, the main strength of an army.

Division: a unit fully operational for war consisting of specialist troops and administrative services totalling 17,000-20,000 at full strength. 12 battalions of infantry and 12 batteries of artillery, 12,000rifles and 72 guns. In a minute the division could discharge120,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition and 1,000 explosive shells. There were in Europe, in 1914, over 200 divisions, in full existence or ready to be called into being. Communication which would enable the accurate discharge of such immense power was lacking in all armies so that no one army was wiped out quickly before retaliation set in. The techniques of telegraph and telephone were in their infancy and required cumbersome equipment. (Keegan, 1998. p. 22).

Detachment: a body of troops as detached from the main army.

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artillery at one stage, dysentery, putrefying bodies, shell holes, explosions, rain, mud, lack of food, dying and screaming men, men being buried alive, hand-to-hand fighting, lack of sleep, quagmire, noise. A hellish life or a brutal death, were the only alternatives in and near the trenches.

From July 1917 the Wood, signifying the sacrificial legacy of all South Africans who had lost their lives in the war, became the national centre of mourning and commemoration where victory had been earned at such cost.

Now the battle site, being the resuscitated wood, and accompanying memorial buildings are under the curatorship of the South African Museum of Military History in Johannesburg. The cemetery is under the care of the CWGC, funded by an annual stipend, which is based on the percentage of the South African number of graves within the total of those in the Commission's remit.[173]

It had been acknowledged by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, the chairman of the fund-raising committee, that not 'one in a thousand' South Africans would see this memorial; spatial and temporal distance mitigating against travelling there. It was felt in exalted colonial South African circles that being out of sight and reach would hallow the abstract purity of concept. As it was, out of reach, it crystallised constructed memory of the myth of a newly-forged South African unity.

There were few bodies for mourners to bury or cremate and therefore no funeral, so memorial services were lacking that component, making it difficult for closure. Hence the government organised war widows' pilgrimages to the cemeteries after 1918 in the expectation of fulfilling this necessity, the first taking place in 1927 although unofficial

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[173] Some five thousand four hundred and ninety three (5,493) being point eight nine percent (.89%) of the total for World War One.

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visits had taken place even before the end of the war. But, of course, not all widows were able to travel that far, even had they wanted to. This was especially true of the colonies in far away continents: cost, time of travel, inclination, and responsibilities at home would have mitigated against the desire for such an undertaking.

The site.

Although in 1920 Prime Minister Jan Smuts had mooted that the remains of South African dead be shipped back to their home country this was not to be.[174] The South African national memorial takes its place amongst those of all of the Commonwealth and other Allied countries whose warriors lie in Northern Europe, and elsewhere on battlefields.

It is situated at the battlefield on land that had been bought for ten thousand pounds by the South African government from its French aristocratic owner, Vicomte Dauger in 1920. The ground became 'sacred' and 'imperishable':[175] an extension of the home country. It remains in South African ownership and is the only national memorial of the war not to be on the soil of its host's ownership. Sir Percy FitzPatrick (1862-1931) South African born, English educated, prospector, water engineer, parliamentarian, imperialist, mercurial in his activities, patron and ally of local donor and voluntary groups, had been a protagonist of a greater involvement of South Africa and her troops in the European war. Taking responsibility for the caring of the memories for those he had helped to their deaths, he became Chairman of the Memorial fund-raising committee, after having proposed the

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[174] The policy of the IWGC was not to repatriate the bodies.

[175] Bill Nasson Delville Wood and South African Great War Commemoration in *English Historical Review* (2004) , 384, and Nasson, *Springboks* ... p. 222.

establishment of such an association in 1919. His involvement was construed by some colleagues as being a cover for the sole memorialisation of his son, Nugent who had been killed. He, Kipling and Conan Doyle, like many others, had resorted to spiritualism as a way into communicating with their dead sons.

The site had been planned and the buildings designed on a grand scale by Herbert Baker, friend of Cecil Rhodes, with a cemetery, a triumphal arch, surmounted by a dome which carries the bronze sculpture 'Brotherhood' by Alfred Turner, and flanked by a pair of semicircular walls, each of which ends in a loggia. The 'Voortrekker' Cross[176] or Cross of Consecration, was originally erected behind the memorial arch. The complex was inaugurated on 10th October 1926 by the widow of General Louis Botha.

On Armistice Day 1986, an addition to the complex, in the form of a pastiche of the Castle in Cape Town, was officially opened by President P.W. Botha and serves as a Museum. The Cross was moved to be part of the new building:

> The Cross of Consecration ... is a symbol of the sacrifice and ideals of the members of the South African Forces who volunteered for service in the free world. ... it commemorates all South Africans of all races who died in campaigns on foreign soil, has the additional symbolism of the individual right of any South African to worship in the faith of his or her choice.[177]

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[176] Tonie and Valmai Holt *Major and Mrs Holt's Battlefield Guide to the Somme* (Lee Cooper, Barnsley, 1999) p.132.

[177] *SA Panorama* February 1987.

While not being untrue, this last pronouncement rings of hypocrisy given the political climate of the apartheid hey-day, and was possibly stated in order to curry favour with the foreign governments of the era. Another sop to deception about the real *status quo* is the inclusion of the bronze relief panel depicting an imaginary scene on the deck of the SS *Mendi.*

In 1987 it was estimated that 80,000 people would visit Delville Wood annually, thus eclipsing Sir Percy's projection; but their nationalities are not surmised.[178]

The Museum is a modern addition which expresses in grandiose architectural and crude sculptural kitsch, a reflection of the values held by its builders.[179]

The sculpture.

There are three castings of the bronze sculpture 'Brotherhood' by the British sculptor, Alfred Turner (1874-1940), designed to top the cupola of the Delville Wood memorial domes. The memorials are at Delville Wood in France, the Union Buildings in Pretoria and the Company's Garden in Cape Town, all planned and designed by Herbert Baker.

In Cape Town it forms the centre of the memorial complex reaching from the steps of the Iziko South African National Gallery across the Avenue, to the gates into Queen Victoria Street.

The sculpture epitomises the ideal of brotherhood and fraternity, representing the twin brothers of Antiquity, the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, children of Zeus and Leda, reining-in a rearing horse. Their entwined hands at the rear and the reins held aloft at

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[178] *SA Panorama* February 1987.

[179] This is an art critical statement, not a psycho-analytic interpretation. Refer to footnote 119.

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the front, create an unbroken circle strengthening the idea of unity: a reminder of the victor's wreath. It had been a conscious decision by the memorial makers that the group epitomise the bonding of the two South African races as they saw them to be, Dutch and British. Now they were one nation, steeped in the sacrifice of the loss of shared blood of youth, having cast aside their past antagonisms. The symbolism of the nude twins as of divine origin could not have been lost to Imperial viewers. The narrative echoes Smuts' dictum that it was a 'white man's war'.

All three castings of 'Brotherhood' are the crown of monuments which are secular, on unconsecrated ground and surmount stone rotundas which are loosely neo-Classical in style and which are all part of a larger formal architectural complex.

In the minds of the white ruling elite, the white population in South Africa had transformed from a divided community of Dutch/Boer/Afrikaner and British into an established, unified nation which was free of the tyranny of a common foe. But interesting is the fact that the myth mongers ignored the ethnic mix of the Brigade, as only about twelve per cent were of Afrikaner lineage and, of the initial force, about half were 'Home' born Britons, emigrants rather than colonial-born settlers or South Africans.[180] Those Afrikaners who had integrated with and been accepted by the British pre-1914 had assumed, chameleon-like their beliefs and life styles while a smaller number of British had integrated with Boer families.

For South Africa, the war had remained 'the white man's war', encompassing the exclusion of anyone who did not conform to the rigid doctrine upon which was based the hierarchical social pyramid, taking no account of any South Africans other than the

[180] Nasson, Delville Wood ...

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white males of warrior age. The monument epitomises exclusion and wishful thinking, and, by so doing, was creating a myth which was based on a distortion.

And Dutch-British differences did survive, notwithstanding Union. However, the memorials do have a place in the whole memorial scheme of post-1918, being a visible acknowledgement by the South African and British governments of the sacrifice of so many of their countrymen and women. Belated efforts have been made to make them inclusive, affording honour and posthumous dignity to all South Africans who have died in the cause of freedom, anywhere.

The Delville Wood cemetery.

The cemetery is on the left of the road which runs from Longueval to Ginchy, opposite Delville Wood. Of the five thousand four hundred and ninety three interments, a hundred and fifty one are known South African, more than two thirds buried unknown and come from at least ten surrounding battle sites. Planted with English garden flowers and lawns ,it is a peaceful place in all seasons, experiencing sun, shade, snow and rain in which the plants flourish.

The British Parliament had decreed that private memorials were not to be erected[181] on land ceded to or owned by the Commission, as these would inevitably destroy the symmetry of equality and interfere with the pristine design.[182] The obligatory Cross of Sacrifice with Sword of Honour marking the centre, had been grudgingly included in the Cemetery by Baker. The Stone of Remembrance which arrived at the site only after

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[181] Holt, *Guide* ..., Longworth, *Unending Vigil.*

[182] As in fact they do in Plumstead cemetery.

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World War Two,[183] (one wonders why), stands at right angles to the arch. Presumably Baker had designed the 'Voortrekker' cross to curry favour with the Dutch and as an act of one-upmanship over Blomfield.

The enclosing walls of the cemetery.

Each end of the semi-circular stone wall is terminated by a loggia inspired by elements of the eighteenth century Cape Dutch Summer House on the Groote Schuur estate, part of the original University site in Rondebosch. The walls are faced with flint, have a stone coping and do not carry any inscriptions. The inscriptions are on the internal walls of the triumphal archway.

The Wood.

The rides in the Wood are marked by stones with the names of the streets given them during the war:[184] Regent Street, Princes Street, Rotten Row. One tree, a hornbeam, remained from the desolation left by the battle and is now carefully nurtured. The rest of the Wood has been replanted with various deciduous species which include oaks grown from acorns which came from South Africa. These in turn, had come from oaks from acorns brought from Northern Europe in the eighteenth century.

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[183] On June 5th 1952.

[184] Holt *Guide*... p. 133.

The position of some trenches have been kept and are now grassed over as the foot prints or memory traces of the lines, rather than a projection of the actual conditions existing at the time, they are in keeping with the interpretation of the battlefield memorialisation as a whole.

In the Cape Town area, there are at least 3 separate memorials to the dead of Delville Wood. In addition, a maquette of the dome and rotunda of wood and plaster is lodged in the art collection of Parliament in Cape Town, wedged near the National Roll of Honour. And the chapel of Bishops' School enshrines a smaller chapel to the ex-scholars who died there.

In official circles, the carnage was also seen as being the centre for the commemoration of the transition after Union from a divided Anglo-Dutch South Africa to a unified force of one nation, steeped in the glorious sacrifice of the loss of shared young blood: hence, it was imagined that the future boded well for a proud South Africa within the British Empire and Commonwealth. The white population in South Africa had transmogrified from a divided community into an established, unified nation, a Dominion, a member of Empire. The figures of Castor and Pollux either side of a frolicsome horse reinforce this myth. Interestingly, the horse 'is a symbol of Europe personified' and can signify triumph in war.[185] Read in this way, the symbolism (albeit serendipitous, maybe Freudian) becomes essentially Eurocentric. Therefore the brothers are imaged as conquering hero-warriors in a European conflict and by commemorating only the debt of the minority white population.

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[185] James Hall *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (John Murray, London, 1974).

Cape Town. The Delville Wood Garden of Remembrance. The Company's Garden.[186]

The Company's Garden is, at the time of writing, undergoing renovation as part of the rejuvenated inner city upgrading by the Cape Town City Council. The Garden is a well populated place of relaxation and walking: a way through from the upper and residential part of the city to the central business district. It is a relatively safe and a pleasant cultural area embodying a varied mix of institutions which include the Iziko South African National Gallery (ISANG), South African Jewish Museum and Holocaust Centre, the original Synagogue, Gardens Commercial High School, the south end encompassing St George's Anglican Cathedral, which is close to the Slave Lodge, with Parliament on the western side, the SA Museum and Planetarium and an outdoor restaurant. It is estimated that about seven hundred thousand[187] individuals visit the Garden annually; ten times the number of visitors to Delville Wood. Birds are usually to be seen perching on the monuments, whose guano adds to the problems of maintenance.

The layout of the rigidly formal garden, designed within the practice of Baker, Kendal and Cleland, is contemporaneous with the building of ISANG and architecturally integrated with it. It includes grass lawns and water-lily ponds with goldfish, walkways, wooden benches, planted trees, including cypress, and the three structures: the gun, the rotunda and the statue of Major-General Lukin. The statue of Smuts came later, portraying him as a thinker rather than as a military man.

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[186] Drawings of plans by Baker are lodged in UCT Manuscripts and Archives.

[187] *Cape Times* 22.08.2007.

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A small rotunda enclosed in a later wrought iron fence is supported on a colonnade of eight Tuscan columns which surrounds the central drum, entabulated, and carries the truncated dome upon which stands the sculpture. The stonework is of Table Mountain Sandstone (TMS), honey coloured. The fence, although the gate is unlocked, cuts off physically, visually and mentally the spontaneity of curiosity about the details, and the fountain is lifeless without its intended trickling water flowing through the circular basin which would be fed from the spouts of the lions' heads, in turn fed from one of the streams arising from Table Mountain and flowing out via Table Bay to the Atlantic Ocean.

Around the cylinder of the solid inner structure are four emblems or motifs which are carved in high relief. They are a wreath of leaves and grapes, a propeller, the Cross of Lorraine and a Latin cross.

What is a cross doing on a secular memorial? And why a propeller in what was overwhelmingly a soldiers' battle: why not an anchor too? The French cross presumably alludes to the fact that the battle was fought in France. It is not a Christian cross standing for France because since the Code Napoleon the country has been a secular state. In fact, it is a cross-staff for surveying angles of altitude and to take bearings: a tool for prospectors.[188] Beneath each of the motifs is a stone lion-head drinking spout directed at a mosaic-lined channel surrounding the drum. There is a bronze tap in the form of a dove (of peace?) attached to the drum.

The presence of the Latin cross seems to imply that the designer was turning a blind eye to others-than-Christian who would have died in the battle. It suggests exclusion,

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[188] Richard Andrews and Paul Schellenberger *The Tomb of God* (Time Warner, London, 2005) p. 366, where there is a description of this instrument.

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and is also one man's idea of a memorial that evokes the heart of South African valour on the battlefield of that time. It seems to be a monument to a victorious battle rather than a memorial for all those who had died in it. The inscriptions, being in English and Dutch, overlook those of other South African communities. But, as a memorial object, it titillates the imagination and forces the viewer to acknowledge the skills of the designer and builders without engaging the heart. It appears cold and clinical and unrelated to any structure in three dimensions: on plan, it appears more integrated into the scheme.

The rotunda is reminiscent of Bramante's 'Tempietto' in Rome which was built in the early sixteenth century, covering the place of the martyrdom of St. Peter.[189] The circle and the sphere are perfect shapes, thought by Renaissance Man to represent God. The circular temple plan of some Renaissance churches is derived from the two remaining examples from Antiquity in Rome: the temple of Vesta and the Pantheon. The architect responsible for the revival was Alberti (1404-1472). The 'Tempietto' had been used by Raphael as the architectural backdrop setting in his painting of St. Paul preaching at the Areopagus in Athens, to represent the pagan temple of Ares/Mars the God of War.

Baker was well-versed in both Classical and Christian symbolism: surely it is not accidental that he chose this form in a monument about war. In addition the *tempietto* motif was depicted in pagan scenes of sacrifice during the Renaissance. And a circular temple can symbolise the Christian Church. War, sacrifice and the atonement of Christ form a neat triad by which to acknowledge the battle dead. The water from the lion

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[189] Banister Fletcher *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (University of London, 1963).

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heads which runs into a mosaic-faced channel may be seen as the vehicle by which the past is cleansed, symbolic of the spiritual life and salvation, the water of life nurturing the seeds of the future. The rotunda as a whole may thus be read as the Fountain of Life: a theme forever prevalent in the history of art and elegantly appropriate in the present setting. Here is a place of refreshment for visitors to the Gardens, not without symbolic allusions to holy water.

Complementing the abstract, the practicalities of a circular walk-around plan of the rotunda as the centrepiece of garden architecture makes for a sound non-symbolic feature and lends itself to symmetry. The addition of the possibility of a drink of water whilst enjoying the outdoor ambience makes for a 'useful' structure: drinking fountains were a feature of public gardens at the time. The benches, the ponds and lawns form a pleasant garden for enjoyment or contemplation: the semiology is rich enough for the interests of all viewers and participants.

The rotunda stands on an entablature of six steps. In the ground is the inscription: 'Their name liveth for evermore' and 'Hul naam leef van geslag tot geslag'[190] face the National Gallery and Queen Victoria Street, respectively. The ceiling of the dome is divided into eight sections, each bearing a heavy relief carving of floral emblems: a

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[190] The full inscriptions read as follows: 'This monument commemorates those South Africans who died in the Great Wars 1914-1918. 1938-1945. The bronze group "Brotherhood" is a replica of the group which surmounts the South African memorial erected at Delville Wood in France. "Their name liveth for evermore."' 'Hierdie monument is ter gedagtenis aan die Suid-afrikaners wat in die Groot Oorloe 1914-1918.1938-1945 die lewe gelaat het die bronsgroef "broederskaap" is 'n replica van die groep of die Suidafrikaanse nationale gedenkten in Delvillebos Frankryk. "Hul naam leef aan geslag tot geslag."'

Tudor rose, a protea, a shamrock, a sheaf of corn twice, a thistle twice, a stylized sunflower surrounded by corn.[191]

South African Heavy Artillery gun.

'The most famous British gun, many of which may still be seen flanking war memorials of the First World War were 18-pounders: they had a four mile range. There were however plenty of larger guns.'[192]

The trophy is placed on the central north-south axis of Baker's plan for the Delville Wood memorial in the Company's Gardens, in line with Lukin's statue, pointing to that of Smuts by Harpley.[193] It had seen service in battle: a trophy far removed from the concept of the mythologized warrior heroes atop their dome.

War trophies were quite a common form of memorial[194] and were originally used as a memorial of success, set up on the spot where the victory had taken place. Such spoils as skulls and antlers, armour, weapons, flags and colours were displayed. Often

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[191] The thistle could stand for Scotland, the rose for England, the shamrock for Ireland, the protea for South Africa. The sunflower may be a stylised daffodil or leek flower and therefore represent Wales. The corn sheaf usually denotes fruitfulness and harvest being sacred to Ceres, the goddess of agriculture. A sheaf of corn may denote Concord, which would be appropriate here in the context of 'Brotherhood'. The images may be associated with military regimental insignia.

[192] Philip Warner *World War One* p. 150.

[193] It was unveiled in 1974, causing much controversy at the time. As a result, some funding was collected for the extremely ugly, unsympathetic and poorly-placed statue outside the Slave Lodge.

[194] The word 'trophy' Fr. Trophée - L. *trophaeum* - Gr. t*ropaion-trope*, a turning- *trepein*, to turn.

representations in bronze and stone of such spoils were part of the memorial sculpture. Sometimes the figure of Victory stands over such a group of trophies.

The presence of the trophy brings to mind the authentic, in a way that a constructed and new memorial cannot do. By presenting the real, the events with which it was associated have been brought home. In addition, by implication, the geographic distance between event and memory is conflated which could make remembrance more immediate.

The one hundred and sixty seven names of SA Heavy Artillery soldiers are in white, printed on an anodised aluminium plaque, copper-coloured. The regimental insignia of crossed rifles with a springbok's head at centre are at the two top corners. The names are in four rows comprising 4 Majors, Nugent FitzPatrick[195] being one, 2 Lieutenants, 4 2nd Lieutenants, including A. Maasdorp M.C. of UCT, 1 BQMS, 6 Sergeants, 4 Corporals, 23 Bombardiers, 118 Gunners, 4 Royal Marine Artillery of which one each BSM, Sgt., Bdr., Gnr..

The gun is mounted on a granite plinth with bronze inscriptions as follows: 'erected to the memory of the officers, N.C.Os and men of the S.A. Heavy Artillery who fell in the Great War 1914-1918' and 'this monument commemorates South Africans who died in the Great Wars 1914 -1918 1939 -1945'.

'The memorial was further dedicated on 26 April 1970 by the S.A.H.A. association Western Province branch to the memory of all artillerymen who laid down their lives for their country.'

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[195] Ross Dix-Peek, 'The other Percy FitzPatrick: The Life and Death of Major Percy Nugent Fitzpatrick , South African Heavy Artillery, 1889-1917' in the Journal of the *South African Military History Society* (2007).

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Although recently re-painted and looking well-cared for, the renovation is cosmetic, to cover up, rather than to arrest decay.[196]

Major-General Sir Henry Timson Lukin 1860-1925.

He had come from England to fight the frontier war of 1879 and had remained, to participate for Britain in all the subsequent wars on South African soil. During World War One he saw service in German South West Africa under General Louis Botha, Egypt and France discharging all his duties with honour and distinction, gaining the K.C.B for his war services in 1918 and the C.B.[197] As Commanding Officer of the South African Brigade, in July 1916 at Delville Wood he led his countrymen in their fiercest battle of the war, under orders to take and to hold the Wood at all costs, being slightly gassed during the action but able to lead the 751 exhausted survivors out, taking the salute at the end. After his recovery and until February 1918 he became Commander of the 9th Division of the British Army.

Most accounts portray him to have been a kind and good commander, soldier, family man and friend. There are various memorials and monuments to him around the country which bear out this testimony, as does the epitaph on his grave in Plumstead Cemetery 'A parfait gentil knight', on his statue in the Company's Garden in similar vein, 'He served his King and Country and was beloved by his fellow men' and on the memorial in St George's Cathedral 'a gallant soldier and a friend of soldiers'.

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[196] Noted on a visit 26 July 2009.

[197] Buchan *The South African Forces in France.*

The latter memorial in the form of a medallion relief portrait head, hangs high and usually in the semi-darkness on the South wall of the aisle of the Cathedral. The inscription under the head reads as follows giving all his military credentials.

> To the memory of Major General Sir Henry Timson Lukin. K.C.B..C.M.G..D.S.O..COMDR..Legion d'honneur. born 24th May 1860. Died 16th Dec. 1925. Commanded Cape MTD RFLM..1903-11: COMDT.GEN..Cape Col.Forces.1904-12:Inspr.Gen..PERM.Force (S.A.M.R.).1912-15 AND *commander in* the Great War..A..Force & 6TH Med.Bde in S .W. Africa and 1st SA.J Bd. And 9th (Scottish) division. On the Western Front. Followed by the epitaph.

The statue of 1932 by Anton van Wouw (1862-1945) stands at the Queen Victoria Street end of the Delville Wood Garden Memorial. It was unveiled by Lord Clarendon, the Governor General, on 3rd March 1932. The over-life-size bronze full length figure in military dress, hatted, booted and spurred, arms behind him at ease, holding his cane, is on a plinth of TMS with inscriptions: 'Major-General Sir Henry Timson Lukin K.C.B.C.M.G.D.S.O. Commander Legion of Honour Order of the Nile. Born 24th May1860. Died 16th December 1925.'

It is an example of a rather dull public monument to an individual war hero, in keeping with much public sculpture of its time rather than a memorial around which

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ceremonies may take place. It was cast in the Vignali foundry in Pretoria North.[198] On the re-discovery of the cast in 1987 by Professor of Art, Murray Schoonraad, a further two copies were made: one is in the Museum at Delville Wood in France and the other is owned by Pretoria University.

The statue is naturalistic and bland, slightly out of scale in its location and too high for intimate inspection. Anton van Wouw had been a supporter of the Boer republicans and had allied himself to nationalist Afrikaners and thus was probably not too enamoured at executing this commission. The lowercase engraved and black-painted lettering is interesting: for example the 'w' is an 'm' upside down and the spacing not perfect, giving a human touch.

The Union Government had provided the space for the statue. Payment was from the funds which had been collected nationally for this purpose as well as for some memorials in Anglican churches such as the one in St. George's Cathedral. Other public funds collected in Lukin's name were for scholarships for the sons of ex-soldiers.

Lukin's grave, headed by a tall granite Celtic cross on a triangular plinth in Plumstead municipal cemetery, is a civilian burial, his death due to age, not war-incurred. It was originally within the boundary walls of the war cemetery but is now outside of them, the perimeters having been changed in 2004.

His name is inscribed in the honour book of all parishioners who had served in the war, in Christ Church, Kenilworth.

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[198] The article by Estelle Pretorius (research@voortrekkermon.org.za) gives a lucid history of the Foundry.

The wooden cross on the Castle wall near the entrance, commemorating the men of the First (Cape) Regiment of the SA Infantry (Overseas) who had died at Delville Wood and the one on the wall of the Kat to those of the First SA Infantry Brigade are from timber brought back from the battlefield by Lukin. The latter was the makeshift cross made by the survivors erected on the field immediately post-battle[199] and therefore an object of great sanctity to the homecoming survivors of that battle. From the same batch, another cross was made and erected in the City Park in Pietermaritzburg. It is said to weep resin on the anniversary of the battle.

The one-sentence epitaphs on these three memorials testify to his humanity under the uniform of the soldier and the medals of victory and service. Also the fact that he had arranged for the charred timber from the massacred Wood to be brought home as a trophy, links those countrymen who lie under the foreign soil, with their families at home in a way of empathy that the distant seldom-to-be-visited memorial surmounted by Castor and Pollux does not do. The gun and the timber crosses being war trophies, must have enshrined bittersweet thoughts in the souls of the battle survivors that would have been theirs alone.

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Stalplein and the Memorial Garden, Cape Town, and the Memorial to General Louis Botha.

The bronze equestrian statue of General Louis Botha now stands as a focal point in front of an alcove in the heavy fencing between the forecourt of Tuinhuis-Parliament and Stalplein, marking the end of Roeland Street. It is thus cut off practically and

[199] South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), 2003.

visually from the Garden of Remembrance which was originally associated with the war memorial statue. The Garden incorporates the ever-burning flame as part of the installation to the Unknown Soldier. The symbolism is not entirely clear, although 'fire' sometimes represented 'life' in Antiquity: in other words, the flame may be signifying the everlasting life of the spirits and the memory of the fallen heroes of South Africa. The monument is dedicated to all those who died for their country in conflict.

According to the researcher Marianne Gertenbach, in 1983, President P. W. Botha, contrary to his previous assurance, had the cenotaph that was there, removed to the Heerengracht, outside the Broadway Building. It seems that the writer may be confusing this with the Victory-as-Cenotaph on the Foreshore nearby, as there is not a free-standing cenotaph in the vicinity. The architects in the new plan were firstly Revel Fox and Partners followed by Munnik, Visser, Black and Fish.[200]

The sculptor of the statue of Louis Botha was Romano Romanelli (1882-1968), a scion of the Florentine family, members of which had been sculptors over the centuries, a specialist in monumental sculpture in Europe. The work is dated 1931, the year in which the Vignali foundry was opened in Pretoria and the only one until 1942 in South Africa. Prior to 1931, sculptors had had to send their work, or go themselves, elsewhere to have their works cast, often to Britain, Holland or Italy. Therefore 'Victory' for

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[200] From articles by Marianne Gertenbach *Growth of the Parliamentary Precinct* (July, 2007) and Lila Komnick *Redevelopment of Stalplein and Establishment of the Memorial Garden* (Artworks Office of Parliament, March 2009). The change of architect was apparently because the President had disagreed with the political orientation of the former.

example, erected in 1927 as well as being designed in England would have been cast overseas.[201]

Botha is portrayed as the military man rather than the statesman, astride his horse. In the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition of 1931 there was exhibited a bronze statuette of the General on his horse 'Bless' by Sydney March.[202] On further investigation it has been ascertained that the Cape Town memorial depicts the General on another horse, his large and favourite one, 'Dapper': in Afrikaans meaning brave or courageous, not referring to the colour which was dappled grey.[203] The composition as a whole is a memorial to Botha the man and to his achievements. For who happened to be

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[201] Pretorius. ' Renzo Vignali (1903 - 1945) came to South Africa from Italy in 1931, apparently on Van Wouw's insistence. He was a practised bronze caster mastering the art in his father's foundry in Florence. He stayed in Johannesburg initially but later moved to Pretoria West where the sculpture group of the Voortrekker woman and children was cast in bronze on 5 August 1939. For this task Renzo Vignali called for the help of his father, Gusmano Vignali (1867 - 1953). Gusmano arrived in South Africa early in 1939 and also helped his son to cast the Coert Steyberg statue of Louis Botha in front of the Union Buildings. The Vignali foundry moved to Pretoria North in 1942 where it is still in business. '

[202] As listed in *Royal Academy Exhibitors 1905-1970*. Sydney had designed the Ottawa National War Memorial but died during a bout of pneumonia. Tthe work was carried on by his siblings, Vernon ('Victory') and Elsie.

Cape Times 02.05.1916. 'Bles' is pictured in an advertisement for Zam-Buk ointment. Its caption reads,' "Bles," General Botha's old Charger whose wounds were healed by Zam-Buk.' Note: 'Bless' (English) and 'Bles' (Afrikaans) are the spellings which occur in the original documents, respectively.

[203] In discussion with Mrs Noelle Botha-Reid, widow of Louis, the General's youngest grand-son. 'Dapper' being the Afrikaans for 'courageous'.

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an excellent horseman, the horse becomes a prop rather than a memorial to animals in war.

It is a commanding statue, embodying restrained movement and strength, the rider at ease. The density of the fencing between City and Parliament grounds make it almost impossible to elide the two memorial components; the one being accessible to all who pass by and the other, accessible only with difficulty and virtually unseen from the street.

Observatory.

On the way out of Cape Town on Hospital Bend at Observatory, there was until earlier this year, a stone tower or beacon designed by Herbert Baker, commemorating the men of that suburb. The bronze plates were missing and the structure had become inaccessible. During the 1960s the construction of De Waal Drive above Groote Schuur Hospital had left the remains of the original De Waal Road closed to any pedestrian, although thousands of motorists would have been aware of it daily, standing as it did, prominently. Originally it would have been on the lower mountain slope of Devil's Peak, with landscape setting it off and a safe, stone walkway up to it. The integration of the built structure in context with the natural setting would have been in keeping with contemporary design ideas about the picturesque and the manipulation of visual space. Many of the commemorated men would have known the mountain well: thus the deliberate symbolism, worthy in concept of the Neo-Classical prototypes of commemorative art.

Its verticality may be seen to be symbolic of the universal concept of the manliness of war-mongering and the cult of the soldier as knight, which was prevalent at the time;

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although as discussed above, analysis of the monument does not necessarily tally with the psycho-analysis of its builders; or viewers. Although secular, the cruciform supporters of the orb suggest that Baker was associating the memorial with his religion and that of most of the men.

Due to the upgrading of De Waal Drive freeway during 2009, the memorial was, in July 2009, relocated to Lower Observatory, the central feature in the new Urban or Community Park designed and laid out by the Cape Town City Improvement Scheme.

It is a rough sandstone round and battered tower surmounted by a ball suspended by four equally spaced Greek crosses. On the circular foot is inscribed in Roman characters 'Build well on the foundations laid by their great sacrifice'. There are four *faux*[204] bronze plates around the shaft at head height, bearing the names of all the sixty seven war dead of Observatory. Three of them record the names in alphabetical order, the fourth bearing the inscription in upper case: 'Observatory war memorial. In lasting honour of those who went forth on active service in the Great War and in reverent and loving memory of those who fell.'

The plans are housed in the UCT Library.[205] Unfortunately within a month of its relocation it had been vandalised,[206] but expertly and timeously cleaned by Council workers.

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[204] The three existing bronze plaques, found in a scrap dealer's yard by a member of the MOTH organization, will be deposited in a military museum. Those on the tower are fibreglass replicas. Jan Correwijn was the restoration architect and contractor responsible for the relocation, and the fabrication of the fibreglass plaques. The tower was cut into two sections before removal to the Park. This information came from Jeanne Welsh a resident of Newlands.

[205] Manuscripts and Archives Library.

Plumstead Cemetery.[207]

The military cemetery is situated within the Plumstead municipal cemetery, Victoria Road, which pre-dates the First World War and is still in use.

The road through the main gates is open to traffic, thus one can drive up to the gates of the war cemetery and park outside the demarcated area of war graves. The perimeter wall is new, having been built in 2004.[208] It is of a reddish brick, stands about a metre high, with double wrought iron metal gates of similar height, at the new entrance which marks the intersection of WW1 and WW2 CWGC grave sites.

The workmanship is of the highest quality but gives a harsh and unsympathetic impression, cut off from and alien to the informality of the surrounding natural greyness of soil, tarmac, family graves and headstones, flowers and windswept Cape Flats sand, footpaths where molehills and holes abound. The colour of the bricks is unsympathetic to the overall sandy grey.

The area within the wall is grassed with lush buffalo and around the head of each grave are planted low-maintenance garden flowers, conforming to the plantings of the Commission.

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[206] The words 'power kills' and 'to be phallic about it aint shit' crudely spray-painted in black at head height, the latent and superficial symbolism not being missed by the perpetrators.

[207] Visit on 12th April 2001 at the end of summer when the grass was brown and dry. Mature *Eucalyptus* sp. and *Cupressus* sp. Lined some of the paths. Another visit was made on 23rd April 2007.

[208] The CWGC (South Africa) renovated the whole area during 2004. Ref. correspondence of Brig. Gen. J. Potgieter, CWGC, South African Agency.

During renovation, the layout had been altered. On my first visit, the Cross of Sacrifice[209] stood at the apex and entrance to the war cemetery. Behind it was the Celtic cross marking General Lukin's grave and behind that, the grave of Thomas Dodds, Rand Rifles who had died on August 24th 1915, of fever contracted in the South West Africa campaign and erected before the massive post war memorial building. One was then led into the main part of the cemetery where one hundred and forty seven burials, back to back in straight rows, were almost all marked by the standard headstones of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission[210] which are of Paarl granite. The regimental crest, name, rank, regiment and date of death of the deceased are expertly carved in relief, painted in with silver, conforming to the set layout, and sometimes with an epitaph. The six Australian headstones have epitaphs, which would have been suggested by their far away next of kin. The uniformity of the rows upon rows of graves, especially in the larger cemeteries, stresses the regimentation of an army, and the equality in death, lying side by side, of men and officers irrespective of their ranks.[211]

The symmetry is at times broken by the inclusion of headstones of granite crosses on granite plinths within the rows, some honouring either members of the Cape Corps or nurses. It is not clear why these are here unless they were erected before the area became an official CWGC site as in the cross of Thomas Dodds.

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[209] There were two sizes: Type A1 for a cemetery containing 40 to 250 burials and Type B for a cemetery containing 2,000 and more burials.

[210] Personal epitaphs were to be paid for by the family or friends. French, Belgian and New Zealand governments did not allow personal epitaphs. Laffin *We Will Remember Them* pp. 10 and 11.

[211] Oliver pp 94/5.

Blomfield's Cross of Sacrifice[212] has been moved to a prominent place near the new entrance, and sand blasted clean. The Sword of Honour[213] is missing as it was in 2001. The holes of the grommets have been patched up but are visible, so that one can see where it would have hung. A dust mark outlining the sword which was then visible has been cleaned off. The hexagonal-into-octagonal plinth stands on a tapering tier constructed from similar stones of Paarl granite. On the plinth stone is the uppercase inscription: 'their name liveth for evermore.' On the opposite face it reads: 'hulle naam leef tot in ewigheid', wording usually associated with the Great War Stone in the larger cemeteries.

On my first visit to the cemetery in 2001, the Cross was enclosed in a silver painted low barrier of corrugated iron which is still there, now protecting a dead and broken sapling tree that replaces the Cross. (Any reference to the blasted Wood in France is surely unintentional.) I thought that this had probably been put there when the road had been asphalted at some time, to protect the base from the visiting cars.

On a plaque near the entrance is written the statistics of South African war burials with a brief history of the South Africans' involvement. [214]

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[212] Type A1 for cemeteries of between 40-250 graves.

[213] Its symbolism is wide and various: this one is identified with war. If a sword is 2-edged it is a duality, standing for creation/destruction, life/death: contrary but complementary, Cooper *Traditional Symbols*.

[214] '…….This cemetery contains 147 burials of the First World War and 97 of the Second. By Forces they comprise:

	1914-1918.	1939-1945
South Africa	102	85
United Kingdom	36	8
Australia	6	2
Canada	_	1

The older headstones are of dark grey Paarl granite, which is highly polished on the outer face and left roughly chiselled on the narrow sides, top and reverse. Later, Rustenberg granite was used and continues to be so. All CWGC headstones in South Africa are made from the local granites.

Lukin is buried at the meeting of the three roads near the start of the military cemetery, which had been the entrance until the new wall was built. His grave plot is bordered in granite kerbing and bears the epitaph, reverting to medievalism: 'A parfait gentil Knight'[215] from which is partially covered by growing grass. The gravestone is a tall granite Celtic cross on a triangular plinth. It was erected and paid for by his family. A consequence of the fact that the Cross of Sacrifice and the perimeter walls have been moved is that Lukin's grave is no longer a pivotal part of the military complex accentuating the way-in to the soldiers' graves as it once did.

Further down is the memorial to the Second World War. There was a concrete rectangular structure resembling the Stone of Remembrance on a stepped plinth, the

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New Zealand		_		1
Belgium	1		_	
Germany		2		_

South African war dead in the First World War numbered more than 9,000 and in the Second nearly 12,000. Many of them are buried in war cemeteries or commemorated on memorials, in the countries in which they fought and fell, but in South Africa itself 8,332 Commonwealth war dead are commemorated by name in cemeteries or on memorials to those cremated or to those whose graves are unknown or unmaintainable. Of this total, 6,654 (1,605 of the First World and 5,048 of the Second World War) were from the South African forces.'

[215] Chaucer, Geoffrey. 1340?-1400 *The Canterbury Tales*. Prologue line 27. 'He was a verray parfait gentil knight'. Newer transl. by Coghill, Neville before 1953 in Wain, John. *The Canterbury Tales* reads 'he was a true, a perfect gentle-knight'.

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two short sides built up to form pair of internally-facing seats across a platform. There was a hollow chamber built into the side, the empty tomb made to contain the roll of honour, the symbolic identities of the dead. By 2004 the cenotaph had been reduced by vandals to a ground plan: thus it has vanished, not to be replaced.

War Memorial Adderley Street.

Sculpture.

'Sculpture invites us to give it time, to read its significance, and enjoy the energy that it generates in our environment.'[216] 'The decision to fund and site a public sculpture is usually in the hands of city councils from whom approval is not easily acquired. Commemorative public sculpture is usually a symbolic distillation of the aspirations of a particular group at a specific period.'[217]

A sculpture appears to change with the times of day, the seasons, the weather, by walking around it. One reads the forms, the shapes, the whole, the parts, the details, the depth and the shadows, the highlights and the surface textures. If figurative, there are the gestures and the legends and orthography, the tones and colours and the way that one material plays off in juxtaposition to others. The near setting, the middle ground and the far distance, the size and scale, the content and the possibilities for significance all contribute to the *gestalt* of the work. Unfortunately, the ideal does not always exist.

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[216] Crump and van Niekerk *Public Sculpture and Reliefs* (Cape Town, Clifton Publications, 1988) p.11.

[217] Crump and van Niekerk, *Public Sculpture* ..., p.14.

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Adderley Street was named since 1850 after Sir Charles Boyer Adderley, Lord Norton from 1878, the British Member of Parliament for North Staffordshire, who had forced the convict ship, the SS *Neptune*, to continue on to Australia rather than off-loading its passengers at the Peninsula. The citizens of Cape Town took the opportunity of Anglicizing the Dutch *Heerengracht*, as a gesture of goodwill to their peer. It became established as the foremost road of the city[218] one of the original links between the mountain and the sea, stretching south, east of the Castle to Table Bay and the Docks and northwards up to the Avenue in the Company's Garden.

Now often referred to as 'The Cenotaph', the Adderley Street war memorial is the main focus for military memorial services[219] in Cape Town, a secular monument around which civil-religious events may take place.

It was unveiled by the Earl of Athlone, the Governor-General, on the 3 August 1924, prominently marking the grand entrance into Cape Town and by implication, the way in to Africa and all the continent had to offer. It was relocated due to the road widening scheme designed by the City Engineer, Solly Morris, to a site about eight metres away, and rededicated on the 8th November 1959. The relocation resulted in a realignment of the axes so that Victory now faces West, instead of North which is towards the city, mountainwards, being 'the last view of the city the soldiers would

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[218] Also, information by e-mail from Chris Holdridge, UCT: 'the SS *Neptune* with convicts aboard harboured off Simon's Town, not Table Bay as you say. Interestingly, it was taboo and an insult to Cape colonial sensibilities to accept a convict ship into Table Bay so close to the main town, so they harboured in Simon's Bay. It was the united efforts of thousands of protesting and petitioning colonists, as well as Adderley and others lobbying in London that prevented the convicts from being landed on our shores. The SS *Neptune* was diverted to Van Diemen's Land (from 1856 as Tasmania).'

[219] Visits and services of Remembrance 12.11.1999, 11.11.2002, 11.11 2007.

have seen before going north.'[220] It's original impact is now dwarfed by the ever increasing development of the Foreshore in plan and height. Ghost marks are faintly apparent where the wreathed sword was originally placed. It must have been re-placed during the relocation of the monument. Inscribed plaques commemorate World War One 1914-1918, World War Two 1939-1945 and the Korean War 1950-1953.

There is a double symbolism in that Table Mountain had become the iconic face of South Africa, its image having been drawn, painted and printed by European visitors from the sixteenth century onwards, and widely disseminated after the return journey. The slopes of the Mountain were the invitation in to Africa. Cape Town had developed from being a fertile coastal station, victualling the ships and feeding the sailors on the way to the East, into a fully-fledged European city, in 1910 taking its place equally among the 'English' capitals of the Commonwealth. The memorials which were built after 1918 reflect the political demographics of the community: mainly English-speaking white citizens and members of the Coloured Corps.

The annual Remembrance Sunday services and wreath laying ceremonies are ecumenical and honour 'all of those who fell in battle and to pledge ourselves to peace.'[221] The service of 2007 was especially dedicated to the men of the SS *Mendi* 'who perished in foreign waters'.[222] The procession, prayers, hymns, readings and addresses, Last Post and Reveille are followed by a long wreath laying ritual by members of the armed and auxiliary services, the City and members of the public.

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[220] Crump and van Niekerk, *Public Sculpture* ... and Michael Gavaghan *The Story of the Unknown Warrior. 11 November 1920* (Preston, UK, M and L Publications, 1995.

[221] *Order of Service* brochure 11.11.2007. City of Cape Town.

[222] *Order of Service* brochure 11.11.2007. City of Cape Town.

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There is a marked contrast between the formality and uniform dress of the military, and the informality of that of the general public. Wreaths add colour to the sombre memorial but the wind blows and they go all over the place.

The structure is one of those in the mainstream of city outdoor war memorial tradition, officially inspired and erected as secular icons by national and municipal committees to commemorate the fallen of WW1, prominently visible in the public domain. It is an impressive structure in Table Mountain Stone (TMS), Paarl granite and bronze. The central pedestal, rising eight metres, bears a winged figure of Victory standing on a serpent which is twisted around a globe. Her outstretched arm is holding a victor's wreath. On the walls of her pedestal are a bronze sheathed sword and another victor's wreath, in relief. Mythological, ideal, other-worldly figure of Classical Antiquity, Victory with her symbolic attributes is untouchable, unable to be 'read' without binoculars,[223] distanced, unrealistically floating above the earthly, realistic three-dimensional images, also in bronze, on shorter pedestals. To her right is a South African of the East Africa Brigade and to her left on a matching plinth, a South African in the full battle dress of a combatant in Flanders, both of European descent. They are gun-wielding, very much depictions of action.

The realism of style makes it easy to identify at face value. The amalgam of Classical symbolism, contemporary detail, combination of stones and bronze, figurative sculpture and lettering, large of size and height, abstract geometrical plinths, conforms to the monumental style which had been evolving prior to 1918.

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[223] Nowadays of course she can be viewed at eye level from the windows of the high rise buildings around.

As in all works of this nature, the ensemble would have been a team effort comprising masons, metal workers, planners and designers, in England and locally.

High-into-low bas relief rectangular bronze plaques at the base of each of the four faces of the central pedestal depict air, artillery, hospital and trench scenes. They are realistic in style with deep use of linear perspective, the device drawing the viewer in to the events. The trench scene represents the burnt-out Delville Wood in July 1916 when held by SA forces. It covers the roll of honour chamber, the heart of the monument, confirming the supremacy of that battle being crucial to the burgeoning of South African nationhood. The chamber is now empty.

The scenes of struggle and injury which so graphically highlight the horrors of war, emphasise the earthiness of the conflict, the soldiers suffering to preserve the nation and the patriotism of their sacrifices.

The memorial glorifies the military nature of the victory which had been achieved by the South Africans in the cause of peace and justice. The scenes depict the progress of the war not yet finished: what had happened being brought to mind, remembering the hardships in specific detail. As such, it is an honest rendering of war conditions rather than a glorification which is based on false deliberations.

The Delville Wood scene, the lettering updated to the Korean War which ended in 1953, shows the gun carriage in a narrow pass which is drawn by three pairs of horses, each pair with a handler in a ravaged and rough landscape with one burnt-out tree skeleton, the detail surely taken from the iconic after-battle photograph of the muddy Wood. To the left, two soldiers struggle with a body or a dying comrade. The background is in low relief, more dead trees on the horizon: desolate, bleak and strife-ridden. The foreground is in high relief. Deep perspective gives a vision of going into the landscape, the backs of the struggling group being towards the viewer, a device

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inviting one in to the scene, to endure the struggle together. By showing the horror, and creating empathy with the Fallen, in this way, it seems to perpetuate the memory of their bad experiences in an ever-present holding-on, rather than transmuting them into the past and freeing the viewer into the future.

There is also a hospital scene. There are six male figures and two female nurses, all European. At right foreground in high relief are two uniformed soldiers assisting a wounded and head-bandaged patient on the ground, with a nurse in attendance behind, recognisable by her veil. On the left and slightly receded are two fully uniformed bearers carrying a severely wounded patient laid on a stretcher aided by another nurse in the uniform of her profession. The scene gives the impression of busyness and takes place under the back-drop of a hospital tent. Another tent, in low relief is further back on the left. The setting of palm trees and the uniform of the soldiers infer that the scene is set in East Africa. In the distance is a field ambulance.

The aircraft scene depicts four standing figures in high relief across what looks like a muddy foreground. The entire middle level represents in detail an angled horizontal view of an aeroplane. It is difficult to interpret what is going on between the figures which are paired between an airman and ground staff, possibly they are greeting, back at base after a mission into enemy territory.

The trench scene is probably the least satisfactory composition of the series. Four soldiers crouch on the ground before the backdrop of a road in a blasted wood which goes off into the distance, rendered in sharp linear perspective. All the trees are skeletal, after the bombardment and therefore offering little hope.

The omission of a naval scene is an uneasy one. Especially in Cape Town, the nearest manning port to Europe, with an established tradition of patrolling the oceans in times of war, including WW1 in which many South Africans had died at sea. And of

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course the omission of any black men remains equally disturbing in the post-apartheid era.

The series expresses the hard physical travail of war at the Front, white soldiers, and nurses in their traditional role of care giving. The whole is realistic and illustrative, competently executed but lacking the trauma of, for example, the work of Kathy Kollwitz. Artistically, it is unadventurous in form but would have fitted the expectations of the grieving public of the time, who may have identified vicariously with the tableaux, corroborating what was written by van Niekerk and Crump quoted above .

The memorial as a whole may be seen to be a statement in three zones. The heavenly, the earthly and the below ground: the names of the dead being written in the roll and placed in the tomb of darkness for evermore. In that sense, the structure is a cenotaph which is defined as a tomb devoid of human remains; unfortunately now devoid of their names as well. Thus another symbol has been lost. However, the immediacy of the relief scenes, akin to snapshot views of actuality, unchanging in their bronze images, ensure that at least that section of the memorial is for the dead, not the living.

Since the development of the City road system and high rise buildings on the Foreshore, the monument is now dwarfed and does not command the viewer's attention as originally intended. It can no longer be a place of contemplation. It has been criticised for the bronze figures possessing 'no great aesthetic merit', but however, 'they are worth crossing the street for'.[224] This is a strange comment when the group stands as an island in the busiest part of Cape Town's traffic lanes.

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[224] See Cape Town: *Mayor's Minute* for 1924, 19. Quoted in Bickford-Smith et al.

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On the other hand, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick's comments on the same two soldiers 'perhaps the very best I have ever seen'[225] is rather quaint. He must have been equating their looks with real soldiers with whom he may have been familiar. The realism of the bronze soldiers would have communicated some familiarity to the veterans and the public but had Sir Percy and like-minded critics looked further they may have asked themselves why the soldiers were in the stance of shooting, in action for evermore. It is difficult to see how psychological closure could not have been disturbed by such images. Perhaps 'Victory' in the sky surmounting earthly endeavours cancelled out any mundane negativity. The Earl of Athlone's comments were also favourable,[226] expressing his belief '... that the existence of these visible memorials ... - silent witnesses to the desolation of the war – will through the years to come, be potent advocates of peace and will eventually serve to draw all peoples together in mutual understanding.'

The ceremony of unveiling would have signified psychological entrance into another world, the world of the past, of the dead who had literally passed on and meaning closure for the living: the object-image now replacing the actual.

Borg[227] says that there is still a curious prejudice amongst critics against memorial architecture and sculpture, and an entirely erroneous view is held is that it is all bad. The people paying were doing so in the opinion that they were getting the best. While this is undoubtedly true, much of the sculpture is unadventurous and certainly breaks no bounds of safe academicism: but why should it, in the context for which it was made? It

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[225] Bickford-Smith et al.

[226] Bickford-Smith et al *Cape Town* p. 75 quoting *Mayor's Minute* for 1924, 19.

[227] Borg *War Memorials* p. 70.

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has proved extremely difficult to obtain access to information about the British sculptors of Cape Town's World War One memorials. This is especially true of the seven English March siblings, three of whom were sculptors: Vernon, Sidney and Elsie. According to local accounts[228] Vernon was the artist of Cape Town's memorial. Stylistically it seems that at least two artists could have been responsible: the two soldiers and relief panels could be by the same hand, while Victory seems have been handled less realistically and has smoother surfaces.

The personification of victory as a winged, female figure was known to the ancient Greeks and Romans. She was the messenger of the gods, a kind of angel, who descended to earth to crown the victor in a contest of arms, athletics or poetry. Her Roman image was the source of early representations of the angel in Christian art, a transference of easy elision when so much of the new faith took over contemporary pagan forms. Victory was rarely represented in the Middle Ages, but was revived in the Renaissance when she is seen as bestowing a crown, usually a laurel, or a palm branch. Or, in allegories of Military victory, she is surrounded by, or reclines on, a heap of weapons, a depiction of trophies. She is sometimes accompanied by Fame. A vanquished foe may lie bound at her feet.

That winged Nike goes back to at least 6th BCE is witnessed by a figure from Delos now in the National Museum in Athens. Victory, Iris and Mercury were winged, the descendants of very ancient pre-classical winged figures, male and female. From the stately Roman Victory was derived the image of the Angel, the Christian messenger of

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[228] Teresa Louw, John Rennie and Greg Goddard *The Buildings of Cape Town: Phase Two. Volume Three: Catalogue and Classification* (Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, 1983) and Bickford-Smith et al *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*.

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God, first seen in sixth century mosaics. Old Testament sources saw the angels as based on the human figure and therefore presumably wingless. Among the classical winged figures represented in the Renaissance and later, are Fame with trumpets, History writing on a tablet, Peace with a dove, Fortune blindfold with a globe, Nemesis, various Virtues and Vices, Father Time, Opportunity, Night often flying with two infants in her arms.[229]

The Nike of Samothrace[230] deviated from the traditional canons of representation: breaking the bounds of containment, changing axes and contrapositioning the solidity of the limbs to the diaphanous drapery. It was sited against a wall of the sanctuary, looking out to sea and could be seen from a great distance. Now the statue stands in a commanding position internally, at the top of a main staircase in the Louvre gallery in Paris: headless, armless but still projecting energy as though she has just arrived from outer space, victorious, garments flowing in the wind.

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[229] Hall *Subjects and Symbols*.

[230] The Victory figure in bronze is based on the Winged Nike of Samothrace (c190 BCE) in Parian marble which had come to light in 1863. It was carved from Parian marble by the Rhodians in c.190 BCE in gratitude for their victory over Antiochus 111 of Syria (222-187 BCE). Designed to be visible from a great distance from the sea, sited against a wall of the sanctuary of the Cabiri in Samothrace, against a deep gorge. She alights on the prow of a ship, with her wings open behind her, clothed in a voluminous *chiton* and *peplos*. Her head was turned to the left and in her right hand it has been suggested that she carried a victor's fillet of metal. The siting was all-important for the best effect of movement. Weight equally on each leg, irregular axes, balancing forward movement of the body which is counteracted by the billowing draperies which have a life of their own, physically as well as aesthetically balancing the composition. While it is a completely 3-dimensional in conception it was designed to be seen at its best from an oblique angle at its left side.

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It was only in 1950 that the ring finger of the right hand was discovered during excavations on Samothrace. This, matched with a fragment lodged in the Kunsthistorischesmuseum Vienna, made it possible to deduce that the figure would have been holding a victor's fillet of metal, probably gilt bronze so that it would have glinted in the sun. Many modern 'victories' display this adjunct.

There is growing evidence that ancient Greek sculpture had been painted in bright colours and in parts highly patterned.[231] It is enticing to conjecture what colouration, if any, and patterning, is left on Nike in Samothrace.

She reoccurs in present times, abstracted, as a symbol of affirmation on running shoes of the successful brand which bears her name: bringing to mind the winged feet of Mercury the messenger god. Thus the Classical antecedent continues, reinterpreted for contemporary lexicons.

Medals.

War medals, as part of material culture, while not being memorials, embody symbolic representation akin to that of many war memorials, especially that of Victory.

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[231] Matthew Gurewitsch True colours in *Smithsonian*, Washington, August 2008. The article is about the research by Vinzenz Brinkmann and Ulrike Koch-Brinkmann on the marble sculptures of Antiquity in which they use ultra-violet light technology to discern not only the original colours painted but also the patterns drawn on the surfaces. It had been the influential German archaeologist and art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) who had promoted the idea that 'white is beautiful' which became the norm for Neo-Classical sculpture and associated arts, such as the pottery of Joshiah Wedgewood (1730-1795).

Therefore a short description is not out of place here. The following quote encapsulates the influence of Classical antecedents in the designs of many.

'Why are young men told to look in ancient history for examples of heroism when their own countrymen furnish such lessons?'[232]

Why indeed? Many medals which are designed to be worn on the chests of contemporary earthly warriors, bear images of the symbiotic relationship between personifications of the ancient pantheons and Christ's saints. The sovereign's head in profile, in antique form, often adorns either the obverse or reverse A good example of this is the General Service Medal of King George V, Army and Royal Air Force 1918. The reverse is a Winged and draped female Victory, holding a trident in one hand and a wreath in the other.

Dorling lists one hundred and twenty three Orders, Decorations and Medals which had been available in various wars and in civilian life to British citizens and members of the Commonwealth up to the end of World War One.

Medals are given as a reward for service, designed to be worn by the recipient on formal or semi-formal occasions. They are of real or simulated precious metal, coin-like, suspended from a matching metal bar which is the link between the medal and its ribbon.

There is a strict hierarchy in the system of orders, decorations and medals, and rules for the way in which they are worn and displayed. The highest and most revered of all, taking precedence, is the Victoria Cross (VC) which was instituted by Queen Victoria in 1856, said to be from an idea of Prince Albert, who designed it, after the Crimean

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[232] William Napier in *Ribbons and Medals* Dorling, H. Taprell (London: George Philip, 1941).

War. It is a bronze cross *pattée.*[233] On the obverse stands a British lion *passant gardant* on the royal crown with the words 'for valour' on a semi-circular scroll encircling the crown. On the clasp is a stylised laurel branch: on its reverse is the recipient's name, rank and regiment or ship. It may be awarded to any soldier, sailor, airman, chaplain, officer or man who performs a singular act of courage in devotion to their country during war time. There are twenty two South African recipients of the Victoria Cross, one being Andrew Proctor (1896-1921) of UCT, whose memorial there is discussed above. Six others were awarded to South Africans during World War One.

The cross is of bronze, cast[234] from the metal from captured enemy cannon stored at the Royal Ordnance Depot in England. Both medal and suspender bar are cast in sand, hand chased and finished in great detail before being covered with a veneer of bronze to give an even-coloured finish: made by Hancocks and Company, jewellers of London, since their inception. The ribbon is of maroon denoting the army colour of the nineteenth century when the medal was first awarded.

Each medal is personalised with the recipient's name, date of action and regiment engraved on the reverse. The name rank, regiment and serial number are on the reverse of the bar. The date of the action is on the reverse of the Cross. It was designed by Prince Albert. It is elegant and to the point, beautifully fashioned and lacking in other-world symbolism, so different from many of the other medals.

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[233] This was the cross of the medieval Knights Templar (formed c. 1160). The cross has four equal arms which are almost triangular, widening out towards the extremities.

[234] Other medals are die-struck.

Military medals fall into four groups. Those for i) gallantry in action and the saving of life in peace, ii) medals for war service, iii) commemoration medals and iv) medals for long service and good conduct.

Members of the South African Defence Forces, which had been constituted in 1912, out of the Colonial Forces, received medals directly from the British government, until 1952[235] when the South African Defence Force came into being. The creation of new awards and medals accompanied the transition, replacing and substituting the British ones; for long service and for war time. That system was superceded in 1975 and in 2003 the fourth series was instituted under the South African National Defence Force which had come into being during 1994, amalgamating the SADF, the liberation armies and the military forces of the former homelands.

The medals most commonly awarded in South Africa after 1918 were the Victory medal for the troops of the British Empire: Bronze. On the reverse is a winged Victory, left arm outstretched and holding a palm frond in her right hand. The palm, similarly the laurel, is associated with peace and therefore by association, with Victory which brings peace. A bronze oak 'leaf' in the form of a stylised leafed branch, is intended to be attached to the ribbon for 'mentioned in despatches'.

The British War medal, silver, of 1914-1920 was awarded to all members of the British Forces, the Royal Navy, Army, Royal Air Force (from 1st April 1918, previously the Royal Flying Corps), Royal Naval Air Force, the Mercantile Marine and Medical Corps.

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[235] South African medal website. *www.geocities.com/milita*

'The medal in bronze will be granted to all British subjects who were enrolled in native labour corps units and who served in theatres of war.'[236]

St George is naked on horseback, trampling a shield of the eagle of the Central Powers and a skull and cross bones, the emblem of death. The risen and rayed sun of victory is above. St George was selected rather than a female personification, as men had borne the brunt of the fighting. The horse signifies a force greater than human but controlled by the human mind, which here implies the weapons of technology, as being responsible for a victorious war. So the horse carries a double symbolism: the machinations of the human mind and the weapons of war. The machines which were the products of men's minds and practical endeavours were responsible for mass deaths. St George unarmed, un-armoured on his horse seems to be disconnected from the tanks, mortars and Howitzers of the real war in which medals were won at such cost. The image perpetuates the medieval romance of the Christian knight without recalling contemporary actuality, although the Saint is classicised in his nudity and stance: the Christian Saint would never have appeared *en déshabille*.

The Mercantile Marine Medal had superseded the Transport Medal which had been established by King Edward V11 for officers only. It was awarded to all officers and men of the Merchant Navy who had served during 1914-1918.

People of colour from the High Commission Territories would have enlisted through Britain and were eligible for medals and decorations. Some of the men of the SANLC and CCC who had either died, or served and survived had been eligible for, and been granted awards other than the British War Medal: King George V had

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[236] Dorling *Ribbons....* p.75.

acknowledged publicly all who had served in a speech he had given after the war, but the authorities on the whole were ungenerous of their eulogies in words and actions.

But there was a complication. Those serving men and women who had enlisted under the High Commission Territories Basutoland/Lesotho and Bechuanaland/ Botswana were eligible for the General Service medal while those, who were labourers, who were black, from South Africa were not. The official amnesia which was displayed in the aftermath left lingering resentments of the unfairnesses into the following decades.[237]

To esteem Valour, Honour and Sacrifice in the course of duty for freedom is a good foundation for the remembering of heroes and never out of date.

Rolls of honour

A roll of honour may be defined as an official list or register to honour the dead. It may be either in scroll, book, plaque or mural form. There are several in the area of this study.

In World War One memorialization it became obligatory to have a roll of honour dignifying groups of people who were buried elsewhere or who had no known grave. In the case of the latter, they would occur in the roll in the cemetery nearest to the vicinity

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[237] Some other medals granted to South Africans were The Star of 1914-15, awarded to members of St. John Ambulance Brigade South African Medal, the Voluntary Medical Service Medal, the Distinguished Service Medal 1914 and various Orders and Decorations.

A set of medals is often displayed privately, in the homes of descendents: a memorial of sorts. The commodification of medals is a flourishing business.

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of the fatality: for example, the Menin gateway complex in Belgium, near Ypres. At home, they would be connected to the churches, places of study and work, and in great calligraphic tomes listing the names of the fallen, in cathedrals, schools and city buildings.

On occasion the rolls display the names of all who went off irrespective of their ultimate fate as on the mural in the main branch of the Standard Bank in Adderley Street and the book in Christ Church Kenilworth.

The names are the content and the form is always of the best craftsmanship. The individual is identified and that is what brings to the viewer the essence of the memorial. In a way, they are the most evocative of sadness, of all the memorials, of the knowledge of the loss that their family and friends would have suffered and grieved for. They impress by the lack of clutter and thus speak directly to the heart. We are linked to our ancestors by blood, tradition and history and by naming them, we identify them and with them, focusing. They present as a silent and relentless dirge to the dead, monotonous and on-going: never-ending, holding the eyes in fascination, and awe. Once the last page has been turned, focus re-turns to page one, and again, for ever.

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Diocesan College/Bishops'.

The Memorial Chapel[238] of 1925 replaced the existing Brooke Chapel alongside: this being converted to the Brooke Library until 1935 when it reverted to chapel use after re-dedication. The Memorial Chapel is a magnificent space, high roofed, white

[238] 'In order to prevent birds nesting please ensure the chapel doors are closed at all times', greets the visitor on approaching the west door and entrance.

painted, with simple Byzantine style details on the column capitals and the *baldacchino* which is over the main altar, designed by Charles Waterhouse. Externally, there is a long colonnade which is intersected by the entrance marked by a break in the frieze of the architrave where it becomes a semicircular arch.

The tall end wall of the building behind continues into a gable of pitched roof. The window has a semicircular lintel at the top: all grand and austere, visually linking with adjacent buildings.

There is a stone plaque reading: '*in memoriam diocesanorum cui qui in bello magno pro fide et patria mortem obierunt legatus Africae australis comes de Athlone pris: fest: s. Barn. A.S. MCDXXV hunc lapidem posuit*.'[239]

The Delville Wood memorial chapel is a small space south of the main altar, the Grey Chapel. It houses the illuminated, manuscripted roll of honour of all Bishops' old boys who had died in the war, repeating the names on the bronze plaque on the exterior of the building at the entrance. Eight hundred and twenty five had enlisted for active service, one hundred and six killed or died of wounds or disease. A hundred and sixty were wounded. Five hundred had held commissions from 2nd Lieutenant to General, and there were one hundred and sixty honours and awards:[240] no mean citation for a single school.

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[239] The translation reads 'In memory of those of this parish who died for faith and country in the Great War this stone was laid by the Earl of Athlone Gov. Gen. of South Africa on the feast of St Barnabas 1925.'

[240] Statistics taken from the roll of honour manuscript.

The book is signed C. S. Groves[241] and dated 1921 under a small marginal water colour of the lodge to the school grounds. There are other local scenes and the depictions of flora tends to South African indigenous, the fauna likewise. Groves was a local artist, teacher and stained glass designer of repute, working in a high nineteenth century style.

The altar frontal[242] was designed and made by Mrs Kay MacLaurin in 1992. It is highly symbolic with obviously Christian associations. The red is for the poppies the blood of the soldiers, the green is for the good earth and the yellow/gold the hope of life beyond all earthly wretchedness and death: the life to come. The barbed wire is specific to the suffering so sorely experienced by the infantry on the Western Front and the skeleton tree stands for the last tree left standing at Delville Wood.

The rough wooden cross, charred, on the wall was fabricated the same year as the frontal, designed by Fr. Michael Bands, the College Chaplin and made by Sibley McAdam. It refers to the burnt timber of the trees of the battlefields: making the point that Faith rises above the evil of the world and cannot be broken by destruction.

The kneelers are embroidered *gros point* on tapestry net. The design of the central one is of a Latin cross, flanked by three on each side of a stylised poppy field, the symbolism of blood and suffering transmuted into redemption being in line with poppy

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[241] Charles Sidney Groves (1868-1964) was an art teacher and lecturer with a particular interest in stained glass and was responsible for the design of the windows in Smuts Hall residence, UCT and was Senior lecturer at the Michaelis School of Art. Reference:
http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/groves-cs.html

[242] The information is taken from the explanation in the Memorial Chapel.

symbolism in general. As one kneels at the altar of sacrament, the worshipper is one with the dead heroes of their *alma mater*.

The Bishops' hymn book contains the order of service for Remembrance Day. The whole is very much a living memorial, serving its primary function of remembrance of Bishops' boys past, but it is also a forceful model for the adolescent and older boys who by virtue of their schooling, and presumably home cultures, to live (and die) a Christian life. It is eminently in keeping with the contemporary late nineteenth early twentieth century ideal of the courageous and unflinching knights of old, in style even older than the Middle Ages.

The art of calligraphy. The National Roll of Honour.

The National Roll of Honour is housed in Parliament in Government Avenue, Cape Town and is a beautifully leather-bound, gold tooled and scripted work of calligraphy in pristine condition. The Librarian of Parliament used, until recently to turn a page daily as is the custom with this type of memorial.

The dedication reads: 'Book of Remembrance. Great War 1914-1918. Roll of South Africans who fell. Presented to Parliament by the South African National Memorial Committee. April 1930.' This is repeated in Afrikaans.

When closed it is secured by two gilded metal clasps. It lies on a maroon cloth-covered box in a custom-made glass-topped wooden cabinet at reading height. Adjacent in a similar cabinet is the Roll for World War Two. They are in an obscure corner of the art collection rather than in full public view.

The names are ranked in alphabetical order by surname under their regiment. If there is no surname they are listed alphabetically by given name. Regimental titles are

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in red, initials and surnames in black. Where there are no titles, the names are in black. Thus those pages present an austerity which is not so apparent when in bichrome. The regimental insignia which are superbly drawn, detailed, illuminated and gilded, add colour and lightness. They attract the eye, making for a rich appreciation of the work. Rubric drawings continue down the ample margin, breaking the silence of the negative space. The work on the reverse of the pages is ghosted. The volume is of thin vellum of the highest quality; absolutely smooth and translucent. The occasional name is ruled across the middle in red, presumably because after it was written, the owner of the name was discovered to be alive. Additional names sometimes occur in the lower margin with an asterisk denoting where it should be placed on the roll. The pages are numbered on the lower outer margins.

The volume ends with the last six names, which are followed by the following in smaller script in red ink: 'The work of Graily Hewitt, B.A., L.L.B., of Lincoln's Inn And his assistants Helen Hinkley, Ida D. Henstock, Florence Capey, and Helen Luker: Finished March, 1928. Treyford, Midhurst, Sussex.'

The names of all the South African known men and women at the time, who died on active service in World War One are recorded: some nine thousand and seventy nine names.

Graily Hewitt (1864-1952) was the foremost British manuscript artist of the time, a student of Edward Johnston, colleague of Eric Gill and teacher of many future calligraphers and illuminators of repute. His special interest in the art was in gilding and it was he who was chiefly responsible for the revival of the art of penmanship in England, pushing boundaries and bringing innovative ideas into calligraphy and gilding. Here, the South African Roll of Honour is an example among the best. Ida Henstock (unknown-1982) had joined the workshop in Petersfield/Midhurst in 1923.

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She excelled, being awarded the RVO and was responsible for the House of Lords Roll of Honour (1939-1945) with its four hundred and five pages of coats of arms which accompany the names, which would have been an enormous task. She would have had her apprenticeship in the illumination of the Rolls of the First World War, including that of South Africa.

We have a little known masterpiece of art and a heritage object unique to the country, is hidden away rather than in the public domain, as it was designed to be: cherished for both its artistic quality and the public interaction elicited by the turning of a page each day, acknowledging the sacrifice of the South Africans who are commemorated on its pages.

Art feeds on art and the use of calligraphy as an art form may be seen, albeit unconsciously, to evoke a nostalgia for the past, referring to the medieval knights, warriors for good over evil, and therefore in line with the blinding of the true realities of the mechanised war of 1914-1918 and the mythologizing of war-death. The pages are ablaze with heraldry which was so much a part of the medieval world and the illuminated manuscripts rival those of past ages in their artistry. However, near the end, the pages are more sombre in presentation: the remembered black dead not belonging to the regiments of old with their paraphernalia of pomp and symbolism, and therefore not glorified in the same colourful manner.

Memorials associated with churches.

Anglican Cathedral of St. George the Martyr, Cape Town.

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Cathedrals are the principal seats of the bishops and the most important of churches in their diocese, located in busy city environs. Over time, they accumulate all sorts of memorials to people and events, not the least, being war memorials.

The brass plaque to Lord Lukin carries a relief portrait head and shoulder in profile, wearing uniform and lists all his achievements.[243] It is well above eye level in the shadows of the South transept.

Four others in the vicinity are a brass plaque reading. 'To the glory of God and in memory of the men of the Cape Garrison Artillery who lost their lives in the Great War 1914-1918.

'To the glory of God. In fraternal memory of the following members of the Cape Peninsula Motor Cycle Club who made the supreme sacrifice in the great War 1914-1918. Douglas, A., Earp, A., Grady, E.D., Musson, F.A., Richardson, J.H., Wiseman, S. "Their name liveth for evermore"'.

A marble plaque reading, 'To the memory of our comrades who died in service or as a result of wounds received during the years 1914-1919 Erected by the P.W.O. Regt. of Cape Peninsula Rifles.' At the top is the regimental badge in full colour, between A.M. - D.G. the initials for '*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*', translated 'To the greater glory of God', the motto of the Jesuits.

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[243] To the memory of Major General Sir Henry Timson Lukin. K.C.B..C.M.G..D.S.O..COMDR..Legion d'honneur. Born 24th May 1860. Died 16th Dec. 1925. Commanded Cape MTD RFLM.1903-11: COMDT.GEN..Cape Col.Forces.1904-12:Inspr.Gen..PERM.Force (S.A.M.R.).1912-15 AND commander in the Great War..A..Force & 6TH Med.Bde in S .W.Africa and 1st SA.J Bd. And 9th (Scottish) division. On the Western Front. "A Gallant soldier and friend of soldiers."

'Duke of Edinburgh's Own Rifles Roll of Honour World War One 1914-1918' is extremely plain with black lettering on a white ground without an epitaph or Christian saying. The names are listed in alphabetical order, followed by the initials of their given names, under the following headings.

Thirty seven are listed as Killed in Action, eleven Died on Service and nine Missing Presumed Dead. The most interesting name is that of Flying Officer A .W .Proctor, VC, DSO, DFC, MC (Bar) who as discussed above was killed after the war in 1921 in a flying accident. His is the only name which is followed by his decorations. Of the fifty seven names six, possibly seven, are on the UCT Roll of Honour. These being E. B. Davis, A. W. Maskew, G. V. Noaks, J.C. Scheepers, E. D. Steytler, H. Woodhead and possibly J. P. Tredgold.[244]

The design is simple without embellishment, clearly stating the information which is expected, unlike those from the Anglo-Boer War which tend to be in a more decorative script and are surrounded by elaborate borders. The location, in the Cathedral, the house of God, imbues them with an aura of sanctity which is missing from similar murals in secular buildings. The character of the surroundings and placement of any monument or memorial are essential to its meaning.

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Anglican churches.

There are two main types of memorial: either inside the church or in the garden outside. The former tend to be in the form of rolls of honour, listing the dead in alphabetical

[244] John Clarkson Tredgold is the only person of that surname on the CWGC Debt of Honour list, so one assumes that the 'P' is an error, replacing the 'C'.

order in the form of a mural. The latter are stone structures in keeping with traditional Christian contemporary memorial markers: a stepped stone plinth surmounted by a tall Latin cross. The lettering is usually on the elements which make up the plinth.

St. Saviour's Church Claremont.[245]

'Ancestors, saints and other spiritual intermediaries are often represented in the form of statues.'[246]

The church was established by Bishop Gray (1809-1871) in 1850 and designed by his wife Sophia (1824-1871). St Saviour's was in the parish of Protea, the home of the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town in what is now Bishopscourt. As such it was the mother of all local Anglican churches and tended towards 'high Anglicanism'.

The war memorial is in the garden in full view from the lych gate entrance as the visitor enters from Claremont Main Road. It stands in front of the liturgical east end of the church, backed by an old cypress tree. It is in the form of a timber and bronze crucifix on a granite plinth with the dedication: 'to the glory of god and in loving memory of those who died for us.' The names of the commemorated are immediately beneath. Below is the following: 'grant them o lord rest eternal.'

The names from the Second World War are on the right face as one passes by on the path towards the church entrance. On the back is a short inscription: 'D.R.A.C W.E. Clews.-V.C.Cox.' The names are upper case sans serif script, in lead, and in alphabetical order with the initials denoting first names, separated by full stops. There

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[245] Visit: 03.03.2008.

[246].Holsbeke (ed.) 1997 *The Object as Mediator*... p.15.

is no way of telling to which regiment or service the people belonged, nor their gender. It is as though the family is more important than the individual within it: the personality is missing and the lack of any given names seems rather sad. However the increasing trend for listing the names without details of rank is indicated here. Four of the names are those in the UCT roll, Louis Wiener being one.

The presence of the crucifix rather than a plain cross, imbues the memorial with a religious spirituality which is deeply significant in Christian terms. This being the mother church so to speak, and the parish church of Bishopscourt, one may expect a 'high church' memorial, one that contains elaboration.

The crucifix identifies the dead with Christ: Christ died on the cross so that mankind would be saved. Thus, by implication, the crucified Christ figure represents or stands-in for the supreme sacrifice given by the twenty three soldiers of Claremont commemorated here. It goes further. It proclaims that God is with the dead who are now at peace. Moreover, the depiction of Christ dying in agony is paralleled by the sorts of death meted out to the victims.

The siting of the memorial ensured that all who entered the church and many passers-by would see it. Its presence with the backdrop of cypress tree, church, and remoteness from the main graveyard of the property makes the immediate area a garden of remembrance and sanctity.

It is austere and to the point, in English, asserting belief in the Christian god and without false sentiment. It is also melancholy, and romantic in the nineteenth century tradition of funerary art. Furthermore the unintended mutilation either by decay or by vandalism, of the Christ figure adds a pathos that is entirely relevant.

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St. Paul's Rondebosch.[247]

The foundation is old, going back to 1832, older than St. Saviour's, when the first church on the site was consecrated by Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta, and is the third oldest church of the Diocese of Cape Town.

The war memorial is outside the liturgical South aisle, overlooking the busy Main Road and somewhat obscured by the *ficus* sp. trees bordering the property.

The memorial is in the form of a Cross of Remembrance loosely resembling a mini-CWGC design. It is plain: with no sword or decorative embellishment. The tall granite cross stands on an octagonal granite plinth upon which are the names and epitaph, in black lettering.

The lettering in upper case Roman is carved onto the roughly polished surface of the four alternate stone blocks. The design is carefully drafted with dipthong-like letters to fit the tight left/right alignment. Dark grey lichen grows in many of the incisions. 'To the glory of god and in ever grateful memory of those from this parish who fell in the great war MCMXIV.MCMXIX.'

The forty-five names are arranged in blocks, fifteen lines to each, top to bottom, alphabetically by surname, prefaced by first name and with initials for middle names, arranged anti-clockwise on alternate stones of the hexagon.

Eric Coventry, born Zeederberg, enlisted under his mother's maiden name of Coventry, possibly reasoning that his patronym was too German. There is one woman, Caroline Evans, whose name appears on the memorial. The two Maasdorp brothers and James Cook Rimer all of UCT are named there.

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[247] Visits 30.03.2002 and 17.07.2008.

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It is well kept, in the centre of an encircling lawn around which is a black metal chain ending on both sides of a small pathway inviting the visitor to walk closer and look around. The epitaph greets one. No dogs are allowed on the grass and the borders around the grass have been recently planted with perennials. It can be seen in the near distance, surrounded by adult trees and shrubs as one enters the property from the lych gate. The path winds up around the liturgical west end to the entrance of the church there. There is no mention of the Second World War on the memorial.

St. Thomas's Rondebosch.[248]

The church, founded by Bishop Grey in 1860, originated as an off-shoot of St. Paul's on the hill above the Main road, when the congregation was enlarging due to the extension of the built environment in and around Rondebosch. The building had originally been a small stone and thatch roofed school for the children of the local farm workers and was adapted and has been enlarged over the years.

The memorial is a plain self-framed dark and polished wooden panel inscribed in applied gold Roman uppercase characters. There is a small Greek cross in red at the top left, designed to fill the space, integrating with the lettering: a scroll performs the same function on the right.

The forty-six names of the First World War, listed in alphabetical order of surnames are in two columns under the inscription which reads in uppercase as follows: 'To the glory of god and in ever grateful memory of those from this parish who fell in the great

[248] Visit 06.10.2001.

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war. 1914-1919.' The board then widens at each side and contains another inscription which reads as follows: 'their name liveth for evermore. 1939 – 1945.'

Then follow the twenty-two names in three columns. In both sets of names it is the first name followed by any initials of second names and then the surnames. It hangs alone on the wall of the North aisle near the 'Cry Room' at the back of the church. One wonders whether anyone ever sees it and if so, thinks about the names of erstwhile Rondebosch residents which are recorded there, and the cause for which they gave their lives.

The most interesting feature is that the names and the epitaph are identical to those on the memorial at St Paul's, with the addition of one name: Errol Earp. Perhaps he had died of wounds after the memorial was erected. And why the repetition?

Christ Church Kenilworth.[249]

The church was consecrated on 11 August 1907.

Inside on the liturgical north wall opposite the south entrance is a subdued and elegant stone panel inscribed with a roll honouring the twenty one WW1 dead of the parish. Their names are cut in to the stone surface in Roman characters and painted gold or a dark blue. They are in one column and give the full names in alphabetical order of surname, except in two instances where first names are replaced by initials, and neither ranks nor affiliations are recorded. Dorothea Kathleen M. Bolus, surely a relation of Harry Bolus and therefore George Kensit, is the only woman whose name appears.

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[249] 15.08.2007.

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The leather-bound Book of Remembrance is inside the niche at the bottom of the panel and is rather amateurishly inscribed in black ink with the names of all the parishioners who had joined up, including that of General Lukin who has a page to himself. The closed book rests on a maroon cloth behind the grille which is constructed of brass trellis work upon which is written in brass, the following: 'Herein is a record of those associated with this church who went forth in active service in the same war.'

The whole panel is of smooth light grey stone, pedimented, the inset border of glass and ceramic mosaic tiles in a decorative, repeat arabesque in blue on white in a gold border.

The inscription, which is outside the mosaic border, below a gold Greek cross on blue and surrounded by a gold circle, all in the space created by the moulded gable, reads as follows '**d**uty **a**s **g**raven **o**n **t**heir **h**earts.'[250] Inside the mosaic border above the roll in upper case are the following words: 'To the glory of god and in memory of those named below whose lives were given for a noble cause in the great war.'

The overall effect is one of sombre beauty which is intensified by the unity of several crafts executed with careful thought and the highest skill.

The craftwork seems to be the vehicle for the four sets of in-the-face wording, and for guarding the contents enshrined in the Book of Remembrance, rather than carrying any visual-art meaning or symbolism.

But it is interesting to note that the Book of Remembrance which contains both the names of the dead and the survivors, is placed in the darkness which in memorial art is usually the place reserved only for the dead.

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[250] **bold** = gold, the rest in dark blue.

City Hall.[251]

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[251] There is a central rectangular plaque of commemoration which reads as follows: *To the memory of the following officers, new commissioned officers, and men of the 1st Cape Corps, who were killed in action, died of wounds, or disease, in East Africa, Egypt, Palestine and South Africa during the Great War 19-14-1919. Killed in Action* (9) *Died of Wounds* (4)*, Died of Disease* (4). Major, Captain, Lieutenant, 2nd Lieutenant.

With the lower inscription reading as follows: *In Commemoration of the Services of over Six Thousand Men of the 1st Cape Corps, Who answered the Call of Their King and Country, and Fought in the Great War for Civilization. 1914-1919.*

Thy Sacred Trust They Kept, and Guarded Well, Keep Thou Their Memory Green. They Died for thee.

THIS MEMORIAL IS ERECTED BY THEIR COMRADES.

Flanking wall-size marble plaques lists names under Left: *Killed in action* (63)*, died of wounds* (19) *died of disease* (134).

Right. *Died of disease* (218).

Private, Corporal, C.Q.M. Sergeant, L- Sergeant, Lance-Corporal, *THIS MEMORIAL IS ERECTED BY THEIR COMRADES.*

Flanking wall-size marble plaques lists names under Left: *Killed in action* (63)*, died of wounds* (19) *died of disease* (134).

Right. *Died of disease* (218).

Private, Corporal, C.Q.M. Sergeant, L- Sergeant, Lance-Corporal.

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The memorial to the four hundred and fifty one men of the 1st Cape Corps who had died on active service is a mural on the landing of the main staircase, in white marble framed in gold mosaic, edged in white and bordered in dark green with maroon and black lettering. There are two such panels under a pair of windows. There is a central panel bearing the insignia of the Corps, the epitaphs and the names of seventeen officers.

It is the only memorial of this study in which the year 1919, the year of the Paris Peace Conference, is marked as the end of the war, as it is on some in France. It lists the names under the causes of death; whether in action, of wounds or disease, in Palestine, Egypt, East Africa and South Africa. It was erected by their comrades, also commemorating generally the services of the over six thousand Coloured men from the area who had campaigned and returned. Being in the heart of the City and the administrative centre, it is secular: 'who answered the call of their King and Country to fight in the great war for civilisation.' Overtones of a non-specified religion, alluding to 'thou' and 'thee' for whom they had died, suggest a higher authority was at work in the fight. The soldiers would have been members of various faiths therefore the epitaph would have had to be bland in this respect. The subdued lighting emits a glow of awe. Two lamps on pedestals give an additional sanctity to the space.

Their graves are throughout the countries of service and some, nearer home: several of those who had died of wounds or disease would have been moved to civilian hospitals and therefore buried in the nearest cemetery. The CWCG conditions regarding headstone and inscription would have applied. However, it is a pity that the axiom of equality in death as laid down by the IWGC at the time could not circumvent the

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inequalities of the South African racial system, as in the burial of **A. Plaatjes**, son of Andries and Francina Plaatjes, in the 'English Church (non-European Section)' of Bredasdorp New Cemetery, who had died of disease just ten days before Armistice 1918.

A slight consolation may have been that many of the servicemen did have a known grave over which the bereaved could mourn, even if at a distance.

SS *Mendi* [252] **Memorial UCT**

The new political dispensation since 1994 has allowed for an acceptance by South Africans of a wide range of inclusiveness that had been lacking in the past, and thus is responsible for a greater awareness of previous injustices and the need for reparation, not the least in Remembrance. Those who died in World War One of all races and creeds have become publicly acknowledged, the structure of 2002, by Madi Phala (1955-2007), being one expression of homage to the dead of the SS *Mendi.*

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[252] J.S. Mohlamme, Soldiers without reward. Africans in South Africa's wars in SA Military History Society, Military History Journal vol.10. No. 1.

Let Us Die Like Brothers. DVD by BBC History Channel for CWGC.

The full complement on board was 607 black privates, 22 white officers and 33 crew. CWGC statistics. Total 662. The plaque accompanying Madi Phala's memorial states that there were 897 men on board and that 645 lost their lives in the disaster, 607 of these being black troops. The company comprised 607 Privates, 33 Lance Corporals, 9 Corporals, 3 Sergeants, 3 Lieutenants, 2 Staff Sergeants, 2 Interpreters, 2 Chaplains, 1 Leading Seaman as well as ship's crew. Total 795. Grundlingh *Fighting Their Own War* gives 882 as the total number of men on board, broken down to 615 dead and 267 saved. p. 94.

Although not dedicated to the members of UCT, the memorial is on the University's ground. Situated under a large quiver tree at the extreme west end of Cecil Street in Mowbray, alongside what is now part of the Kopano Residence soccer fields,[253] it is not ideally placed, being at the edge of scrub adjoining the tarmac road, inconspicuous, often dusty and weed-blown. However, the symbolic significance of the location is strong, as the soccer fields are where the troops of the SA Native Labour Corps (SANLC) had camped before their embarkation for Europe from Cape Town harbour. This marked their last night on African soil.

Immediately after the tragedy, the Mendi Memorial Club had been established by S. W. Bennet Ncwana. By holding Mendi Day events annually on 17 February in the major centres of South Africa, the memories of the sacrifices of the men were kept alive in the larger context, dwindling however, with the course of time and increasing political restrictions on Black aspirations and publicity.

An example of a living and useful memorial was the foundation in 1936 of the Mendi Memorial Bursary Fund for black scholars with strong education potential.[254] However, by the 1980s, the sinking of the SS *Mendi* had been lost to the broader public, drifting into legend but to be revitalized with the entry of South Africa in a democratic state in 1994, so that memorials of the naval disaster are proliferating in many parts of the country: for example in Port Elizabeth and the structure in Soweto Heroes' Acre, Avalon Cemetery, which was unveiled by President Mandela in the presence of HM the Queen Elizabeth II in 1995.

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[253] Erstwhile the home of the Cape Town Showgrounds.

[254] Grundlingh *Fighting Their Own War* p. 139.

Examples of living naval memorials are the SA Navy Warrior-class fast attack craft, SAS *Isaac Dyhoba* and SAS *Mendi* a Valour-class frigate, the wreath-laying ceremony in 2007 at the meeting of SAS *Mendi* and Royal Navy HMS *Nottingham* at the site of the sinking in 1917, and South Africa's highest award for courage, the Order of the *Mendi* Decoration for Bravery. The wreck itself, having been finally identified in 1974, has been pronounced a Commonwealth War Grave, to be left undisturbed on the ocean floor of the English Channel, in perpetuity.[255]

The computer laboratory named 'uMendi', Faculty of Humanities, Beattie Building, UCT, 2002 is a vibrant example of a civil and functional memorial with practical and educational value.

Dedication to the memory of those who perished in the SS *Mendi* disaster, at the Remembrance Day ceremony, War Memorial, Cape Town 11.11.2007, 'To those who perished in foreign waters' and the small service held by the Cape Garrison Artillery, formerly UCT Regiment, on 26 Feb 2009, held at Phala's memorial with the intention to repeat the ceremony annually, are examples of 'symbolic maintenance', a term coined by Rowlands and Tilley.[256] The recent proliferation of memorials to the dead of the SS *Mendi* is an outcome of the inclusiveness which is engendered by the need to redress the injustices of the past, and out of a real public desire to pay homage to the past heroes of our country.

In 1917 the first two ships in the convoy had arrived safely in France but the third, SS *Mendi* under the captainship of Henry Yardley, was rammed by the SS *Darro* and sank in twenty minutes in waters between Southampton and the Isle of Wight, with the

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[255] *Weekly Telegraph* 18-24 March 2009.

[256] Rowlands and Tilley Monuments and memorials p. 504. in Tilley et al ...*Handbook* ...

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loss of six hundred and sixteen SANLC lives and the thirty three crew members. The last contingent of the SANLC had left Cape Town on 25th January 1917 with nearly eight hundred passengers[257] stopping at Lagos, Sierra Leone and Plymouth before leaving for Le Havre in France.

On 17th February 1917 at 04h57, eleven nautical miles (20km) out in the dark, foggy and icy English Channel, the SS *Darro*, a mailship twice the size of the SS *Mendi*, steaming at full speed had rammed the hull of the troopship which immediately started sinking, to lie on the sea bed, between Southampton and the Isle of Wight. The destroyer HMS *Brisk* and another ship came to the rescue with life boats and were able to take two hundred men on board. The master of SS *Darro,* Captain Peter Stump had ignored those in need, whether from panic or callousness has always been unclear. Due to the possible presence of enemy vessels it was usual for the larger ships to run at full speed as a way of avoiding some danger and it is possible that Captain Stump was following this habit, possibly even knowing that the destroyers would perform rescue operations. [258]

The men died not only of drowning but also by being crushed or suffering hypothermia. Some escaped. They had shown great courage under the leadership of their Xhosa padre, Private Rev. William Isaac Wauchope Dyobha who perished with them. They had come from all parts of the country and represented many, if not all, of the indigenous groups which make up South Africa, and Lesotho, from all stations of society. After the war, the six hundred and sixteen names were inscribed on the Holybrook Memorial in Southampton, one of the naval memorials of the manning ports

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[257] Information from website:

GreatWarForum.TroopshipSSMendi 1914-1918.invisionzone.com/forums/.../index.../t71867.html

[258] Grundlingh *Fighting Their Own War* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987).

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around Britain. National remembrance in South Africa was longer in coming, although in 1917 on the day the news broke in South Africa, members in the House of Assembly rose silent in recognition of the men who had lost their lives.

A camaraderie had developed between the men and officers, black and white, whilst on board, and oral accounts by the survivors, of mutual support whilst *in extremis* suggest that the mythical 'brotherhood' so dreamed of as being cemented at Delville Wood between Dutch and British had had its counterpart here, as authentically, between black and white.

Phala has depicted the skeleton of a ship's hull in bronze, half submerged into the earth, on a gravelike rectangular plot covered with granite chips/river stones as are many graves. Between the chips are bronze plaques giving historical information of the bare facts interspersed with low, three-dimensional images of the caps and helmets the men would have worn. It is disquieting in its understatement of drama, the forms of visual art melding with the narrative of words so that we, the viewers are in tune with the remembered. It is archaeological as is other of his work, alluding to a distant and mystical past.[259]

The blacksmith and associate of Phala was Luke Atkinson. In a way the work is also a memorial to the artist who was tragically murdered in 2007. The sponsorship was provided by the Sunday Times and South African Business Arts (SABA).

English Heritage and Wessex Archaeological Services are exploring the wreck, which was finally identified in1974. The names of the dead of the SS *Mendi* on the memorial in Southampton have been altered to show the correct and accepted spelling

[259] Mario Pissarra. *ASAI* Africa South Art Initiative, Dept. of Historical Studies, UCT.

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during the recent restoration, which was ready for the 90th anniversary service of Remembrance of the disaster on 21st February 2007.

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Chapter 4.

Issues of heritage.

It is almost a century since the start of World War One, and present generations have no personal first-hand memories of their ancestors who fought, although it is close enough in time still to connect with family accounts and second-narrative stories. This suggests the need for investigation into the relevance and status of the memorials now and in the future.

They are a vital part of our heritage, linking the past of a century ago with the present and the future. But whether they were or are the catalyst for drawing people of differing persuasions together in mutual understanding is not certain. The ceremonies occurring around them are the rallying place for like-minded people before they arrive there. And they do not seem to be salutary reminders in a continuing war-torn world. The British contribution to the First World War had been seen by the Imperial authorities to be the opportunity of uniting the peoples of the Empire in peace, so that expansion and imperial stability might continue unabated.

The aftermath[260] of the war has continued into the twenty first century with conflicts of fascism, communism, nazism, civil wars and terrorist attacks. Increased capabilities of arms and missiles have rendered untold loss to civilian lives on a far greater scale than even in the years 1914-1918.

The narratives of the contemporary mythology had not matched those of the returning combatants from the Front although both points of view are combined in post-

[260] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker *14-18* p. 237.

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war memorial imagery. Here, 'Victory' in Adderley Street, remains a good representation of this fusion within one structure.

The creation of Sacred Spaces[261]

A space that is sacred has to have an ambience, a *frisson* of otherworldliness that sets it apart from the ordinary. It is a place of cultural significance, often with healing properties, a site in the natural topology, a place for religion, a constructed arena or covered building, becoming a place of celebration and veneration by the initiated:

> Though everybody knew that the figure was a piece of stone, the statue on its pedestal did stand for each dead man whose body, identified or Missing, intact or dispersed, had not been returned to Thirroul. That made its site holy ground.[262]

The argument here, is that it is the symbolism which declared the space holy or sacred: standing-in for the absent bodies which had been left in foreign battlefields so far away.

The image is secular, of a Digger standing at ease, in full Australian military dress, rifle alongside, on a pedestal which carries the names of all those from the area who had gone to war, for the Commonwealth and Empire during the years 1914 to1918. In

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[261] Oleg Grabar 'A sense of the sacred: the values enshrined in holy places' in (The Courier UNESCO, Paris, August 1988).

[262] Inglis *Sacred Places...* pp.11 and 47. Thirroul being a small town in Australia.

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this projection, Australian soldiers had fought and died for the Empire, not for Australia, not for England *per se*, in both World War One and the Anglo-Boer War.

It is the meaning which is embedded in the symbolism which declares the space sacred or not, to a particular set of people at any specific time. And the fact of knowing that a certain space is or has been holy ground to some past celebrants may give it an aura of esteem in the imagination of later visitors to the place, whether a landscape or a structure. So, while it may not be sacred to the present culture, it may remain as a heritage scape in recognition of its past status: its historical connotations endure because of its centrality to what had happened there. It assumes a neo-sacredness and an aura.

The concept of sacrifice in war can be seen as as being the psychologically internalised justification by the authorities, the real war-mongers, of the mass slaughter of the innocents. National human (and animal and environmental) sacrifice as a rite in war, differs from archaic forms of animal sacrifice in which the dead animal was offered to the god as propitiation to ensure prosperity or in thanks for a good outcome. The sublimation of the religious into popular, secular social manipulation, which is hypocritical, makes war seem to be justifiable. The dead of foreign fields become idealised icons, cleansed of 'worldly weaknesses and moral stains'. As discussed above, to be remembered one must be(come) memorable.[263]

It is the 'sacredness' of monuments that has been maintained and there is a distinction between the British and French commemorative structures. The former are 'war memorials', stressing death due to the **war** which was responsible for the

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[263] Michael Rowlands, Remembering to Forget in Forty and Kuchler *The Art of Forgetting* p. 136 and Sigmund Freud *Totem and Taboo.*

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traumatic aftermath endured by all survivors, and commemorating both the war and the survivors, and war dead. The latter French, 'monuments to the dead', stress the end of life and proclaim heroism in the supreme sacrifice that was given and suffered. Some writers call this 'civil religion'.[264]

The French rejected the idea of living or utilitarian memorials such as scholarships, stadia, hospitals,[265] as it was the entitlement of the dead to have their names inscribed on a monument or grave stone. No epitaph was added to any marker, whether associated with a religious or secular building or space such as a church or city square. Only that they had died for France, *la patrie*. The pristine-ness and continued maintenance, project the specialness of the place: features such as freshly-painted surrounding railings/chains, swept plinths, well-tended brightly coloured annuals growing in boxes suggest on-going care and attention. They are kept in relevance also by being updated from time to time, usually on Armistice days. The memorial complex is prominently placed and honoured by the 'entire community because the collective memory has infused [it] with sacred content and beliefs have become stronger by taking root there.'[266] The ground has indeed become hallowed.

In Britain, the community war memorial, usually a tall cross on a plinth, was placed conspicuously at a cross roads, often near the parish church, thus associating the memory of the dead in war with religion, without the structure being a religious monument. These structures carry a suitable epitaph and list the names of local dead and missing and were usually re-inscribed and re-dedicated to include the victims of

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[264] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker *14-18* p. 186.

[265] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker *14-18* p.187.

[266] Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker *14-18* p.187.

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WW2. It is here that the debt of the living to the dead is acknowledged and re-enacted annually. Celebrations are solemn, with traditional words and music and often the names of the dead are intoned, thereby focusing attention on the individual within the larger context.

On and after the annual Armistice Day remembrances, wreathed and sheaved floral tributes are left at the base of the memorials, being made up of both natural and artificial plant species, the red poppy predominating in the latter case.

Whether floral tributes, wreaths, sheaves and regimental confections represent the 'magic' substances of sacrificial libations of antiquity[267] are matters for discussion. The substitution of artificial or manufactured flowers would be a remove away from the natural object: stand-ins for the natural tributes. Stonework on graves and memorials often presents decorated reliefs of flowers and foliage. These could also be read as artificial. The purpose of offering artificial/plastic flowers and wreaths which are often taken away almost before the celebrants have ended their rites is also obscure.

In some cults of memory, the longevity of the holy relic adds to their efficacy, however in WW1 memorials, time makes memory increasingly distant, and present and future generations more remote from the source of the structures. In South Africa, this can be due partly to the complicated political and therefore social, structures of past centuries which are only now becoming recognised in humane and practical ways. In defining the rich cultural mix within our country, the parts played by separate groupings of past endeavours to repulse German militarism and later Nazi-ism only postponed the achievement of a common society.

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[267] Helen Binckes *OHMS*. Poppy book (2009).

The placing of flowers at the feet of the memorials to the heroes of World War One must have present meaning, so that the human archetypal values which are enshrined there, and for which they were fighting and dying, can survive and be fostered. Ways of doing this are by updating the dedication as the needs arise, by continued maintenance in conjunction with public awareness and appreciation of the past events which meanings are embodied within the structures and art works.

When the place is too public, too open or too noisy, the sacredness of the ambience is lost. The constant urban melee around the Victory in downtown Cape Town, does not make for conducive contemplation. The Delville Wood memorial in the Gardens, while being public open space itself, extends that facility further in all directions. The character of a park, a pleasant recreational place for leisure, is added to by the contrast it provides in its severe architectural orchestration against the oak-lined Avenue and the Paddocks areas. However, it cannot be deemed to be sacred in any way, especially with a weapon of war, inert and mouldering though it might be, as a part of its complex.

The sacred and the mundane are polarities in regard to the memorials which shift in the minds of the viewers between the two, depending on the beliefs in which the viewers embed them. Just as is the visionary nature of the art work, which is the vehicle for expression. Continued ceremonials, rituals and functions around the memorials and monuments offer chances, on occasion, of the continued sacredness of their establishment, depending on the individual's point of view and the traditions of communities.

Some of the smaller war memorials were erected on already sacred sites and places, such as churches. Others are on secular ground either publicly or privately owned.

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Heritage.

Heritage signifies tradition of what endures from the past, and therefore passed on or inherited. Heritage has been interpreted as 'the foundation of the present, the springboard for the future, with the present generation as its custodians and the creative link': between past and future.[268] The phrase, 'the creative link' implies a dynamism that would be responsible for the re-invention of traditions within their specific groupings, so that past values and exemplars may be reinterpreted and upheld in a contemporary world.

Heritage is tangible and intangible. The former being immovable, a topology or landscape, buildings and surroundings, or structural complexes with all the life around them. The intangible heritage is the survival of cultural pursuits such as language and literature, music, the performing arts, and religion.

They are interdependent. The built and the natural environments being given scale by the human activities which take place around and in them: a status of mutual nourishment.

Philippe Aries[269] writes that the nineteenth century proliferation of memorials was the upshot of the realization that because the past cannot be directly recalled, the need to memorialize people and events was expressed in various forms of memorialisation in the public realm, promoting a national culture of artefacted death. Nora[270] claims that

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[268] Dennis Rodwell *Conservation and Sustainability in Historic Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007) p. 7.

[269] Philippe Aries *Western Attitudes towards Death* (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1974).

[270] Pierre Nora 'Between memory and history' in *Representations,* 26: 1-10 (Spring, 1989).

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pre-nineteenth century 'environments of memory' where the personal was embedded in a living memory to 'sites of memory' were places designed to perpetuate a consciously held sense of the past and Bodnar[271] argues that whilst nineteenth century monumentalizing of the public realm was consistent with the rise of civic consciousness it had been shattered by war. State political demands for personal sacrifices on a massive scale and justification for enormous financial cost during the war had created the need for public memorials and specific iconography post war.

New landscapes had been invented after the war, becoming sacred places, with the records of pain transferred to the hearts of the immense numbers of visitors on their pilgrimages.

One cannot but remark on the grandeur of the larger WW1 memorial structures which somehow project a need within the psyche of the builders to have grand buildings, to glorify a mystique of their own making. The cemeteries with their markers, and the walls of memory do not now need grand lobbies to express the sadness and loss which was felt by the mass of surviving kin and which is replicated in the emotions of present-day visitors.

In order to argue for the continuing existence of surviving war memorials one must examine the nature of the concept of heritage and its essentials in the present South Africa.

In some respects the longevity of the holy relic adds to their efficacy, however in WW1 memorials, which are not holy relics, time makes memory increasingly distant so that

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[271] John Bodnar *Re-making America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism* (Princeton University Press, 1992).

present and future generations are more remote from the source of the structures. But for them to have significance there must be some sort of understanding and knowledge about their foundation and continuing presence.

Part of honouring the dead of past wars is to respect the memorials which were erected by the bereaved generation: to maintain and preserve, and to perpetuate ceremony and rituals on given days around them if that is possible. They are updated to include recent conflicts and therefore the 'old' memorials have present relevance: the memorial's history is acknowledged and made to become part of contemporary life and therefore more meaningful. The memorial itself does not live, but the activities associated with it may resound with continuing life: in that way, memorials may survive and the past be regenerated.

The conservation of heritage.[272]

The objectives of heritage will not continue without participation in various ways. In terms of the World Conservation Strategy, conservation seeks to sustain the resources of the physical system for the benefits of humanity.

The positive benefits to the social system arising from the conservation process can be summarised as follows and may be relevant to the conservation of war memorials.

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[272] Graeme Binckes *The Social Purposes of Conservation* Occasional paper for the Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa (1983).

They provide a historical perspective and a sense of continuity. They are a document and add to the body of historical records which may be accessed for understanding and discussion of issues.

They add visual texture to a place or space in their positioning and variety of form.

They afford opportunities for tourism and education about the past.

Heritage depends on the vitality of the living to maintain and conserve it, to enjoy, to direct and to re-direct.

There are various aspects of heritage: the built, the natural, language and social customs, literature and objects, which are either rooted in the ancient traditions of a community or of more recent origin. Acknowledgement of real heritage is dynamic and enriching, enabling individuals to appreciate the mores and tenets of other cultures which at the same time give dimension to one's own: it should be a binding force among groups rather than a cause of friction, each group respecting the others'.

South African heritage is diverse, the war memorials being a part. Maintenance is carried out by the various authorities under which the particular memorial falls. Currently, widespread cleaning, painting and refurbishment have been taking place, to put right the ravages of time, weather and vandalism. The CWGC are vigilant in this respect and are constantly monitoring the state of their properties. The up-grading of the Company's Garden, which includes the Delville Wood Memorial, by the Cape Town City Council and the re-painting of the Heavy Artillery Howitzer make for an improved environment after a period of decay. However, cleaning equipment[273] continues to be stored in Baker's fountain, implying that there is a distinct lack of

[273] Never to be stolen.....

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appreciation about public structures and their *raisons d'être* in some quarters. The renovation of the weapon is cosmetic only. Both instances dupe the concerned public into thinking that all is well when in fact hidden decay is accelerating.

Many churches give grudging attention to their relics: graveyards and cemeteries are often in a state of disarray and some memorials neglected. While the UCT War Stone becomes covered with lichens from time to time, to the delight of the botanists, it is rigorously cleaned of those and other alien species such as tic-tac and paper, the cracking plaster replaced. Students daily use it for sitting on, snacking on the steps and just standing around. While this would not happen in Australia,[274] for example, it illustrates another point of view and does not harm the structure any more than sitting on the Jameson steps harms the steps. Present students are concerned with the present; the two World Wars are far from their experience in time and culture. The memorialised were fighting for a different world, especially during WW1 for an empire which has passed. Thus it is ironic and sad, to see the unsympathetic placing of the SS *Mendi* memorial: so new, so relevant and yet so unnoticed as to be not even forgotten.

However, should one want to keep memory alive and to render homage by not having people sitting on the memorial/monument it is encumbent upon the concerned to make its meaning relevant by noticing it, by informing and discussion, so that evermore becomes reality.

The growing industry of battlefields tourism and the creation of heritage concepts around it, ensures their survival into the foreseeable future. However the commodification and democratization of heritage objects which has made almost everything part of a pseudo-heritage, debases the concept of real heritage which

[274] In conversation with a visiting post-graduate student from Australia at the Stone in October 2008.

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becomes meaningless and incoherent, with no point of shared reference and spiritual depth, easily sliding into the realm of sentimental nostalgia.[275]

The numerous mentions of our war memorials on tourist guides, whether the Internet or in hard copy often give scant homage to them as heritage places or objects. They are items on lists of 'Must-see' no. 34 out of 50 or whatever, giving superficial, if any, information, often as adjuncts to advertising. As we have seen above, in the war years, allusions to the events were often commercialised, now its memorials have superseded them in the same vein.

The refusal of families to neglect remembrance of their kin was bolstered by the factor that the authorities had needed justification for the enormous financial costs which had been incurred during hostilities. The political demands of nation-states for personal sacrifices on such a massive scale to a large extent had dictated the iconography; such as Victory, heroism and the championship of sacrifice for an ideal. Thus was the style of heritage crystallized after the event, defining the way it should be remembered: constructed ironically so as to be passed on to the victims of future hostilities. It was all therapy of sorts, for the memorial builders, during the processes involved in their gestation.

The personal grieving of those in high places who had lost sons, such as Buxton, Kipling and Fitzpatrick, had accelerated, possibly unconsciously, the popular memorialisation process, the two last, trying to be in touch with their sons through the then popular cult of Spiritualism.

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[275] George Mosse *Fallen Soldiers* (Oxford University Press, 1990) Ch. 7. and Rowlands and Tilley Monuments and memorials in *Handbook...* p. 502.

Not always were the quieter, more personal and searching epitaphs to be found in the churchyards. Judging from the high percentage of Australian parents who had taken the opportunity to exercise their choice in the battlefield cemeteries, the finding of the 'right' one must have aided their mourning processes. The fact that many allude to the physical distance between Australasia and Europe and the pride with which the sacrifices of their loved ones are acknowledged in this individual way, adds a dimension that is lacking in the collective remembrances of other countries.

Many visitors to the sites have done their homework, having definite expectations. The uniformity of concept and design within all the CWGC sites around the world adds to the notion of belongingness, a symbol of the binding force which united humanity in a common cause. Both sides of antagonists were fighting to preserve their nationhood, driven by their governing superiors.

It is the inheritance which shapes the identities of peoples and individuals within communities. Heritage as tradition dictates behaviour. The concept bears memory traces which are embedded in the distant past, archetypal in nature. Each generation shapes its heritage which encompasses familial and cultural-specific secular and religious traditions, either re-stating the old or re-inventing them for the future. Traditions of heritage may be fixed or have the flexibility of change, in fact the state of fixation or flexibility becomes part of the heritage. The foundations of traditions may be assumed upon historical fact, belief or imagination.

What is the nature of the heritage of the great fields of memory which were created after World War One? Remembrance of the war and the battles enacted at specific sites, the buildings, the graves, the reconstituted forests, the manicured landscapes and the rebuilt towns and villages. UNESCO has listed them as World Heritage Sites. They cannot be deemed natural and virgin sites, as aeons of humanity have used and misused

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the land; the recent warriors being the last in the timeline, the terrain unchanging. The bones and the blood of the heroes-now-ancestors have ensured that they have become sacred spaces. The countless visitors who flock there daily, and the heritage workers keep the events and the consequences of the wars in the forefront, so that remembrance is continually renewed, taking away with them a sense of the reconstructed pain, loss and suffering of that generation.

The use of narrative form and the memorial as site attraction, can lead the viewer back into the nature of the traumatic situation to evoke a sense of fear so that it does not happen again and then to reassert mastery over one's environment. Remembrance days and prayers for peace, reaffirm that the environment will be protected in some degree. But that is not enough. The sensitive placing of a memorial or monument ensures a better chance of its survival as a living entity in peoples' minds if they are able to get close and to commune with the content. It must be presentable.

Therefore there are four options for the public which are available to the future of the individual memorials in Cape Town.

1. To move them, creating a new environment and thereby losing the original symbolic intention of place and aspect. It has been seen above that in some examples the ambience has so changed over time that the sense of place has been lost. Therefore, there is an argument for re-creating a space in more congenial settings: the monument retains the same form wherever it is. A new placement for a new age, as in Observatory, with success.

2. To leave it in place and to change or re-create the original surrounding conditions, making for its regeneration and continuing maintenance: a place to be visited. In the case of the Victory, to decide whether or not to re-orient its facing, so that once again she is looking north, but from a developed and growing Foreshore

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where the sea and the mountain are almost invisible. It can never again grandly and monumentally announce the 'Gateway to Africa' as it did at its foundation.

3. Ideally, to leave it in place and to maintain the status quo with on-going efficient maintenance and access to those who are interested.

4. To do nothing, allowing for natural decay to take over, possibly aided by deliberate vandalism and environmental degradation.

A significant inclusion in the new National Curriculum of 2008 is the choice of war memorials as an area of study at the Senior High School level.[276] Whether the choice is selected or not, would depend on factors such as the personal interest of the learner, the availability of war memorials in the geographic area of the school and the availability of written and other learning materials. The last to a large extent, would depend on the initiative of the teacher in acquiring the requisite knowledge and enthusiasm for the subject.[277]

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[276] *South African National School Syllabus - History of Art* 2008.

5. Art & Power - Commemorative buildings, memorials and artworks.

Union Buildings 1913 – British imperialism.

Voortrekker Monument 1948 – Afrikaner nationalism.

Vrouemonument – Bloemfontein 1913.

Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct, Gauteng, 2001.

Freedom Park, Pretoria 2004.

Constitutional Court, Johannesburg 2005 – democracy in action etc.

Commemorative art and architecture of ancient Egypt, Greek commemorative sculptures and memorials, Roman triumphal arches and columns, War memorials in European cities, for example, Paris and London.

[277] In order to sustain this, it is the intention of the writer to produce a publication as supporting material for this part of the Arts and Culture syllabus, heritage studies.

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The memorials of World War One are part of the large and diverse heritage of our cultures which add a necessary richness in the lives of South Africans and bond us to the history of the wider world. Therefore it will be by education and learning about the memorials that the memory of the values which are upheld there will be understood. The affirmation and inclusiveness which is implied by the National Curriculum designers is a major contribution to the continuance of the memorials as places of heritage, interest and meaning.

Keeping memories alive by regular ritual ceremony carries two-fold meanings in that the memorial is also kept in use, alive and iconic for its own sake, becoming a heritage object in its own right.

Conclusion.

The public memorials of World War One, together with the personal medals which were awarded to the individual warriors, were rooted in the imagery and the mythologies of Classical and Christian semiology, in effect ignoring any reference to the traditional mourning practices of Africa, of whatever persuasion.

The memorials have led me through a labyrinth of issues, a journey into the previously unrevealed landscapes of the mind in which the disciplines of social history in war, war history, visual arts history, art as healing, searching and re-searching have come together. The interdisciplinary nature of war memorial interests, together with ready access to a new form of memorial, the on-line data bases of the war fallen, ensures that their names will be remembered into the foreseeable future and that the original memorials have a chance of surviving, albeit in altered time and ambience.

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MEMORIALS INVESTIGATED

CAPE TOWN AND VICINITY

Anglican Churches

Cathedral of St. George the Martyr, Cape Town.

Christ Church, Constantia.

Christ Church, Kenilworth.

St. John's, Wynberg.

St. Paul's, Rondebosch.

St. Saviour's, Claremont.

St. Thomas', Rondebosch.

Schools and University

Diocesan College/Bishops'.

Rondebosch Boys High School.

South African College School/SACS.

St. Cyprian's Girls School.

University of Cape Town, The Stone of Remembrance and memorial plaques to George Kensit and Andrew Proctor, SS*Mendi* memorial by Madi Phala.

Public Memorials

City Hall, Grand Parade, Cape Town.

Delville Wood Memorial, The Company's Garden.

Delville Wood Memorial, The Castle.

National War Memorial, Adderley Street.

Observatory War Memorial, Urban Park, Observatory.

University of Cape Town

Parliament, Cape Town.

Cemeteries

Christ Church, Constantia.

Plumstead.

Simonstown.

St. John's, Wynberg.

EUROPE

Belgium and France

Many WW1 cemeteries, memorials and battlefields under the care of CWGC,

---- including, with particular reference to this dissertation, Delville Wood.

Widespread City, Town and Village War memorials in France and Belgium.

United Kingdom

Edinburgh. Scottish National War Memorial.

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Widespread City, Town and Village War memorials in England and Scotland.

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PHOTOGRAPHS

All photographs of the memorials and details were taken by Helen Binckes except for the four of the South African National Roll of Honour which were kindly sent to me from Len Hammond.

The photo-portrait of Major-General Lukin and the water colour scene came from John Buchan *The South African Forces in France.*

The photo-portrait of Andrew Proctor came from Neil Veitch *SACS*...

The image of *The Victory of Samothrace* is from an image by Max Hirmer in *Greek Sculpture.*

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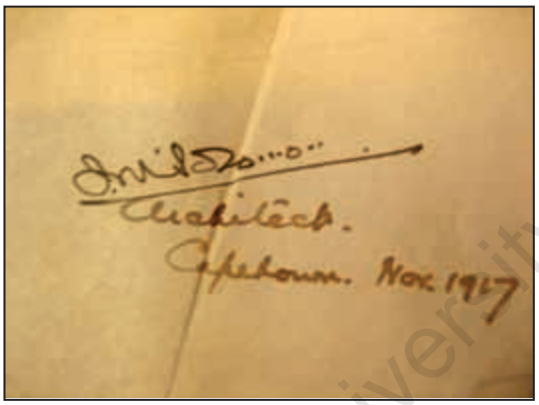
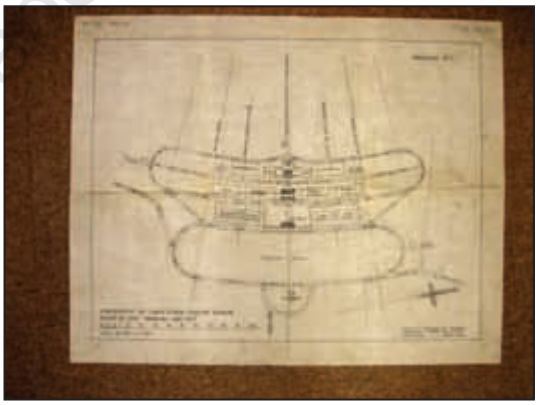
I. Memorials at UCT

UCT Heritage board with a stylised design of Solomon's original concept of the Jameson Hall.

J M Solomon's preliminary pencil sketch drawing of UCT campus,showing awar cross, leftof centre.

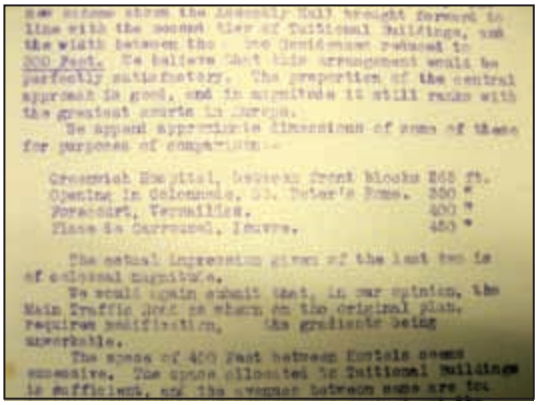


Signature of J M Solomon.



UCT Plan of March 1923 by Hawke, McKinley and Walgate, CapeTown.

Stone of Remembrance, Jameson Hall.



Dimensions of European courts as a comparison with the central arena UCT.

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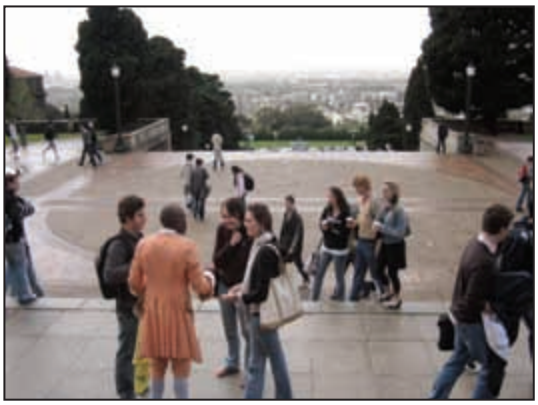
Stone of Remembrance, looking North.

Stone of Remembrance, 2008.

Stone of Remembrance after cleaning, 2008.

Memorial precinct South East prospect.

Bronze letter superimposed on engraving.



Arena looking East.

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Cypress trees on the memorial walk.

Acanthus planting under cypress tree.

Detail of lichens on stone.

Portrait photograph possibly used as model for memorial plaque.

Proctor memorial plaque.

Plaque to George Kensit, Bolus Herbarium.

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J E Poole memorial, St. Mary's, Stanford.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.
COMMEMORATION DAY, 1919.

MEMORIAL SERVICE

UNIVERSITY HALL.

WEDNESDAY, 1st OCTOBER, 1919.

Memorial Service booklet, 01.10.1919.

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SS *Mendi* memorial.

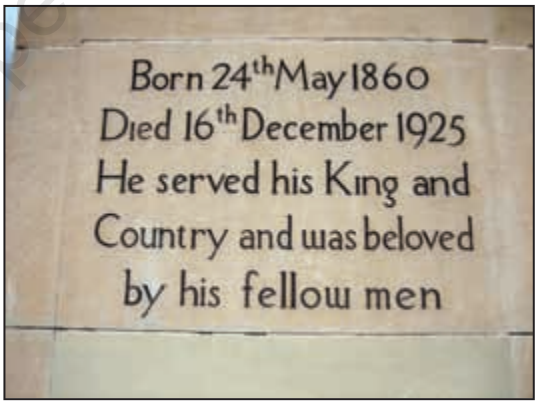
SS *Mendi* memorial.

II. Delville Wood Memorials

Delville Wood, October 4th 191 8. Watercolour by B. Sampson. Note the memorial, below right.

Major-General Lukin.

Statue of Major-General Lukin and Rotunda facing the Iziko South African National Gallery.



Detail of lettering.

Delville Wood memorial precinct from SA National Gallery.

Recently planted cypress tree.

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Rotunda fountain with South African Museum in the background.

Rotunda fountain detail.

Rotunda fountain detail.

Rotunda fountain detail.

Rotunda fountain detail of ceiling of colonnade.

Rotunda fountain detail of water channel with cleaning materials.

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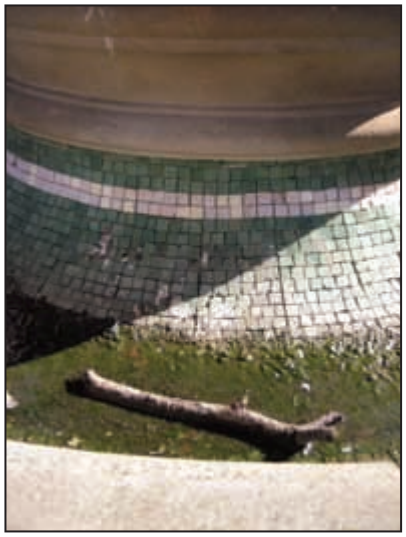

Rotunda fountain, detail of water channel mosaic.

Rotunda fountain, detail of bronze dove.

Rotunda fountain, detail of water spout.

Rotunda fountain, detail of dedication on pavement stone.

SA Heavy Artillery gun.

SA Heavy Artillery gun during renovation.

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SA Heavy Artillery gun detail.

SA Heavy Artillery gun detail.

Detail of rotting timber on the wheel.

Roll of Honour detail showing damage.

Roll of Honour showing Major P.N. FitzPatrick's name.

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III. Stalplein and Parliament

Statue of Louis Botha.

Statue of Louis Botha from Memorial Garden, Parliament. St Mary's Cathedral on left.

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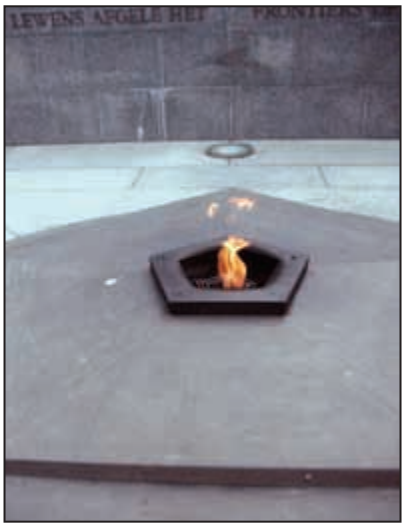
Ever burning flame, Memorial Garden, Parliament.



Ever burning flame, detail.

IV. South African Roll of Honour - World War One

Cover.

Illumination: Native Units.

Manuscript displayed in case.

Open at page: South African Service Corps,
Union Labour Corps, Native Labour Corps.

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Photographs on this page by Len Hammond.

V. Adderley Street

War Memorial, Adderley Street.

Figure of Victory and Sword of Honour.

Victory and Infantry soldier, Flanders.

Detail of Infantry soldier, West Africa.

Detail of Victory.

Winged Victory of Samothrace, c 190 BCE.

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Delville Wood scene.

Trench scene.

Hospital scene.

Aircraft scene.

Floral tributes, Remembrance Sunday, November 2007.

Poppy wreath, Remembrance Sunday 2007.

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VI. Memorials in cemeteries and churches

Typical CWGC headstone.

Cross of Sacrifice, Plumstead Cemetery.

St Saviour's Church - Claremont

St Saviour's Church Garden, Claremont.

St Saviour 's Church Garden, Clare - mont crucifix.

Detail showing damaged Christ figure.

Roll of Honour.

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St Paul's Church - Rondebosch

St Paul's Church Rondebosch.

Memorial cross.

Detail of plinth.

Dedication.

Roll of Honour.

Roll of Honour.

Roll of Honour.

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St Thomas's Church - Rondebosch

St Thomas's Church, Rondebosch war memorial.

Detail of grille of chamber.

Detail of a page in the book.

Christ Church - Kenilworth

Roll of Honour.

Detail of honour book inside the chamber.

Page showing inscription to Major-General Lukin.

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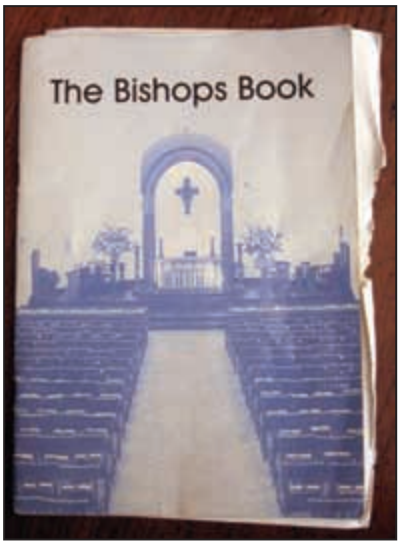
Bishops' College - Rondebosch

Bishops' College memorial chapel.

West end of memorial chapel.

Entrance to chapel.

Detail of memorial plaque.



Prayer book.

Pages of prayer book.

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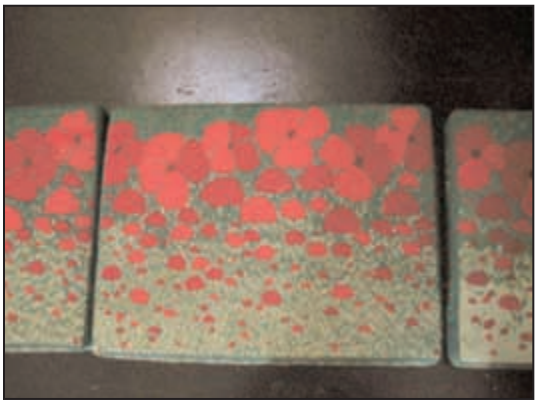
Charred cross.

Roll of Honour manuscript.

Detail of manuscript.

Detail of border of manuscript page.

Delville Wood Chapel.



Kneelers.

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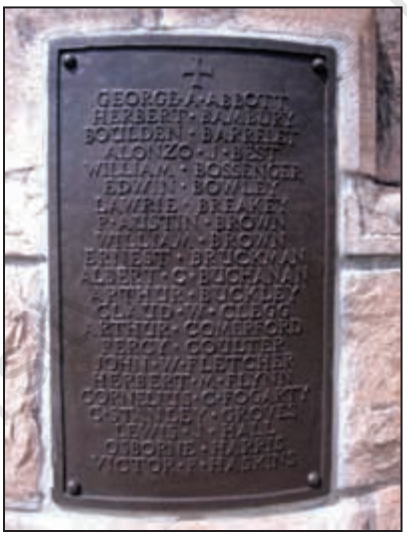
Observatory Memorial

Observatory memorial in its new setting.

Dedication.

Roll of Honour.



Roll of Honour.

Roll of Honour.

Detail showing the base of the column.

Detail of carved lettering.

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