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Phantoms of Remembrance:
Photography, Trauma, and Memory in the South African War

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Dedicated to my parents, Michael Charles Roman and Doris Sophia Roman.
Rise in Glory.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History
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This dissertation analyzes the memorialization of the South African Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) with specific attention to the construction of identity, trauma, and generational memory of the war in visual culture. This topic is approached through close analysis of visual representations of the war including especially more than six hundred stereoscopic photographs from the Underwood & Underwood collection dating from the turn of the century. These little studied photographs were key technologies in the shaping of modern South Africa's apartheid racial system. Underwood & Underwood's boxed sets of stereoviews of Africa, including images of the South African War, represented the single most significant visual encounter with Africa for Westerners in this period, shaping public perceptions. In the circulation of visual representations of the war, including in performed re-enactment, we observe the origins of U.S. sympathy for the Boer cause. The stereoscopes were used to develop a large-scale reenactment of the war at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. Recently defeated Boer Generals traveled to the

United States to participate as reenactors. The performances at the fair are a tableau vivant of the Underwood & Underwood stereoviews. As a work of public history, through tracing the recirculation of the photographs and other visual representations of the war, including in the reshaping of the War Museum of the Boer Republics in Bloemfontein, South Africa, this study observes the continuing power of the war and its trauma in collective, public memory and the role of these images in constructing new racial discourses and identities.

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Introduction: Hauntings and Enclosure:

Visual and Political Afterlives of the Anglo-Boer War

"To articulate the past historically…means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up in a moment of danger."
Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*.

Provoked by imperial aggression, the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) marked the end of the long process of British conquest of Southern African societies, black and white. Simultaneously the war produced racial identities and narratives that would become the central pillar of apartheid.[1] The Anglo-Boer war in a sense reflected and generated the future of race relationships. The continuing legacy of the war in public memory, particularly the narrative of its trauma, continues to impact race relations in South Africa today. One way to understand the war's significance is to view it, as some historians have done, as a conflict that was as important in the making of modern South Africa as the American Civil War was in the history of the United States.[2] Also known as the South African War, it is regarded as one of the first modern wars, after the Crimean

[1] I don't mean to say that these racialized ideas originated in the war, the Afrikaners brought with them to South Africa a European, colonialist understanding of black people: "kaffirs". Timothy Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order (University of Virginia*: Charlottesville, 1996)

[2] Andrew Offenburger, "Applied Comparisons: The South African War through the Prism of American History,*" Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* Vol. 8:3 (2007): 389-403.

and the American Civil War. Just as the Civil War has haunted the American imagination and bedevils its present politics, the Anglo-Boer War is a similar spectre for South Africa.

This dissertation focuses on the memorialization of trauma in South Africa with specific attention to the construction of identity, trauma and generational memory of the war in visual culture. This topic I approach through close analysis of visual representations of the war including especially more than six hundred stereoscopic photographs from the Underwood & Underwood collection dating from the turn of the century. The stereoscope is a handheld viewer for observing two similar images that produces an experience of depth and three-dimensionality. Stereoviews, the cards on which the double images were printed, were ubiquitous in middle class homes, and dominated vernacular visual culture for more than half a century. The early photographic archive of the South African Boer War was possibly the most comprehensive documentary visual record of imperial warfare at the time, not just on the African continent but in the world. That is, while the American Civil War may have been the first war to be recorded in this way, the South African War is widely regarded by scholars and others as having the most comprehensive visual record, in film and photographs.

The South African War was an object, a visual object, of particular interest, or particular curiosity, for a global audience, especially an American one, I argue in this dissertation. The war also became a global concern because of its participants as Britain drew in colonial allies from India, Australia and Canada. The spectre of (white) colonists resisting colonial oppression also appealed in particular to American southerners and the

Irish, as historian Donal Lowry's work has observed. The Japanese were also interested in the use of new war technologies and sent observers to South Africa.[3] In the circulation of visual representations of the war, including in performed re-enactment, we observe the origins of U.S. sympathy for the Boer cause. At the same time, U.S. racial histories were refracted through American visual encounter with the South Africa War. This is a central argument of this project. Here I offer a partial answer to the question: why did the United States persist so long in its support of South African apartheid? What are the historical origins of this sentimental connection? The answer lies in the power of the visual cultures that circulated globally.

I will examine, analyse, read, and trace the production, distribution and deployment of photographic images of the South African War in various historical contexts and moments in South Africa and the USA.[4] I follow the war images and their changing meanings across the history of the twentieth century and from the African continent to the American continent. This project observes their appearance and reappearance in boxed sets, in print publications, and most importantly the deployment and reuse of these South African War images at festivals, museums, exhibitions, and

[3] For the broader international significance of the war, see Donal Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised* (Manchester University Press 2000).

[4] There are several works that consider the history of photography in South Africa in particular. Two books consider the photographs from a particular German archive of photographs from southern and eastern Africa, the Walther Collection. These are, Tamar Garb, ed, *African Photography from the Walther Collection: Distance and Desire: Encounters with the African Archive* (Steidl 2013) and Brian Wallis, ed. *The Order of Things: Photography from the Walther Collection* (Steidl 2015). The former includes essays dedicated to photographs of South Africa.

public memorials.[5] In each moment, I will identify how these images become iconic, gaining circulation and influence, and analyze how these iconic images are deployed in the construction of racialized narratives and in the construction of historical memory for South Africa and in the United States. The role of visual images in constructing narratives of trauma and memory of trauma (post-memory) is central.

Within the Underwood & Underwood war images (today part of the larger, Keystone-Mast Collection) we perceive the historical origins of apartheid that began officially in 1948.[67] Until the last two decades, the war as represented in history and literature was a white-on-white conflict between British and Dutch communities in South Africa. The narrative of white, especially Afrikaner, trauma and suffering has dominated; what is unspoken and rendered invisible is Black trauma, both during the war and as a result. Recent scholarship uncovers the role of Black South Africans on every side of the conflict—as soldiers, as victims.[8] As a work of public history, through tracing the recirculation of the photographs and other visual representations of the war, my study will observe the continuing power of the war and its trauma in collective, public memory and the role of these images in constructing new racial discourses and identities. The

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[5] On museums and public history see, Ivan Karp, et al, *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1992). For South Africa specifically, see, Ciraj Rassol, "Memory and the Politics of History in the District Six Museum," in Murray Noeleen et al, *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City* (London: Routledge, 2007); Ciraj Rassool and Sandra Prosalendis, *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001).
[6] Nancy L Clark and William H Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (Harlow, England; New York: Longman, 2011).
[7] Clark and Worger.
[8] Bill Nasson, *Abraham Esau's War: A Black South African War in the Cape, 1899-1902* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Peter Warwick, *Black People and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

images confirm that race is a visual discourse. The photographs can be understood as suturing the suffering of raced bodies, Black and white, to new technologies of visual culture.[9]

I argue that these little studied photographs were key technologies in the shaping of modern South Africa as a racial system. The images circulated during the war and immediately following and continued to be republished and recirculated thereafter. The war dead were made to do political work, especially in the construction of South African and even American national racial narratives. Through tracing the use of visual representations, I will explore more broadly the theme of photographic nationalisms and how the war itself was memorialized in subsequent periods in the twentieth century; in particular, observing how the memory of war trauma was reframed in the apartheid and post-apartheid periods.[10] The photographs are a "mirror with a memory," in the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes.[11] These photographs will be read and analyzed in three registers: with respect to trauma and post-memory; with respect to race, (the construction of Blackness and whiteness); and in relation to African modernity. While I look at the way that the images have been engaged by different racial and ethnic communities (i.e. the Boers, the British, and Blacks in South Africa), I also investigate how they were used by

[9] Personal communication, Tiffany Willoughby-Herard.
[10] One of the most important books on the topic of public history and visual culture is, Annie Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham: Duke UP, 2003).
[11] Leigh Raiford. "Photograph and the Practices of Critical Black Memory," *History and Theory* (2009). Raiford begins with the phrase, "mirror with a memory" and then asks what this means for African Americans.

various institutions including corporations and state institutions, as well as the work they accomplished in America and how they shaped international perceptions of South Africa.

On January 6, 2021, inside the Capitol building in Washington DC, congress met to ratify the election of Joe Biden as the next president of the United States, codifying the Democratic Party's victory over Trump and the Republicans. A sizable group of Trump supporters moved in rebellion to undo the ratification. His supporters, largely made up of people and organizations who actively disseminated the theory of a conspiracy that Trump had actually won the election attempted to "take back America." Trump's imbrication in the plot has been well documented. At least one Afrikaner, caught on camera, participated in the riot on January 6th. Wearing a Make American Great Again cap, he requested to go on camera with the One American Network (OAN), a conservative media outlet: "I'm from South Africa, can I say something?". [12]

The video was widely shared among some South Africans on twitter and other social media (one of the most pointed responses was, "You can keep him."). In it, the unidentified Afrikaner shouted passionately and vehemently in sympathy with the white supremacist Trump rioters, tantamount to a declaration of war on the U.S. government, and in opposition to RINOs (Republicans in Name Only), presenting himself as someone who was part of a group whose eyes were on Washington: "We are watching you". His voice rising, he quotes scripture, the Old Testament, comparing the rioters to the rise of

[12]Danelle van Zyl-Hermann has pointed to the connection between Trump nationalism and rising Afrikaner nationalism. Danelle van Zyl-Hermann, "Make Afrikaners Great Again! National Populism, Democracy and the New White Minority Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41, no. 15 (December 8, 2018): 2673–92.

the Lion of Judah. This references the mythology of chosenness. The Lion rises up against oppressive structures. It is significant imagery for Afrikaners who have claimed themselves as being the Lion of Africa, Boer General De la Rey was known as the lion of the Transvaal. Afrikaner apartheid President Kruger even kept his own, living lion as an exotic pet. The idea of the lion recirculates in a recent musical about the Boer generals who fought in the war, discussed in chapter two. In the musical, the Afrikaner appears as the wounded lion, rising again. The lion is also a martial image: the lion is a predator and attacks.

It's possible this man was related to AfriForum, a conservative South African organization focused on the interests of Afrikaners in the name of protecting "minority rights" and rejecting the idea that apartheid was a crime against humanity. In 2018, the presidents of AfriForum traveled to the United States to lobby for the interests of the Afrikaner community and "white rights." The group met with John Bolton, Trump's national security advisor, staffers of Ted Cruz, and were given airtime on Tucker Carlson on Fox news. This visit led Trump to publicly condemn the "genocide" of white farmers in South Africa. Afrikaner political presence in the United States lobbying on behalf of "disenfranchised" whites raises questions and concerns about the shared racial agenda. These ties are not new: the historically deep connections between Afrikaners and whites in the United States were animated and sustained by the visual technology of the stereoscopes, and by extension reenactment at the turn of the century.

I. Visual Afterlives of the War

This dissertation looks at the visual and material afterlives of the war, including their reception in the United States. The first afterlife, the subject of chapter one, is the production and immediate dissemination of the Underwood & Underwood/Keystone-Mast collection itself. As the photographs became part of the visual economy within South Africa, they also were integrated into a global visual economy.[13] The photographs simultaneously refer to a new global media—as the images were disseminated worldwide, mostly for a middle class American and European audience.[14] The photographs were circulated in two ways. When they were circulated as a boxed set, you could experience the scenes in three dimensions. (Figure I. 1 Boxed Set) Also, at the same time, and in the period after, the photographs were circulated as prints, viewed without the stereoscope and absent the three-dimensional experience. One of the arguments that I make is that the two experiences give rise possibly to two distinct understandings of the war related to perception—the immersive technology of the stereoscope (or stereoview, the common term in the nineteenth century) provides a three-dimensional perception that impacts the viewer.

Underwood & Underwood's boxed sets of stereoviews of Africa, including images of the South African war, represented the single most significant visual encounter

[13] See my discussion of Deborah Poole on visual economy in the section on reading photographs.
[14] A dissertation by Susan Kempler, "America Discovers the World: James Ricalton's Travels on Next to Nothing" (Department of History, Rutgers University 1991), focuses on the photographer, James Ricalton. Kepler discusses his work for Underwood & Underwood and briefly looks at how the American middle class perceived wars across the world through photography in this period.

with Africa for Westerners in this period, shaping public perceptions. For three quarters of a century, 1850-1920, and beyond, this visual medium educated and entertained audiences, allowing the viewer to travel from the comfort and safety of their parlor to faraway places, into a global world that was at once familiar and strange. Middle class, white Americans were transported by the photographs from their homes to three-dimensional scenes of a war on the African continent. (Figure I. 2 Stereoscope viewer)

The second afterlife, explored in chapter two, is the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis. The St. Louis Fair included a re-enactment of the South African War for which an American company recruited six hundred white South Africans (Afrikaner and British) and a small number of Black South Africans to travel to the United States to re-enact the war for a U.S. audience.[15] Among the paid reenactors were some of the most famous vanquished Boer War generals themselves. The re-enactment was the most popular exhibit at the fair, its run was extended, and it generated the most revenue. Stereoscopic photograph sets first brought the Boer War to life for an American audience. Reenactment then extended the stereoscopic images which were an important reference both for the producers of the reenactment and the World's Fair audience. Photographs circulated in association with this re-enactment, with simultaneous photographic exhibits

[15] James Gilbert briefly discusses this in, *Whose Fair?,* 2009 (131-157). See also Jennie Sutton, Transavaal Spectacles: South African Visions at the 1904 St. Louis Fair*," Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* 8:3, 271-297. This brings up the question of the political role of spectacle more generally. Guy Debord has written an important book on the topic of spectacle, *Society of the Spectacle (1967)* that may be helpful in my analysis. Also related to South African bodies on display see works on Sara Baartman for example, Clifton Crais and Pamela Cully, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography* (Princeton University Press, 2009).

at the Fair, and there is also a record of photographs of the re-enactment itself.[16] Underwood & Underwood joined others in photographing the fair, although they were not under contract to do so. Here, I put these photographic representations of the reenactment in relation to the war photographs of the Underwood & Underwood collection.

The re-enactment of Afrikaner struggle against a colonial power, and the vanquishment and defeat of white, Boer farmer-soldiers resonated deeply with many Americans. The spectre of (white) colonists resisting colonial oppression also appealed especially to American southerners. The white Afrikaners may have lost the war, but they "won" the country, rising to power in 1948. Here we see the origins of American empathy for the Boers and their cause in the United States, which was sustained through the apartheid era. The South African reenactment seems to have predated Civil War reenactment in the American South, which may in fact have been inspired or influenced by the St. Louis performance.

I argue that the performances at the fair are a tableau vivant of the Keystone-Mast photographs. The reenactment mimicked and imitated, even as they underscored, the stereoscopic images that circulated so widely. Someone who had experienced the three-dimensional immersive photographs of the war stereoscopic images in their middle-class living room, could now have an even more heightened visual and emotional experience at

[16] Gilbert writes, "Photographs taken from the reenactment of the Boer War on the fairgrounds joined actual shots taken from the war itself, creating a circulation of images that created a photomontage of the actual and imaginary," (206, note 10). James Gilbert, *Whose Fair?,* 2009. The distinction between "actual and imaginary" is more complicated than Gilbert states because some of the original Boer War photographs were themselves posed.

the World's Fair re-enactment. The one visual representation underscored and reinforced the other. The Boers, much like American southerners, were looked down upon by their fellow countrymen as uneducated and unsophisticated. They were both deeply religious Christians and deeply conservative: tied to their land and to their racialized way of life. They also felt that they had a right to take up arms to defend themselves. For white Southerners, the Boer War re-enactment at St. Louis may have been key to their process of making sense of, memorializing, and interpreting, reckoning with, the confederate defeat in the Civil War. The theme of enclosure and fugitivity emerges here, as the Boer War reenactment was performed within a Boer enclosure constructed on the fairgrounds, within which Black African reenactors were confined.

The third visual afterlife, which I take up in chapter three, is the representation of the war in the post-apartheid moment, at the Anglo-Boer Museum in Bloemfontein, South Africa. This critical history of the museum and its exhibitions looks at how the museum has tried to shift interpretations of the war to reflect the post-apartheid political reality. I will critically explore how the Anglo-Boer War Museum has worked to redefine itself for a post-racial South Africa through photography, photographic exhibits and displays. Founded in 1931 in the Afrikaner heartland, the museum served as an artifact of Afrikaner remembrance. Historically, it was an expression of Afrikaner identity, helping to create and solidify narratives that united and strengthened the Afrikaner community as a nation, fueling the path to the National Party electoral victory in 1948, and the political "origins" of apartheid. The recently installed Sol Plaatje Hall is dedicated to Black and "Coloured" people's experience of the war, a significant effort to

re-narrativize the War. Photographs have been used in the various exhibits for different purposes and the Underwood & Underwood/Keystone Mast photographs appear again in Bloemfontein. In its attention to museum exhibition, this dissertation is also an examination of, and a meditation on, the politics of display for a new generation of South Africans: a consideration of the visual representation and memory of the war in post-apartheid South Africa. The Anglo-Boer War Museum is analyzed in relation to other public history projects in post-Apartheid South Africa, including community museums like the District Six museum.

I consider the use of war photographs in the representation of Black South Africans in the publication of two large format books published by the museum: *An Illustrated History of Black South Africans in the Anglo-Boer, 1999-1902* (2012) and *The Black Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902* (2012). In honor of the 100-year anniversary of the Women's Memorial, the museum called South African artists to submit works that engaged the theme of suffering during the war. Almost 150 artists responded to the call. Many of these were published by the museum in a catalogue, *Universal Suffering: During the South African War 1899-1902* (2013). Chapter three considers not only these recent publications but also recent reenactments of the War; it observes circulation and display in the present including in relation to new artistic articulations of the Anglo-Boer War. This discussion concludes by considering the parallel contemporary monument struggles in South Africa and the United States, including the Rhodes-Must-Fall movement. I read the photographs and the war and their use returning to circulation, memorialization, and reenactment in the post-apartheid era.

In this way I consider the circulation and power of these visual representations in general both within South Africa and for an international audience as they have brought the history of the war into the global imagination. The project is therefore at the nexus of public history, South African history, critical race studies, memory studies, and visual studies.

II. Adderley Street, Cape Town

The origins of this project are in a larger exploration of memory and memorialization of traumatic pasts in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. I am a mixed-race, "Coloured" South African who grew up in a segregated township on the Cape Flats (the Black and Coloured "resettlement" area of Cape Town) during and after apartheid. Bonteheuwel township is separated by a highway from Langa, the oldest Black township in Cape Town. Bonteheuwel had been specifically built to house new residents who had been forcefully displaced from District Six in Cape Town after the diverse and integrated community was razed to the ground to make room for white commercial enterprises.[17] The 2009 Neil Blomkamp film, District 9, was a cinematic, Science Fiction engagement with this history. My family was forcibly relocated into the new township under a government relocation program (Group Areas Act) in the 1960s. I have always wanted to understand the stories and the narratives told about displacement and forced migration such as District Six and others elsewhere. I grew up in a family that bore the

[17] John Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (University of California Press, 1997).

stigma of racial "mixedness": that is not being white enough, not being Black enough: somehow inhabiting a space in-between. The version of public photography that I write about, the stereoviews, have been disparaged as the bastard stepchild of photography. They resonate with me as a mixed- race person: we have also been regarded in South Africa as bastard stepchildren.[18] Also, we are similarly misrecognized and marginalized.

Both my father and my uncle (my father's elder brother) enlisted in World War II. However, my uncle reads white visually: in the portrait of my memory he is six feet tall with piercing blue eyes and slick black hair neatly combed with a European French path, and dressed in jacket, shirt, and tie. On the other hand, his younger brother, my father, resembles his mother and reads black: in the snapshot of my memory he is walking down Adderley Street in the central business district in the heart of downtown Cape Town. He is shorter than his brother, "swarthy" (dark-skinned), dapper, and on the move-- happy. The story is told that my father accompanied his brother to say goodbye at the train station as my uncle left to join his regiment in North Africa. Passing as white, he would fight as an armored tank driver (with his unit my uncle was eventually captured by German general Erwin Rommel, the "Desert Fox"). My father was not allowed to accompany him to the door of the train (a section reserved for whites) and had to pretend to be a porter carrying his baggage. These stories and narratives of my childhood first drew my attention to the discourses of displacement, whiteness and blackness, and the memory and trauma of war. There are truths to be read from the divisions in my family

[18] One of the earliest references to Coloured people along these lines was by the racist apologist, Sarah Gertrude Millin, *God's Step-Children*, 2nd Edition (Constable and Co., 1924).

and the deep-seated hurts it suffered brought on by apartheid and its constructed notions of whiteness and blackness.

I did not expect that the materials for my dissertation on trauma and memory in South Africa would be stored in a basement of the California Museum of Photography ten thousand miles from my home in South Africa and just a few miles from the UC Riverside campus where I was completing my graduate studies. The discovery of the largely unstudied Underwood & Underwood South African photographs was fortuitous and determined the specific focus of my dissertation. One of the first results of the discovery of the South African collection was an exhibition of forty photographs from the Underwood & Underwood collection that I curated with British historian, Thomas Cogswell. *Flaws in the Diamond: Exploitation and Empire in South Africa, c. 1900*, exhibited at the California Museum of Photography from February 22 through July 19 of 2014. The exhibit explored how memorialization of the war laid the groundwork for apartheid and included a range of portraits, landscapes, scenes from the economy of South Africa, as well as battle scenes.[19] I discuss the exhibit in the first chapter of this dissertation.

By tracking the circulation and use of these visual representations, I will document the changing uses and meanings of the Anglo-Boer War in national memory. A few key scholarly works to date discuss the place of the Anglo-Boer War in national memory. See for example, Greg Cuthbertson, ed, et al, *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Race, Gender, and Identity in the South African War, 1899-1902* (Ohio University Press,

[19] www.artsblok.ucr.edu/exhibition/flaws-in-the-diamond

2002); Donal Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised* (Manchester University Press 2000); and David Omissi and Andrew Thompson, eds. *The Impact of the South African War* (Palgrave Macmillan 2002). While they include important critical discussions of the historical significance of the war, these anthologies do not discuss photography, nor do they focus on public history and representations and memorialization of the war or examine in depth the circulation of these representations in the United States.

My study also considers institutions and how they have used the photographs of the war and how these institutions have managed and controlled the photographs. Here I refer not just to the commercial companies, Underwood & Underwood, and Keystone Mast but also, subsequent to these, to the crucial role that museums and archives as institutions play in controlling, shaping, and dispensing narratives about the war, from the Anglo-Boer War Museum to the California Museum of Photography.[20]

[20] In the history of the photography and art, museums and archives have influenced the reception of photographs by allowing them to be presented in a certain way. For example, the Museum of Modern Art, in the particular way it used, wrote, about and displayed photographs, brought to bear a particular understanding of what photographs are and how they should be used and interpreted. In the same way, the politics of photographic use, through the practice of archiving, endorsed a particular view. Up until the 1960s photography was not accepted as a legitimate art form. Before that print photographs were seen as realist but also potentially in more revolutionary ways. There were two people, in particular at the MOMA, who were responsible for endorsing a new understanding of photography within the art world as an aesthetic art form. Some argued that this robbed photography of its political power, the power to transform and to question regimes of truth. Photography was the "bastard child left at the footsteps of the museum," one scholar wrote. On MOMA and the history of photography see Sabine Kriebel, "Theories of Photography: A short history" in James Elkins, *Photography Theory*, 2007. See also Christopher Philips, "The Judgment Seat of Photography" who writes, "The cultural repackaging of photography in the 1960s shifts the emphasis from photography's (potentially revolutionary) role as a mass medium to its "cult value" status, consequently inverting Walter Benjamin's terms," (kindle location 368).

III. South African War: Historical Background and Consequences

In 1835 a large section of the Boer population of Cape Colony packed their wagons and trekked north in search of a new land and labor to run their farms. This journey is referred to as The Great Trek. They were spurred on by dissatisfaction with British rule in the Cape and objected to the emancipation and the granting of equal legal status to enslaved Africans whom they saw as a much-needed source of labor. The Boers ultimately formed two largely independent republics, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal or South African Republic (SAR), although Britain still claimed sovereignty over the whole of South Africa.

In 1869, the world's largest diamond deposit was a discovered at Kimberley, South Africa.[21] Together with the discovery of a goldfield in Witwatersrand in 1886, it led a great influx of prospectors, miners, settlers and adventurers from around the world who poured into the Transvaal. They came from Australia, California, Canada, Britain and the Continent and India as well as from the South African colonies at the Cape and Natal. The City of Johannesburg sprang up almost overnight, and by 1896 its population had reached 102,000 people.[22] The total white population of the Transvaal was only

[21] William H. Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds: Mine Workers and Monopoly Capitalism in Kimberley, 1867-1895*, Yale Historical Publications. Miscellany 135 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

[22] For histories of Johannesburg including mining history see: Charles van Onselen, *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914*, 1St Edition (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2001); Charles Van Onselen, *The Cowboy Capitalist: John Hays Hammond, the American West and the Jameson Raid* (Jonathan Ball, 2017); Michael Stevenson, "Old Masters and Aspirations : The Randlords, Art and South Africa," 1997, https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/20200; Charles H. Feinstein, *An Economic History of South Africa: Conquest, Discrimination, and Development* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); Martin

245,000. The Boer government of the Transvaal steadfastly denied citizenship rights to these new resident immigrants, or outlanders, even though they provided most of the revenue to the formerly bankrupt Republic. Conditions for citizenship were progressively tightened and put beyond reach of most non-Boers. In 1894 full political rights and privileges were reserved for those domiciled in the Republic prior to May 1876 and their children. Blacks and other people of color were not eligible for citizenship.

> The independence of the Boer Republics, bursting with gold and bristling with imported rifles, threatened Britain's status as "paramount power". Boer independence was dangerous for world peace. These were the years of increasingly warm rivalry between the blocs of Great Powers, with Britain dangerously isolated. The solution seemed to be to wrap the whole of South Africa in the Union Jack, to make the whole country a British dominion, like Canada. The need to confirm British paramountcy seemed all the more urgent because of the explosive effects of the gold rush…[23]

The Rand gold fields were a gift of Midas. By 1899 the Transvaal, measured by its gold exports of £24 million a year, became the most opulent state in Africa. This compounded the anomaly of the Transvaal independence: "Gold had transformed it into a modern military power, armed with the latest German rifles and French artillery." Soon about one quarter of the world's gold reserves would be produced by South Africa. Thus, one could argue that the British Empire had strong reasons to maintain its hold on this colony: "To unite all South Africa under the British flag would be Britain's crowning achievement in the Scramble, the culmination of the twenty-year struggle for mastery from Cairo to the

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Meredith, *Diamonds, Gold, and War: The British, the Boers, and the Making of South Africa* (PublicAffairs, 2008).

[23] Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa: white man's conquest of the dark continent from 1876 to 1912* (1991), p558.

Cape."[24] In a few deft strokes historian C.W. de Kiewiet depicts the impact of gold on the republic's revenue: "In 1884 the Transvaal was barely solvent; three years later, in 1887, its revenue of £638 000 approached that of Natal; two years later again its revenue of £1 500 000 was in hot pursuit of that of the Cape. For every reluctant pound which the ZAR had to spend in 1883 it had twenty-five pounds."[25]

Meanwhile a petition on rights for the non-Boers with over 18,000 signatures was received by the Raad (Parliament) with loud laughter. Another petition signed by over 35,000 received similar treatment. The disgruntled Johannesburg, non-Boer "*uitlanders*" (outsiders or outlanders), set up a revolutionary committee. Many of the people formed militia units. The miners began to plot an uprising and smuggled in arms and ammunition. The situation progressively deteriorated until, in 1896, the ill-advised and ill fated 'Jameson Raid' was defeated by the Boers and the slide to war accelerated.[26]

> The gold strike had transformed the Transvaal from an impoverished rural republic into a glittering prize. What followed was a titanic struggle fought by the British to gain supremacy throughout southern Africa and by the Boers to preserve the independence of their republics. It culminated in the costliest, bloodiest and most humiliating war that Britain had waged in nearly a century. Britain provoked the war expecting it to be over within a few months, but it turned into a grueling campaign lasting two and a half years; required half a million imperial troops to finish it; and left the two Boer republics devastated.

[24] Pakenham, Scramble for Africa, p558).
[25] Giliomee & Mbenga, *A New History of South Africa (*2010).
[26] In the Peace Treaty of Vereenig in, signed on 31 May 1902, the two parties signed in Pretoria. By fifty-four votes to six the representatives agreed to surrender their independence and to recognize the authority of British sovereign in return for: 1)the repatriation of the prisoners of war 2)A general amnesty with a few exceptions 3) Limited protection of the Dutch language in the courts. 4)Various economic safeguards such as the maintenance of property rights. 5) Honoring of the republican war debt to a sum of £3 million. Generous relief for the victims of war 6) Promise of eventual self-government and an agreement that no decision would be taken regarding the franchise of black people until after the introduction of responsible government. [citation]

> Faced with guerrilla warfare for which they were unprepared, British military commanders resorted to scorched-earth tactics, destroying thousands of farmsteads, razing villages to the ground and slaughtering livestock on a massive scale. Women and children were rounded up and placed in what the British called concentration camps, where conditions were so appalling that some 26,000 died there from disease and malnutrition, most of them under the age of sixteen.[27]

Some scholars have argued that the South African War of 1899–1902 was the inevitable outcome of economic imperialism, as the great imperial powers competed to maintain control of valuable resources and markets. Others have rightly asserted that because the mines were financed by London, the British Empire need not invade Boer territory to control the gold industry. In addition, the Boer Republics could remain independent while Britain reaped the benefits of unrestricted access to the South African gold supply.

The Boers offered some concessions to the British and to other European immigrant "newcomers". It was not sufficient to avoid war. While the British thought they would have an easy victory, the volunteer Boer militias used guerilla tactics, many of these borrowed from the Indian Wars in the United States. Nevertheless, in the end they captured both Afrikaner capitals, Bloemfontein and Pretoria, by June of 1900. The Boers refused to surrender, launching their guerilla campaign which lasted for two years. Led primarily by General De la Rey, the guerilla fighter Boers were called "bitter enders" because they refused to surrender. In retaliation, the British interned Afrikaners, mostly women and children, in concentration camps where almost 28,000 died, including half of the interred population of Boer children. This is in addition to the 9,000 Boer soldiers who lost their lives. Nevertheless, what was supposed to be an easy British victory took a

[27] Meredith, Martin (2008-09-23). *Diamonds, Gold, and War*.

heavy toll. The British suffered heavy losses, more than 8,000 men died in battle, more than 13,000 due to disease, almost 23,000 wounded, and 3,000 were captured. In 1902 the British won control over the Boer Republics, including the mines, but the Boers regained political control of South Africa.

Centrally important in the peace talks was voting rights for Blacks and other non-Europeans. The British wanted to extend voting rights; the Boers opposed. In 1910, the four colonies (the Afrikaner Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and the British colonies centered in Cape Town and Natal) merged to form the Union of South Africa, in which the Afrikaners were a majority. In the Union voters rejected enfranchising Black people and put pass laws in place that segregated Black Africans and Europeans. With the election of Afrikaner nationalist Daniel Francois Malan in 1948, apartheid was implemented.

IV Historiography

Much of the South African War narrative and historiography focuses on the activities and maneuvers of the two main protagonists, the Boers and the British, but my study includes all the peoples of South Africa in its narrative. I am curious about the impact of the war on the lives of ordinary men, women and children. In short, I want to offer up an additional "hidden history", if you will, of the place of Black people in relation to the South African War. For the past 100 years, except the last two decades, the narrative of the war told and retold in South Africa, as presented in books and literature, was a white-on-white conflict. The actions of the indigenous, Black, and non-European,

were usually presented as being a mute witness to white suffering. Recent scholarship also suggests that Blacks were sometimes complicit with the British or the Afrikaners.

For over a hundred years scholars have studied the South African War and produced literally hundreds of academic papers and manuscripts in the form of theses and dissertations and books, to name but a few such scholarly output. According to Andre Wessels, Professor of History at the University of Orange Free State in Bloemfontein, South Africa, 560 academic articles-theses and dissertations-have been written about the South African War.[28] He also acknowledges that this number may be larger since he could not access all databases related to the war. An additional text, in the same vein as Wessels, is Fred R. Van Hartesveldt's annotated bibliography of the Boer War.[29] He focusses mostly on military history since the book is part of a series dealing with great military battles and great military leaders published by Greenwood Press. Despite the limitations of space and subject matter, Van Hartesveldt's text includes a substantial list of 1378 annotated books on the Boer War. Both books are certainly major contributions to the historiography of the South African War. While Van Hartesveldt's research mostly deals with military history certain questions do come to mind also about the other books about the South African War published over the last century; what are the main lines of approach?

[28] Wessels, Andre: *A Century of Postgraduate Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) Studies.* Bloemfontein: Sun Press, 2010. Print.
[29] Van Hartesveldt, Fred R: *The Boer War: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography.* London: Greenwood Press, 2000.

What are the major advances made in Boer War studies written since the African National Congress came to power in 1994, including what remains to be researched after a century of Anglo-Boer War studies? A preliminary response to these questions suggests that the historiography of the South African War, in terms of the topics studied and the main lines of interpretation, partially reflects and at times mirrors the historiography of South Africa. Moreover, at times, one could argue that the historiography of the South African War and the country seems to be predicated on the ruling reigning administration. This means also that there are silences and absences as well as attempts to address these in the historiography of the South African War. Since we live in a global village, the trends in South African historiography, to a certain extent, also reflects larger historical trends and international academic influence.

Ian Smith, in his book, *The Origins of the South African War: 1899-1902*, challenges the long-established notion that the struggle over gold and the mine fields of the Transvaal Republic, was the main reason for the cause of the war between the British Empire and the Afrikaners. He argues that Britain attached more importance in securing her imperial hold on the southern continent than on the flow of gold from the mines. He argues that, based on extensive research in banking archives in England, that the profits from gold would have a negligible effect and impact on Britain's well, on the wealth on the empire. He shows that Britain had larger concerns and these related to her imperial possessions and her reputation as an empire throughout the world.

Several historiographical trends have been identified and some have been vigorously debated by historians, South African and others. Some examples would

include Ken Smith[30], Christopher Saunders[31], Merle Lipton[32], and Albert Grundlingh[33]. Most scholars would agree on the following general trends of South African history writing as identified by Smith in his excellent overview, though not unproblematic. He identifies five general trends and/or schools including: The British and Settler schools of historical writing, Afrikaans historiography, the liberal trend in South African history writing up to the end of the 1960s, and the radical or revisionist approach to the past.[34]

At the same time that this was the most visually documented war to date, it was also the most documented in prose. The South African War generated more poetry and literary reflections than any before. The poetry of war until now had been the subject and sole preserve of aristocrats, those noble knights of yore. The South African War changed everything. The British army that sailed for South Africa was the most literate army in history.[35] Regular Tommies, hailing mostly from the lower classes, were able to put their

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[30] Smith, Ken: *The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing.* Athens, Ohio University Press, 1988. Print.
[31] Saunders, Christopher: *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class.* Cape Town, David Philip Publishers, 1988. Print.
[32] Lipton, Merle: *Liberals, Marxists, and Nationalists: Competing Interpretations of South African History.* New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Print.
[33] Grundlingh, Albert: *War, Wordsmiths and the "Volk": Afrikaans Historical Writing on the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 and the war in Afrikaner Nationalist Consciousness, 1902-1990;* in Mfecane to Boer War: versions of South African History: papers presented at a symposium at the University of Essen, 25-27 April,1990, by Elmar Lehman (ed.), Essen, Germany: Die Blaue Eule, 1992.
[34] Smith, Ken: *The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing.* Athens, Ohio University Press, 1988. Print.
[35] "The Boer War brought together all the conditions essential for an articulate response to war: a literate, educated army consisting of volunteers, waging an expansionist war in full view of a large troop of war correspondents against two small republics whose life-style was popularly supposed to be pastoral and pacifist and who enjoyed the vociferous support of almost the whole civilized world as well as the whole socialist, radical, and pacifist movement in Britain." M. Van Wyk Smith, *Drummer Hodge: The Poetry of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902* (Oxford Univ Pr (Txt), 1978), 35.

experiences down on paper. There were also the Volunteers that made up half the total of men committed to South Africa who came from all walks of life. Much of their poetry was based upon the traditional army songs that went back decades, or Rudyard Kipling's populist verse. Some of the more critical work found a home in the radical press. That is, even as the South African War was the most photographed, it also generated prolific literary outpouring for a global public. These works fascinated the public because they came from first-hand experience, whereas poets at home could only base their work on reports from others: "For the first time, the people who can write home and write about what they're enduring are not only the officers but the men too. There's a tremendous outpouring of writing from soldiers and war correspondents in the Boer War: diaries, letters, and lots of poems."[36] As Donal Lowry writes, "The South African war was regarded from the outset by both the British and the Boers as a conflict fought for public opinion. By the last decade of the nineteenth century the telegraph and syndicated news agencies had globalized world news, making this the most publicized war waged outside Europe between the American Civil War and 1914."[37]

[36] Jon Stallworthy, ed., *The New Oxford Book of War Poetry,* 2nd edition (OUP Oxford, 2014), 182.
[37] Donal Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised,* Studies in Imperialism (Manchester, England) (Manchester, UK ; New York : New York: Manchester University Press ; Distributed exclusively in the USA by StMartin's Press, 2000), 204.

V. *Kraal* and *Laager*: Boer Enclosure and Boer Mobility (the Afrikaner Diaspora)

The paradox of Boer enclosure and Boer mobility draws on historical experiences and is key to my critical analysis. I use the idea of enclosure to critically interpret the histories captured in the stereoscopic photographs and the images themselves. Enclosure is literal and figurative, or metaphorical. The *kraal* (similar in meaning to corral, in the United States frontier) is an Afrikaans term for a built enclosure, either for animals or human communities. Boer settlers in the Transvaal used the term to describe the African community structures they observed.[38] They adopted the "*kraal*" enclosure as a farming technology of their own and the term became linked to Afrikaner culture and identity. The *kraal* can be associated with enclosed and separate Boer community or Black community, which is in its ethos a protected family compound. Rudyard Kipling refers to the *kraal* in his poetry anthology, *The Five Nations*. The poem, "The Closing of the Column," celebrates the end of the war and honors the alliance of the five nations of the British empire that brought victory. The poem concludes: "the world is no bigger than a *kraal*".[39] The verses deride the Transvaal and by extension the Boer republics as a "stinkin' land," and rename Bloemfontein as "Bloemin'-Typhoidtein." Kipling seems to be suggesting that the British empire is also an enclosure where all (whites) are brethren.

[38]An early work that explores "kraal" in African culture is Richard Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa* (New Haven: Yale Univ Pr, 1977). Twenty-five years later, Yvette Abrahams critiqued Elphick's argument. Yvette Abrahams, "Take Me to Your Leaders': A Critique of Kraal and Castle," *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* 22, no. 1 (1995): 21–35.

[39]Historian Lowry refers to Kipling's line in the title of his chapter but without analysis. Donal Lowry, "'The World's No Bigger than a Kraal': The South African War and International Opinion in the First Age of 'Globalization,'" in *The Impact of the South Africana War*, ed. David Omissi and Andrew S. Thompson (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2002), 268–88.

At the same time, the snide use of a defining Afrikaner lexicon is meant to deride those vanquished in the war. (Figure I. 3 Boer soldiers in *laager*)

The related Afrikaans term, "*laager*", similarly evokes enclosure. It refers to a settler convoy of covered wagons—as protection and defense, a sort of temporary or improvised wagon fort. Laager is a defensive position, often armed.[40] The *laager* practice of circling wagons when under attack was practiced on the Boers' Great Trek. As they encountered so-called "hostile populations" they formed a *laager* encampment. It is debated whether settlers in the American west similarly practiced circling of wagons. Meriam-Webster defines the *laager* as, "A defensive position, policy, or attitudes." The terms *kraal* and *laager* are sometimes interchangeable tropes of Boer identity.

Recently, some social theorists, postcolonialists and political geographers particularly, have begun to think about the category of enclosure in relation to geography and environment, the appropriation of common lands as private property within capitalism.[41] Enclosure also relates to the British idea of commons.[42] It can refer to a space-- geographical, philosophical, or political-- that limits movement, resources, and access through processes of privatization.[43] In a lecture at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, Achille Mbembe identifies a contemporary global "logic of contraction, containment, incarceration and enclosure."[44]

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[40] Pakenham titles a photograph of armed Boers, ready for war, as "Boers in laager". Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War* (New York: Random House, 1979), 170.
[41] Peter Linebaugh, *Stop, Thief!: The Commons, Enclosures, And Resistance* (PM Press, 2014).
[42] Alex Jeffrey, Colin McFarlane, and Alex Vasudevan, "Rethinking Enclosure: Space, Subjectivity and the Commons," *Antipode* 44, no. 4 (2012): 1247–67.
[43] D. Serlin and A. Chazkel, "New Approaches to Enclosures," *Special Issue of Radical History Review* 109 (2010).
[44] Achille Mbembe, "Bodies as Borders," *From the European South* 4 (2019): 5–18.

I think about these historical categories as someone who was subject to Boer enclosure under apartheid. The Boers did not only enclose themselves, but also others with them and apart from them.[45] Their process was not one of privatization but rather the construction of their republic as enclosure. Boer enclosure is defensive but also violent. It excludes, but those who are inside constitute (unto themselves) an "inclusive" community. Rita Barnard writes, in *Apartheid and Beyond: South African Writers and the Politics of Place*:

> For under apartheid, geography certainly did make a major difference. All the essential political features of South Africa's 'pigmentocratic industrialized state' were fundamentally space dependent: the classification of the population into distinct racial categories, the segregation of residential areas on the basis of race, the restriction of black urbanization, the system of migrant labor from rural areas to the towns, the emphasis on ethnicity and traditionalism, and the formidable apparatus of state surveillance and control. Of all these features, there is not a single one that did not, in practice, rely on the power of space to separate individuals from each other, to direct and control their movements, and to reinforce social distinctions.[46]

South Africa is preoccupied with the idea of space, hence spatial apartheid, but it is by no means unique. Consider, for example, the spatial turn, internationally.[47]

Black Africans were almost always among those subject to enclosure. Because they formed part of the Afrikaner *kraal*, they were among those who were interred in the

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[45]Perhaps the most closely analogous study to this one is, Gary Fields, *Enclosure: Palestinian Landscapes in a Historical Mirror*, First edition (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017).

[46] Rita Barnard, *Apartheid and beyond South African Writers and the Politics of Place* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6.

[47] Barney Warf and Santa Arias, *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives (Routledge Studies in Human Geography)*, 1 edition (Routledge, 2008); Russell West-Pavlov, *Space in Theory: Kristeva, Foucault, Deleuze*, Spatial Practices 7 (Amsterdam [etc.]: Rodopi, 2009); Robert T. Tally, *Spatiality*, The New Critical Idiom (New York, London: Routledge, 2013); Robert T. Tally, *Literary Cartographies: Spatiality, Representation, and Narrative*, First edition., Geocriticism and Spatial Literary Studies (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Boer concentration camps. The British pacifist Emily Hobhouse came to South Africa and observed and even photographed the concentration camps and spoke out against the British. She wrote a book called, *The Brunt of War and Where it Fell*.[48] Her photographs revealed the horrors of and suffering in the camps and she was hailed by the Afrikaners as pro-Boer.[49] Notably her photographs of concentration camp suffering and others like them did not circulate globally with the boxed sets. Hobhouse was invited to speak at the unveiling of the woman's monument in Bloemfontein in 1913. In the speech she says, "Does not justice bid us remember today how many thousands of the dark race perished in the Concentration Camps in a quarrel that was not theirs?"[50] She quotes Abraham Lincoln when she suggest that Blacks have a role to play in the post-War reconstruction in South Africa: "They will probably help you in some trying time to come to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom". At this memorial of Boer suffering, she reminded the audience that Black people also suffered because they were found by the British within the Boer enclosure. Recent publications including by the War Museum of the Boer Republics, have sought to incorporate Black suffering in the camps into the discourse, including visual discourse, of Boer suffering.[51]

From *kraal* and *laager* emerges the apartheid ideal of separate development: that a community or person can only flourish if it is "protected" cut off or encircled, to grow

[48] Emily Hobhouse, *The Brunt of the War and Where It Fell* (Wilding Press, 2016).
[49] Birgit Susanne Seibold, *Emily Hobhouse and the Reports on the Concentration Camps during the Boer War 1899-1902: Two Different Perspectives* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2011).
[50] https://www.wmbr.org.za/view.asp?pg=memorial&pgsub=speech&pgsub1=1&head1=Speech%20at%20the%20unveiling%20of%20the%20Memorial
[51] Stowell V. Kessler, *The Black Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902* (War Museum of the Boer Republics, 2012).

"naturally". Enclosure limits movement, action, and access (to resources): restrictive of physical mobility as well as mental and social mobility. Those who are forcibly enclosed are channeled, cannibalized, directed: set upon a pre-determined path, from which in theory there is no escape. Bonteheuwel township, to which my family was forcibly removed, and other segregated townships were Boer enclosures, I argue. As an impoverished area that was also a center of militant resistance against apartheid,[52] Bonteheuwel was called by others a "haven for criminals and freedom fighters" (producing either one or the other).

Apartheid represented the projection of Boer enclosure onto the entire South African people. It is the basis for Afrikaner ideology, an ethos, a way of being in the world, a sort of consciousness. The politics of Boer enclosure laid the groundwork for apartheid—it is a form of social engineering, the ground of spatial apartheid that defined many aspects of living (sports, play, marriage). *Laager* leads to policies of displacement, the razing of organic, porous mixed communities and scattering them, such as District Six and others.

At the same time, *kraal*/*laager* was a mobile technology and ideology and the Afrikaners a mobile community in transit. At the beginning of the twentieth century, after the war, the Boers traveled the world in photographic form, in the Underwood &

[52] There are limited scholarly studies of Bonteheuwel. See, John Luke Seneviratne Staniland, "Tale of Two Townships: Race, Class and the Changing Contours of Collective Action in the Cape Town Townships of Guguletu and Bonteheuwel, 1976 - 2006," June 29, 2012, https://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/6420. Kim Wale, "Intergenerational Nostalgic Haunting and Critical Hope: Memories of Loss and Longing in Bonteheuwel", PUMLA GOBODO-MADIKIZELA, and Jeffrey Prager, eds., *Post-Conflict Hauntings: Transforming Collective Memories of Historical Trauma*, 1st ed. 2020 edition (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

Underwood stereoscopic box sets. They also travelled as a literal diaspora. It is even fair to speak of an Afrikaner diaspora. In chapter two, I tell how the Afrikaners enacted *kraal* and *laager* in the United States, at the World's Fair and in the American Southwest. Afrikaners are a paradigmatic "exilic" community, a community in flight, originally fleeing persecution to settle in the Cape Colony. Since their departure from the Netherlands, they are always searching for a promised land, a place to call home, to which they can belong. Their self-narrative speaks to histories of mobility, migration and displacement, often narrativized as being strangers in a strange land. They settle in the Cape but become unsettled and move to the interior, where they establish the two Boer republics. Their state or condition of being "displaced" is almost continuous. After the war, their communities razed by the British and newly impoverished, they struggled to rebuild and solidify their place in the new dispensation. Du Toit identifies three Afrikaner diasporic communities, with a book dedicated to each: *Boers in East Africa*, *Boer Settlers in the Southwest,* and *Colonia Boer: An Afrikaner Settlement in Chubut Argentina*.[53] Not too far from my home in Southern California, there is a small community in Kern County named Johannesburg, a near ghost town in the Rand Mountains, founded by (presumably, South African) miners. The period following the end of apartheid, in 1994, is another moment of mobility and transition in which Afrikaners move globally. Hanna Jagtenberg completed a dissertation study on

[53] Brian M. Du Toit, *Boer Settlers in the Southwest*, 1st edition (El Paso, Texas 79968-0633: Texas Western Pr, 1995); Du Toit M Brian, *Colonia Boer, an Afrikaner Settlement in Chubut, Argentina* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Pr, 1995); Brian M. du Toit, *The Boers in East Africa: Ethnicity and Identity* (Berlin: Praeger, 1998).

Afrikaners in Australia.[54] Another study considers the diaspora Afrikaner community in New Zealand.[55] Literary works of fiction explore the existential dread of Afrikaners living remotely from South Africa after apartheid, separate from their "homeland".[56] This dissertation uses the analytics of Boer enclosure and Boer mobility to critically interpret the stereoscopic photographs.

V. Hauntings: Trauma, Memory, and Race

A historical haunting is a phantom that troubles both personal and collective memory and disturbs the present. The South African (British-Boer) War has functioned as just such a paradigmatic event, haunting each subsequent generation and has been formative in the making of modern racialized South Africa. This dissertation deals with the spectre of the double-trauma that continues to haunt South Africa: the first that lasted just four years and that gave birth to the second that lasted more than forty. The photographs of the Underwood & Underwood collection, their recirculation in the decades that followed the war, reveal the connection between the two moments and the way that the first continues to live inside the second.

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[54] Johanna Elisabeth (Hanna) Jagtenberg, "Out of South Africa and Into Australia: The Afrikaners' Quest for Belonging in a Post-Apartheid World" (Thesis, 2019), https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/123110.
[55] Christine Winbush and Rachael Selby, "Finding Home: South African Migration to New Zealand," *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work* 27, no. 1/2 (n.d.): 46–58.
[56] Margriet van der Waal, "Long Distance Afrikaners: Afrikaans Literature and Dislocated Identity in a European Context," *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 51, no. 2 (March 4, 2015): 196–207.

The import of my subject is reflected in events in the last five years. A recent symposium heralded the launch of a long-term research project: "Wounds of History: Trans-generation Transmission of Trauma in South Africa". The symposium, convened at the University of the Orange Free State, used the novel, *Kamphoer* by Francois Smith as an entry point. *Kamphoer*, which translates into English as "Camp Whore", is about a woman raped in the Anglo-Boer War.[57] To start with the trauma experience of the concentration camps in the South African War on the one hand is an acknowledgment that the War is a paradigmatic event in the history of South Africa.[58] To link this war with the second paradigmatic traumatic event in the history of South Africa, that is the violence and human rights violations of apartheid, declares that South Africa, collectively, is a nation of traumatized people. Drawing together these two events adds to the South African narrative that we are a people who are deeply traumatized by our history: whites and blacks, we are a people haunted by our pasts and we are still trying to deal with it in the present. In another effort to reconcile a traumatic past, the most recent reenactment of the Boer War in 2014 is noteworthy in including a black actor, Twin Mosia, who reenacted the role of "*agterryer*."

[57] Chris Van Der Merwe and Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, "Remembering and Forgetting: Reflections on Francois Smith's Novel Kamphoer." Gobodo-Madikizela's work on trauma in South Africa from a psychological is relevant to this project. She interviewed a white assassin from the apartheid era to discover the origins of evil.

[58] E. Van Heyningen, *The Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War: A Social History* (Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2013); A. W. G Raath, *The British Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902: Reports on the Camps* (Bloemfontein; Johannesburg: The War Museum ; [Distributed by] Thorold's Africana Books], 1999).

The "Rhodes Must Fall" campaign or movement is analogous to the United States' debate over Confederate monuments and the question of painful, shameful places and objects. The campaign destroys and defaces monuments to colonialism and apartheid, for example throwing feces at the Rhodes memorial at the University of Cape Town. It also included the necklacing of an Anglo-Boer War Memorial in April of 2015, as an expression of anti-colonialist, anti-white, and anti-Afrikaner sentiment. Regarding the significance of my project, I explore the historical context for reverberations of trauma such as these in the collective memory of South Africa.

In this dissertation I approach photographs and other visual representations to explore the relation between trauma and memory and how the war is encountered and presented in modern memory projects. I am broadly interested in memory and trauma, specifically the memorialization of traumatic historical events in pre- and post-apartheid South Africa. South Africans understand or remember themselves as a traumatized people, shaped by the trauma of the War, of this particular historic moment. Subsequent memories of trauma are shaped by prior ones, and I argue that in the course of apartheid, the Boer-War in some sense was posited as the paradigmatic South African memory of suffering. The Afrikaans poet and Truth Commissioner, Antjie Krog, explains,

> [The War] became more and more manipulated, privatized actually – it was only the Boer's war, it was only the Afrikaner's pain and misery, and so it was used as an ogre to say everyone was against us … big world powers wanted to destroy us … and we even had to make unjust laws for the sake of our self-preservation.[59]

[59] Antjie Krog, quoted in Pretorius, 2001: 111.

A photograph captures that inexpressible trauma in a way that a piece of writing may not be able to.[60] The photographic image engenders what is called "post-memory" (Hirsch, 2012), "prosthetic memory" (Landsberg, 2004), or "trans-generational memory". The trauma that is captured is not just the trauma of the past, but the trauma of the present, and future experiences of the trauma lived again. It refers to "prosthetic memory"—memory not based on experience but on creative imagining. I am interested in how these images are read in post-apartheid South Africa. Photography, like any art, is not only a record of trauma but can also be kind of re-experience, a new instantiation of trauma.

This idea of trauma and memory is still encountered and presented in modern memory projects of the war. For example, in honor of the 100th anniversary celebration of the war, the Boer War Museum approached fifty artists and asked them to render an art piece that would depict or suggest the impact of the war on modern South Africa. Instead of fifty different works, they received more than a hundred. The museum subsequently installed many of these works in an exhibit and collected all of these renditions in a book. This is an indication of the impact of the war—the sway that it holds on the imagination: it still persists.

One scholar who has written most extensively about post-memory and commemoration of the war is Liz Stanley in *Mourning Becomes* (Manchester University Press 2006). Stanley uses the idea of post-memory as researched by memory scholars (memory studies) such as M. Hirsch and others, which is a second or generation

[60] Ulrich Baer, *Spectral Evidence: The Photography of Trauma* (The MIT Press, 2005).

recollection or memory of an event or person and creative imagination rather than actual experience. Examples of these post memories are memories based on sources such as images and photographs and other works of imagination including novels and perhaps film. For Hirsch and other scholars this kind of post-memory is transgenerational which means it can be passed on from one generation to the next. Stanley and others redeploy the idea of post-memory and apply it to direct survivor accounts of the Boer War, in particular the concentration camps. These accounts are contained in diaries and letters, written mostly by women who survived the concentration camp.[61] Stanley argues that these sources on memory are similar to Hirsch's idea of post-memory in the sense that they also occur after the event itself has already happened. She thus problematizes the recollection of the events as represented in letters and diaries as being also recreated and manufactured. This attempt at memory manipulation and shaping of an account of trauma was deliberately deployed by Afrikaner women. These Afrikaner women, argues Stanley, thus had a greater role in the growth of Afrikaner nationalism than ever before imagined. In so doing, she thus draws much needed attention to the critical analysis of letters and testimonies as sources for the study of the Boer War.

This history shows the imbrication of and relationship between photography and colonialism with attention to the building of race, nation and empire. It is an exploration of the link between photography and memory, collective and individual, as it relates to the South African War in South Africa and Britain and can only enrich the public

[61] Towards this end, Stanley takes a second and penetrating look at the writings of Olive Schreiner and Emily Hobhouse.

discourse about the war. This concerns the political (and other) purposes to which the "war-dead" are deployed in South Africa and the United States.

Chapter 1
The Anglo-Boer War in Stereoscope: Boer Generals in Three Dimensions

This chapter asks and offers answers to questions about how the Underwood & Underwood Boer War stereoviews came into being and how they first circulated. It examines the particular historical experiences that they captured and the racial narratives that they produced and reproduced. Most significantly, it traces the historically deep connections between Afrikaners and white communities in the United States, connections that are sustained and animated by the visual technology of the stereoscope. These photographs, with resonance to photographs of the U.S. Civil War, reconstruct defeated Boer generals as icons of heroic dignity and ideals of Afrikaner racial identity. Included in the collection are also portraits of South African Blackness, produced by and for Americans and a global market. In this way the photographs drew on the U.S. visual repertoire as they prefigured the future of race relations in South Africa. They then circulated in the United States, viewed and consumed in households and in educational institutions, bringing South African images to bear on United States racial realities. In their highly constructed and recreated scenes, they also lay the groundwork for future performed reenactments, most of all at the St. Louis World's fair in 1904, the subject of the next chapter.

The stereoscopic photograph is a double image intended to be viewed through a stereoscopic viewer. Two negatives are printed on gelatin paper and mounted on a small card 2.5 x 7 inches in size. Dating to the mid-nineteenth century, it was an early

technology of three-dimensionality creating the illusion that the viewer is in fact present in the scene (although there are those today who would argue it is not in fact an illusion after all). The early twentieth century Portuguese stereographer Alberto Barros e Castro observed, "With vision, we see twice the same object and the two images merge in the brain to form a purely sensorial third image."[1] In this way the stereoview simulates the eyes' own natural process of rendering depth, or stereopsis.[2] The stereoview was one of the dominant modes of visual image encounter for more than half a century, and the stereoviewer as a technology was nearly ubiquitous in middle and upper-class households in the United States in the nineteenth century.

Stereoscopes have typically been disregarded by scholars and critics as vernacular photography, or as mere entertainment for middle class women. Brian May, the guitarist and lyricist for the iconic rock band Queen, was also the director of the London Stereoscopic Company. May wrote a book on stereoscopes titled, *The Poor Man's Picture Gallery*, published in 2014. The title captures the misapprehension that stereography is "low-brow" and as a result less appreciated. Victor Flores observes that stereography is the neglected stepchild of photographic history, the "poor relation of photography for the past 150 years."[3] Douglas Heil is even more blunt: stereography is "photography's bastard offspring."[4]

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[1] Victor Flores, The Third Image: Stereoscopic Photography in Portugal (edited volume).
[2] Melody Davis, *Women's Views: The Narrative Stereograph in Nineteenth-Century America*, Nov edition (Durham, New Hampshire: New Hampshire, 2015), 1.
[3] Flores, Victor, ed., *A Terceira Imagem/The Third Image:Stereo Photography in Portugal* (Lisbon, 2016), 43.
[4] Douglas Heil, *The Art of Stereography: Rediscovering Vintage Three-Dimensional Images* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2017).

I retrieve the stereoviews' complexity here in order to show how at the turn of the century, they mediated understandings of Africa and the War for America and the West. The stereoscopic camera, a British and French technology, was therefore, in part, a colonizing tool that was well-suited to represent a sense of racial difference and otherness, this otherness shows up again and again in the images themselves. The stereoviews shaped Americans' understanding of race and class: refracted through South Africa, the images confirmed and extended American ideas about "the order of things", particularly the subordinate and subject status of Black people and their place within structures of white enclosure (*kraal* or *laager*, in Afrikaans). These ideas were already entrenched and circulating in America at the time of the war and so the South African photographs played powerfully on the American imagination. This chapter looks at the early circulation of the photographs, during the war and immediately after, for a global audience; from the origins of the collection itself to the place of South Africa and the war in the global, particularly American, imagination.[5]

Both the Boer War itself and the circulation of photographic images from the war strengthened and even solidified ties between whites in the US and in South Africa. The circulation of stereoscopes and reenactments contributed to the abundance of sympathy

[5] Individual collections of photographs were preserved and archived by the great grandchildren of British and South African participants in the war. These include Malcolm Riall's photographs, as compiled and published by his British grandson, *Boer War: The Letters, Diaries and Photographs of Malcolm Riall from the War in South Africa, 1899-1902* (Brasseys: London 2000). John Boje is an academic who worked in the heritage department in Pretoria. His four great-grandparents survived the war and lived the remainder of their lives in Bloemfontein, South Africa. Boje employs photography (including images from the Keystone-Mast) in his recent study, *An Imperfect Occupation: Enduring the South African War* (2015). Though Boje writes about the impact of the war on both blacks and whites his use of the selected images is one-dimensional and without critical reflection.

for the Boer cause globally, outside of the Commonwealth. Meanwhile, there was little overt government support, as few countries were willing to upset Britain: in fact no other government actively supported the Boer cause. Historian of the war, Donal Lowry writes, "The South African war was regarded from the outset by both the British and the Boers as a conflict fought for public opinion. By the last decade of the nineteenth century the telegraph and syndicated news agencies had globalized world news, making this the most publicized war waged outside Europe between the American Civil War and 1914."[6]

In fact, there was significant American presence in South Africa before the war. Americans labored in the Rand goldmines east of Johannesburg, many of these volunteered to fight once the war began. Americans also arrived to live in South Africa as entrepreneurs and businessmen, and participated in the South African mining industry at various levels. The wealthy American mining engineer John Hays Hammond (1855-1936) successfully managed Cecil Rhodes' mines in South Africa in the 1890s. Hammond planned the Jameson Raid, a failed British attack on the South African Republic. For his treachery Hammond and his coconspirators were arrested and sentenced to death, although Hammond was eventually released and removed from South Africa. Historian Van Onselen writes about Hammond in his aptly titled biography, *Cowboy Capitalism*.[7]

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[6] Donal Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester, England) (Manchester, UK ; New York : New York: Manchester University Press ; Distributed exclusively in the USA by St Martin's Press, 2000).

[7] Charles van Onselen. *The Cowboy Capitalist: John Hays Hammond, The American West and the Jameson Raid in South Africa*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2018.

The war was truly international, drawing young men from as far afield as Russia, the United States, Germany, France, Italy, Ireland, Canada, Greece, and Australia. During the war, there were individuals from several countries who volunteered and formed Foreign Volunteer Units. The influx of foreigners into the country began simultaneously with the war, and it continued thereafter at the rate of about four hundred men a month. None of the foreigners who served in the Boer army received any compensation. They were supplied with horses and equipment, at a cost to the Boer Governments and they received food, but no wages. Before a foreign volunteer was allowed to join a commando, and before he received his equipment, he was obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the Republic. A translation of it reads:

> *I hereby make an oath of solemn allegiance to the people of the South African Republic, and I declare my willingness to assist, with all my power, the burghers of this Republic in the war in which they are engaged. I further promise to obey the orders of those placed in authority according to law, and that I will work for nothing but the prosperity, the welfare, and the independence of the land and people of this Republic, so truly help me, God Almighty.*

Mercenaries usually fight for money. It would seem to me that these volunteers fought because they identified with the Boer war cause.

Americans fought on both sides as foreign volunteers. Fighting on the side of the Boers were the "American Scouts." In February of 1900, no less than fifty Americans arrived from Massachusetts to help the Boers.[8] Colonel John Young Filmore Blake, an Irish American from Missouri and graduate of West Point, served as colonel of the Boer

[8] Emanoel C. G Lee, *To the Bitter End: A Photographic History of the Boer War 1899-1902* (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2002), 54.

Irish Brigade. The Irish Brigades, led by Blake, "were famous for their skills in skirmishing and railway demolition."[9] In his memoir, *Westpointer with the Boer*s, published in 1903 in Boston, Blake describes how he served in the US calvary and fought in the Apache Wars in Arizona.[10] He drew on this experience in training his brigade. American experiences in the Indian Wars therefore shaped military strategies on the ground in South Africa, informing especially the famous Boer guerilla tactics".

American Frederick Russell Burnham (1861-1947) was one of the most highly decorated foreigners fighting on the side of the British, even awarded the U.K. Distinguished Service Order. Before enlisting, he had been working for the British South African Company, chartered by Cecil Rhodes. Burnham brought his distinctly American racial experience to South Africa: he was a white man born on the Dakota Sioux reservation and, like Blake, also fought in the Apache Wars. He was one of the founders of the international scouting movement, authoring the book, *Scouting on Two Continents* drawing on his experience as a scout in the United States and Africa. In the mid-1890s Burnham was part of the infamous and violent Shangani Patrol and fought in the Matabele War, compared to "Custer's last stand" and the Alamo in the United States. Burnham figured in an early reenactment of this war in the Savage South Africa exhibit at the UK World's Fair. Americans did not only photograph the war, they fought in it.

[9] David E Omissi, *The Impact of the South African War* (Basingstoke [u.a.: Palgrave, 2002), 274.
[10] Lee, *To the Bitter End*, 54.

Photographing the South African War

The Boer War created a new opportunity for photographers, many of them commissioned by Underwood & Underwood, to come to South Africa for the first time. They captured hundreds of scenes beyond the war itself.[11] Significantly, these stereographers, so called "glass-warriors", were mostly American, rather than British or European.[12] At the same time, I have identified several British, Canadian, and South African photographers at work in South Africa at the time: Horace Walter Nicholls, Reinhold Thiele, H C Shelley, Joseph and David Barnett, James Mason, Benjamin William Caney, William Laws Caney.[13] It remains to be determined if any of these contributed to the Underwood & Underwood collection but they constitute a cohort of photographers suggesting the photographic sensibilities of the time and place.

Emerging photographic technology, specifically the Kodak Brownie box camera and the Kodak folding camera made photographing war, in particular the South African War, easier than ever. The photographs were both commissioned and acquired by Underwood & Underwood. Underwood & Underwood packaged their images into collections and circulated these for a global market, in particular an American one. The

[11] William Culp Darrah, *World of Stereographs*, y First edition (Gettysburg, Pa: Natl Stereoscopic Assn, 1977), 133.
[12] Darrah, 149.
[13] For example, the Barnett brothers came to Johannesburg from Wales, and they started a photographic business in 1895. Both brothers obtained contracts with periodical publications like the illustrated London journal "Black & White". They contributed many photographs of the South African War to the British weekly. Today the collection is housed at Wits University. The photographs of Joseph and David Barnett cover the early years of Johannesburg, its buildings and streets; gold mining, mainly on the Witwatersrand, but also as far as Barberton; events like the Jameson Raid in 1895, the Matabele Rebellion in 1896, the Queen Victoria Jubilee in 1897, and the South African War (Anglo Boer War) in 1899-1902; as well as personalities like Cecil Rhodes and Paul Kruger.

Keystone View Company purchased the Underwood & Underwood negatives between 1915-20, which was acquired by the Mast Development Company in 1963. Both were American companies with a didactic as well as commercial purpose. The boxed sets of photographs were collected, packaged and distributed as a form of education and entertainment. In the early part of the twentieth century, these photographs were sold and circulated globally in various boxed sets. For me they are "texts in motion": mobile archives that circulated worldwide.[14]

Today, the boxed sets and copies of these photographs can be found across the world: at the Smithsonian and the Getty, at London's Imperial War Museum and the Anglo-Boer War Museum in South Africa, in the British Library and in private collections, and even for sale on eBay. The photographs moved in various iterations: as a set, a compendium, and as loose individual images. The California Museum of Photography (CMP) in Riverside, CA is the largest depository of stereoscopic photographs in the world. The CMP received the Keystone-Mast archive collection in its entirety, sometime after 1970, and their Keystone-Mast collection currently includes more than 350,000 images at present (250,000 glass plate and film negatives and 100,000 prints) and is growing. The Smithsonian has the second largest collection of stereoscopic images (25,000) including about 200 images of the South African War. The Boer War Museum in Bloemfontein, South Africa also has an extensive collection of archival material, including a collection of about 10,000 photographs. The museum's recently

[14] I presented a paper on this topic at the conference, "Texts in Motion: Materiality, Mobility, and Archiving in World History". Cambridge, UK. May 2018.

opened (December 2015) “Sol Plaatje Hall,” dedicated exclusively to Black involvement in the South African War, will be an object of study and theorization in the third chapter. Wits University, in Johannesburg houses the Barnett Collection of photographs.

In the process of my research, I catalogued and studied the entire collection of South African photographs at the CMP, including noting the label, number, and caption of each photograph. Less than half of the photographs designate the name of the photographer. Additional information, including description, is sometimes provided, handwritten on the back of the printed image, typed or handwritten (in pencil or pen) on the back of the prints. Written in various hands, these notes sometimes contain comments by people who have subsequently examined or studied the photographs. For some two hundred of the photographs directly related to the war I logged a brief description and analysis for each of them.

The South African photographs must be interpreted in relation to the larger Keystone Africa collection within which they are housed. The boxes dedicated to Africa are further subdivided, arranged by different subject matter and themes: “wildlife”, “cities”, “architecture”, “people”, “women”, “transportation”, “water boats”, “places”. One of the Africa boxes, with perhaps 300 or more photographs, is divided into five different countries: Kenya, Morocco, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and Somaliland. The collection related to Japan suggests the possibility of an interesting comparative for future reflection, particularly the Japanese-Russian War which happened just slightly after the Anglo-Boer War (1904). Also of comparative interest are the boxes on India and China, specifically the Boxer Rebellion. Along with the Egyptian photographs, the South

African materials are the largest within the Keystone-Mast Africa collection, housed in separate sets of boxes. South Africa occupies a disproportionately large place in the collection, a reflection no doubt of American and global interest. Three boxes in total are dedicated to South Africa[15]:

Box 1: South Africa: Cape of Good Hope, Durban, Swaziland, South Africa (602-04-01)

Box 2: South Africa: Boer War (602-04-02)

Box 3: South Africa: Zululand (602-04-03)

The photographs within Box 2, which primarily concerns the war and is labeled as such, are subdivided into 36 categories. These include a broad range of subjects, of nature, infrastructure, and people: "landscapes," "waterfalls," "transportation," "land," "railroad," "people," "men," "women," "brides and grooms", "women and children," "prominent people," "groups," "people making bread," "warriors," "war dances," and "miscellaneous".

The Power of the South African Stereoscope

Underwood & Underwood's stereoscopes of the South African war represented a significant visual encounter with Africa for Westerners in this period, shaping public perceptions. At the same time, the stereoscopes themselves already reflected American design and projection. Underwood commissioned their photographers to capture and

[15] The CMP has recently catalogued the entire collection—that is, they have created a list that includes the boxes with the various subdivisions by category. They have not yet catalogued or recorded most of the individual images.

produce particular content, the primary criteria were "action and novelty".[16] That is, they were produced by American photographers for dissemination to American audiences and others. Photographic history is a way of explicating ties between US and South Africa. These ties are corporate, economic, diplomatic but also racial and social.[17] The glass warriors brought their own preconceptions to their work. I read the war itself through the photographs as a set, partly in order to introduce the history of the war but more importantly to access these sorts of dynamics.

This collection of stereographic photographs is a largely unexamined, unstudied visual record of the first modern war on the African continent. One published article to date discusses the Boer War and the Underwood & Underwood collection: H.J. Erasmus, "The Underwood & Underwood Stereographs of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902," in the *South African Journal of Cultural History* (2012). Erasmus, a legal historian, does not consider race, trauma, memory, or subsequent circulation of the images-- topics I emphasize here.[18] Many larger questions remain. What stories can be told about the images when taken as a whole (the complete collection) and then in the curation of

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[16] Darrah, *World of Stereographs*.

[17] Thomas J. Noer, *Briton, Boer, and Yankee: The United States and South Africa, 1870-1914* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1978); Richard W. Hull, *American Enterprise in South Africa: Historical Dimensions of Engagement and Disengagement* (New York: University Press, 1990); Y. G.-M. Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa: A Critical Overview from the Colonial Period to the Present* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008); Adam Hochschild, *The Mirror at Midnight: A South African Journey* (Mariner Books, 2007); George M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study of American and South African History* (Oxford University Press, USA, 1981).

[18] A dissertation considers a related topic: "Film, Faking, and Propaganda: The Origins of the War Film 1897-1902," (Netherlands 2007) by Stephen Bottomore considers film rather than photographs. He discusses the Boer war as one of six wars and only addresses photographs as a lead in to talking about film. He does not discuss photography of the Boer War at length or in detail.

specific boxed sets through the selection of specific images to be included? What narrative do they present about the so-called South African War and South Africans? About race, whiteness, and Blackness? How did they represent or misrepresent the historical complexities of South Africa and the British Empire at the turn of the century? The images can also be placed in relation to other artistic representations of the war, including literary representations created during the conflict.

In curating the exhibition of South African Underwood & Underwood photographs at the CMP in 2013, *Flaws in the Diamond*, we worked to tell a complex story about South African history as revealed and narrated by the photographs. Drawing from all three South Africa boxes, the exhibition was structured around five movements. The first part draws on turn of the century photographs from the collection to consider what the country may have been like before the British and Dutch arrived, in the European imagination. The second movement introduces the major European players and the sources of conflict. The third series of photograph focuses on the conflict, the war itself. The fourth movement deals with the impact of the war and the resultant attitude of the British: the sense of suffering, pathos and Victorian sentimentality. The fifth and final movement shows the aftereffects of the war. The exhibition is framed overall by two intertextual representations of South African Blackness. The first photograph the museum visitor encounters is a posed photograph depicting Zulu warriors in all their martial splendor. (Figure1.1 warriors posed) We conclude the exhibition with a remarkable shot showing how these mighty warriors had been transformed into rikshaw drivers in the decade before Group Areas Act. No longer fierce, battle-hardened individuals, the

subject clothed in traditional dress is now rendered a glorified taxi driver by racial structures. At the bottom of the photograph, the label on the rikshaw reads, "For Europeans only". The final photograph thus suggests that the war was instrumental in shaping the future of modern South African race relations. I discuss these two photographs below in more depth, when I consider how Underwood & Underwood represented South African Blackness for an American audience.

Keystone's program for dissemination of stereoscopes was both didactic and ideological, selecting from existing prints, rather than producing new ones. Underwood & Underwood focused on door-to-door sales, marketing to individual families and households, and only somewhat more tentatively to institutions. Keystone-Mast, in contrast, focused on building up their education department, marketing their acquired collections aggressively to educational institutions. Keystone utilized the book-like boxed sets innovated by Underwood & Underwood, but "returned to the early practice of printing descriptive legends on the backs of the cards," whereas Underwood & Underwood had instead included a guidebook.[19] To legitimize its educational strategy, Keystone instituted a board of fifty-eight prominent educators (including Harvard faculty) charged to select the prints, write interpretive legends, etc.[20] They used this strategy to transform themselves into an unprecedented global, multinational educational machine circulating sets curated by American elite educators. They notably produced a 1000 image educational set with accompanying educational handbook. By 1920,

[19] Darrah, *World of Stereographs*, 49.
[20] Darrah, 49–50.

Keystone was the only major publisher of stereoscopes in the world, with offices in almost a dozen major global cities, Cape Town among them. This amounts to a so-called "image factory," to deploy Paul Frosh's term,[21] that contributed to the operation of racial attitudes, globally, including in South Africa and the United States. The Keystone photographs became and succeeded as "public photographs". Martha Sandweiss defines public photographs as "designed for widespread consumption and intended to pass into the hands of strangers. Most were made with an awareness of the marketplace, with a calculated attention to what would please a patron or appeal to a perspective buyer and reader."[22] The next chapter explores further the theme of educational photography and its role in racial projects.

It is noteworthy that the most brutal photographs of suffering in the war, especially in the concentration camps, such as those as taken by Emily Hobhouse, did not circulate in the Underwood & Underwood collection boxed sets. By its nature as public photography, they did not conform to Underwood's conventions of action and specificity. These omitted photographs, of children starving on their deathbeds for example, were among those that have been the most powerful for Afrikaners themselves: the narrative center of their interpretation of the war, centering their pain and victimhood. In a sense these images were "censored" by omission from the boxed sets. In this dissertation, especially chapter three, I shine a light on the similarities between the two post-conflict,

[21] Paul Frosh, *The Image Factory: Consumer Culture, Photography and the Visual Content Industry*, 1st ed., New Technologies/New Cultures Series (London ; New York: Berg, 2003); Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
[22] Gleason quoting Sandweiss.

post-civil war societies, the US and South Africa, and in writing about how the war changed or continues to impact both post-colonies, united by the idea of suffering. Drew Faust's, *This Republic of Suffering*, analyzes how the Civil War and its trauma, in particular the experience and memory of death, transformed the United States into a "republic of suffering".[23] The Afrikaner Boer Republics might similarly be understood as Republics of Suffering. In both contexts, suffering becomes part of their white identity.

The success of Keystone's program was predicated on how the photographs were selected and sold but also on the nature of the image itself, as CMP director Leah Gleason explains in her study of how the Keystone-Mast photographs were consumed. For Gleason, the success of the stereoviews rests on their immersive impact but also the criteria of emotional appeal, and an "aspirational element": "I argue that aspiration was a key factor in creating and satisfying the rampant demand for Keystone's stereographs."[24]

I argue that the photographs were "entertaining" for middle class white Americans also because they the deployed racial tropes and images that were already popular in the American mind. The ground had already been salted. There are many comparisons of racial histories in the US and South Africa, but they have not often looked at the connection between visual economies and cultures for this period. When they have done so, these works have situated these connections much more recently in history, exploring the transnational appeal of South African culture and the appeal of US visual culture in South Africa deeper into the twentieth century. For example, in

[23] Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*, Reprint edition (New York: Vintage, 2009).
[24] Gleason, pg 11.

Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond Rob Nixon discusses the mutual fascination and entanglements between the two countries and relates this to the anti-apartheid struggle. John Krabil, in *Starring Mandela and Crosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid*, has a chapter that interrogates how at the height of apartheid in South Africa, the Cosby show occupied a unique position of popularity. "Living with the Huxtables in a State of Emergency" explores the mass appeal of the show in a country that was predicated on the idea that blacks are not middle class.

The point that I am making is that a transnational narrative is being enacted much earlier, enacted, produced and consumed, between South Africa and the United States. There is a racial, political, and visual intimacy between the two nations, strengthening and reiterating each another that dates to at least the nineteenth century. The South African stereoscopes underscore the "discourse of intimate distance", the idea of proxemics: how human beings use space in their interactions. This applies to stereoscopes in so far as they suggest a virtual reality of intimate space.

The technology of the stereoscope is particularly powerful as a racial technology in that they allowed the viewer to enter into a three-dimensional scene, a moment of particular history crystalized within a frame. In her gendered interpretation of stereography in nineteenth century America, Melody Davis describes the experience powerfully, "It is capable of inducing an extended and high-keyed absorption, and the longer one views the more space blooms, with a groundless sense of being in medias res in a scene with a photographic surfeit of detail."[25] "The stereoviews asks from us

[25] Davis, *Women's Views*, 6.

something more complicated [than two dimensional photography]—to visually enter a space that we participate in constructing…"[26] In 1861, supreme court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes recorded the nearly mystical experience of looking through the stereoviewer: "Perhaps there is also some half-magnetic effect in the fixing of the eyes on the twin pictures… a dream-like exaltation of the faculties, a kind of clairvoyance, in which we seem to leave the body behind us and sail away into one strange scene after another, like disembodied spirits."[27] Embodiment and disembodiment—here as well as in reenactment. This experience adds to the stereoscopes power, albeit soft power, to create and sustain a narrative. Museums have a similar kind of soft power. Speaking of gender "The artificial real allowed the stereoview to balance truthful appearance with fiction, and fiction allowed the construct to cut closer to the bone regarding the truth of gender roles."[28] With reference to South Africa, the stereoviews similarly "cut closer to the bone" regarding the truth of race.

Boer Generals in Three Dimensions: Portraits of Afrikaner Whiteness

Here I examine how the war itself and the photographic images and their subsequent use generate, shape, and define the particularity of whiteness in South Africa. Some of the most iconic South African War stereoviews from the Underwood & Underwood collection are images of whites, in particular Afrikaners: vanquished yet always dignified. Here are represented vulnerability and also power with the capacity to

[26] Davis, 7.
[27] As quoted by Davis, 7.
[28] Davis, 8.

generate simultaneously respect and sympathy. Among these are images of women and domestic life, soldiers on and off battlefields, scenes of surrender and displacement, and portraits of Boer generals and political leaders.

One of the iconic stereoscopes of the Boer War features three ex-commandant generals, Louis Botha, Christiaan de Wet, Jacobus ("Koos") Herculaas de la Rey of the Boer forces. [Image 2: Boer Generals] The war had just concluded, British victory finalized, and the Boer generals and their enterprise defeated. Nonetheless here we see the defeated generals positioning themselves for global influence. Indeed, Boer generals held sway over the American imagination. Botha is seated on the right, dressed in military style jacket, though not in uniform. He is man who captured Winston Churchill in November 1899 (according to Churchill's own telling) when he was a war correspondent in South Africa. De Wet sits on the left, and De la Rey is standing. De le Rey, more than any other Afrikaner in this period embodies the mythology of the Afrikaner hero. For some he was heroic because he fought even when he felt the Boer struggle against the British was destined to fail, and most of all because he refused to surrender (a so-called "*bittereinder*", or bitter ender in English). I will return to De la Rey in the following chapter.

The men are posed in front of a natural backdrop, the frame of which is conspicuously visible in the image on the right. De Wet gazes off camera but De la Rey stares intently at the viewer. In a portrait such a direct stare can symbolize honesty, dignity, strength. The men are positioned as heroes. The photograph was taken on the eve of a global tour to raise funds for rebuilding and reconstructing post-war South Africa

with the Boer community especially in mind. On July 30, 1902, the *New York Times* reported that Botha, De Wet, and De la Rey were preparing to travel to England, the United States, and Canada to "raise funds for the widows and orphans of Boer soldiers… receiving an ovation at the University of Stellenbosch" (the Afrikaner university in the Western Cape) on July 29. The headline announced, "Boer Leaders Coming here: Botha and De la Rey to visit America".[29] The South African War was a crusade to propagate their vision for society: the Afrikaners wanted control over land and resources (gold and diamonds) but also over black labor, and the British had been interfering. This effort continued, even escalated, after the war itself was lost.

We can ask, what work does this do in prefiguring segregated apartheid south Africa? The soliciting of funds is toward the reconstruction--and more to the point, construction-- of white South Africa. The generals' primary interest was the protection and projection of Afrikaner identity. The photograph documents the historic and cultural beginning of molding the Afrikaner community on a global stage, the process through which it raised their status as a protected minority and beyond, as a distinct ethnic group.

Here the viewer encounters the defeated Boer generals in three dimensions. The stereoscope is put to work at their service. The power of the stereoscopic encounter is that viewer is cut off from their immediate physical surrounding and transported in media res, here brought dramatically into the generals' powerful presence. This dynamic, inherent in the encounter of the viewer with the image, is even more pronounced in a stereoview

[29] Another General, Cronje met the three generals on the day they left but they snubbed him because he surrendered.

because the viewer is transported into the reality of the subject, a sort of virtual reality. The psychological force of the image is enhanced by the stereoview. Playing with the distance, contact, and presence, the stereoview is at once optic, haptic, and linguistic. The viewer sees the image, touches it, and reads the imprinted text. In these three ways the affective appeal is enhanced, and the generals come to life in parlors and classrooms across America.

For the American audience, the image of the generals must have resonated profoundly. They were already familiar with this type of portraiture and representation. The photograph elevates the generals to heroic, iconic status: despite their epic loss, they are champions, nonetheless. While they may be regarded as the underdogs, routed in war, these images enhance their reputation, adding moral weight to their identity and increasing their stature not just as icons but as image bearers of Afrikaner masculinity. There is then also a class-based dimension to the portrait: these men are not mere farmers, they come across as respectable, educated. Looking back, we would say that they are profoundly "middle class".

Here emerges into sharper focus the theme of modernity and the founding of modern South Africa. Afrikaners wanted to display their modernity and also safeguard their identity. And so modern South Africa is founded on a racialized understanding of modernity captured in these photographs. In one interpretation, the photographs in question represent a post-industrial society coming into its own and how this plays out in the emphasis on race and class relations as depicted in these images. Underwood and Keystone were not particularly interested in depicting the demerits of industrialization—

but rather emphasized the war and its documentation as a sign of modernity. In a sense the photographs obscure in as much as they highlight the modern-- modernity is being hidden not so much from the subjects of the photographs themselves, but rather from the American audience.[3031] Yet, reading them against the grain, these images were a way to argue the disadvantages of industrialization and the development of modernity.[32]

The stereoview of the generals surely had an immediate resonance with the Civil War for a white Southern audience. These meanings are evident when the Boer photograph is juxtaposed with similar representations of defeated U.S. confederate generals, manifesting something of the same psychological force: their intensity, masculine power, and iconicity, even in the midst of humiliating defeat. In both cases, portrait conventions underscore the subjects' reputation and status. There are strong associative links to the Civil War. Compare for example a non-stereographic portrait of Robert E. Lee, taken by photographer Matthew Brady at Lee's Richmond home one week after the surrender at Appomattox. (Figure 1.3: Confederate general) Lee is seated, with his aid, Colonel Walter Taylor standing at his right, and his eldest son on his left. This is the last time Lee was photographed in his military uniform. Both the South African and the U.S. image presage the ideology of the "Lost Cause," a term that originates from Edward Pollard's 1866 book of that title, subsequently evoked in Viljoen's *Romance of a*

[30] *Forgeries of Memory;* and see also Anna Everett's book on race and new visual technology: Anna Everett, *Digital Diaspora: A Race for Cyberspace* (Albany: Suny Press, 2009).
[31] Jason Weems, personal communication.
[32] Donal Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised*, 2000.

Lost Cause.[33] As a revisionist interpretation of the Civil War, the idea of "Lost Cause" first "emerged as a mood of traumatized defeat,"[34] and then evolved to justify or attempt to redeem the position of the Confederacy by arguing that their cause was heroic and not centered on slavery. Following South African feminist and postcolonial theorist Pumla Dineo Gqola, white supremacy in South Africa was also premised on slavery, preserved in memory and shaping contemporary South Africa.[35] Black freedom was also at stake and at issue in the Boer War. Comparing these photographs, one stereoscopic and the other two dimensional, reveals that the narrative of the Lost Cause was buoyed by affective and visual economies of the South African stereoscopes. The narrative of the Lost Cause is not just an American narrative, but here manifests as a global one.

Some of the purpose of the Boer general and General Lee photographs is revealed in the iconic portrait by Alexander Gardner, his iconic photograph of Abraham Lincoln taken in 1863. [Figure 4: Lincoln] Note the posture, eye contact, the light on the subject's forehead, indicating intelligence and thoughtful reflection. This image has been interpreted as photographic realism, an example of "straight photography": documentary and indexical, as opposed to constructed or staged photography:

> These include various ways of making the image correspond with the reputation and status of the sitter. He appears in the portrait as a mature man who knows the world. His posture is erect and he makes direct eye contact with the viewer. Light catches his forehead in a way that conveys intelligence and thoughtful reflection. It is a construction of iconic dignity and statesmanship. These are

[33] Benjamin Johannis Viljoen, *Under the Vierkleur; a Romance of a Lost Cause,* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1904), http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.FIG:003731304.
[34] https://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/europe-in-1989-america-in-2020-and-the-death-of-the-lost-cause
[35] Pumla Dineo Gqola, *What Is Slavery to Me?: Post-Colonial Memory and the Post-Apartheid Imagination* (Witwatersrand University Press, 2010).

> rhetorical devices well known to the portrait artist and yet despite its staged effect the psychological force of the image resides in the knowledge that Lincoln was *there* in front of the camera and now appears to us a manifestation of the man rather than a mere picture." [36]

A final image is worthy of consideration here. A 1901 stereoscope that circulated widely in the boxed sets, "The Parting," shows a Boer soldier preparing to leave his family to fight. (Figure 1. 5: The Parting) A soldier, gun in hand, comforts his wife while his daughter clings to him. Behind on to his left, his father comforts his weeping mother. In the background, a Black servant packs his bag. Here are represented Afrikaner courage and sacrifice: it is a powerfully staged portrait of family mourning. Notably, a formal, framed portrait hangs on the wall behind the family. The theme of the photograph of "The Parting" is even referenced in a subsequent statue installed at the War Museum of the Boer Republics, in which a solider reaches down to his wife from his horse, similarly titled "The Parting".

Thinking Through Portraits of Afrikaner Whiteness

Political Scientist Tiffany Willoughby-Herard's recent book, *Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability* (UC 2015), describes how the South African state colluded with international philanthropic organizations, like the Carnegie Commission and other international bodies, to make whiteness and in particular poor whites in South Africa equal to blacks in the post-war moment. She demonstrates how vulnerable whiteness in Africa "was deployed in theater,

[36] Peter Smith and Carolyn Lefley, *Rethinking Photography: Histories, Theories and Education*, 1st edition (New York: Routledge, 2015), 77–78.

early cinema, political cartoons, and ethnographic photography".[37] In a sense we can say that the war created an opportunity for this sort of maneuver. In conflating whiteness with blackness, they succeeded in giving to whiteness (poor whiteness) the appearance of an ethnic identity. This ethnic identity, as identified by Afrikaners, was thus used as a pretext for separate development. This Afrikaner ethnic identity, an entirely fictitious creation, was used as a basis for Afrikaner nationalism: this white identity needed to be protected and encouraged to develop as separate from (as well as legitimate to) other ethnic identities in South Africa and globally.

In the South African context, Melissa Steyn defines whiteness as, "…an ideologically supported social positionality that has accrued to people of European descent as a consequence of the economic and political advantage gained during and subsequent to European colonial expansion." And again; "whiteness is the shared social space in which the psychological, cultural, political, and economical dimensions of this privileged dimensionality are normalized, and rendered unremarkable."[38] Whiteness studies, based in the U.S. and U.K., has asserted that a central component of western whiteness is its invisibility. The purpose of the field of "whiteness studies" itself is to make this invisibility obvious and thus lays it bare to critical interrogation and discipline. Omi and Winant's classic text, *Whiteness Formation in the United States* (1994) served to render whiteness visible and thereby called into question racism on a global scale.

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[37] Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability*, 1 edition (University of California Press, 2015). Ch. 2.
[38] Melissa Steyn, *"Whiteness Isn't What it Used to Be"" White Identity in a Changing South Africa* (SUNY, 2001).

While whiteness in South Africa, most scholars agree, represents the most extreme form of white supremacy, it differs from other conception of whiteness with respect to visibility/invisibility. According to Steyn, white South Africans during the Apartheid era always knew they were racialized and white South Africans "never experienced their whiteness and the advantages it afforded them as invisible." Willoughby-Herard agrees:

> Thus, whiteness scholars recover white agency and responsibility by making white complicity with structures of inequality tangible. But what if the relationship between white privilege and non-white disadvantage is actually utterly visible, tangible, and subject to constant comment and critical inquiry… In contrast to Richard Dyer and George Lipsitz, I would argue that whiteness is visible, because it is scrutinized by nonwhites and contested by "lesser whites".[39]

The construction of whiteness may also be distinct in South Africa with respect to the nature of its particular settler colonialism: South Africa possessed a different demographic: it is one of the settler societies where a small minority held sway, dominating the large majority. The question is, what becomes of whiteness in the new postcolonial state.

Whites in South Africa have a shared narrative of suffering in common with other diasporic conditions. Contrary to other diasporic communities/individuals, white South Africans are distinguished by their range of choices, options and access to resources; they can move, travel and relocate with comparative ease and they have more choice in deciding how much "Africanness" how much "Europeaness" they want to embrace in their white South African identity. Perhaps South African whiteness has always been

[39] Willoughby-Herard, 498)

marked by hybridity. The Dutch renamed themselves, they called themselves "Afrikaners", appropriating the creolized language of the Khoi and the slaves of the Cape and made it their own, calling it Afrikaans. Whiteness in South Africa has had to refashion its identity both in the old and now even more so in the new. In South Africa whiteness was never pure, it was always hybridized. As Willoughby-Herard concludes, "To perpetuate the idea of these ethnic spaces is to repeat a dangerous mythology of grand apartheid. However, Afrikaner identity was seized upon as a useful political identity to make a claim that a type of racial or cultural or ethnic or linguistic homogeneity existed among these people when it never did exist."[40] Whiteness is an imaginary identity in the vein of Benedict Arnold's "imagined community" and Salman Rushdie's "imaginary homelands".

The Afrikaners who appear in these iconic photographs, with their origins in Europe, share European ideas of what photographs mean, how to look at them, and how to arrange themselves in Victorian poses. Afrikaners were perceived by the British as being uneducated, unsophisticated, and uncivilized ("white Africans") and the genre of the portrait captures their aspirational desire to be both middle class and modern.

Thus, these images undergird the defense and the growth of Afrikaner nationalism, the desire to hang onto how things were operating in the Boer Republics in a way that is similar to the American republic, but it is within that social order, that enclosure, that blacks occupied a specific place of non-being.

[40] *Waste of a White Skin*, 483.

Reading Photographs of the Colonized Subject: Portraits of "Blackness"

The stereoviews of Blacks, Coloureds, and diverse Africans in the Underwood & Underwood South African collection include images of "African warriors" in "traditional" dress, "half-caste" women, "rickshaw boys," Indian "stretcher bearers," "Zulu warrior chief," "home of a kaffir family," and "Cape Malays" at their vegetable shop in a suburb outside of Cape Town, for example. Most of these photographs are highly stylized and composed to conform to a western audiences' perceptions of Black Africans (Figure 1. 6: Zulu Belle, Figure 1. 7: Zulu Chief) In the photograph that opened our exhibition, "A Zulu Rush", several armed warriors pose burnishing spears. The Zulus were a formable military power, even at the turn of the century. Their highly disciplined and mobile regiments, armed with short stabbing spears, periodically defeated both the Boers and the British. In 1879, they overran 1300 Imperial troops. During the 1899-1902 war, both sides were anxious about possible Zulu military intervention. Although the Zulu nation remained neutral throughout, numerous individuals joined the conflict as laborers and scouts.

The Underwood & Underwood images of Black people directly related to the War are few and far between. The image of the Black servant in the photograph "The Parting" is crouched, faceless and nearly invisible. One of the most candid stereoview images of Blacks in the war is a photograph of refugees from the siege at Kimberley, where 134 soldiers died in battle, along with 1500 civilians, mostly Black Africans, who lost their lives to hunger. The photograph shows an extended family, well dressed, sheltering in a

train carriage. This family presumably escaped the fate of the concentration camp where most were relocated after the siege. (Figure 1. 8: Black Refugees from Kimberley)

Another stereoview image that circled suggests the way that enclosure was also a modern labor practice at the turn of the century. An image of African laborers at "rest" at the walled De Beers Diamon Mining compound in Kimberley shows the rudimentary security apparatus that confined them. Because laborers moved between their villages and the cities, mine owners required a six-month contract that prohibited them from leaving the compound. The owners were vigilant about smuggling, and the men were strip searched on their departure. In this photograph is visible the wire mesh that also prevented packages with diamonds being thrown over the wall. (Figure 1. 9: Enclosure of Diamond Mine works).

In thinking about how to engage photography in the history of South Africa I draw inspiration from several similar works published mostly in the last decade. These works use photography to talk about race and colonialism in a variety of contexts including Australia, Mexico, South American Andes, the American Navajo, and African American experience and they offer strategies for how I approach the material. There is also an established field of study of the history of photography in Africa as well as historians who use photographs to write about African history.[41] These resources help me

[41] Among the many important works on the history of photography in Africa are Christraud Geary, *Images from Bamum, German colonial Photography at the Court of King Nyoja, Cameroon, West Africa, 1902-1915* (National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (1988); Christraud Geary, "Different Visions? Postcards from Africa by European and African Photographers and Sponsors," in *Delivering Views: Distance Cultures in Early Postcard*s, ed. Christraud Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb (Washington DC, 1998). Paul Landau and Deborah Kaspin, eds. *Images and Empires, Visuality in colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (UC Press 2002); A.D. Bensusan. *Silver Images: The History of Photography in Africa*,

in thinking about how to read and write about the Underwood & Underwood photographs.

Leigh Raiford, in "Photograph and the Practices of Critical Black Memory," *History and Theory* (2009), offers a theoretical strategy for thinking about photography, race, and traumatic memory. She argues that photography holds the memory of the African American past and is also a reflection of their present. She asks how they cope as a people who have a long memory, specifically a long memory of mistreatment including lynching and death. Photography enables African Americans to engage in what Raiford calls a critical black memory. Raiford takes the title of her book on this subject from Martin Luther King Jr.s' observation of photography, "we are imprisoned in a luminous glare." She engages photography both as a technology of subjugation and as a tool of liberation. She approaches this topic from three sites of interrogation: black memory, the black body, and the black eye.

Another important model or template for my dissertation is Deborah Poole's book, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: 1997). In her study of photographs and lithographs of indigenous Andeans in the 19th and 20th centuries, Poole prefers the concept of visual economy over visual culture and writes that visual economy suggests that "that the field of vision is organized

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(Cape Town 1966); Vera Vidtz-Ward, "Photography in Sierra Leone 1850-1918," *Africa* LVII/r (1987); Stephen Sprague. "Yoruba Photography: How the Yoruba see Themselves," *African Arts*, XII, no. 1 (1978) 52-9, 107; Daid Killingray and Andrew Roberts. "An Outline History of Photography in Africa to ca. 1940," in *History of Africa: A Journal of Method*, XVI/1 (1989): 197-208; Hartmann Wolfram and Patricia Hayes and Jeremy Silvester, eds, *The Colonising Camera: Photos in the Making of Namibian History* (Cape Town 1998); Richard Vokes, ed, *Photography in Africa: Ethnographic Perspectives* (James Currey 2012).

in a systematic way…[having] as much to do with social relationships, inequality, and power as with shared meanings and community."[42] Likewise, I look at how the South African images were produced, who produced them (a focus both on the individuals and the institutions), and the specific technologies that produced and publicized them. Poole observes the way that the Andean photographs have a use and exchange value as commodities. She assesses the apparatus, the "cultural and discursive systems through which graphic images are appraised, interpreted and assigned historical, scientific, and aesthetic worth."[43]

It is a limited understanding of visuality to argue that the camera is only a colonialist tool, in a Foucauldian sense, managing, containing and regulating people's identities. When you consider the image's exchange value, following Poole, the subject being photographed also has some agency. Poole writes about a visual economy based on exchange and referral. Hers is a "relational notion of vision."[44] The subject participates in the visual economy: they are not simply passive subjects and this "underlines the lie of the silent, indigenous subject".[45] Tausig emphasizes, for Poole, "the impulses radiating from each side of the colonial divide."[46] Like Poole, I ask "what role colonial images played in the consolidation of the visual and racial discourses that formed the heart of European modernity?"

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[42] Poole, 8-10.
[43] Poole, 8-10.
[44] Poole, 219.
[45] Poole cites Michael Tausig's *Mimesis and Alterity* (Routledge, 1993). She also Poole cites Gary Urton who writes about the "the perils of assuming a 'silent indigenous subject' in even the most repressive sorts of 19th century photograph'" (Poole, 219 ftnt 30).
[46] Poole, 219, ft 30.

The colonized subject is also an observer who engages and talks back to the camera. This idea is echoed by scholars writing on indigenous people in Australia, for example discussed in Jane Lydon's book, *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians*. Lydon explores how indigenous people had a particular understanding of what the photographs were going to do and they used it to their advantage. Even while the photographer positions their subject's body, the person being photographed may show their agency by looking away from the camera. In Lydon's example, in the case of the Maori they will not look at or face the camera and resist doing so for cultural reasons. In my study of the photographs of South African black and indigenous people that appear in the Underwood & Underwood collection, even as the photographer desires to objectify their subject, a bare-chested woman arranged in a seductive pose, their facial expression still shows their agency. In a different setting, you can see that the same woman has a different attitude toward the camera. An important comparison is also the collection of photographs of the Navajo. James Faris argues that these 19th and 20th century photographs represent western rather than Navajo reality.[47]

One line of research and interpretation for my project is to trace the appearance and reuse of particular, iconic photographs of the War over time. Widely circulated and reproduced portraits such as these lend themselves to this use. In the United States context, the most republished photograph is Dorothea Lange's, "Migrant Mother". In a similar vein, Andrea Noble writes about icons of the Mexican Revolution in her book,

[47] James Faris, *Navajo and Photography: A Critical History of Representation of an American People* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

Photography and Memory in Mexico.[48] Noble, who follows W.J.T. Mitchell in writing about the lives of photographs in the social imaginary, explores the iconic use of Emiliano Zapata's image.[49] These images recirculate because different contexts (historical and political) produce different meanings—this is the path to iconicity.

Stereoscopes as Reenactment

Photography is regulative. As racial visual culture, the stereoviews in question are, in a sense, a forgery of memory, in the words of Cedric Robinson.[50] That is to say, these photographs to a certain extent reflect a false memory. I take seemingly "static" or "false" images as a depiction of South Africa and the horrors of war and also read them as a hidden story of South Africa from the vantage point of its subsequent history: beyond their Victorian sentimentally and pathos to the indigenous people, to the many players and actors in the war. The stereoview conduces reenactment. In the first place because photography is already a construction or reconstruction of reality: photography is a kind of theater of enactment. Notably, the South African images are mostly constructed and posed. The stereoview is also by its very nature immersive. The argument here is that these performed and immersive images further strengthened the war's capacity to shape race relations in modern South Africa, often refracted through an American lens.

[48] Andrea Noble, *Photography and Memory in Mexico: Icons of Revolution* (New York, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).
[49] WJT Mitchell, *Iconology, Image, Text Ideology* (Chicago, 1986). See also, Elizabeth Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
[50] Cedric Robinson, *Forgeries of Memory and Meaning*, 2007.

Three particular images reveal the reenacted, constructed nature of the photographs: "The Worcestershire (or Worcesters) Regiment," "The Last Drop", and "The Suffolk Regiment" (restaged night assault). These capture the literal reenactment of battle scenes for purposes of photography. The creative process is inherent to photography: the process of constructing an image within a frame. The dismissal of stereoviews as reconstructed is therefore out of place. Photography is already reenactment; it is already theater and performance.[51] The first of the composed and constructed war images is a recreation of a bitter encounter on February 12-13, 1900, when the British regiment came under attack from De la Rey's troops. (Figure 1.10: Worcestershires). The Boers seized half their position, but the Worcestershires stood their ground and ultimately pushed the Boers off the hill. "The Last Drop," is a photographic tableau in which a grieving soldier comforts his dying comrade with his last drop of water. (Figure 1.11: The Last Drop) The careful placement of no less than five other bodies around the central pair emphasized the brutal reality of war even as it conformed to the conventions of Victorian sentimentality.

Some have considered the photographs of the Boer war to be lesser in quality than those produced four decades earlier in the American Civil War, precisely because they

[51] Vince Aletti and Louise Neri, *Settings and Players - Theatrical Ambiguity in American Photography*, 1st edition (London: White Cube, 2001); Michèle Thériault and France Choinière, *Point & Shoot: Performance and Photography*, Essais (Dazibao (Art Gallery)) (Montréal: Dazibao, 2005); Penny Cousineau-Levine, *Faking Death: Canadian Art Photography and the Canadian Imagination* (Montreal: MQUP, 2003); Kathleen A. Edwards, *Acting Out: Invented Melodrama In Contemporary Photography* (Iowa City, IA: University of Washington Press, 2005); Michael Köhler et al., *Constructed Realities: The Art of Staged Photography* (Kilchberg/Zurich, Switzerland: Edition Stemmle, 1995); Anne H. Hoy, *Fabrications: Staged, Altered, and Appropriated Photographs*, 1st edition (New York: Abbeville Pr, 1988).

were of a more constructed, less documentary, nature. Considering that many Civil War photographs documented the large numbers of casualties and the dead, Emanoel Lee criticizes the contrived weakness of the South African Boer War stereoscopes:

> It was a failure of style rather than equipment. Most photographers had been trained before the introduction of high-speed materials. They arranged scenes into pictures which combined the disadvantages of a static image with great clarity of detail. The crude strength of their predecessor's images was replaced by innumerable distant panoramas with frozen groups of men in the foreground… The dead were hardly ever photographed. Their war-images seem embalmed in nineteenth-century heroic rhetoric…. Stereoscopic photographs of an 'engagement' show 'dead soldiers' draped carefully over suitable rocks. There are no signs of injury and in the heat the veins of their dangling arms stand out sharply in three dimensions, full of living blood flowing back to a beating heart.[52]

As they are already reenactments, the stereoscopes lend themselves easily to subsequent reenactment performances. This is the topic of the next chapter.

[52] Lee, *To the Bitter End*, 4–5.

Chapter 2:
Boer War Reenactment at the St. Louis World Fair: From Stereoview to Reenactment Libretto-Reenactment-Spectacle

"All the worlds a stage."
Shakespeare

The previous chapter explored the circulation of Boer War stereoviews for a global and American audience. I arrive in this chapter at a discussion of the second afterlife of the Boer War: the visual performative representation of the Anglo-Boer War in the United States. Of central concern is the reenactment of the South African-Boer War at the St. Louis World's Fair, or Louisiana Purchase Exhibition, in 1904. The large-scale reenactment was one of the most popular exhibits at the fair: its run was extended, and it was the highest grossing military concession at the fair. (Figure 2.1: Libretto) The exhibition was organized and produced by an American touring company, the South African Boer War Exhibition Company, the brainchild of Missourian Walter Lewis, himself a veteran of the war fighting on the side of the British. The performance was grueling, with the three-hour show running twice a day. Directed by showman Frank E. Fillis, South Africa's equivalent of PT Barnum, the St. Louis reenactment involved the recruitment of some five hundred white South Africans, both Afrikaner and British, and as many as fifty Black South Africans who travelled to the United States to reenact the war for a U.S. audience. The various related performances included more than five hundred horses and played out upon a stage of almost fifteen acres. The battles were reenacted twice a day against a background of reimagined and reconstructed South

African racial and ethnic landscapes, including African villages with costumed and posed Black South African actors. The price of admission was 25 cents, with box seats at $1.00 apiece.[1] Underwood & Underwood, who so carefully documented the real South African Boer War, also photographed the war reenactment in St. Louis, although they were not specifically contracted to do so. After the conclusion of the fair, the Boer War Company traveled independently through the American south, and then eventually to Coney Island, where the cast expanded to 1000 members ("more veterans, more kaffirs, more animals" *NYT* 1905).[2] Even so, this is where the traveling show's run ultimately ended, an economic failure, with actors' salaries unpaid.[3]

Many of the reenactors were recruited from among actual veterans of the Boer War, soldiers who then wore their original uniforms and brandished their original weapons. Even more surprising, two defeated Afrikaner generals and former prisoners of war participated as reenactors: General Piet Cronje and Benjamin Viljoen "commanding the Boer veterans against the British troops."[4] The exiled general Viljoen also served as President of the South African Boer War Exhibition Company and occasionally, it seems, as the general narrator for the performance. While in fact they lost the war, subject to humbling defeat, the St. Louis performance portrayed the Boers as heroes. The

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[1] http://atthefair.homestead.com/pkeatt/Boer.html

[2] "Boer War Spectacle, Coney Island's Newest Show," *The New York Times*, May 21, 1905, sec. Archives, https://www.nytimes.com/1905/05/21/archives/boer-war-spectacle-coney-islands-newest-show.html.

[3] The St. Louis reenactment has been treated in passing by a small handful of historians of the Fair, discussed here. The most substantive treatment is Jennie Sutton, "'Transvaal Spectacles': South African Visions at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair," *Safundi (Nashville, Tenn.)* 8, no. 3 (2007): 271–87, https://doi.org/10.1080/17533170701478381.

[4] *Frank Fillis: "Anglo-Boer War - Historical Libretto" (1904 St. Louis World's Fair) - Giclee Fine Art Print*, n.d.

reenactment used three tableaus, presenting a sort of revisionist history. The first depicted an historical Boer victory, at the Battle of the Colenso (December 1899). The second represented the Afrikaner defeat at the battle of Paardeberg, and the surrender of General Cronje. The final scene was not, as we might expect, a reenactment of the signing of the peace treaty following the defeat of the Boers, but rather the last scene showed a fantastic, heroic escape of one of the Boer heroes, General Christiaan de Wet, played by James "Jimmy" Findlater Byth. Findlater, the reenactor, was a war correspondent in South Africa during the war and a roommate of Eugene O'Neill and an inspiration for several of O'Neill's characters, most notably in *The Iceman Cometh*.[5] who was himself never captured, offering a sort of alternative ending. The final, semi-fictional scene brought to life the fantasy getaway of General De Wet with a dramatic thirty-five-foot leap from a burning building astride his faithful steed. The scene was, of course, captured in stereoscope (Figure 2.2: De Wet's escape). The fair audience for the reenactment was clearly meant to identify with the Boers, not with the ultimately triumphant British. The very title suggests where the audience's sympathies should lie. However, underneath the history of the defeat of white, Boer soldiers, and the shame of the vanquished generals, loomed.

There are three key themes or theses that emerge in this chapter. The first explores the relationship between photography and reenactment as modern technologies

[5] Robert M. Dowling, "'Jimmy Tomorrow' Revisited: New Sources for The Iceman Cometh</Em>," *The Eugene O'Neill Review* 35, no. 1 (2014): 94–106, https://doi.org/10.5325/eugeoneirevi.35.1.0094; Julie M Gram, "'Tomorrow': From Whence 'The Iceman Cometh,'" *The Eugene O'Neill Review* 15, no. 1 (1991): 79–92.

of performance. I consider the role of stereoscopes and photography in decoding the past, but also the related use of reenactment, which occupies a marginal but growing area of study within the academy—understood here as a form of vernacular history. I show how the St. Louis exhibition's performance of South African racial conflicts transgressed or exceeded the photographic and reenactment frames, or enclosures, that were meant to contain it, considering the escape of Black South African reenactors who became fugitives from the Boer enclosure in the city of St. Louis. The second follows the figure of Ben Viljoen as a vanquished general to probe the idea of exiled and defeated Afrikaners and their unsettled whiteness. This allows a consideration of Afrikaner shame and displacement in which lie the origins of Afrikaner nationalism. Here I also suggest that the shame of Boer defeat presages, or we could say "stages", the future displacement of white Afrikaners almost a century later, in the 1994 political displacement in the emerging post racial South Africa. The third is about why the performance of shame and displacement resonated so deeply with white American audiences during this time, tying into the US Civil war and the reconstruction and post-reconstruction periods. Here the reenactment similarly presages and "stages" future relationships between US and South Africa, between which there is a long history of racial resonances. These resonances and linkages speak to a larger global narrative of the nature of traumatic memory in post-conflict societies. This chapter then concludes by returning to the idea of reenactment in contemporary, post-Apartheid South Africa as a mode of engaging with and reckoning with the past.

Studies of World's Fairs have focused on the way that they have served toward cultural hegemony, underscoring empire and coloniality, for example through the spectacle of colonized bodies. A line of inquiry critiques and offers theorizations of the gathering and display of colonial subjects. Among the otherized and/or colonized people "displayed" in St. Louis were ethnic communities from Japan, the Philippines, Native Americans, and Black Africans.[6] At St. Louis, Geronimo and Sitting Bull were present and featured in exhibits. The Congolese Mbuti man, Ota Benga, featured in a separate exhibit at the St. Louis Fair, and subsequently at the Bronx Zoo and at the New York museum of natural history.[7] Homesick and displaced, Ota Benga killed himself in Virginia in 1916. (Figure 3: photograph of Ota Benga)

Within the Boer War camp there was a South African exhibit. Of the fifty Black South Africans who either worked for the camp or performed in the Boer War reenactment we know very little: we have very few of their names. Here I give consideration to a series of assisted escapes through which some of the Black South Africans tried to emancipate themselves, and also somewhat to Viljoen or Cronje's "back rider", or *agterryer*. While the display of Black Africans at World's Fairs has received considerable scholarly attention previously, here I give attention also to the display of the

[6] Robert W. Rydell, "'Darkest Africa': African Shows at America's World's Fairs, 1893-1940," in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, ed. Bernth Lindfors (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 135–55; James W Vanstone, "The Ainu Group at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904," *Arctic Anthropology* 30, no. 2 (1993): 77–91; Nancy J Parezo and Don D Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology (Lincoln: UNP - Nebraska, 2007), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1djmg8d.

[7] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, *Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo*, 1st edition (New York: St Martins Pr, 1992); Pamela Newkirk, *Spectacle: The Astonishing Life of Ota Benga*, Reprint edition (Amistad, 2015).

bodies of white South Africans. Thereby, I contemplate the very staging of Afrikaner whiteness on the reenactment battlefield and suggest its likely resonances for a white American audience.

On the one hand the St. Louis Fair was surely a display of Empire: modernity, progress and power. But here I read the Fair not just from the perspective of a global audience, but also as the performance of very particular national dramas of South Africa. At the same time these performances were also highly local, and the specific stories perhaps said more about these South African historical actors/figures than about global processes. The story of the U.S. reenactment is also part of South Africa's history. The Boer War reenactment did not take place in the Fair's halls of science and education, but rather in the Fair's entertainment complex. While reenactment can be understood as a form of historiography, the implied idea of the Boer War Reenactment at St. Louis was that Africans and African histories occupy a space of entertainment, spectacle, and circus.[8] Learning of the U.S. reenactment in South Africa, veterans of the War and the South African newspapers pounced on the idea of the reenactment as spectacle and expressed outrage that the war was being used as a form of entertainment, with the generals as "circus generals".[9] At the same time, the white audience in St. Louis saw themselves in the "plucky" Boers' resistance to the British Empire: in it was a reflection

[8] Paul Bouissac, *Semiotics at the Circus*, 1st edition (Berlin ; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2010); Brenda Assael, *The Circus and Victorian Society* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005); Paul Bouissac, *Circus as Multimodal Discourse: Performance, Meaning, and Ritual*, 1st edition (Bloomsbury Academic, 2012); Helen Stoddart, *Rings of Desire: Circus History and Representation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).
[9] Sonja Loots, *Sirkusboere*, 1 edition (Tafelberg, 2011).

of their own history as a former slave state, evoking the memory of white defeat and displacement in the Civil war and then in the reconstruction and progressive era. I offer a larger hypothesis that the reenactment of white defeat at the St Louis fair and the accompanying circulation of the boxed sets of the South African war to middle class households throughout the United States played upon historic and still living memory of the American Civil War.[10]

From Stereoscopes to Reenactment

The visual representation of the Boer War reenactment was closely bound to the original war photographs of the Underwood & Underwood collection. The imbrication of photography and reenactment is evident at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition: there appears to be a strong relationship between the St. Louis reenactment and the distribution and circulation of the actual war photographs. In fact, I found photographs of reenactment from the South African Boer War exhibition at St. Louis included in the Underwood & Underwood South Africa collection. That is, images of the war and the reenactment appear within the same collection. My hypothesis is that the circulation of the Underwood & Underwood stereoscope boxed sets was one of the impetuses to produce the St. Louis reenactment in the first place and then drove its popularity among audiences. By the same token, the reenactment further stimulated American resonances with the South African War and likely fueled additional circulation of the stereoscopes.

[10] Later I discuss other scholars who have identified the connection between the reenactment and its Civil War resonances.

Further, the reenactment of the Boer War in St. Louis and its subsequent independent exhibition in the U.S. South and at Coney Island predates US reenactment of the American Civil War. The South African War reenactment likely inspired and served as a model of scale and significance for the first major US Civil War reenactments which occurred less than ten years later, in 1913.[11] While there had been minor reenactments of the US Civil War, called "shams", the first major Civil War reenactment, "The Great Gettysburg Reunion" marked the fiftieth anniversary. It was opened by President Wilson, and was noteworthy because it was enacted by some of the last living Civil War veterans. It included 55,000 veterans, and 100,000 spectators over the course of the week. Despite being advertised propagated as a reunion of both sides, there was a palpable resentment and "ongoing sectarianism and lingering hostilities prevailed".[12] There are two iconic photographs from the reenactment, the first in which veterans of the war reach across a hedge shaking hands. And in another, two veterans seated side by side, shaking hands but looking away from each other.

The spectacle of the Boer War reenactment—that is, the arrangement, production, and investment in reenactment as entertainment-- not only fueled the sale and circulation

[11] Kip Grunska, *From Farb to Pard: A Story of Civil War Reenactment* (New York: iUniverse, 2003); Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Vintage, 1999); David Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press, 2008); Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation*, Reprint edition (The University of North Carolina Press, 2016). Elizabeth Young, *Disarming the Nation: Women's Writing and the American Civil War*, 1st edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

[12] Thomas R. Flagel, *War, Memory, and the 1913 Gettysburg Reunion* (The Kent State University Press, 2019).

of the boxed sets, but also portended future American relations between the US and South Africa, including the significant commercial interests, and perhaps ultimately leading to U.S. support of the apartheid regime decades later. The groundwork for U.S. sympathies for the Afrikaner apartheid cause was fueled by stereoscope and reenactment as twin technologies of racial performance.

My consideration of the U.S. reenactment is a way of tracing the life of the Underwood & Underwood South African photographs in the American context. St. Louis newspapers reporting on the fair made the connection explicit. The *St. Louis Dispatch* described the parade of South African performers as they arrived on the fairgrounds, with the American audience comparing the reenactors to by then familiar photographic images of South Africans—Black and White—"made famous in pictures of South African battles."[13] In preparing the performance for an American audience, the director Fillis likely used the Underwood photographs to stage his reenactment even as he drew on his previous experience as the self-described, "famous South African showman and organizer of Savage Africa in Greater Britain Exhibition in Earls Court".[14] (Figure 2.4: Frank Fillis, South Africa's PT Barnum) Photographs from the war circulated in association with its reenactment and there are also photographs of the reenactment itself to which the former can be compared. One of the people who was responsible for the South African exhibit, Richard Douglas, also arranged for the display of some 6000 photographs including from Underwood & Underwood. In his study of the St. Louis Fair,

[13] Sutton, "Transvaal Spectacles," 271. *St. Louis Dispatch* as cited by Sutton.
[14] *Frank Fillis*.

historian James Gilbert writes, “Photographs taken from the reenactment of the Boer War on the fairgrounds joined actual shots taken from the war itself, creating a circulation of images that created a photomontage of the actual and imaginary.”[15]

However, the distinction between “actual and imaginary” is more complicated than Gilbert presumes: some of the original Boer War photographs were themselves posed or staged in situ, in performed and constructed scenes, as I discuss in the previous chapter. Further, some of the reenactment photos are indistinguishable from the original war photographs. (Figure 2.5: Reenactment battle scene). I have even seen reenactment photographs circulate mistakenly as if they were actual photographs of the war. At other times photographs of the reenactment clearly show the performative and fabricated nature of the exhibition, with the city of St. Louis in the background. Nevertheless, the technological invention or marvel of the stereoview and its three-dimensional technology were certainly evoked in the reenactment with its similarly immersive quality.

The global popularity and use of stereographs, discussed in the previous chapter, developed almost in tandem with the growth of World’s Fairs. The first life of stereographs happened contemporaneously with the origins and early development of World’s Fairs in the 1850s. For fifty years stereography was one of the primary artistic and technological mediums to display visual images. The first ten to fifteen years of the twentieth century represented another critical moment in the growth and popularity of stereoscopes-- in which stereography experienced a new burst of popularity with both

[15] James Gilbert, *Whose Fair?: Experience, Memory, and the History of the Great St. Louis Exposition*, 1 edition (Chicago ; London: University Of Chicago Press, 2009).

scholars and popular audiences. The World's Fair reenactments and the stereoviews offered a similar kind of immersive experience for the user, in which the viewer is transported to a different world. The fair, you can argue, offered a collective and public immersion, and the stereoscopes a more individual and private one, though none the less shared. The St. Louis South African War exhibition highlights links between the history of photography, stereography, visual display, and the World's Fairs themselves more generally as emerging forms of mass entertainment. The history of stereography and the fair go hand in hand as forms of mass entertainment.

Reenactment and stereoscopes alike were regarded in their time as amusement but also as forms of instruction: they entertained and educated, in this case about South Africa. These forms of education and entertainment produced lasting images of the other, of South Africa, in the minds of the American public, both the fair attendees and those who used the stereoviews. At the time of the fair St Louis was becoming a hub of education in the U.S. Although children were not allowed at the reenactment (it was not considered appropriate for them) the stereoscope, a related technology I argue, became a model and ideal of how children should learn about the world. The Fair emerged as a form of mass entertainment, mass media, and mass education with all of its corporate entanglements: ground zero for the theme park in America. The stereoscopic companies, commercial companies exploiting the technological invention of the stereoscope, used it to educate Americans, a blueprint auguring the role that corporations would come to play in educating the American citizen. It is the corporatizing use of technology, the role that corporations played in the application of this technology, to educate and entertain the

American citizen that I refer to here.[16] Today we esteem technology as essential to education (think of the role of computers in the classroom for example). Americans a century earlier had a similar fascination with the technology of the stereoscope, as a technology of modernity and learning. Through the stereoscope we could become world citizens, better people. It is ironic, perhaps, that the images and the ideas presented via the stereoscope were stereotypes. The Fairs were also imagined as educational. In analyzing World's Fairs, Henry Adams adds a religious and moral dimension to his interpretation within which fairs also possess a pedagogic or heuristic agenda, so that the fairs were often "christened 'world's universities."[17]

In the sections that follow I will offer some reflections on the theory and meaning of reenactment, considering for example the significance of Viljoen as a reenactor. Just as stereoscopes are a photographic archive, reenactment can also be considered an archive and reenactors as citizen historians. There is a larger philosophical discussion about reenactment that in some ways shares implicit similarities with photography: between ideas and mimesis. Reenactment is any mode that purports to represent or is

[16] There are scholars who write in particular about the education of the American child via these technological inventions. See for example, Elspeth H. Brown, *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884-1929*, Reprint edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Victoria EM Cain, "Seeing the World: Media and Vision in US Geography Classrooms, 1890-1930," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 13, no. 4 (2015): 276–92, https://doi.org/10.1080/17460654.2015.1111591; Meredith A. Bak, "Democracy and Discipline: Object Lessons and the Stereoscope in American Education, 1870-1920," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 10, no. 2 (2012): 147–67, https://doi.org/10.1080/17460654.2012.664746.

[17] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (University of Chicago Press, 2013), 2.

predicated upon authenticity and realism.[18] But it is always a copy. This relates to debates going back to Plato's shadows on the wall. There is the historical event and the copy: the mimetic re-presentation. We must also consider that the re-enactment claims to be an authentic repetition.

Linked to this is my discussion of historical fiction pertaining not only to the American Civil War but also to the South African War. There is a plethora of books and dissertations dealing with how each conflict has been reenacted through specific media formats, or mediatized. One popular genre is the historical romance, which appears in literature about the Civil War: the romance of a lost cause. The South African War was similarly memorialized in literature. Consider for example, Viljoen's novel aptly titled, *A Romance of Lost Cause*. Another modality is the southern gothic: for example compare the literary tradition of the southern gothic in the United States and what has been called the post-colonial South African gothic tradition.[19] Sonja Loots' contemporary novel about the war, *Sirkusboere*, can also be read as a romance, as can others. "Historical fiction holds up a mirror to the past. Good historical fiction holds up a mirror to the present."[20]

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[18] Vanessa Agnew, Jonathan Lamb, and Juliane Tomann, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies: Key Terms in the Field*, 1st edition (Routledge, 2019).
[19] Rebecca Duncan, *South African Gothic: Anxiety and Creative Dissent in the Post-Apartheid Imagination and Beyond*, 1 edition (University of Wales Press, 2018); Mélanie Joseph-Vilain, *Post-Apartheid Gothic: White South African Writers and Space* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2021); M. Wester, *African American Gothic: Screams from Shadowed Places*, 2012th edition (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Elisabeth Bronfen et al., *Globalgothic*, ed. Glennis Byron, 1st edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).
[20] Author of "Outlander" reviews Hour of the Witch.

The Fair and its Setting

St. Louis at the turn of the century was as a model city for the United States: a city of light and progress, but also a city that had a dark history: a history of slavery in its not too distant past and, at the current time, a history of disenfranchisement of Blacks in St. Louis. St. Louis's emerging identity as a place of and space of power is refracted through memory of the Civil War and Missouri's position as a former slave state. The St. Louis World's Fair in 1904 was intended to showcase the future role of the American empire in the world; to solidify its place as an empire and as a paragon of modernity. The exhibitions at the fair presented visions of the recent past and present, the form of entertainment provided on the Pike, the main thoroughfare, also served to leave a message in the audience's mind of South Africa's history-- a particular vision of South Africa was portrayed in the reenactment. For some U.S. audiences it may have been comforting because it reflected the triumph of the empire over the other: Black South Africans. Noteworthy is that the war was portrayed as a battle between white males, even though we know that Black, Coloured, and Indian/Asian South Africans also participated on both sides of the war. It has also been called a "woman's war".[21] The City of St. Louis and the Fair were seen as a projection of America into the future: a kind of Tomorrowland. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition was also held in the same year as the first Olympics in the U.S., also hosted in St. Louis, in which Black South Africans were

[21] Bill Nasson et al., *The War at Home: Women and Families in the Anglo-Boer War* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2013); Gregor Cuthbertson, A. M Grundlingh, and Cuthbertson, Mary-Lynn, *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Gender, Race, and Identity in the South African War, 1899-1902* (Athens; Cape Town: Ohio University Press ; David Philip Publishers, 2002).

the first Africans ever to participate. Their image was captured by American photographer, Jessie Tarbox Beals, who also photographed other Africans inside the fairgrounds in stereoscope. (Figure 2.6: Black South African Olympians) It is noteworthy that Max Weber also visited the St. Louis Fair.

The Pike, the main thoroughfare at the fair, was known as, 'the street of pleasures', and was the location of the grandest and most flamboyant and most popular exhibits at the fair. (Figure 2.7: Map of St. Louis Fair) with over a thousand actors. The second most popular exhibition was the Boer War reenactment. Much more has been written about the Philippine display, while the Boer War reenactment has received far less scholarly attention.

The World's Fair as Enclosure, *Laager*, and *Kraal*

In *All the Worlds a Fair,* one of the foremost Fair historians Robert Rydell presents the idea that the fairs created a symbolic universe and the audience, as they participate in this meaning-making enterprise, discovered or found their place within the structures of the modern project. Fairs helped produce an ordered worldview out of chaos: "a structure of legitimation that provides meaning for social past, present, and future."[22] To put it more prosaically, one function of the exhibition was to "make the social world comprehensible."[23] Rydell writes that in the post-Civil War disruption to national identity, fairs were intended, "To alleviate the intense and widespread anxiety

[22] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 2. Rydell here quoting from Berger and Luckmann.
[23] Rydell, 2.

that pervaded the United States […] the directors of the expositions offered millions of fairgoers the opportunity to reaffirm their collective national identity in an updated synthesis of progress and white supremacy that suffused the blueprints of future perfection offered by the fairs."[24] Rydell identifies two waves in the historical development of the fairs. The first wave was the Victorian instance until the beginning of the twentieth century, with the St. Louis Fair as its outer boundary.

The Victorian fair served to distance Africa from the U.S. but also to distance Black from white America: "The first generation of American world's fairs established African shows as centerpieces of these imperialistic extravaganzas." Of the second generation of America's fairs, Rydell explains, "the fairs of the Great Depression, followed suit as African shows continued to be featured midway attractions that lent legitimacy to the social and political construction of apartheid in the United States."[25] This conceptual model locates Black Africans as far removed from civilization, and removed as well from the bodies of white persons. At the same time, the fair solidifies future white and black relations in America because it undergirds the rhetoric of supremacy that Blacks are "less than": this is the legacy of "Africans on display." The Fair was in this sense a space of white enclosure. In the same way you could argue that the display of the Boer War reenactment also solidifies these relations. In general Boers

[24] Rydell, 4.
[25] Rydell, "'Darkest Africa': African Shows at America's World's Fairs, 1893-1940," 145.

feared "those blacks living outside white control on what were first called locations and later, reserves."[26] They brought this sentiment to St. Louis.

The Boer War camp and grounds recreated spaces of Boer enclosure within the United States. Within the fairgrounds, the Boer camp was centrally located, occupying a large space near a forested area in southeast quadrant. Stereoviews and other photographs of the reenactment show the amphitheater enclosure within which historic battles were performed before large crowds. (Figures 8 and 9). But the camp expanded beyond the limits of the arena, to include an African exhibition and residential areas where the actors were housed. One of the Underwood & Underwood stereoviews of the fair features a seated Basuto chief surrounded by five young Black men actors and two Boer soldiers ("the long and the short"), posed with several miniature Boer wagons: a *laager* within which they seem to be encircled or enclosed. Behind them are grass "huts".[27] (Figure 2. 10: Basuto Chief) This is an interesting fantasy of a conflict-free harmony. Historically, the Basuto fought the British to a standstill, and ultimately the British handed the territory to the Boers at the Sand River Convention (1854), creating the basis for what would become the Orange Free State. The Basuto then fought against the Afrikaners in the Free State Basuto Wars (1858-68).[28] The photograph represents no such conflict. Historian Curtis writes, "The reliving of the battles of the Anglo Boer War provided opportunities for [white] enemies to reconcile their differences and to emphasize their similarities—

[26] Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*, 2nd ed., expanded and updated ed., Reconsiderations in Southern African History (Charlottesville : Cape Town, South Africa: University of Virginia Press ; Tafelberg, 2009), 192.
[27] https://cdm17210.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/stereographs/id/234/rec/10
[28] Fransjohan Pretorius, *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika* (Tafelberg, 2012).ch. 7.

conviction, bravery, and whiteness—without having to consider what their struggle meant to men and women over whose land they fought. The same can be said for most reenactments of U.S Civil War battles."[29] Another similarly composed photograph of Black South Africans from the Boer camp posed with wagons circulated under the title "African *kraal* (South African Native Village)." (Figure 2.11: Kraal) The stereoview is of course also a sort of racial enclosure.

The Boer reenactment, as an historical archive focused on the representation of Afrikaner whiteness, nevertheless still solidified Black South Africa's place: representing a world in which Black South Africans serve a utilitarian role as laborers. This is the kind of Blackness that white South Africans can accept, that they can control. This is how the Boer War reenactment's representation of Blackness must have resonated for its intended white American audiences.

Furthermore, the South African Boer War Exhibition Company's ties to corporate interests represented an opportunity to develop and expand American economic investment in industrialization in Africa and in South Africa specifically. Later, this connection becomes more explicit. The 1939 World's Fair in New York "emphasized how corporations would modernize 'the dark continent' by putting Africans to work."[30] The British South African Company (founded by Rhodes) was present at the 1939 fair and the Firestone Factory and Exhibition Building had a rubber exhibit which featured its

[29] Susan Curtis, *Colored Memories: A Biographer's Quest for the Elusive Lester A. Walton* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 2008), 244–45.
[30] Rydell, "'Darkest Africa': African Shows at America's World's Fairs, 1893-1940," 150.

plantations in Liberia.[31] The corporatization of the display of Africans at the fair and South Africans in particular, facilitated and laid the groundwork for future economic investment in South Africa. At another remove, we must consider how American humanitarian interests came into play: the Carnegie corporation is the company that represents this involvement in South Africa from a corporate and humanitarian interest is.[32] The commercial and diplomatic relations between the U.S. and South Africa were being solidified in general in this period.[33] The darker outcome of this trajectory is currently being played out in South Africa in the McKinsey and Baine state capture debate.[34]

Fugitive Supreme: Enclosure, Black Fugitivity, and The Back Rider/*Agterryer*

"No matter where you travel,
you still be Black
you carry all your history
on your own damn back"
---Houston Baker, Jr.[35]

There were no less than three escape attempts by some of the Black South Africans who served a sort of indentured servitude as volunteer and compulsory

[31] Rydell, 150.
[32] Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin*.
[33] Noer, *Briton, Boer, and Yankee*; Onselen, *The Cowboy Capitalist*.
[34] The Zondo Commission is currently conducting an investigation inquiry into state capture: www.statecapture.org.za. Walt Bogdanich and Michael Forsythe, "How McKinsey Lost Its Way in South Africa," *The New York Times*, June 26, 2018, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/26/world/africa/mckinsey-south-africa-eskom.html; "South Africa: McKinsey Tries to Mop up 'Shocking' State Capture Mess," The Africa Report.com, December 29, 2020, https://www.theafricareport.com/56115/in-south-africa-mckinsey-tries-to-mop-up-shocking-state-capture-mess/.
[35] Houston A. Baker, *No Matter Where You Travel, You Still Be Black,* 1st edition (Detroit: Broadside Lotus Pr, 1979).

reenactors in the Boer War exhibition (notably, they do not show up on the ship manifest for the journey to the US). Perhaps some of those photographed with the small wagons were even among them. These escapes culminated in a street brawl in the "Negro Quarter" of St. Louis in June 1904, in which Boer and British reenactors collaborated and conspired to recapture the fugitives and return them to the fairgrounds. In this one instance, British and Boer were of like mind and purpose. Present were company managers, including the Missourian Walter Lewis, Frank Fillis, as well as several unnamed actors, Boer and British. We do not know whether Viljoen or Cronje was part of the white mob that tracked the fugitives down, handcuffed them, and walked them back to the camp where they were reincarcerated. Fillis, we know, had a similar experience at his London exhibition, in which he arrested escaped actors. The escapes were a sort of reenactment outside of the staged and sanitized performance of the Boer War within the enclosure on the fairgrounds, yet both functioned as a reenactment of fragmentary whiteness and blackness.

Their flight evoked the reenactment of Black fugitivity, resonating deeply with African Americans in St. Louis, who then intervened and assist their escape. It is not a fugitivity frozen in time but rather ongoing, representing a continuity of preoccupation with the idea of resistance: the remaking and reconstruction of the Black self and the body politic. For the Black South Africans, we sense the desire to find a place outside of the enclosure of the Boer Camp at St. Louis, and escape from the totalizing hegemonic narrative of South African whiteness (as it was being rehearsed and reiterated in the

United States).[36] Part of my subject position as a historian in the present is that this act of writing is a practice of fugitivity, in which I engage in a struggle to capture the fugitive words with which to describe complex and illusive histories of blackness and whiteness.

I argue the fair is also a fugitive landscape and consider the "fugitive supreme", that is the spectacle of Black fugitivity. (With this term I am responding to Bancroft's reference to the "supremely hideous" Africans on display discussed in the section below). Photographic fugitivity may also be another way to think about these events.[37] For Fred Moten, Blackness itself is something "fugitive," as he puts it: an ongoing refusal of standards imposed from elsewhere. In *Stolen Life* Moten writes, "Fugitivity, then, is a desire for and a spirit of escape and transgression of the proper and the proposed. It's a desire for the outside, for a playing or being outside, an outlaw edge proper to the now always already improper voice or instrument."[38] Here I would like to insert two related ideas to interpret these escapes. The idea of unbelonging is another way of referring to the condition of fugitivity.[39] Their escape also signals a "practice of refusal" or resistance, following Tina Campt and Saidiya Hartman.[40]

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[36] On fugitivity and enclosure see Damien M. Sojoyner, "Another Life Is Possible: Black Fugitivity and Enclosed Places," *Cultural Anthropology* 32, no. 4 (November 18, 2017): 514–36, https://doi.org/10.14506/ca32.4.04.
[37] Lisa Saltzman, *Daguerreotypes: Fugitive Subjects, Contemporary Objects* (University of Chicago Press, 2015).
[38] Fred Moten, *Stolen Life* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2018).
[39] Nick J. Sciullo, "Boston King's Fugitive Passing: Fred Moten, Saidiya Hartman, and Tina Campt's Rhetoric of Resistance," *Rhizomes: Cultural Studies in Emerging Knowledge*, no. 35 (July 1, 2019), https://doi.org/10.20415/rhiz/035.e05.
[40] Tina M. Campt, *Listening to Images* (Duke University Press Books, 2017); "Tina Campt: Black Feminist Futures and the Practice of Fugitivity," Barnard Center for Research on Women, October 7, 2014, https://bcrw.barnard.edu/videos/tina-campt-black-feminist-futures-and-the-practice-of-fugitivity/.

In the newspaper coverage of the day, these escapes feature as another story about the fair, and as another reenactment. The reenactment was anchored on two settler communities in conflict, the British and the Boer. On the surface, the inclusion of Black South Africans was marginal, their role appears to have been largely ancillary: their presence only a backdrop to the larger drama of white-on-white conflict. In the reenactment, Black actors participated both as posed African villagers and also in the role of *agterryer*, or "after rider". It is not clear whether they participated as soldiers fighting on the side of the British, reflecting historical realities. There is no mention of the fifty Black South Africans accompanying the exhibition in the program, they are omitted from the cast of characters, as from the ship's manifest or passenger list. There are only a few whose names are provided. We do know that two of them were informally recruited by St. Louis's mayor to participate in the Olympics held in St. Louis at the time. Viljoen's back rider who is named, and also a man named as "Kaffir Tom" who leads one of the efforts at escape. Overall, Black South Africans were there to provide physical labor for the production but also to serve as a sort of background for white performance. We could speak here of a sort of invisible Blackness. In my reading, the Black African camps featured in the reenactment are a sort of static background, while the two settler armies rode their horses into combat. This background status aligned with Afrikaner sensibilities. In the Afrikaner understanding this was the appropriate kind of black-white relations, in which Blacks were marginal, or defined by their servant status. The Afrikaners believed that arming Black people to fight in the Anglo-Boer war was as morally repugnant as miscegenation. General Jan Christian Smuts was horrified at the

deployment of Blacks and Coloureds in white conflicts.[41] The marginalization of Black South Africans in the reenactment echoed these racial ideals. Yet this marginal representation was no less powerful in terms of representing racial paradigms. The forced participation of Black Africans in the reenactment was disturbing to some St. Louis African Americans, and their attempts to self-emancipate were given considerable media attention.

In the history of World's Fairs, the so-called ethnographic displays had a very closely imbricated relationship with Anthropology.[42] There has been much critique of Africans "on display", which Robert Rydell describes as further distancing Africans from the West. Reflecting on the Dahomeyan Village at the Chicago World Fair in 1893, Rydell observes that Xavier Pene's show, "reinforced the racial politics of the United States by putting the finishing touches on dominant ideological rationalizations of America's post-Reconstruction-era nation builders."[43] These displays served to anchor colonial interest in developing Africa and also served to justify continued white supremacist ideologies and ideas in the United States because they presented the African as "less than", scaffolding the idea that African Americans were not fully developed and justified denying them citizenship.[44]

The innovative American photographer, Jessie Tarbox Beals, occupied an unusual place on a playing field dominated by men. Though she was not listed among the official

[41] Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 2009, 257–58.
[42] NANCY J PAREZO and DON D FOWLER, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair*.
[43] Rydell, "'Darkest Africa': African Shows at America's World's Fairs, 1893-1940," 140.
[44] Rydell, "'Darkest Africa': African Shows at America's World's Fairs, 1893-1940."

photographers for the fair, she photographed some of the Black reenactors, and was creative in how she photographed her subjects: known to climb on top of a ladder to get a different perspective. Beals was particularly interested in capturing the images of "ethnic" and Indigenous people who participated as part of Fair exhibitions, including Ingorot tribespeople, Bagobos, Bisaya, Moro Muslims, and so-called "negritos" from the Philippines, Bedouins, the Tehuelche people from Patagonia, Dakota, Cheyenne and Navajo from within the U.S., Indigenous Mexicans, etc. With respect to Africans, in addition to photographs of Mbuti and Bakuba peoples from the Congo, Beals' photograph titled "Rain suit of African" captures one of the reenactment participants who was to represent the various ethnic groups of South Africa.[45] (Figure 2.12: Rain Suit of African) Underwood & Underwood also photographed Black South Africans who were part of the Boer War reenactment as in the "African village" scene in Images 10 and 11.

In the 1960s, historian Ted Hinckley identified three attempted escapes. Two escape attempts occurred in May and June in 1904, led by a man named as "Kaffir Tom".[46] It appears that perhaps about a dozen people managed a third and successful attempt, disappearing into the landscape of Black St. Louis. Rydell argues that those who were displayed engaged in a theater of resistance. In other contexts, we know that there is ample evidence that even as colonial subjects are being photographed and displayed that they offered resistance, enacting their agency and disrupting the subject/object

[45] From the St. Louis library. https://cdm17210.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/beals/id/57/rec/5
[46] Ted C. Hinckley, "WHEN THE BOER WAR CAME TO ST. LOUIS," *Missouri Historical Review* 61, no. 3 (1967): 285-.

paradigm: from the way they positioned their staged body, to the way they directed their eyes—looking at the camera or looking away. In St. Louis the resistance was more overt: that of escape. The escapes were recorded in local papers including the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (South African Negroes Held," June 1, 1904), and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* ("Black Amazon to Rescue Kaffirs", June 2, 1904). [47]

The escapes were facilitated by some African Americans from St. Louis who heard of the presence of Black South Africans and were both dismayed and disgusted at the display of Black Africans at the fair. They attempted to rescue the actors and provide them with a means to live in the United States, strategizing their escape and attempting to set them up in new households locally. The Black South Africans were helped in particular by three African American men, who were beaten and jailed for their efforts. A woman, Willeltha Smith, seems to have led the effort. In one account, she verbally accosted Arthur Lewis, the Missourian who fought in the war and came up with the idea for the company. Mistaking his origins but not his sympathies, Smith accused, "You dirty bloody Boer, you ought to be dead."[48] Smith was subsequently beaten and arrested with her three male companions charged with trying to assist the escape.[49]

An African American journalist living in Missouri at the time, Lester Walton, wrote about one of these attempts in an article he titled, "African War Renewed by Kaffirs, Boers" in the *St. Louis Star*, June 2, 1904. Walton's biographer, American

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[47] Hinkley suggests that he has only scratched the surface of the rare treasure trove of materials for cultural history in the St. Louise newspapers covering the fair. Hinckley.
[48]The article "Black Amazon to Rescue of Kaffirs," cited by Curtis, *Colored Memories*, 240. *St. Louis Post Dispatch* June 2 1904.
[49] Hinckley, "When the Boer War Came to St. Louis," 300.

cultural historian Susan Curtis addresses his writing about the flight in a chapter titled "Escape of the Kaffirs".[50] Curtis describes how in Walton's journalist coverage Black attendees of the St. Louis reenactment and African exhibit were reminded of "their own struggle to escape oppression… and they felt compelled to aid the Kaffirs in their flight."[51] She concludes, "Walton's account of these events betrays his interpretation of the Africans' flight as a reliving of recent episodes of black-white conflict…. Walton's perspective, shaped by the experiences of former slaves, cast the drama of the Kaffirs as a reenactment of two wars—the Anglo-Boer war, just ended, and the U.S. Civil War of recent memory."[52]

The Afrikaners and the British reenactors attacked the escaping men and brought them back to the fairgrounds by force, "Boers and Kaffirs in a Street Fight," (June 2, 1904). The spectacle of the repeated attempted escapes by some of the Black South Africans is a story, a performance, that therefore transgressed the boundary of the fairgrounds, with the street brawl contradicting the peaceable photograph with wagons. Scholars have addressed the performance of whiteness and blackness on the stage of reenactment, but not how this performance spills off stage, onto a stage of a different kind: when outside of the Boer Camp whites and blacks reenact the war.

The only specific role played by Black reenactors was that of the *agterryer*. One article describes the Black participants as "dispatch riders". Viljoen's "back rider", the Black South African who was responsible for his horse and served as a sort of personal

[50] Curtis, *Colored Memories*.
[51] Curtis, 237.
[52] Curtis, 237.

attendant, accompanied Viljoen to St. Louis and appears named in the documents. The presence of the *agterryer* ("after rider") is significant as almost invisible Blackness. Afrikaners placed Black people into three kinds of categories, which reflected different modes of engagement: as "black ivory" (enslaved or indentured Africans), trusted servants, and "*die swart gevaar*" (the black danger or dangerous blacks). In the 1930s, South African academic Alfred Hoernle wrote about the trusted class of black servants, who "have become culturally so completely assimilated to their masters that… their habits and ways of life those appropriate to a servant class in a 'white world… [with] very little say in the ordering of their own lives... they belong to white, not to native society; they are completely detribalized. Divorced from their tribes and the culture of their tribes, they have become black Europeans," [53] or I could say, "Black Afrikaners". These servants were in contrast to the "savage" Black people they feared, those who fought against them with the British. [54] Dick Moshene, who worked as an *agterryer* during the war reflected, "We as *agterryer* remained with our masters in the field and where they trod we trod. And although we never fought, our hearts were in the right place. When peace came our masters laid down their arms and we went home."[55] It seems that the person who served as Viljoen's *agterryer* also participated in the reenactment, though their role is not highlighted or listed in the program.

[53] Quoted by Herman Giliomee, *Afrikaners* (C Hurst & Co (Publishers)Ltd, 2003), 191. In expanded edition (correct cite here)
[54] Nasson, *Abraham Esau's War*.
[55] Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 2009, 191–92. As quoted by Gilomee.

"The Hideous Supreme": White Africans on Display at the St. Louis World's Fair

> "At one end of [the theater] are grouped the musicians, all of the Dahomeans, all lean and lank, and all supremely hideous…"
>
> ---Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*

The reenactment libretto indicates the broad racial tableau: there were the Boers, the British, and the South African "savages". In photographs of the reenactment, white reenactors are visible on the field, but the British and the Boers are largely indistinguishable from one another. The St. Louis exhibition was unusual in the history of Africans on display from 1850-1915 because it showcased, to a large extent, white South Africans, with only marginal roles played by Black Africans as discussed above. This is in contradiction to the historic global trend centering the display of Black Africans and the ideological trajectory that accompanied those displays. What do we make of this? The South African Boer War exhibition was such a (racial) anomaly that the contributors to the *Africans on Stage* edited volume in 2000 appear to have no tools to begin to describe or interpret its representation of African whiteness.[56] The contributing scholars are unable to place the Boer actors within their limiting conceptual framework for "Africans on Stage": nowhere is the display of white African bodies discussed in the book, including in the chapter dedicated to World's Fairs by Rydell. Where do white South African's form part of this narrative given the colonial project of justifying American black and white relationships, and given the idea that racial display serves as a

[56] Bernth Lindfors, ed., *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, 1St Edition edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

showcase to advance reconstruction? One writer included in the volume says the narrative of "Africans on Stage" is not without seams—I open the seam further and insert the story of white South Africans on display, at the St. Louis World's Fair.

In *Performing Whiteley*, white South African American scholar of theater Megan Lewis includes a chapter that discusses the St. Louis performance titled, "Rehearsing a White Nation: Afrikaner performance of Volk Identity". Lewis describes herself as a "mixed" South African—meaning (for her) of both British and Afrikaner descent. She observes "white Africans as they register in the global imaginary and as they perform themselves across their 360 year history."[57] Her primary focus is on a 2009 musical performance of the Boer War, Deon Opperman's "Ons vir Jou" (discussed in more depth below), which she refracts through the St Louis fair more than a hundred years prior. She bends our gaze from the fair to the contemporary performance and settles on the musical, with brief glimpses back to St. Louis. For Lewis, the thread linking these performances is the enactment of Afrikaner identity, specifically the enactment of Afrikaner whiteness.[58] Both performances are indexical to Afrikaner whiteness. As Afrikaners performed themselves in, around, and under power, Lewis traces the construction of Afrikaner nationalism and statehood.

Lewis emphasizes how Afrikaners are preoccupied with "circling the wagons" for protection and safety: the fallacy of the "*laager* mentality." I use the term "enclosure" because it also acknowledges communities of color and perhaps unwilling whites who are

[57] Megan Lewis, *Performing Whitely in the Postcolony: Afrikaners in South African Theatrical and Public Life*, 1 edition (Iowa City: University Of Iowa Press, 2016), 15.
[58] Lewis, *Performing Whitely in the Postcolony*.

interred within the *laager*. It is a fallacy because the borders of the enclosure are permeable, invaded by ideas, objects, and people that would disrupt their ethno-mythology. For Lewis, the idea of the *laager* is largely metaphorical: she does not examine the Boer camp in St. Lewis as an enclosure as I have done here. Her focus is also on the collective nature of Afrikaner identity. Lewis does not address the performance of Blackness, either in her discussion of the St. Lewis exposition, nor in her analysis of the 20th century play. In South Africa you cannot talk about whiteness without also talking about Blackness.

While Lewis argues for this indexical performance of whiteness which led to Afrikaner nationalism as a project of statehood and nation building, she misses the entanglement of racial capitalism in this performance. This is not just a national project but a transnational one, not necessarily supported by a government or state institution but rather by private interests: the entanglements are not public, they are private (for example Taft's and Roosevelt's private or tacit support of the Boers).[59] The only state actor that makes a public statement is the British government. When they heard about the proposal to stage the reenactment, the British government wrote to suggest that this was a poor idea that would be bad press for the British. They know that they would not fare well in the reenactment. Their objection was clearly overruled by the organizers of the St. Louis

[59]Lewis refers to Nuttall in her discussion of entanglements. Sarah Nuttall, *Entanglement: Literary and Cultural Reflections on Post-Apartheid* (Witwatersrand University Press, 2009)., But see also Lisa Lowe who writes about race and colonialism in *Intimacies of Four Continents*. Lewis does not disentangle or observe the lines of imbrication that connect American whiteness (as represented by the manager of the show) and African whiteness, neither does she disentangle the commercial interests (the racial capitalisms) as represented by the South African Boer War Company, backed by American businessmen in St. Louis.

Fair. Overall, Megan Lewis' larger project is to tie these performances of whiteness together as part of a national project, drawing a direct line from the performances to Afrikaner nationalism, state sponsored. She misses the corporate entanglement.

Afrikaner whiteness is not consistent or coherent but unsettled. The British and the Afrikaner reenactors often fought with each other when not performing, even as they also joined together in their capture of the fugitive performers. As I described, there was the stage enactment and then the daily practice of whiteness, which is performed, for example in the brawl in the Negro quarter. I also look at Viljoen's performance of whiteness outside of the reenactment, for example when he is publicly horsewhipped by a woman, and when he tries to settle in New Mexico, and the rehearsal of his shame and defeat as a reenactor.

With respect to the African American perceptions of these performances, some African Americans saw in the Boer reenactors an unreconstructed image of a white southerners. Historian Curtis observers, "… most African Americans eventually assumed a strong anti-Boer position, because they saw in the Boers enemies something akin to former slave owners in the South."[60]

Afrikaner Shame: Inside the Reenactor's Studio: General Ben Viljoen as Actor and Reenactor

I interrogate the idea of Afrikaner collectivity by singling out General Viljoen and to a lesser extent Cronje, to examine unsettled whiteness, far from seamless. With my

[60] Curtis, *Colored Memories*, 244–45.

focus on Viljoen, in an almost psychoanalytic or interior view, I dive within the collective Afrikaner body. I write this as someone who was subject to Afrikaner politics of enclosure and read into and out of the enclosure metaphor and tie this both to Viljoen and Black fugitivity. There are different types of fugitivity at work here: Viljoen's self-imposed exile and the fugitivity of the Black reenactors he effectively incarcerated. (Figure 2.13: Viljoen the Reenactor)

There are many divergent images of Viljoen: the man as reflected in his memoirs and in historical fiction, in the novel; the image that emerges in the eyes of his contemporaries (including Mary May Belfort, why not?); the image that is reflected in the stereoviews; and in the reenactment itself. These are sources for sometimes competing or contradictory representations: even his own self-representation is complex and often contradictory. The picture that emerges from these sources is of an articulate and educated man, a writer and a journalist (he ran a newspaper for a time), erudite, even. Physically robust, he was 5ft10 and athletic, so much so that Roosevelt was drawn to him as the embodiment of a rugged individual of a masculine frontiersman. At the same time, he is mischievous, a liar, a philanderer: arrogant, bordering on narcissistic. Stories of him as playful in a masculinist sort of way, but also arrogant—naming buildings and even entire towns after himself during the war. Viljoen is a multilayered figure.

In her recent historical novel, *Sirkusboere (Circus Boer*), Afrikaner novelist Sonia Loots opens with Frank Fillis and Viljoen's compatriot, General Cronje, in the twilight of their careers. While Fillis recollects lost loves and lost opportunities, Cronje relives his shameful surrender and the bitterness engendered by his memory of rejection

by the other Boer generals who fought until the bitter end. He also recollects how he had to reenact the same shameful surrender twice a day in St. Louis: With a white-knuckled grip on his riding quirt, fingers bleached with tension and shame, he approached British General Roberts (lately of Egypt) kneeling before him in surrender. The author uses the Afrikaans word *vernedering* to describe his utter and abject humiliation.[61]

In the practice of daily reenactment, Viljoen, Cronje and others repeatedly act out of the archive and the repertoire of defeat, shame, and exile as a vanquished general.[62] Given his history and trajectory it is understandable that Afrikaners observing from South Africa saw their performance as a disgrace. They recognized the exhibition as a sideshow and circus, in which Afrikaners were put on equal footing with Blacks who had been historically displaced and displayed. This idea of equality, or *gelykstelling*, is the very reason they fled the Cape colony in the Great Trek toward the promised land.[63] Equality with Blacks, as performed by the generals of the St. Louis Fair, was anathema, and thus they belittled it as a "circus." The primary discourse about the Boer War exhibition by Afrikaner scholars, poets, writers at the time and now (*Circus Boer*) is to treat it at as a carnival, a side show, a circus. Some writers describe it as the carnivalization of Afrikaner history. Viljoen is metonymic: standing for Afrikaner identity even as he transgresses. Stephan Gray, a South African historian who died last year (a graduate of

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[61] Loots, *Sirkusboere*.
[62] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Duke University Press Books, 2003).
[63]See chapter 4, "Masters, Slaves and Servants: The Fear of *Gelykstelling*," in Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (University of Virginia Press, 2003). F. Pretorius and Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns Geskiedeniskommissie, *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day*, 1st ed. (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014).

the Iowa workshop in the same class as Kurt Vonnegut) wrote an essay titled, "Keeping the Record Straight" in which he responds to the portrayal of the generals by Loots and other contemporary representations, provides historical detail to fictionalized portraits.[64] Gray draws on newspapers and other historical accounts including a biography writing by an American journalist in South Africa. An important source on Viljoen is the writings of Douglas Blackburn, A British journalist, who was Viljoen's best friend, business partner, and rival. Though they were close, when the war broke out Blackburn and Viljoen fought on opposite sides. In fact, they were involved in the same battle in which Blackburn was wounded. Blackburn went on to write several historical novels in which one of the characters was based on Viljoen. Blackburn's portrayal of his friend is mischievous, delightful, playful, deceptive, arrogant, and narcissistic.

For the defeated Afrikaners, the memory of the war loomed as both trauma and romance. Romance is redolent with the idea of nostalgia. The theme of shame and nostalgia plays out not just in this one microcosm of South African history, the St. Louis reenactment and its "Afrikaners on display", but also in the persons of Viljoen and Cronje. And let us not forget as well the virtual presence of De Wet, who is invoked by an actor in the performance. Shame and nostalgia are also the emotions that motivate those who would become the architects of apartheid. The title of Viljoen's memoir is "Romance of a Lost Cause." The Afrikaners themselves set the frame of trauma, shame, and romance, and this imbrication of trauma and memory led to memorial policies that

[64] Stephen R. Gray, "Keeping the Records Straight : The Literary Afterlife of Three Boer Generals : Original Research," *Literator : Journal of Literary Criticism, Comparative Linguistics and Literary Studies* 35, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 1–15, https://doi.org/10.4102/lit.v35i1.1047.

undergirded apartheid: how the Afrikaners dealt with their military defeat and loss is a line that leads directly to the apartheid state. Analogous southern politics after reconstruction is a similar line, that led to the consolidation of the republican party and the trajectory of segregationist southern politics. The South African war led to the Union of South Africa in 1910 (and a few years later, in 1913, the founding of the African National Congress in response). From 1910 to 1948 we see the growth of Afrikaner nationalism, not only through laws but through the construction of official and public histories such as those performed here. Involved were both institutional and civil actors including museums, schools, and religious institutions.

The exhibition libretto describes Viljoen's displacement: "General Viljoen has bid farewell to his fatherland forever, the late war has ruined his home and fortune. Many of his relatives were killed or maimed for life. The scenes and memories of such distaste are too painful. He intends making his home in this Free Country."[65] General Viljoen was regarded with more sympathy by South African survivors of the Boer War. There was a subsequent historical romance titled, *To Hell with Cronje*, in which he is rebuffed, partly because he surrendered at a major battle.[66] Nevertheless, Viljoen was also seen as a source of embarrassment and shame partly because of his "off-stage performances", his philandering, and of course his participating in what Afrikaners at home considered to be a circus. The headline, "Boer General Horsewhipped" recounting how one Miss May

[65] *Frank Fillis*.
[66] Ingrid Winterbach, *To Hell with Cronjé* (Human & Rousseau, 2014).

Belfort, a woman with whom he was having an affair, intended to shoot Viljoen, further contributed to the spectacle of Afrikaner whiteness on a global stage[67].

Here I want to analyze the reenactment from the reenactor's perspective. To call them hobbyists does not capture or reflect the pain and trauma that they may have to go through to embody a particular role. The painstaking attention to detail is part of the search of authenticity, which is expressed in the uniform, the colors, the privations that you subject your body to, the way of speaking, the interaction with props, etc. Once the reenactor has fully embodied his or her role, their success is measured by a nearly mystical transformation of mindset or epiphany, when in a moment during the reenactment the actor becomes the historic person: the reenactor is transported into the past and the audience with them. It is moment of near transcendence: a liminal experience. War reenactment manifests this in particular ways: "Performing the act of war has everything to do with crafting objects in such historically accurate detail that they can actually facilitate time travel."[68] Most actors and reenactors maintain their equilibrium because they can leave their character, leave that transcendent moment behind and enter the real world again, no longer in character. But Ben Viljoen does not have this: he cannot leave his character. Viljoen wrote three books: his reminiscences of the war, mostly authored while he was imprisoned; his exile memoir (completed in 1905), and his novel. His memoir and his novel can be read as examples of exilic

[67] "Boer General Horsewhipped" *World News Sydney* (May 27, 1905)
[68] Smith, Allison, "Expanded Battle Fields: Craft as a Different Sort of Reenactment," in *Collaboration Through Craft*, ed. Amanda Ravetz, Helen Felcey, and Alice Kettle (A&C Black, 2013), 193.

literature, in relation to literatures of exile and migration, and they communicate profound dislocation.

My purpose here is not to valorize the Afrikaner narrative of trauma as what sets them apart, although in some sense Viljoen, and by extrapolation other Afrikaners living in the United States, are humanized here, in particular because he is maligned, a displaced stranger to his own community, dislocated. In *A Human Being Died that Night* (2004) Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela probes the limits of forgiveness and empathy in South Africa and beyond, including for perpetrators of crimes against humanity.[69]

One stereoscope of the reenactment shows a canon explosion: the entire image clouded in thick smoke: very little else is visible. The words written on the back mark General Cronje's physical presence at the Fair, even as he is invisible, erased and displaced in a cloud of smoke. The description printed on the back reads, "Through the smoke and fire-sparks and dust-clouds all around prevent your seeing it you are within the big reservation where real Boers and real British are reenacting scenes of splendor and daring conflict in the Boer War. At this moment, General Piet Cronje in person,—the real man—,is repeating in vividly dramatic form his gallant but hopeless final stand at Paardeberg…"[70]. (Figure 2.14: Cronje in smoke) Here through this photograph, I introduce the idea of diasporic spectrality, which I would identity as a form of diasporic consciousness: the image marking both the presence and absence of the Boer generals as

[69] Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, *A Human Being Died That Night: A South African Woman Confronts the Legacy of Apartheid* (Boston [Mass.]: Houghton Mifflin, 2004).
[70] St. Louis Public Library Digital Collections: https://cdm17210.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/stereographs/id/66/rec/75

exiles and migrants. The photograph marks the ghostliness of their presence. (Figure 2.15: Cronje the Reenactor)

The dominant self-narrative of Afrikaners as a perpetually unsettled community is one that bears further critical analysis. One dimension of displacement is the idea of homelessness at home, which we see present in Afrikaner narratives. Displacement manifests psychologically: exile is a physical state and a state of mind. The generals in the United States, and beyond them the broader Afrikaner community in exile, endured both kinds of displacement, physical and psychological. This unsettlement characterizes various critical moments of Afrikaner historical "dislocation": In their home space, where they constructed a kind of "enclosure", in the post conflict materiality of the Boer war, in the post-1994 conflict, within the New South Africa, they find themselves once again "homeless" at home: an un-homed state. This may relate to the idea of the South African gothic, comparable to the literary tradition of the southern Gothic. The gothic is a response to the terror and the horror of the new, and to profound change. As a physical state and a state of mind, exile includes both loss and gain. Loss of homeland, continuity, and tradition on the one hand, but also gain of new experiences, new ideas, new languages, and even new subjectivities. The idea of liquid modernity is also relevant, in signaling fluidity and dynamism. The Afrikaner utopian enclosure is marked both by gothic qualities and by fluidity, dynamism, instability.[71] New subjectivities and identities are formed in the continuum of enclosure and movement.

[71] Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*, 1st edition (Cambridge, UK : Malden, MA: Polity, 2000).

In this dislocation, the general Viljoen found an opportunity to remake himself, to become an American. This remaking had its racial limits—as Viljoen likely participated in the recapture of the Black South African fugitives, and as he subsequently attempted to create a Boer settlement in the Southwest by displacing Indigenous Yaqui people. Offenburger argues that he used the Boer War exhibition company to fund his desire to establish a Boer colony first in Mexico and then in New Mexico.[72] Viljoen's biography could be read as a story of a double estrangement: a story of a stranger in a strange land repeated. Thus, the Afrikaner narrative of dislocation is repeated in the American landscape.

Viljoen arrived in the US as an exile before he became involved with the reenactment. Before the fair, Viljoen was already traveling in the United States, giving lectures about Afrikaners in the U.S. and Mexico. He approached Porfirio Diaz about establishing a colony: they loved Jimenez in the state of Chihuahua. Diaz suggested to them that they consider Yaqui territory in Sonora. [73] His memoir recounts the scene of his first arrive to New York via ship and makes no mention of the reenactment. The story of how he became involved remains to be told.

When New Mexico achieved statehood in 1912, a pageant celebrated the occasion in which General Viljoen, now a U.S. citizen, marched in his uniform. He and other Boers marched carrying the American flag in one hand, and the flag of the Boer

[72] Andrew Offenburger, *Frontiers in the Gilded Age: Adventure, Capitalism, and Dispossession from Southern Africa to the U.S.-Mexican Borderlands, 1880-1917* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019).
[73] Brian M. Du Toit, *Boer Settlers in the Southwest*, 1st edition (El Paso, Texas 79968-0633: Texas Western Pr, 1995), 27.

Republic, the flag of the four colors, in the other. This scene came to mind when I watched the news footage of the Afrikaners who participated in the invasion of the Capital building in January of 2021. In 1906 Viljoen writes, "Many thousands of Boers are leaving South Africa in this coming summer for the United States to join those who have already found homes, freedom and citizenship under the ensign of liberty of the greatest republic on earth, where the stars and stripes float undisturbed in the refreshing breezes that nurse the evergreens which decorate the tomb of the great George Washington, who delivered America from the clutches of the same enemy that has driven our poor people to wander in strange lands, seeking homes and finding a ready welcome; thank heaven, here where a great people dwell, inspired by the same spirit and the same ideal."[74]

Viljoen also writes, "The more I saw of my poor old, ruined country—of my dejected and crushed countrymen—domineered over by Mr. Rudyard Kipling's "Flanneled Fools," with the monocle, the more repulsive it all became. I felt my helplessness; I could do my people absolutely no good; under these circumstances what was the best step to take? Which flag shall I choose? What country shall I adopt? And I wonder after I have chosen, will that country adopt me?"[75]

[74] Ben J. 1868-191 Viljoen, *An Exiled General* (Andesite Press, 2017), 30–31.
[75] Viljoen, 45.

U.S. and South Africa: Bound by the War

Boer settlers, including war veterans and their families, seemed to have special status entering the United States-- bypassing Ellis Island because of their connection to the White House—specifically to then Vice President Roosevelt. Additionally, several states offered the Boers plots of land. Boers in the United States approached Roosevelt in requests for support. While he couldn't publicly come out in support of the Boers against the British, Roosevelt wrote letters to South Africans and used his influence to support behind the scenes. He was sympathetic, and admired their rugged individualism, even fancied himself a sort of "rough rider" not unlike the Boer fighters.[76] Like other high-profile Americans who claimed kinship with the Boers, Roosevelt confessed:

> I am of Dutch descent though now mixed other blood, Huguenot, Scotch and Irish. I belong to the Dutch Reformed Church to which my fathers have belonged. The church I go to here in Albany is the same as my predecessor as Governor, Old Peter Stuyvesant, went to when Albany was called Fort Orange, and New York, New Amsterdam…I have a very keen respect for the Boers... I was proud of the valor of my kinfolk.[77]

He saw them primarily as anti-imperialists rather than ethnic cousins when he proclaimed: "Whether we win, whether we die: freedom will rise in Africa like the son from the morning clouds, inasmuch freedom rose in the United States…Then it will be from the Zambesi to Simon's Bay: Africa for the Africander."[78] The historic Boer appeal to Roosevelt for aid and sympathy reminds us of a subsequent appeal, when AfriForum

[76] Dutoit, *Boer Settlers in the Southwest*, 21.
[77] As quoted in Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised*, 207.
[78] Lowry, 209.

traveled to the United States to meet with John Bolton (then Secretary of State) about the Boer "genocide' in South Africa.

Another example of pro-Boerism in the United States, in 1900 Henry Cabot Lodge confessed to Roosevelt that "I think we shall manage to keep our neutrality, and that the government will be kept from doing anything in the way of meddling in the Transvaal War. There is a very general and solid sense of the fact that however much we sympathize with the Boers the downfall of the British Empire is something which no rational American could regard as anything but a misfortune to the United States."

Post-Apartheid Contemporary Performance and Reenactment

My turn towards the archives of reenactment is to interrogate how history is refracted and enacted, transposed and translated, and finally dispersed in various mediums. These reenactments are at once looking backward and looking forward: they are simultaneously a form of repetition of the past, of past events, and they are also a recreation of a possible future. They can express both nostalgic longings and utopic desires. The mediums I focus on includes live performance, both reenactment and theater, as well as literary works, including both fiction and nonfiction. They are artistic, including the visual arts, specifically photography, and also performing arts (plays and theater). I also look at music and poetry, and at a lesser remove, film. I also look at textile arts (tapestries, weavings, and quilts). All of these I consider as forms of reenactment. I also look at reenactment as it occurs via institutions, including states, museums, libraries, and educational institutions.

There are contemporary reenactments of the Boer War both in the UK and in South Africa. In 1993, a UK reenactment club styling themselves "a Victorian military society" called the Diehard Company, was formed and still operating today.[79] In 1999 the group travelled to South Africa to reenact several battles in KwaZulu Natal, probably in Dundee. They staged two battles, one from the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879 and one of the Boer War battles. Based on the success of these reenactments, white South Africans formed their own reenactment group called "The Dundee Diehards," formed the same year of the UK groups visit, in 1999.[80] The Dundee Diehards' focus their reenactment on two historic battles: the Battle of Isandlwana in the Anglo-Zulu war 1879 (in which the Zulus defeat the British, wiping them out) and the Boer War Battle of Talana Hill in which the British suffered many casualties but nonetheless drove Boers off a strategic knoll.[81] In 2019, the UK Diehards returned to South Africa and joined with the Dundee Diehards and Zulu reenactors to act out the Battle of Isandlwana. [82] (Figure 2.16: Zulu reenactors). A battle the same day, the Battle of Rorke's Drift, is the subject of a 1964 pro-British film, *Zulu,* starring Michael Caine and depicting a British victory over 4,000 Zulu warriors.

Enter the story, the person of Twin Mosia, the only Black person to become centrally involved in contemporary reenactment of the Boer War, perhaps the first since the fifty Black reenactors who traveled to the U.S. and performed in St. Louis a hundred

[79] https://thediehards.co.uk/boer-war/#!
[80] https://www.battlefieldsroute.co.za/place/the-dundee-diehards/
[81] Pakenham offers more granular descriptions of these various battles. Pakenham, *The Boer War*.
[82] https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6633147/Actors-recreate-bloody-Battle-Isandlwana-clash-Anglo-Zulu-war-140-years-ago.html

years prior. Mosia is originally from a small town in the Transvaal, Mamafudebu, the location of famous battle in which an overwhelming force led by General De la Rey, aided by General De Wet, attacked a British fort. The British successfully fended off the attack. The battle was also the location of one of De Wet's famous escapes, reenacted in St. Louis. Mosia's ties to the history being reenacted were geographical. He became involved in the Boer reenactment drama, participating in the reenactment of the Battle of Talana in Natal, in which he plays the role of a famous *agterryer*, or ghost rider, Jan Ruiter.[83] Ruiter served the president of the Orange Free State, Marthinus Steyn. The original historic photograph (Figure 2.17 Jan Ruiter) of Ruiter was an inspiration for Mosia to reenact the historic role of *agterryer*, now a metonymic figure—the Black assistant in the war. Mosia reenacts this in the post-apartheid moment.

An iconic photograph of Mosia in a Boer camp with two Boer soldiers circulates widely on the internet. (Figure 2.18) This photograph is not a candid shot of reenactment but rather a highly posed and curated scene of the Boer commandos in the *veldt* with their *agterryer*, loyal Black attendant: a multilayered re-staged performance of a staged performance. Mosia's reenactment is restaged in a highly reenacted version. The shoot was commissioned by the Boer War Museum for a book about historically authentic Boer cuisine. (Image: posed reenactment scene)

Mosia became quite well known for his role, remaking himself as a public historian, and in 2015 he left his work as a miner to focus on and develop his work as a

[83] P. Labuschagne, *Ghostriders of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902): The Role and Contribution of Agterryers* (Johannesburg, Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1999).

heritage activist and educator, driven by his passion for history.[84] In this capacity, Mosia traveled to Amsterdam, working as part of a curators' network, and gives conference presentations. Most relevant, he is now working to establish a museum in his hometown community, a project that he frames in relation to building social cohesion in the New South Africa. Holding a copy of Nelson Mandela's autobiography he says of his museum, "We are also going to have a reconciliation monument… Part of the museum is to simulate nation building and social cohesion and reconciliation."[85] Not only is Mosia the first known Black Boer War reenactment actor in post-apartheid South Africa, but he also is the only Black South African to win the Golden Shield National Heritage Award in the Young Heritage Activist category.[86] Mosia collaborates also with the Boer War Museum. The nearly iconic photograph became the basis for a to scale diorama display in Sol Plaatje Hall, adding another layer of reenactment. (Figure 2.19 Diorama)

"We For Thee": Musical Spectacle of War in the New South Africa

In 2009, controversy emerged around the debut of a provocative and popular musical about the Boer War written by Deon Opperman, a prolific, award winning, Afrikaans playwright and filmmaker. Scholars weighed in.[87] The musical, "*Ons vir Jou*" ("We for Thee") is constructed around a love story and the patriotism of the Boer

[84] https://i1.wp.com/henrileriche.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/nespaper.jpg?resize=1024%2C655
[85] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_XluZ4m8r30
[86] https://heritagesa.org/hasa-councillor-twin-mosia-continues-to-make-waves/
[87] Lewis, *Performing Whitely in the Postcolony*; Marisa Keuris, "Deon Opperman's Donkerland: The Rise and Fall of Afrikaner Nationalism," *Acta Academica (Bloemfontein, South Africa)* 41, no. 3 (2009): 1–15.

soldiers, with General Koos de la Rey as the tragic hero.[88] The musical with its famous theme song is a sort of ghostly appeal: a theatrical resurrection, an invocation and summoning, of a mythological savior figure to return: "De la Rey, won't you come and lead us… if you do we will fall around you and protect you". The 1904 enactment presents Cronje as a failed hero: he was not the hero that the Afrikaners needed. The 2009 musical represents De la Rey as the leader that is resurrected and positioned contra Cronje.

Opperman writes extensively about the struggles of Afrikaners in South Africa at various moments in their history. One of his first television dramas, called *Donkerland* (dark land or underworld), considers the trials and tribulations of a seven-generation family called the DeWitts (with resonance to the "whites") from 1838 to 1996, two years after the end of the apartheid. His TV drama, *Kruis Pad* (crossroad), covers the period 1994-2006, also centering an Afrikaner family. The last one, *Hartland* (heartland), looks more broadly at the lives of whites within South Africa. Created initially as TV shows, these programs were reproduced in novelized paperback format as popular historical romances.

"*Ons vir Jou*" had its opening in Pretoria and then traveled throughout the country, performed to sold out crowds and standing ovations, moving the almost exclusively white audiences to tears. Afrikaner critics worked to give the performance a

[88] Deon Opperman, *Kaburu: 'n drama vir die verhoog*, 1ste uitgawe (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2008); Deon Opperman, *Donkerland*, 1. uitgawe. (Kaapstad: Tafelberg, 1996); Deon Opperman and Nu Metro Home Entertainment, *Hartland* (Johannesburg: Nu Metro Home Entertainment, 2012); Keuris, "Deon Opperman's Donkerland."

place within the performative landscape of the New South Africa, even comparing it to the 1986 "District Six: The Musical" or claiming it as an expression of "*ubuntu*": "we are living in a multicultural society in which our stories serve the equality we strive for and deserve to be celebrated with respect and understanding."[89] Afrikaner nationalism is thus recast as *ubuntu*. Reviewer Daniel Dercksen makes the connection to the current context explicit, the play: "aptly reflects our recent history of farm evictions and persecution."[90] At the same time, the performance was harshly critiqued by other South Africans as insensitive and tone deaf to the current context and as barely veiled expression of Afrikaner nationalism. Even otherwise conservative Afrikaners criticized the musical as a form of warmongering.

A review by Adriaan Basson in the *Daily Mail and Guardian* (a center left newspaper in South Africa), referred to the musical as an "unspectacular spectacle," and observed that not one Black person attended the performance. The reviewer noted that apart from a journalist there to review the performance, there were no other people of color in attendance, except for the waitstaff and those there to help people to their seats.[91] Basson quips, "Come on, Deon, if you are going to enact the battle between Boer and Brit on stage we must at least smell some gunpowder."[92] "Why, in 2008, does one of our best think it proper to put on stage a production that uncritically glorifies the role of the Boers in the Anglo-Boer War?" In response to criticisms of the show, Opperman

[89] "A Shining Tribute to Afrikaner Patriotism and the Spirit of Ubuntu," accessed August 17, 2021, https://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/429/101721.html.
[90] "A Shining Tribute to Afrikaner Patriotism and the Spirit of Ubuntu."
[91] Adriaan Basson, "Unspectacular Spectacle," *Mail and Guardian,* September 25, 2008.
[92] Basson.

retorted, “We were always the least, and we still are. We stand pinned against the cliffs today, and once again the flag of a strange force is billowing over our freedom. I am tired of it being unacceptable to call myself an Afrikaner. I am tired of standing back and watching as the history of my people is slowly destroyed and discarded. That is why we decided to create a musical that plays off during the Boer War.”[93]

Opperman takes the title of the musical from the words of the old national anthem, “Die Stem”, or the “Voice (or Root) of South Africa”—essentially it was the apartheid anthem:

> The voice comes, out of the blue of our heaven, out of the blue of our sea, over the eternal mountain ranges where the cliffs give answer, throughout far deserted plains with the groan of ox wagons…Rises the voice of our beloved, of our country South Africa. We will answer to your calling, we will offer what you ask: we will live, we will die- we for thee (*ons vir jou*) South Africa.

There can hardly be an Afrikaner in the country who would not immediately recognize that reference.

The musical centerpiece is an original song called “De la Rey” about the famous Boer general. I consider the song performed within the musical program, in a subsequent video performance, and how the music circulated throughout the country. It’s been read as a bluesy anthem: one admiring Afrikaner critic called it “rainbow blues” Afrikaner fans called the song a freedom song, a protest song, suggesting it was analogous to the powerful African anthems of the antiapartheid movement. In some South African circles, the Boer war was called “The War for Freedom.”

[93] Basson.

Opperman's musical addresses the anxiety and precarity of the Afrikaner position in a Black democratic society, in which they see themselves under threat, beset on all sides. In the chapter, "Rehearsing a White Nation: Afrikaner performance of Volk Identity", in *Performing Whitely*, Megan Lewis observes the performance of social cohesion, while she teases out the idea of anxieties and rehearsable *laager*.[94] Lewis writes about how Afrikaners leverage performance to stage themselves. Writing about Opperman's 2009 musical she offers a brief framing in relation to the St. Louis Fair. She reads the earlier performance as a rehearsal of national selfhood, one in which Boers address a legitimate sense of loss, and succeed in gaining pro-Boer support in the U.S. But in 2009, she explains, Afrikaners are opening a psychic wound, one that had never fully healed: they had torn open the scar, one could say. For Lewis, it's the rehearsal of the fallacy of the *laager* mentality. I follow her to some extent but extend the discussion of *laager*. For Lewis, the idea of enclosure remains entirely metaphorical. She does not, for example, examine the Boer camp in St. Lewis as an enclosure. Enclosure is a fallacy because the borders of the enclosure are permeable, invaded by ideas that would disrupt their ethnomythology.[95]

The next chapter extends the theme of photography, reenactment, and public history to a discussion of the War Museum of the Boer Republics.

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[94] Lewis, *Performing Whitely in the Postcolony*.

[95] Lewis does mention the commercial bent of the company around the musical. One of the threads to be teased out, laid bare, examined, is the role played by non-governmental actors and institutions and corporations. Here, the musical theater company under the director of the Afrikaner playwrights and businessmen with a clear commercial interest. They are unapologetic about their position as Afrikaners and are concerned about their plight and the future.

Chapter 3
The War Museum of the Boer Republics: The Soft Vengeance of a Public Historian

This chapter continues my interpretation of the visual and material afterlives of the early twentieth-century civil conflict in South Africa. The third afterlife, considered here, is the visual representation of the Anglo-Boer war in the post-apartheid moment, in the present, at the Anglo-Boer Museum, aka the War Museum of the Boer Republics. Founded three decades after the war, in 1931, the museum is situated in the Afrikaner heartland, Bloemfontein, in the Free State Province of South Africa (previously Orange Free State): South Africa's judicial capital. "The War destroyed the Afrikaner economically and psychologically," Fransjohan Pretorius writes in his *History of South Africa*.[1] In a sense the original purpose of the Bloemfontein museum was to rebuild and unite the Afrikaners in the post-war period. The War Museum was intended to provide a narrative that unified a divided Afrikaner community as one nation, underscoring shared claims to land, unique language, and distinct culture. It can thus be partly understood as another iteration of Boer enclosure.

In this critical history of the War Museum, I explore how it has shifted its narrative and retrofitted its infrastructure and exhibitions to reflect the post-apartheid political reality, in particular through the newly installed Solomon Plaatje Hall, dedicated

[1] Pretorius and Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns Geskiedeniskommissie, *A History of South Africa*, 259.

to Black people's experience of the war.[2] I focus in particular on three relatively recent commissioned works by Afrikaner artists displayed at the museum: the photographically based charcoal drawing, "Before and After Hector" (2013) by designer Gerrit Hattingh, the Heritage Quilt (2010) incorporating dozens of photograph from the war, and a multimedia collage by Aidon Westcott titled "Aggressors and Victims" (2013) that centers one of the Underwood & Underwood photographs. This chapter is an examination of and a meditation on the politics of display for a new generation of South Africans. One of the arguments here is that the original incarnation of the museum, its mission, was flawed, and these flaws are not resolved in the new iteration as reflected in its exhibits and publications. Most centrally, I identify how the museum has capitalized on the theme of "universal suffering" as a means of including Black people in the museum's memorialization of history without fundamentally altering its historical narrative. In the present, it has continued to be an instrument or technology that shapes and enforces Afrikaner public cultures: through it the Afrikaner community (real or imagined) is curated and re-curated for different historical moments.[3]

My focus is on the use of photography in museum displays, observing how visual images circulate in the construction and extension of narratives of trauma and racialization in the contemporary moment. The museum is the most important national

[2] Johan van Zyl, Rodney Constantine, and Tokkie Pretorius, *An Illustrated History of Black South Africans in the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902: A Forgotten History* (War Museum of the Boer Republics, n.d.).

[3] Important sources discuss the relationship between museums and archives and memory. For background, Tony Bennett, *The birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995); Bettina Messias Carbonell, *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts* (Maldon, MA: Blackwell, 2004); Peter Vergo, *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion, 1989).

memory project related to the war, housing and displaying large archives, including photographic archives. In the book, *The Anglo-Boer War in 100 Objects*, published by the museum in 2017, stereoviews and stereoscopes are not among the objects featured. However, a photograph of a stereoscopic camera along with a stereoview card from the war appear on the title page frontispiece. In this chapter stereoviews are present but not central.

Prior to 1994 the War Museum featured no exhibit, no images, no mention, of Black South Africans. The museum was an identity project dedicated solely to the Afrikaner, with a narrow racial nationalist focus. During the decades of apartheid, even the idea of an institution dedicated to preserving, through memorialization, a Boer Republic was fraught and violent. Since the first democratic election ushering the African National Congress into power in 1994, South Africa as a new democratic nation has attempted to remake and refigure the idea and practice of the museum to respond to traumatic pasts and the need for healing and social cohesion in the present.[4] The Robben Island Museum, the memorial site where Nelson Mandela was imprisoned for 18 years, endorses the official narrative of the new nation while the independent District Six Community Museum promotes a critically engaged alternative to the new national narrative. Under pressure from the ANC government, from whom it received funding, the War Museum repositioned itself within this continuum on the emerging museum landscape of the New South Africa. Through new exhibitions and publications, it

[4] Crain Soudien, "Emerging Discourses around Identity in the New South African Museum Exhibitions E," *Interventions (London, England)* 10, no. 2 (2008): 207–21.

refashioned itself as an inclusive space where "all South Africans" could find their history, yet without offering necessary criticism of the violent apartheid past that resulted from Afrikaner nationalism. Writing about the South African Truth Commissions, Priscilla Hayner asks, "What should be done with a recent history full of victims, perpetrators, secretly buried bodies, pervasive fear, and official denial? Should this past be exhumed, preserved, acknowledged, apologized for? How can a nation of enemies be reunited, former opponents reconciled, in the context of such a violent history and often bitter, festering wounds?"[5] Perhaps new South African museums can be read as presenting one sort of answer to these questions or evaluated in relation to them.

Here, the Anglo-Boer Museum is analyzed in relation to other public history projects in South Africa. This chapter therefore develops my focused study in public history: from the stereoview, to reenactment, to the modern museum. Public history is, "a set of theories, methods, assumptions, and practices guiding the identification, preservation, interpretation, and presentation of historical artifacts, texts, structures, and landscapes in conjunction with and for the public, an interactive process between the historian, the public, and the historical object; the belief that history and historical-cultural memory matter in the way people go about their day-to-day lives."[6] Most recently, the spread of a global human rights culture drives public historians to resist injustice and seek redress for human rights abuses. In addition, public historians are also

[5] Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*, 2nd ed. (Routledge, 2010), 1–4.
[6] Debra DeRuyver, Managing Editor, PHRC.

moved to memorialize such atrocities, contributing to a global embrace of human rights culture.

In, his autobiography *Soft Vengeance of a Freedom Fighter*, ANC activist, legal scholar, and judge Albie Sachs writes about the car bombing that took his arm and his search for healing and justice for the nation.[7] The book describes his response to violence, adversity, conflict, and injustice, reflecting both his hopefulness and underscoring his resilience. I refer to Sach's autobiography in the title of this chapter because in my work as a public historian I also look for redress for human rights violations and for justice without violence. Museums can be instruments for wielding the sort of "soft power" that Sachs demonstrates.[8] Most immediately, I look to Ngaire Blankenberg and Gail Lorde, authors of *Cities, Museums, and Soft Power*, who argue for the exercise of influence via attraction, persuasion and agenda setting, as opposed to the effectiveness of coercion via military and economic force.[9] They argue that this kind of soft power amplifies civil discourse and accelerate cultural change, bringing about contextual intelligence. Like them, I also draw attention to soft power as exhibited in

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[7] *The Soft Vengeance of a Freedom Fighter, New Edition*, First Edition, New Edition edition (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2000).

[8] The idea of soft power is defined as a preference to coopt rather than coerce when seeking to bring about change and transformation, persuading them rather than using military might, for example. Here I follow scholars who have written about soft power. Joseph Samuel Nye, an American political scientist who writes about international relations theory, who is broadly regarded as the person who introduced the concept. James C. Scott, author of *Weapons of the Weak* also emphasized the idea of non-violence in bringing about change. Gene Sharp, founder of the Albert Einstein Institute, also writes about power but suggests strongly that ultimate power to bring about change resides not in the state but in the people. One of his most read books, *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, was influential in the Arab Spring uprising.

[9] Gail Dexter Lord and Ngaire Blankenberg, *Cities, Museums and Soft Power* (American Alliance Of Museums, 2016).

other media and technologies, for example the power of visual media, more specifically the soft power of mass media (including literature in its various formats) to influence and shape public culture, via photography and art, for example, and beyond, the soft power of the humanities—the soft power to shape the public commons. Their book suggests several strategies to enhance the museum's capacity to be an agent of change and increase its productive engagement with the community. My preference for soft power does not blind me to the possible inherent violence in the practice of soft power: the violence to misshape, misrepresent, and misunderstand history. I am also concerned to unmask and destabilize the negative legacy of the museum (and its archive) in South Africa. The title of this chapter reflects my preference, as exhibited in a well-known metonymic adage, popularized by Edward Bulwer-Lytton in his 1839 play *Richelieu-Or the Conspiracy* (Act II Scene II). "True, This! Beneath the rule of men, entirely great, the pen is mightier than the sword. Behold the arch-enchanter's wand, itself is nothing! But taking sorcery from the master's hand to paralyze the Caesars, and to strike the loud and breathless! To take away the sword! States can be saved without it."

Research for this study has included two separate visits to the War Museum of the Boer Republics to conduct a curatorial assessment, including studying the exhibits and interviews with staff and leadership. The first of these was in 2016, when Sol Plaatje Hall had not yet opened. Instead, there was a small room dedicated to Black experience and the hall itself was in construction. I returned in 2018 after the official opening of Sol Plaatje Hall to study and assess the new hall and its exhibitions. Photographs and reenactment have been used in the various exhibits in the museum's new dispensation

and here I return to my focus on these as lenses, building on the discussion of war, photography, and reenactment at the St. Louis World's Fair in the previous chapter. This chapter concludes by considering the War Museum in relation to monument struggles in South Africa including the Rhodes-Must-Fall campaigns and its attendant debates surrounding decoloniality and the teaching of history, with comparison to the removal of confederate monuments in the United States.

The War Museum of the Boer Republics: Afrikaner Heartland

The Bloemfontein War Museum of the Boer Republics is the main repository of artifacts, memorabilia, documents, collections, about the South African War. The Women's Boer War Memorial, documenting the suffering of Afrikaner women, was the founding structure on the site, unveiled in 1913. The war museum was initially dedicated to the experience of the Afrikaner community, in particular their suffering and the trauma suffered especially by their women and children. Today the museum grounds encompass the Women's Memorial, the museum itself with the additional wing Sol Plaatje Hall in 2016, the Concentration Camp Memorial (2010), the Bethulie Monument (2010), and the newest feature, the Garden of Remembrance (2015). Also on the grounds are several additional statues: "The Parting" with resonance to the Underwood & Underwood photograph discussed in the first chapter, and most recently the *agterryer*, or "back rider" unveiled in 2013. In 2014 a symbolic cemetery was added. From its very inception, the War Museum was predicated on the idea of difference. The display of war memorabilia from its collection was limited or was restricted to the Afrikaners, and exclusive of Black

South Africans. This chapter explores the origins, purposes, and effects of the Bloemfontein War Museum in South Africa.

In the aftermath of the war, whites were fragmented, divided between loyalty to the monarchy and loyalty to the Boer Republics. There was the need to form a union between English-speaking and Afrikaans- speaking South Africans, who had been fighting against each other on opposite sides of the war. In the post-war period, the reconciliation between whites from different backgrounds was far more important than granting political rights to Black people. In fact, Black equality was seen as a threat to white reconciliation and to their united control over the nation. The Afrikaner community was of course also divided after the war: the "*hensoppers*", the "hands-uppers", were those who easily surrendered, the "joiners" were those traitors who joined the British, and the "bitter enders" the heroes who continued to resist.

Another division within the Afrikaner community after the war was class based--there was a divide between elite, urban whites and poorer, rural farmers. Tensions between these groups divided the community even after the war had ended. Pretorius singles out the problem of poor whites, as one of the main challenges facing the Afrikaner community at that time. [10] Another "problem" uppermost in the minds of white South Africans was the race question, intimately connected to "fear of the blacks". Political Scientist Willoughby-Herard offers a more critical racial analysis of the spectre of poor whites in South Africa in these decades.[11] The concern to unite all whites,

[10] Pretorius and Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns Geskiedeniskommissie, *A History of South Africa*.
[11] Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin*.

including unifying the disparate elements of the Afrikaner community, was the historical context within which the mission of the War Museum was born. The museum constructs a narrative enclosure, *kraal* or *laager*, one that "remakes landscape and history".

In their contribution to the anthology, *Museum Frictions,* writing from the South African context, Corinne Kratz and Ciraj Rassool identify the museum as a cultural and political resource and define it as a "as a site, as institution, as category, as a set of social processes, as a technology through which values are produced and as a domain of interaction."[12] Beyond this, they reflect on the power of museums to define national histories:

> When people, projects, ideas, and institutions cross sites and domains in this way, the transactions involved require negotiations over different aesthetic values, epistemologies, and realms of knowledge production. They can produce fraught contests with highly consequential states: land claims, moral claims, identity claims, and claim to define national histories. These claims remap and remake both landscape and history, creating palimpsests of meaning that ground the moral economies at issue.[13]

Drawing on this power, the War Museum helped to foster a kind of aggressive nationalism, not just for Afrikaner self-determination, but beyond that for control of the country. Bloemfontein was, connected to this, the birthplace of the National Party founded in 1914 by JBM Hertzog.[14] Who will be allowed to sit "united" at the table and

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[12] Corinne A. Kratz and Ciraj Rassool, "Remapping the Museum," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Corinne A. Kratz et al. (New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2006), 347–56.
[13] Corinne A. Kratz and Ciraj Rassool, "Remapping the Museum," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Corinne A. Kratz et al. (New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2006), 349–50.
[14] Giliomee, *Afrikaners*; T. Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*, Perspectives on Southern Africa 11 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Brian Bunting, *Rise of the South African Reich*, Revised edition

set the agenda for the future of South Africa? It is clear that Blacks would not be invited to that discussion.

Bloemfontein can be regarded as the center, the "homeland", of the Afrikaner community: the museum is geographically located in the Afrikaner heartland of South Africa. One of the municipality's slogans is "at the heart of it all." The city is not just figuratively central, it is the most centrally located geographically in the country. It is a cultural capital, the so-called city of flowers. According to another narrative, the city takes its name from the original "*mangaung*", or "place of cheetahs" in Sesotho, the language of the original inhabitants. There is very little written on the importance of Bloemfontein as a cultural, sentimental, nostalgic homeland/heartland, compared to many studies of Johannesburg, Cape Town, or Kimberley.[15] One of the threads that I highlight is the linkages between the U.S. and South Africa in their histories and racial traumas. The thorn of racial conflict is deeply embedded in the history of Bloemfontein and the Orange Free State: the conflict between the Afrikaners and the British, and Afrikaners and the various Black nations, antedates the founding of Bloemfontein even as it continues in the present.

(Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1969); Patrick Furlong, "The National Party of South Africa," in *New Perspectives on the Transnational Right*, ed. Margaret Power and M. Durham, Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2011).

[15]Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds*. Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*. There is a recent series of essays written on Bloemfontein. Lochner Marais and Chitja Twala, "Bloemfontein: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Judicial Capital," *African Geographical Review* 40, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 49–62, https://doi.org/10.1080/19376812.2020.1760901; Ronnie Donaldson, "Spatialities of Urban Change: Selected Themes from Bloemfontein at the Beginning of the 21st Century: Lochner Marais and Gustav Visser (Editors), 2008, Ix + 195pp, Sun Press, Stellenbosch, ISBN 978-1-920109-45-5," *Urban Forum* 19, no. 4 (2008): 427–28, https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-008-9045-6.

Bloemfontein' historical origins stand as a microcosm of future South African racial relationships. Founded in the 1850s, as the capital of the Orange Free State, the state's constitution was based on the United States', which had a formative influence on the shape of the Boer Republic, not surprising given the history of both countries with regard to its treatment of people of color. Architecturally it is perhaps the most archetypally designed apartheid city, laid out in the shape of a wagon wheel, with Bloemfontein as the central hub. The spokes of the wheel radiate out to various segregated communities of color: Black (Mangaung) and Coloured (Heideberg). There is no Indian community because they were not allowed to reside within city limits. The white community occupied the most desirable residential area: an elevated position on the hillside. Following the spokes into the city, entry was further blocked by a wall: a typical apartheid city. Blacks were allowed to work within the city but not allowed to live there. South African historian Chitja Twala writes that the landscape of Bloemfontein is dotted with numerous symbols of Afrikaner nationalism.[16] Bloemfontein is also the birthplace of Tolkien, Today, the house where some claim he was born is a museum and a bed and breakfast: the Hobbit Boutique Hotel. It could thus be said that the city has cultural value and resonance not just for Afrikaners and Black nations but also British literary history and global popular culture.

Not only is Bloemfontein centrally important in the history of the Afrikaner nation as the first independent Boer republic, but it also features centrally in the history of

[16] Marais and Twala, "Bloemfontein."

the African National Congress—the location of its founding.[17] Today, one of the largest statues of Nelson Mandela in the country overlooks the city. Standing eight meters tall, located above the city on Naval Hill, Mandela faces Bloemfontein with his right fist raised in the quintessential black power salute. (Figure 3.1 Mandela statue) This outsized statue of Mandela inserts itself into the stony landscape as a dominant symbol of ANC nationalism and political power, suggesting a sort of monumental competition with the city's other symbols. The monument marks not just the city of the ANC's founding but is a sign of its dominance over the War Museum itself, now under the aegis of the ANC government. On the eve of the unveiling of the Mandela monument in December 2012, the ANC also renamed the city's airport Bram Fischer International Airport, with President Jacob Zuma officiating at the renaming ceremony and the unveiling. Bram Fischer was an Afrikaner lawyer, white resistance leader, and member of the South African Community Party who was also sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. Though his father fought in the Boer War and was a prominent judge and an Afrikaner nationalist, Bram Fischer himself served as one of Mandela's lawyers.[18] Bloemfontein is thus the birthplace of the two most significant forms of nationalism in the history of South Africa: Afrikaner nationalism (white supremacy) and its opposite, the Black empowerment struggle of the ANC. The former was foundational to the South

[17] Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology*, Perspectives on Southern Africa 19 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978). Roger B. Beck, "Mandela, Tambo, and the African National Congress: Johns, Sheridan and Richard Hunt Davis, Jr., Eds.: New York: Oxford University Press 353 Pp., Publication Date: March 1991," *History (Washington)* 20, no. 3 (1992): 120–21. Anthony Butler, *The Idea of the ANC*, Ohio Short Histories of Africa (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2013).
[18] Stephen Clingman, *Bram Fischer: Afrikaner Revolutionary* (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 2011).

African Republic, while the latter is foundational to the post-apartheid state, what we could call the third republic.[19]

In Bloemfontein and elsewhere in South Africa, the ANC follows a policy of renaming prominent landmarks and adding supplemental symbols and monuments rather than removing symbols of Afrikaner nationalism as in the United States practice of removing Confederate Statues. The ANC practice is to add statuaries to the landscape. The War Museum has done the same, it adds to its exhibitions rather than altering the narrative landscape in a substantive way. In textile technology it is called applique (the woven version of a palimpsest) in which a new piece of fabric is sewn onto a preexisting one. It's all in the stitch.[20] This is not necessarily true for other areas in South Africa, where the monument struggles initiated by students has led to the removal of some statues, for example in the Rhodes Must Fall Campaign. Removal has typically occurred only when citizens themselves, the outraged public, demands it. There are at least three recorded incidents in which Boer War statues were defaced or vandalized in South Africa, one notable in the Eastern Cape. The Horse Memorial, dedicated to the role of horses in the War, was vandalized, and it seems the city quietly removed it.

Here I extend the notion of Bloemfontein as "heartland," as the vital center of a country or a nation.[21] In, *How the South Lost the Civil War*, Heather Cox Richardson

[19] By a strange quirk of interest, in my second visits I went to one a local restaurant that turns out to be owned by a Russian man who now also owns the Tolkien Museum house. There were in the 2000s plans for a Tolkien statue in Bloemfontein, but these were abandoned. Tolkien's family moved to Britain on the eve of the war.
[20] Annette Gero, *WARTIME QUILTS Appliques and Geometric Masterpieces from Military Fabrics from 300 BC to WWII*, First edition. (The Beagle Press [2015], 2015).
[21] I use the term differently than Arthur Schlesinger for who it is the political center on which democracy rests. Schlesinger uses the idea of vital center as a site of power and persuasion.

describes how the ideals and values of the South-- slavery and the deeply entrenched racial hierarchies-- managed to claw their way (as monstruous ideologies) back into influence to reshape the American political and social landscape. Cox argues that those ideas, birthed in the confederacy, moved outward (westward) to the rest of the country. These cleavages she defines as a rejection of democracy, an embrace of entrenched wealth, and the marginalization of women and people of color. Foundational to the Confederacy, these values found a home (were enclosed, I would say) within modern conservative politics, the performance of which is now so visible on the national stage.[22] Two foundational ideas emerged from Bloemfontein as heartland and vital center: the idea of white supremacy and the idea of Black empowerment. These ideas have shaped historical consciousness. Bloemfontein is a vital center, a heartland from which a new nation is curated, a base from which Afrikaner nationalism emerges. It is also the center from which Black freedom struggles and nationalisms arise in response: it is a site of significance, political and cultural—the place where the ANC was founded. The heartland, I argue, is therefore a site where founding racial values can also be dislodged, destabilized and decentered. St. Louis at the turn of the century was arguably such a vital center, from which emerged a new kind of thinking about education, especially in relation to the use of technologies in educating children.[23]

Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Vital Center; the Politics of Freedom* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1949).

[22] Heather Cox Richardson, *How the South Won the Civil War: Oligarchy, Democracy, and the Continuing Fight for the Soul of America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020).

[23] Meredith A. Bak, *Playful Visions: Optical Toys and the Emergence of Children's Media Culture* (The MIT Press, 2020).

The War Museum fueled the drive toward nationalism, toward protecting and legitimating the Afrikaners' language, land claims, culture, history, and heritage: the markers of nationhood that the Afrikaners arguably lacked at the time (Afrikaans only became an official language of South Africa in 1909 and continues to be a site of contestation in South Africa). Afrikaner nationhood was curated through various institutions. Black South African historian Jonathan Jansen refers to the holy trinity of influences: the church, the sports field, and the school building: the locations of play, worship, and learning where habits of heart and mind were cultivated, Afrikanerhood nurtured, and, in the New South Africa Jansen adds, "mourned."[24] The War Museum has played a key role among these institutions. On the one hand the museum succeeded in building up the Afrikaner nation, but it also existed, as it continues to exist, as a symbol of a divided nation. Afrikaans economist Sampie Terreblanche argues that in its essence South Africa is a divided country and makes the case that the root of the division is longstanding but based on class and economics, exacerbated by global, transnational influences.[25]

Within museum studies, the classic conception of the museum is that it is tied to the imperial commons, to colonial projects, to official narratives of the state, and so on.[26] The museum as a thinly disguised arm of the state has become a bit of a chestnut in

[24] Jonathan Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood: Confronting Race and the Apartheid Past* (Stanford University Press, 2009).
[25] Sampie Terreblanche, *Verdeelde land: Hoe die oorgang Suid-Afrika faal*, 1 edition (Tafelberg, 2014).
[26] John M. MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities*, 1 edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

museum studies, an almost over-used common trope. Since the 1970s, a new theorization of the museum began to emerge with respect to its place, its tactics, and its purposes: new museology. In the new theorization museums are not primarily about conservation, collection, and display technologies. Now community context becomes important, and the museum and the curator are no longer the sole authority in terms of producing and disseminating knowledge. The museum even becomes a site where historical truth is interrogated. For Brenda Trofanenko museums have a new role to play in "Unmasking the complicity the public history museum has in defining and guarding the nation of advancing an uncritical acceptance of the benefits served by the nation and nation building."[27] The rest of this chapter examines whether this is the case with the new iteration of the War Museum.

Forgive and Forget: An Exhibition of the Wound that Will Not Heal

Totius: "Vergewe en vergeet"

Dat gij niet vergeet de dingen die uwe ogen
gezien hebben. Deut. 4.9

Daar het 'n doringboompie
vlak by die pad gestaan,
waar lange ossespanne
met sware vragte gaan.

En eendag kom daarlangs
'n ossewa verby
wat met sy sware wiele
dwars-oor die boompie ry.

[27] Brenda Trofanenko, "Dare We Know the Nation? Considering the Nexus of Discursive Leveraging and Identity," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 29, no. 2 (June 1, 2008): 258.

"Jy het mos, doringstruikie,
my anderdag gekrap;
en daarom het my wiele
jou kroontjie platgetrap".
Die ossewa verdwyn weer
agter 'n heuweltop
en langsaam buig die boompie
sy stammetjie weer op.

Sy skoonheid was geskonde
sy bassies was geskeur;
op een plek was die stammetjie
so amper middeldeur.

Maar tog het daardie boompie
weer stadig reggekom,
want oor sy wonde druppel
Die salf van eie gom.

Ook het die loop van jare
die wonde weggewis -
net een plek bly 'n teken
wat onuitwisbaar is.

Die wonde word gesond weer
as jare kom en gaan, maar
daardie merk word groter
en groei maar aldeur aan.

The above poem, “Vergewe en vergeet”, or “Forgive and Forget” in English, is one of the central exhibitions of the War Museum, appearing in the hall dedicated to the white concentration camps along with an interactive media station. Written by one of the most significant white Afrikaner poets, J.D. du Toit (known as Totius), who was also a professor and theologian who authored the first translation of the bible into Afrikaans. Many of his works were, “inspired by the struggles of the Afrikaner people after the

South African War"[28] I think of Totius as a sort of South African Walt Whitman writing about the trauma of the Civil War in the United States, or Kipling, an apologist for the British Empire. Totius advocated for the survival of Afrikanerdom and like Kipling, he can be regarded as a white supremacist. Totius features prominently in the War Museum.

The poem has presumably featured in the museum since its origins and continues to frame and orient the museum's purpose. Within Emily Hobhouse Hall dedicated to the suffering of women and children, the poem appears on a large wall panel. The museum visitor can listen to an oral recording of the poem recited in Afrikaans and English, to the strains of haunting music. The poem also appears again, outside, in the memorial for the concentration camps. (Figure 3.2 Totius poem at Concentration camp memorial) Totius' poem has been repurposed in the new dispensation to do new political work: reused and recycled to fit in with the museum's new declared purpose of serving all South Africans.

Reflecting the deep Christian religiosity of the Afrikaners, "Vergewe en vergeet" anchors on a biblical passage: Deuteronomy 4:9, "only take heed to thyself, and keep they soul diligently lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life: but teach them to thy sons, and to thy sons' sons." Totius begins with the image of the thornbush—the thornbush that is wounded and that also causes a wound that will not heal. He urges the reader, or presumably the museum visitor, to forgive or forget, presumably in this context to forgive and forget the violence and transgressions of the British in the Boer War. This is an interesting frame

[28] S. Sharland, "Totius and the Imagery of Doom and Imperial Destruction," *Akroterion* 62, no. 1 (June 1, 2017): 55–70, https://doi.org/10.10520/EJC-f3bfc3683.

given the museum's mission of memory. The National Women's Memorial Committee identified the need for a museum dedicated to the history of the war.[29] In the end, the Afrikaners did not forgive the British, and they have not forgotten. The Afrikaner community has never moved on, hampered by their collective and individual memory of historical trauma. Very often they have only remembered their own suffering and have forgotten or ignored the suffering of others. There have been silences and absences.

In the new iteration of the museum, the poem presents central themes and challenges not only for the Afrikaner community but speaks to the difficulties of memory and reconciliation in the post-Apartheid era. The poem poses, in one scholar's argument, a conundrum: how can we forgive and forget and move forward? It is a question that became even more relevant in the context of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. That is, while the original poem is directed at the Afrikaner community, with the new museum's intended audience of "all South Africans" the poem becomes even more difficult, a marker of unsettled history, given Afrikaner culpability for apartheid atrocities. The challenge of forgiving and forgetting continues to haunt South Africa. Apartheid is the thorn that does not go away, the wound that will not heal. Totius urges the Afrikaner nation to forgive and reconcile.

The exhibition of the poem is paradoxical, given the museum's identity as a place for the processing of white trauma. It is ironic that "Vergewe en vergeet" also forms the centerpiece of the new repositioning of the museum: Afrikaners have always been interested in remembrance and reconciliation. An Afrikaans scholar, Gerri Snyman, asks

[29]Anglo-Boer War museum website: www.wmbr.org.za (accessed September 12, 2016)

"what value can one attach to the works of Totius sixty years after his death? In the light of his racist views, have they not been weighed and found wanting? To put it differently, is it in any way possible to rehabilitate Totius in a post-apartheid context?"[30] By extension, can whiteness be rehabilitated in the New South Africa? Snyman's question highlights the implausibility of this particular poem within the new War Museum and the impossibility of the reconciliation of the War Museum's founding narrative with the post-apartheid reality. Snyman concludes that Totius' national poem reflects a racist bias and causes immeasurable damage in the country. The strange work this poem does as part of the exhibitions points to the largest absence and erasure (work of forgetting) in the museum: the suffering of Black South Africans under apartheid that were the result of Afrikaner nationalism that emerged from the War. The trauma of apartheid is a trauma denied, an unrecognized trauma that manifests not just psychologically but that also has a corporeal dimension, it manifests in the body.[31] The collection of poems *Collective Amnesia*, written by Black poet Koleka Putuma, explores inherited memory, buried memory, and postmemory. A fertile and capacious field about embodied trauma reflects the South African reality and suggest how trauma also shapes its museum cultures.[32]

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[30] Gerrie Snyman, "Totius: Die Ironie van Vergewe En Vergeet : Godsdienswetenskappe," *Litnet Akademies : 'n Joernaal Vir Die Geesteswetenskappe, Natuurwetenskappe, Regte En Godsdienswetenskappe* 12, no. 2 (August 1, 2015): 211–35.
[31] Sarah Malotane Henkeman, *Disrupting Denial: Analysing Narratives of Invisible/Visible Violence & Trauma* (South Africa]: New Adventure Publishing, 2018).
[32] Monica J. Casper and Eric Wertheimer, eds., *Critical Trauma Studies: Understanding Violence, Conflict and Memory in Everyday Life* (New York: NYU Press, 2016); Silke Arnold-de Simine, *Mediating Memory in the Museum: Trauma, Empathy, Nostalgia*, 2013; Wale, GOBODO-MADIKIZELA, and Prager, *Post-Conflict Hauntings*; Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

The War Museum in the New Dispensation

In its original incarnation, the War Museum conformed to the traditional idea of colonialist museums. Its primary performance was to act as a tool to unite and build up the Afrikaner community as a cohesive nation.[33] It served an ideological purpose. In the new, post-apartheid moment, the museum's purpose remains ideological, connected to nationhood and social cohesion. The reworked history aims to unite the nation, but in this case the new "rainbow nation" is uncomfortably united under the Afrikaner narrative of suffering universal—writ large. The museum's annual report reproduces it vision statement which reads, "To be an institution of excellence whereby the inclusivity and suffering of all communities during the Anglo-Boer War are depicted, thus propagating the message that negotiation is preferable to war." In a recent documentary produced by the War Museum, "The Cultural Historical Heritage of the War Museum" the narrator asserts that "over time this institution developed into one of the most prestigious and *progressive* museums in South Africa."[34] While he says the War played a large role in producing Afrikaner nationalism, he does not draw the line to apartheid. In my 2018 interview with the current museum director Tokkie Pretorious, he was quick to point out that the War also produced the ANC, Black nationalism. The museum displays the new

[33] In the debate about nations and nationalism, how does the Afrikaner community fit into to these paradigms, into this enclave of nations? Is it as Benedict Anderson writes an "imagined community"? Is it an abstract community? Does it conform to the Westphalian or medieval idea of nation and nationhood. Azar Gat and Alexander Yakobson, *Nations: The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Ernest Renan, *What Is a Nation? And Other Political Writings*, Columbia Studies in Political Thought / Political History (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2018). Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, New Perspectives on the Past (Ithaca ; London: Cornell University Press, 1983).

[34] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pP0wNPwcafk&t=23s

South African flag, but it is one of the only institutions that still flies the old, the Vierkleur (flag of the four colors) of the Boer Republics and the old South African Republic (pre-1994). Recent legislation in South Africa has deemed it an act of hate speech to display the flag of the Boer Republic (which has often been used as a symbol by far-right, segregationist groups), with exceptions for academics, artists, or journalists.

Since its inception and birth the War Museum has had a reconciliatory mission. This is the argument of contemporary leadership of the museum as it retrofits the museum's exhibitions and stitches this theme onto the fabric of its past. Therefore, it can now assert that the thread of reconciliation has been present in the narrative from the first efforts to memorialize the war: a thread running through its history. In a two-part documentary produced by the War Museum, Professor Piet Strauss, chair of the National Women's Memorial Commission, quotes President M.T. Steyn's opening speech at the women's monument in 1913: the purpose of the museum is "not to punish… or to serve as a symbol of hatred". Strauss explains, at the very origins of the museum, "we have the first glimpses of reconciliation… the museum is not just for us but for all people, to live and work together in South Africa."[35]

This shift partly reflects the influence and discourses of the state. The ANC government, recognizing the considerable power that cultural institutions have over shaping the public commons and shared narratives, sought to exert control over many of South Africa's museums. Carol Duncan writes, "to control a museum means precisely to

[35] This documentary has since been removed from the War Museum website. It was produced by the Mimosa Group, directed, scripted and shot by Dr. Andre Van Deventer and narrated by Pieter Taljaard/

control the representation of a community and its highest values and truths. It is the power to define the relative standing of individuals within that community."[36] The history of the District Six Community Museum in Cape Town is an important contrast to the War Museum as it sought to remake itself in the new dispensation. District Six had a long and vibrant history, established in 1867 as a place of residence and refuge for a diverse population including former enslaved people, artisans, artists, immigrants, and small businesses. It was called the sixth district in the municipality of Cape Town and had, since its inception, enjoyed close ties with the City of Cape Town, a short walk away, and the harbor. The District had always been cosmopolitan and integrated; the residents were mostly colored, and also included Blacks (mostly Xhosa-some of whom were forcibly removed in the early 1900's), whites, Indians, and Asian. District Six had also been home to a small yet influential number of Jews. A recent exhibition (November 2012-March 2013) by the South African Jewish Museum showcases the history of Cape Town Jewry in District Six. When the apartheid government designated the District a white area, almost 60,000 residents were forcibly removed in the 1970s under apartheid's Group Areas Act and the community leveled. My mother was from District Six and my family was removed with displaced residents of District Six into Bonteheuwel Township. There are strong ties between Bonteheuwel and District Six and its museum.

The museum was established to memorialize the community that was destroyed. The District Six Foundation was formed in 1987 and in 1994 the District Six Museum was created: "Although the Museum was initially started as a community space for ex-

[36] Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums (Re Visions* (Routledge, 1995), 8.

residents to gather and meet, it has now become a space that tells the story of District Six to both local and foreign visitors to Cape Town and South Africa. The museum has been designed in such a way that a visitor can wander in off the street and take a self-guided tour, but more importantly a visitor can also make use of the privilege of taking a tour with an ex-resident of District Six."[37] Opened in 1994, "The museum created the space for ordinary people to intervene in the bigger politics of urban renewal." It is not just a place to remember, but a place where South Africans can work through their wounded memory, it is also a place of healing, of noisy debate, of laughter. The District Six Museum was to be a place to gather and remember, but also a place of restitution and healing: "…the mission of the museum was not to network with the official museum structure but to mobilize the masses of ex-residents and their descendants into a movement of land restitution, community development, and political consciousness." [38]

The idea for the creation of the museum came from an organization called the Hands Off District Six Committee, under the direction Vincent Kolbe who subsequently became one of its founding members. Kolbe was an activist, public intellectual, jazz musician, and also a community librarian. He headed up the Bonteheuwel Public Library, an important place of my childhood and youth, which was similarly a space of noisy debate, learning, and community building. He advocated for a specific vision of a public library. I distinctly remember when I was a high school student, Kolbe said to me,

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[37] *(http://www.districtsix.co.za/)*

[38] Ciraj Rassool, "Community Museums, Memory Politics, and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities, and Limits," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Ivan Karp (Duke University Press, 2006), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11cw1hd.20.

"libraries are supposed to be noisy places." In the mirror of my memory, I recall many hours in the library studying, reading banned literature, learning to play chess, participating in debates, and later was even allowed in the back room to repair damaged books after receiving a short session in book repair. Another South African scholar, Archie Dick, has written about libraries during apartheid and South African book cultures.[39] Dick did an internship at Bonteheuwel Library, and has a similar memory of the space, but prefers to call the library a "barber shop". After his death, Vincent Kolbe's legacy as a public intellectual was honored by the University of Cape Town who named a commons room after him as the "people's librarian".[40]

An early ANC government Task Force white paper recommended that the District Six Museum be included within a project to establish a system of flagship museums in South Africa, similar to the Smithsonian. However, this recommendation did not materialize. One obstacle was that the ANC government pressured the District Six Museum to change its name to the "The District Six *Coloured* Museum": "remodeling its mission so that it would develop as a 'coloured museum' in the city of Cape Town, hinting at the possibility of multicultural inclusion on an ethnic basis. It was in the nature of the District Six Museum that this suggestion was rejected outright".[41] The museum

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[39] Archie L. Dick, *The Hidden History of South Africa's Book and Reading Cultures*, Reprint edition (University of Toronto Press, 2013); Caroline Davis et al., eds., *Print Culture in Southern Africa*, 1st edition (Routledge, 2021); Archie L. Dick, "Library and Information Science as a Social Science: Neutral and Normative Conceptions," *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 65, no. 2 (1995): 216–35.

[40] https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2017-03-29-renamed-knowledge-commons-honours-struggle-librarian

[41] Ciraj Rassool, "Community Museums, Memory Politics, and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities, and Limits," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Ivan Karp (Duke University Press, 2006).

refused the new name and lost funding from the governmental Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) as a result: "It might have been that the independent origins of the District Six Museum were regarded as inimical to the cultural agenda of the new state. Moreover, the social and cultural histories, as well as the memory politics that the museum worked with, might not have cohered with emerging priorities for new national museums of resistance, reconciliation, and the 'triumph of the human spirit'"[42] You could say that District Six has been a "disobedient museum."[43]

In contrast, the War Museum maintains a similar state affiliation to Robben Island, both are numbered among twelve institutions designated as national museums under the Cultural Institutions Act, No. 119 of 1998, a list from which District Six is excluded. Instead, the District Six Community Museum has since received official designation as an International Site of Conscience. Meanwhile the state maintained interpretive control over Robben Island, which receives state funding and therefore comes under its embrace. Robben Island is designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site but has not affiliated with the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience. While at first it was "independent", since 1998 the War Museum has become encompassed under the ANC government's DACST. In this way the state dictates museum policy, for example compelling the diversification of its governing board, or requiring the updating and revision of its messaging and exhibitions. In order to maintain funding, the museum has adopted the rhetoric of nation building and social cohesion and worked to incorporate

[42] Ciraj Rassool.
[43] Kylie Message, *The Disobedient Museum: Writing at the Edge*, 1 edition (Routledge, 2017).

Black South Africans into its representation of history. Its annual report for the last several years reads: "The War Museum of the Boer Republics is mandated in terms of the Cultural Institutions Act, No. 119 of 1998."

Museums have a history of being put to work in the service of officially sanctioned statist and nationalist narratives. Governments use museums and other civil institutions to disseminate ideas about the past—the official story of the nation—and ideas about the nation's citizens—who they are and where and to whom they belong: their identity and their community. Here I include the apartheid regime's use of museums in South Africa, including the War Museum. On the other hand, museums have also been used to promote post-national and transcultural identities. On the role of the museum and identity, Sharon Macdonald argues that the museum's former, 19th century task of imposing homogenizing coherence of identity is becoming increasingly irrelevant as new more complex, transcultural, and multiple identities are created in the contemporary moment.[44] Similar attempts at new forms of representation are being made in South African museums.[45] The revised government white paper on museums, from 2019, incorporates language of new museology.[46] Another recent document produced by the newly formed South African Cultural Observatory, a research arm of the Department of Arts and Culture, frames the new South African museum within an economic vision for

[44] Sharon Macdonald, "Museums, National, Postnational and Transcultural Identities," *Museum and Society* 1, no. 1 (2003): 1–16.
[45] Soudien, "Emerging Discourses around Identity in the New South African Museum Exhibitions E."
[46] https://www.gov.za/documents/revised-white-paper-arts-culture-and-heritage-third-draft-1-feb-2017-0000

South Africa, "a supply side" study of museums and their publics.[47] In the newest iteration of the Department of Arts and Culture statement, the language of nation building and social cohesion has been extended to include "transformation and moral regeneration."[48]

When the Department of Arts and Culture revised their white paper and established their "observatory" think tank they appear to be au fait, appropriating new critical terminologies from the field, juxtaposing "old" and "new", and rejecting the idea of the western museum in the pursuit of "indigenizing" or "Africanizing" the museum. Materials produced by the government advocate for the adoption of a "service-oriented approach," that is in essence consumer driven. In pleasing its audience, the museum becomes more attractive and generates more revenue. The South African museum thus shifts from the "exhibitionary complex" to the governmental assemblage.[49] The revised white paper characterizes existing institutions as "patchwork" riven by gaps, which the government is trying to fill. This falls far short from the sort of radical reorientation called for in the literature: for a museum that is more engaged, more reflexive, more inclusive, that functions as an agent of change.

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[47]https://www.southafricanculturalobservatory.org.za/download/comments/643/9b698eb3105bd82528f23d0c92dedfc0/Quantifying+the+State+of+South+African+Museums+from+a+Supply+Side+Perspective

[48] https://www.gov.za/documents/department-arts-and-culture-annual-report-20192020-18-nov-2020-0000

[49] Andrea Witcomb and Kylie Message, eds., *Museum Theory*, 1 edition (Wiley-Blackwell, 2020).

Sol Plaatje Hall and the Rhetoric of Universal Suffering

Today the War Museum presents itself not just as an Afrikaner memory project but as a South African one. Representative of all South Africans, the museum declares that we have all suffered, and we are all traumatized. In the official, two-part documentary history of the museum: "for many the war is just a footnote in history… but for Afrikaners in the Republics, the war had only one meaning: suffering".[50] In visual illustration of this point, the film then moves to a sequence of historic photographic images: the concentration camps, images of prisoners of war, and images of deaths of women and children. Several museum publications refer to the idea of universal suffering, *Universal Suffering During the South African War, 1899-1902* (published in 2013), *Black Participation and Suffering in the South African War 1899-1902: An Untold History* (2015), and *The Black Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902* (2011).

With the construction and curation of Sol Plaatje Hall, the museum demonstrates that it is inclusive, representing the suffering of all South Africans. In the new Sol Plaatje Hall, visitors learn that there were 65 permanent concentration camps for Blacks as compared to 49 for whites. Solomon Plaatje (1876-1932) was one of modern South Africa's early black intellectuals. His diary journal about the war through which he lived was "discovered," edited, and published by anthropologist John Comaroff, whose career was launched by this work.[51] Plaatje also worked as a court translator and was a novelist,

[50] Two-part documentary of the War Museum.
[51] Sol T. Plaatje, *The Boer War Diary of Sol T. Plaatje; an African at Mafeking* (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1973).

authoring one of the first South African novels. He became the first general secretary of (what would become) the ANC in 1912, one of its founding members.

The remade, retrofitted museum, in its exhibits, films, and publications, promotes the idea of universal South African suffering. This universal suffering is de-racialized, de-politicized: "not linked to time, reason, or race" as the catalogue copy reads. Several recent works published by the War Museum extend the idea of suffering to Blacks, making suffering at the hands of the British "universal".[52] Black South Africans suffered in common with Afrikaners at the hands of the British. The museum makes no reference to Black suffering under apartheid at the hands of Afrikaners. The addition of the Sol Plaatje Hall is a means of rehabilitation of South African history without significant challenge or threat to Afrikaner identity. It leaves intact the original narrative but incorporates new participants into that history, bringing Blacks into the Boer narrative enclosure. In the post-apartheid, post-racial dispensation, Blacks are enfranchised into the Boer rhetoric and experience of suffering in the war. Expanding the notion of suffering to include all of South Africa is a response to the proliferation of scholarship exploring the roles of Black people. This constitutes part of the new regime's nation building project, and intends to promote social cohesion: we have all suffered, suffering is universal.

[52] Changuion, Louis, Jacobs, Frik, and Alberts, Paul, *Suffering of War: A Photographic Portray of the Suffering in the Anglo-Boer War Emphasizing the Universal Elements of All Wars* (Blomefontein, South Africa: Kraal Publishers for War Museum of the Boer Republics, 2003); *Universal Suffering During the South African War 1899-1902* (Bloemfontein, South Africa: War Museum of the Boer Republics Centenary collection, 2013); War Museum of the Boer Republics, *Black Participation and Suffering in the South African War 1899-1902: An Untold History* (Blomefontein, South Africa: War Museum of the Boer Republics, 2015).

The exhibitions at Sol Plaatje Hall do not consider apartheid to be one of the afterlives or outcomes of the Boer War, but rather simply revisit Black suffering under British violence. In the exhibits, the British are the historic and paradigmatic perpetrators of anti-Black violence, not the Boers themselves. Implicit in the museum's narrative, before the onset of the war and British violence and concentration camps, Blacks were laborers, happy in their plight, working on the Boer farm.

Another way to frame my evaluation of the War Museum's revision in the new dispensation is in relation to the theme of historical consciousness. The museum has a didactic element: its intention and purpose are to create a "historical consciousness" for the visitor and for the country, a way of making sense of the past.[53] Historical consciousness can be defined as memory, historical thinking, or a sense of the past, with these terms sometimes being used interchangeably. The journal, *History and Memory* defines historical consciousness as "the area in which collective memory, the writing of history, and other modes of shaping images of the past in the public mind merge." The understanding of historical consciousness at work in the War Museum is shot through, inflected with, Christian national education. Nevertheless, the museum is absent the component of moral consciousness. As a key dimension of historical consciousness, moral consciousness is missing from the current iteration of the museum. Within a new

[53] John Lukacs, *Historical Consciousness: The Remembered Past*, 2 edition (Routledge, 2017); Gosselin, *Museums and the Past: Constructing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Viviane Gosselin and Phaedra Livingstone, Reprint edition (UBC Press, 2016); Hans Ruin, *Being with the Dead: Burial, Ancestral Politics, and the Roots of Historical Consciousness*, 1 edition (Stanford University Press, 2019); Anna Clark and Carla L. Peck, eds., *Contemplating Historical Consciousness: Notes from the Field*, 1 edition (Berghahn Books, 2018).

public history frame the museum is to function as a tool of social justice, that is it claims that the promulgation of knowledge must also fulfill a moral purpose. The absence of moral consciousness characterizes both instantiations of the museum, including in its new dispensation. In the new dispensation, the idea of history education is still unresolved. What kind of history is being presented and how would we begin to measure its success? In so far as the moral element relates to social justice, the new museum's presentation of the moral dimension of historical consciousness remains partial and incomplete.

"Before and After Hector": Reenactment and Photography in the Sol Plaatje Hall

In the Sol Plaatje Hall and its exhibitions and in its more recent publications, the War Museum extends the right to occupy a place of suffering to Blacks. The extension of Boer enclosure can be seen in the physical expansion of the museum to include the new hall, where the new narrative of Black suffering is enclosed and encompassed. The narrative of black suffering is underscored by the use of the most iconic image of anti-apartheid resistance. One of the central and imposing exhibitions featured in the new Sol Plaatje Hall speaks to the impossibility of reconciling the museum's founding narrative with the reality of Black suffering. The exhibit is the work of Afrikaner designer Gerrit Hattingh, who adopted the work of Black photojournalist Sam Nzima to create, "Before and After Hector." Nzima, a journalist for a Black media outlet, *The World*, captured a photograph documenting the police murder of 13-year-old Hector Pieterson in the 1976 Soweto Uprising. The uprising was a protest of school children against the imposition of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in public schools and a political turning point for

the struggle in South Africa.[54] (Figure 3.3: Hector Pieterson) The iconic black and white photograph of the bloodied body of Hector being carried in the arms of a friend Mbuyisa Makhubo, with his sister, Antoinette Sithole, in her school uniform, running and distraught beside them, circulated globally and influenced international perception of South Africa.[55] The photograph is not just iconic in a secular sense, it becomes almost mystical, a pieta. The image represents and inspired a turning point locally and internationally. Julian Brown analyzes the history of the movement that led to this moment: June 16th, 1976.[56] The events of that day have been depicted in books and on stage: the film *Cry, Freedom!*, the musical *Sarafina*, the novel *A Dry White Season* (also turned into a film) among others. A BBC documentary on the uprising was titled, "The Day Apartheid Died." Today there is a Hector Pieterson Museum that memorializes the uprising.

Hattingh's "Before and After Hector," restages this iconic photograph of the shooting murder of Hector Pieterson. The image was commissioned in honor of the 100th anniversary celebration of the war in which the Boer War Museum approached fifty artists and asked them to render an art piece that would depict or suggest the impact of the war on modern South Africa. Instead of fifty different works, they received more than a hundred: an indication of the sway the war holds on the South African imagination

[54] Nancy L. Clark and William H. Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, Seminar Studies (White Plains: Routledge, 2016), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315621562.
[55] https://time.com/4365138/soweto-anniversary-photograph/
[56] Julian Brown, *The Road to Soweto: Resistance and the Uprising of 16 June 1976* (Woodbridge, Suffolk ; Rochester, NY: James Currey is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2016).

that still persists. The museum subsequently installed an exhibit and published all of these renditions in a book.

In preparing the work, Hattingh orchestrated or coordinated a sort of re-enactment of the traumatic, almost sculptural, silhouette the three tragic figures. Hattingh intended to use the image of apartheid violence to illustrate and evoke British violence against Blacks in the South African War. (Figure 3.4: Before and After Hector) Black actors dressed in War era clothing are arranged to imitate the poses of the family members in the Nzima photo while the background of apartheid urban violence is erased. Here we revisit the idea of Black reenactment of the War, from the fugitives in St. Louis to Twin Mosia the *agterryer*, always with reference to photography. Hattingh's reenactors are posed in historically authentic clothing from the Anglo Boer War, presumably borrowed from the museum's own collections, against a naturalized backdrop, running through a grass field. Afrikaner violence against Black South Africans under apartheid is erased, rewritten and reimaged as British violence against Black and Afrikaner people. Black violence and suffering are now laid at the feet of the British Empire. The exhibition catalogue, *Universal Suffering During the South African War 1899-1902*, offers the following description of Gerrit Hattingh's photograph, "Before and after Hector" as a powerful form of reenactment:

> By re-enacting the scene, but dressing the role players in authentic Anglo-Boer War clothing, the artist attempts to compare suffering from a more recent and well understood event with historical and perhaps lesser known suffering. The viewer will hopefully recognize that suffering is universal and not linked to time, reason or race. Ironically, in both instances, English and Afrikaans acted as a catalyst to

> the creation of heritage. Charcoal as a medium is as significant to this artwork as burnt earth was to the Anglo-Boer war.[57]

In the new Sol Plaatje hall "Before and after Hector," features prominently, an almost monumental image. It has become one of the signature images of the museum, reproduced, for example, on the cover of the museum's 2018/19 annual report. (Figure 3.5: Catalogue Cover) Depending on how the visitor enters the Hall, they may encounter this image first, or it is otherwise the last image the patron sees as they exit the hall, with a bust of Sol Plaatje at the other end. The museum has thus appropriated one of the most graphic and iconic images of resistance to apartheid as one of their signature visual images renarrating the museum. The iconic image of Hector Petersen is repurposed to reflect and present the idea that trauma has been part and parcel of South African history from the time of the war and the suffering is shared between Afrikaners and Blacks. They are guilty of presentism, that is of taking the image out of context and reading it into the past in a way that belies its original significance.

The theme of Boer suffering circulates and returns, today manifest in the charges of "white genocide"—in which Afrikaners once again are threatened and suffering. Reflecting on this recent charge, one Afrikaner public intellectual, Max Du Preez, a dissenter, writes about it as an "imagined suffering" because as a point in fact, white South Africans have fared better in the new dispensation. This speaks to the condition or state of being of modern South Africa: that it has always been a traumatized country and it has never recovered. A recent analysis from a psychoanalytic point of view concludes

[57] *Universal Suffering During the South African War 1899-1902*, 29.

that the political unconscious of South Africa is a profoundly traumatized.[58] The thorn is still present: the thorn not just of suffering but of broken relationships, shattered bonds, and a shattered social contract.

Craft, Cohesion, *Kraal*: Quilting and Collage as Reenactment at the Boer War Museum

The Heritage Quilt is one of the three major projects that aimed to interpret the war "from the perspective of the present" listed in a recent 2010 museum catalogue. The Sol Plaatje Hall notably does not appear among these listed heritage projects. The museum commissioned Naomi Moolman to make the quilt, focused on the experience of women and children in the war.[59] A work of Afrikaner art and design, Moolman incorporated dozens and dozens of historic photographs, printed on cotton and then quilted into a 6.7m X 4m monumentally sized cloth/textile hanging, enlisting Petro Rooyen and Magda Kriek to assist with the quilting.[60] (Figure 3.6: Memorial Heritage Quilt) Moolman's memorial quilt displayed at the South African War Museum is a massive collage that contains photographs, postcards, and other objects: a multimedia composite brought together as a quilt.[61] The work is structured in three rows composed of five quilted panels each, designed to simulate attic windows. The top row focuses on

[58] Wahbie Long, *Nation on the Couch: Inside South Africa's Mind*, 1st edition (Melinda Ferguson Books, 2021).
[59] The War Museum of the Boer Republics, *The Anglo-Boer War in 100 Objects*, 1st edition (Frontline Books, 2018), 252.
[60] http://www.dragonflyquilts.com/weblog/?p=1010
[61] For studies of textiles in South Africa see Brenda Schmahmann and South Africa) Standard Bank Gallery Albany Museum (Grahamstown, *Material Matters: Appliqués by the Weya Women of Zimbabwe and Needlework by South African Collectives* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2000); and Tim Bonyhady, Jasleen Dhamija, and Nigel Lendon, *The Rugs of War*, Fusion (Canberra) (Canberra: Australian National University, School of Art, Gallery, 2003).

family photographs, the second panel represents the brutality of war and the concentration camps, and the final panels capture the return home after the war. Women figure centrally in this artwork.

There is a shared tradition of quilting as a form of memorialization in both South Africa and the United States. Allison Smith, the dean of Fine Arts and California college of the Arts, writes about quilting as a form of battle reenactment in the context of the American South. In her chapter, "Expanded Battle Fields: Craft as a Different Sort of Reenactment," included in the volume, *Crafting the Collaboration*, Smith writes of craft as performance with the power to "reinforce and fix powerful identities and social hierarchies… representative of a persona to be fixed, remade, and transformed."[62] Craft is a form of reenactment as we see in Moolman's quilt, which evokes the relationship between reenacted photographs and quilt work. Quilting as racial memorialization is also very much a part of Smith's biography and part of the United States story of Civil War. She remembers her own family history,

> I am from one of the many families in the Southern United States for whom the Civil War never ended. My ancestors owned cotton plantations off the coast of Charleston, South Caroline and two of them signed the original ordinance of secession that sparked the war. The moment of rapture is one that my family returns to again and again, particular through (finely crafted) objects that tell the stories of our forebears' wealth, accomplishments and ultimate ruin. Through reenactment whether as a theatrical form of public spectacle, or a private or even subconscious daily ritual, history is revealed as an active, participatory and collaborative process. Nationhood is one kind of imagined community and across nations and communities of all kinds, crafts are used to shore up a sense of cohesive identity, especially in troubled times. I am interested in the charged role of craft in these constructions of identity whether for the creation of personal mythology or political propaganda.[63]

[62] Smith, Allison, "Expanded Battle Fields: Craft as a Different Sort of Reenactment."
[63] Smith, Allison, 196.

There are resonances between the relationship between craft, community, and nationhood in the two contexts. Smith writes, "Craft has a forward moving potential" but it also "has conservative tendencies." In the U.S. and South Africa craft objects have power to regenerate or rupture the civil war in history and time. Following Smith, craft can lead us to question our understanding of the past, our cultural interpretations, and our emergent futures. Craft is freighted with knowledge: both of the everyday, of the past, and of the future.[64] Craft offers "an extraordinary depth of field", a metaphor which of course evokes the photographic frame.

Another commissioned museum artwork merits consideration here. Mixed-media artist, white South African Aidon Westcott, contributed an artwork titled "Aggressors and Victims" which also has a quilt like presentation. The work is intended to reveal the undertone of "the collective consciousness felt during this period." (Figure 3.7: Aggressors and Victims). It is constructed also of historical Anglo-Boer War photographs, including one of the stereoviews from the Underwood & Underwood collection, the central and largest image: a posed assembly of Boer soldiers in uniform. The author writes,

> The mixed media represents the conscious world which relies on remembrance." Included in the collage are burn grass to symbolize the scorched earth policy, photographs of Kruger and his wife as well as images of Boer women and children in the concentration camp: "depicting the emotional strain, hardship and unhappiness as they battle with day to day life under horrific conditions. [65]

[64] Smith, Allison, 191.
[65] *Universal Suffering During the South African War 1899-1902*, 9.

The frame of the artwork is composed of medical bandages "symbolising the suffering and pain involved in the conflict and the healing of wounds both physical and mental after the war." Bandages are textiles of war. The usage of textiles or cloth "caries an easy association with war: flags, uniforms, bandages, but also domesticity and comfort."[66]

Desire Lines: The Weaving of Igshaan Adams

The quilted artworks displayed at the War Museum do not for the most part transgress the boundaries of the Boer narrative and its artistic enclosure. Juxtaposed to the Afrikaner quilted works is the work of contemporary South African textile artist Igshaan Adams, from Bonteheuwel Township where I also was raised. His weavings explore his lived experience growing up in the Cape Flats, using inexpensive common household vernacular materials, washing line rope and linoleum floor cover, as representative of the community. The linoleum is a witness, *getuig* is the Afrikaans word Adams uses, a verb and a noun. Even though apartheid "was so successful in keeping these communities separate," in Adams' installation, "you would never know which piece comes from which community".

A series of works explores the theme of "desire lines", transgressive pathways that link community to community. (Figure 3.8 Desire Lines) Adams explains,

> We look at the pathway that gets created over time in those domestic spaces… [for example in] the wearing of the linoleum… A desire line is an informal pathway that gets created out in an open field, for instance. As people move through, they expose the underlying travel. We use google earth to document the desire line that sits between Bonteheuwel, which is a Cape Coloured

[66] Ariel Zeitlin Cooke and Marsha MacDowell, *Weavings of War: Fabrics of Memory: An Exhibition Catalogue* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Museum, 2005), 8–9.

> neighborhood where I grew up in, and our neighboring neighborhood Langa, which was a black community. These desire lines became evidence that people do cross over these boundaries that was laid out.[67]

To understand and explore his identity (as a queer Coloured South African from the working-class Cape Flats), Adams follows his path and crosses a temporal barrier, journeying into his past. He also transgresses a spatial barrier, artistically crossing a border between two communities. He is animated by a basic human desire, the desire to know and understand his past and a desire to connect with the other, out of curiosity. The journeys he represents in his weavings involve risk and danger. Circumventing the exits and entryways stipulated by the apartheid government, and instead utilizing an informal, perhaps even illegal pathway, presents the risk of discovery. There is also the simple danger inherent in crossing a busy and dangerous highway between the two communities. Desire lines also includes the idea of entanglement. Adams lays out an entangled history: we are connected by many common threads, pathways, and lines of desire. These lines cross borders, they escape the enclosure (spatial, geographical, metaphorical). To paraphrase Mbembe, it is only when we remove the enclosure that we discover ourselves, the other, and our shared humanity.

These works bear witness to the fact of trauma. They also have an element of transgression. Weavings and crafts are usually meant for the home, traditionally regarded as women's spaces, as "women's work". Weaving and cloth also speak to memory work, in the attention to detail, and the effort required. They connote domesticity and comfort. Yet the textiles discussed here, including the War Museum displays, cross lines, from the

[67] "Private Views: Ishgaan Adams, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9nuNs4YQX_Y

private sphere into the public sphere, displayed for public consumption. Adams weaves stories of survival and survivance

Scholar Nicholas Thomas, Director of the Museum of Archeology and Anthropology in Cambridge UK, asks what museums are good for in the twenty-first century?[68] I end on a critical note that acknowledges that the museum sometimes falls short as a site of historical consciousness. Following Thomas, and with reference to the concept of soft power, I am none the less hopeful that the museum can succeed as a memorial of the past, and also as a place of awe, a technology of enchantment that can foster curiosity about the past and the future. Like Adams, I follow the lines of desire, animated by curiosity, awe, and enchantment: the desire to know and understand and the desire to cross a line, to leave the enclosure, as a way of addressing my past and my trauma. I walk along the path, the desire line, accompanied by my own spectres.

[68] Nicholas Thomas, *The Return of Curiosity: What Museums Are Good for in the 21st Century*, 1st ed. (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2016).

Conclusion: From Bonteheuwel to Bloemfontein: Trajectories of Reenactment and Memory

This dissertation circles around the Anglo-Boer War conflict and explores how its afterlives shaped modern South Africa, in particular future race relationships. How did this come about? The war caused damage, physically and psychologically. Enclosed within Afrikaner nationalism, the war's impact stretched into the apartheid future, bolstered by visual and performative cultures. The South African War and the resulting apartheid state produced new, damaged subjectivities. We could say that what resulted was a "Republic of Woundedness" or a haunted "Republic of Trauma," as compared to Drew Faust's idea of the Republic of Suffering related to the Civil War in the United States. In post-1994 Afrikaner narratives of enclosure, such as those at the War Museum of the Boer Republics, there is no clear line of demarcation between when one kind of historical suffering stops and the other begins: they are seamless and shared, and it is the suffering of the Boers in the War that is paradigmatic. Modern South Africa emerges in the twentieth century as a country that is predicated on a wounded body. Related to this, works of history and historical sites, including sites of conscience and trauma, register "corporally". In South Africa we particularly experience the "embodied power of the past."[1]

My approach is transdisciplinary, at the nexus of several critical fields: history, trauma, and memory, visual studies and performance, museum studies, race studies,

[1] Clark and Peck, *Contemplating Historical Consciousness*.

among others. I employ the use of vernacular sources for history, sources that are sometimes overlooked: stereoviews, reenactment, monuments, crafts and textiles. Reading these against the grain, the constitute a sort of shadow archive. Of particular interest is the use of the vernacular in the creation of historical consciousness. Historical consciousness absent of moral consciousness will not be enough to weave lasting social cohesion.

These are visual and performative archives and the ideas they preserve move transnationally. In the process they create links between the United States and South Africa. One of the key themes is the historical connections between the related racial histories in the South African War and the Civil War in United States. There are comparisons to be made between the US Civil War and the South African War in relation to the racial systems that followed. I also look at significant American presence in South Africa leading up to and at the time of the War, economic presence but also the participation of American soldiers on both sides, and the influence of military strategies imported from the Indian Wars on the U.S. frontier into Afrikaner guerilla tactics. Also central is the place of the Afrikaner in the American imagination, promoted through the stereoscopes and then animated in the St. Louis World's Fair reenactment. I have also spoken about the Boer diaspora—including Afrikaner presence in the American Southwest in the early decades of the twentieth century.

The idea of reenactment is not limited to the St. Louis War exhibition. There is a relationship that is evident between the earlier stereoscopic images of the war and subsequent reenactments. We can speak of trajectories or a continuum of reenactment,

beginning with the reconstructed scenes captured in the Underwood & Underwood Stereoviews. The stereoviews with their immersive three-dimensional quality represented an early performance of War reenactment. They were then used as a source for producing the World's Fair large-scale performance that included defeated Boer generals as reenactors. The trajectory of reenactment runs through to the present, such as in the musical "Ons vir Jou" that resuscitates the Boer generals to speak to the unsettled place of Afrikaners in the new dispensation, in contemporary reenactments of the War by Dundee Diehards, and finally, in the use of reenactment in the creation of the new photographic artwork by Gerrit Hattingh's "Before and After Hector." Black reenactors are also present at each historic moment--- from St. Louis, to Twin Mosia and his project of nation building and social cohesion, to the Zulu reenactors who perform with the Diehards, and to those who posed for Gerrit Hattingh.

The idea of Afrikaner or white enclosure is another strand. This concept begins with the Afrikaner racial ideas of *kraal* and *laager*. Enclosure is a way of thinking about apartheid, and also about the exhibitions and reenactments at the World's Fairs (the hideous supreme and the fugitive supreme), for thinking about photographs themselves (with subjects enclosed or imprisoned within the frame), and also museums like the War Museum, as well as historical narratives more generally.

There is also an autobiographical through line, a line of desire, to use the concept of Coloured artist Igshaan Adams. Beginning in District Six, and moving through Bonteheuwel Township and its noisy library, to the archives of the California Museum of Photography, then to Bloemfontein, the Afrikaner "heartland": my own movement

through space, my own escape of enclosure. I highlight the mobility of ideas, bodies, images, and memory: these all travel, transnationally and across borders, into and out of cities, and in and out of (historical) consciousness. This speaks of liminality, instability, uncertainty. Kairos. I theorize enclosure and its opposite, dis-enclosure: the transgression of enclosure, the movement between spaces, the junction, neither terminus nor starting point (yet somehow both), of refuge and resistance. People move in and out of enclosure, literally and figuratively. Among the fugitives are the Black reenactors at St. Louis, the Black Olympians, and those who make an illicit path between Bonteheuwel and Langa townships: Adam's desire lines. The concept of the undercommons from Fred Moten is also spatial and resists enclosure: furtive and fugitive, the undercommons is a space of refusal within the larger commons, as undertexts are to texts.

Following Achille Mbembe, Africa must be written back into the world, and the world back into Africa—as fundamental to a politic of dis-enclosure. In France "the plantation and the colonies have now moved within the borders of the republic. The French failure to translate—failure to move into authentic cosmopolitanism toward a common humanity, a shared history, and collective history." In *Out of the Dark*, Mbembe argues that for democracy to be realized it necessitates a global community. This postcolonial thinking imagines a possibility of a human future that is utterly dependent on escaping the enclosure of races: "that dry and barren region of existence within which Europe sought to imprison the world."[2] "The dis-enclosure designates the

[2] Achille Mbembe, *Out of the Dark Night: Essays on Decolonization* (Columbia University Press, 2021).

act of lifting a fence, of removing either a temporal or spatial barrier that initially surrounded an enclosure." One of the questions he asks is "what would a decolonized space, community or subjectivity look like." Derrida also points to the idea of a democracy to come. For me, what Mbembe is doing is similar to the notion of practicing or utilizing the concept of prefigurative politics (from Carl Boggs): the envisioning and enactment of that which is to come, the enactment of the future in the present. a desired, utopian space or place. Typically, this notion is applied to social movements and radical organizations, they live and enact in the present what they want the future to look like: practicing of the geographies of the future, or a politics of the possible.

Figures

Introduction

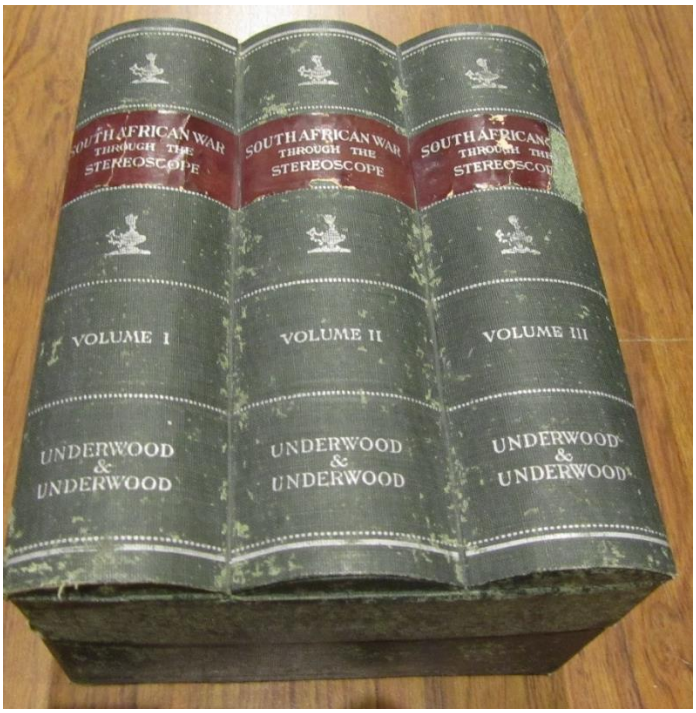

Figure I.1 Underwood & Underwood Boxed Set of South African War Stereoviews. Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside. Photographs by author.

Figure I. 2 Underwood & Underwood, "The Stereograph as an Educator," 1901. Print stereograph.

Figure I.3 Underwood & Underwood, “Boer Rifle Corps,” 1901. Print stereograph, Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside.

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Image 1.1 Underwood & Underwood, “Zulu Rush,” 1901. Print stereograph, Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside. California Museum of Photography exhibition website. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6H4asX35KhM

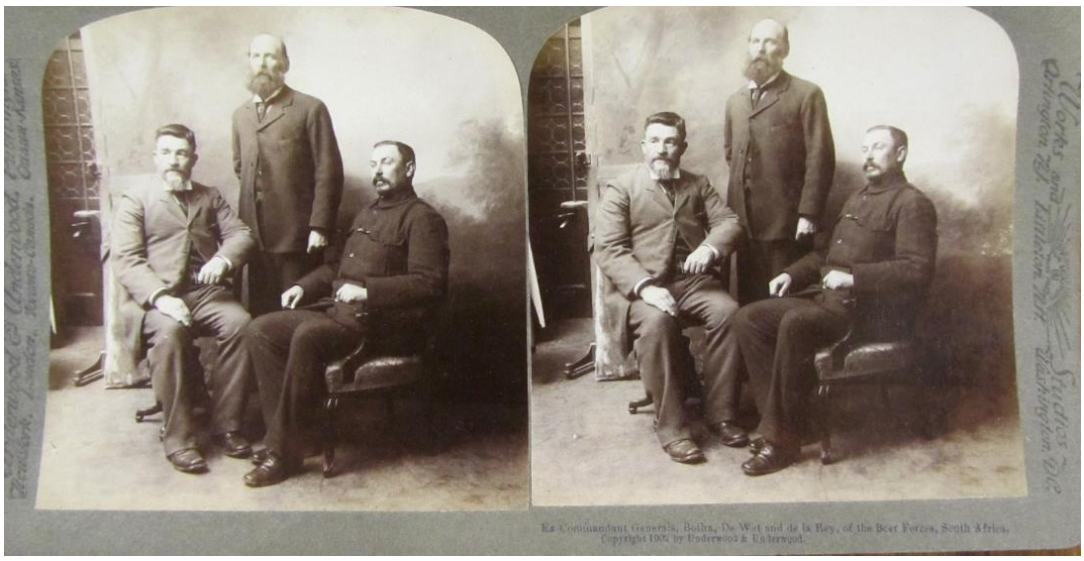

Figure 1.2 Underwood & Underwood, “Ex-commandant Generals Botha, De Wet and De La Rey (Botha right, De Wet left, De la Rey center),” 1901. Print stereograph. Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, RiversideCalifornia Museum of Photography, UC Riverside.

Figure 1.3: M.B. Brady & Co., “Gen’l Robt E. Lee and Staff”, April 1865. Albumen photograph. On verso: “General Robert E. Lee seated between his son, G. W. C. (Custis) Lee on his right and Lt. Colonel Walter H. Taylor on his staff. This picture taken by Brady in 1865 in the basement below the back porch of Lee's Franklin Street home in Richmond, Virginia”. Wikimedia commons.

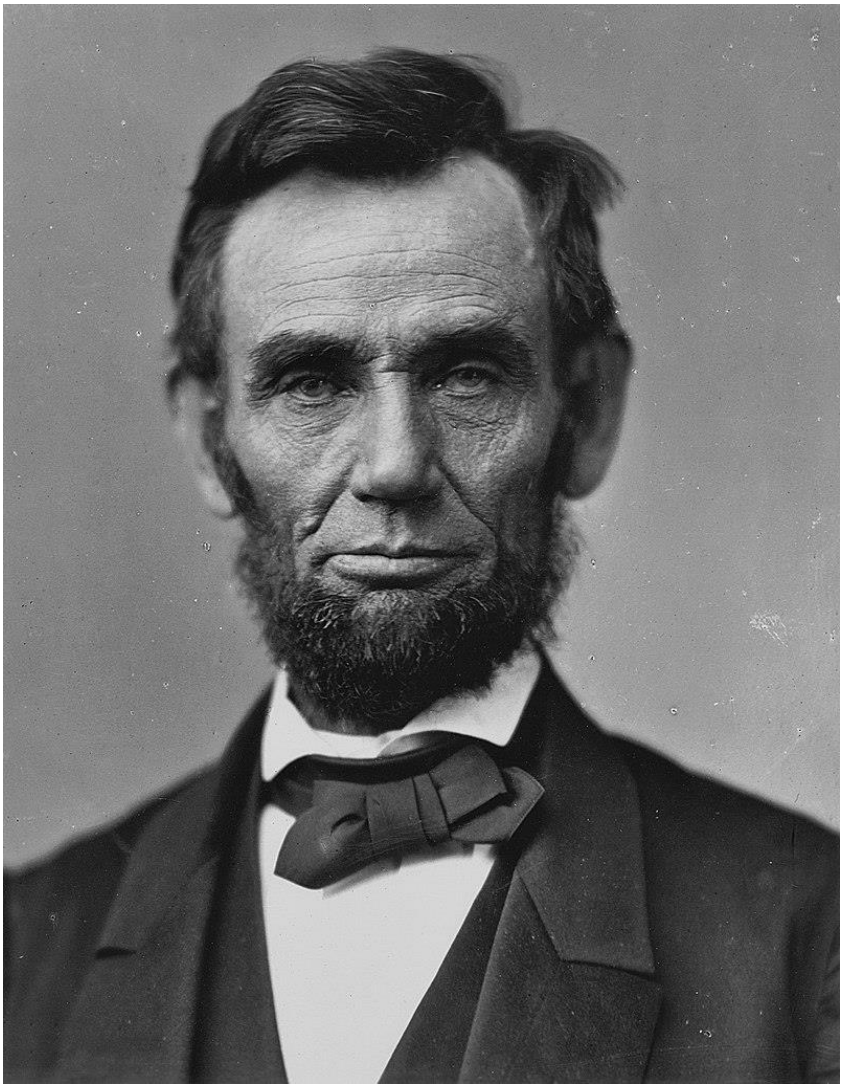

Figure 1.4 Alexander Gardner, “Abraham Lincoln,” 1863. Matte collodion print. Wikimedia commons.

Figure 1.5 Underwood & Underwood, “The Parting,” 1901. Print stereograph. Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside.

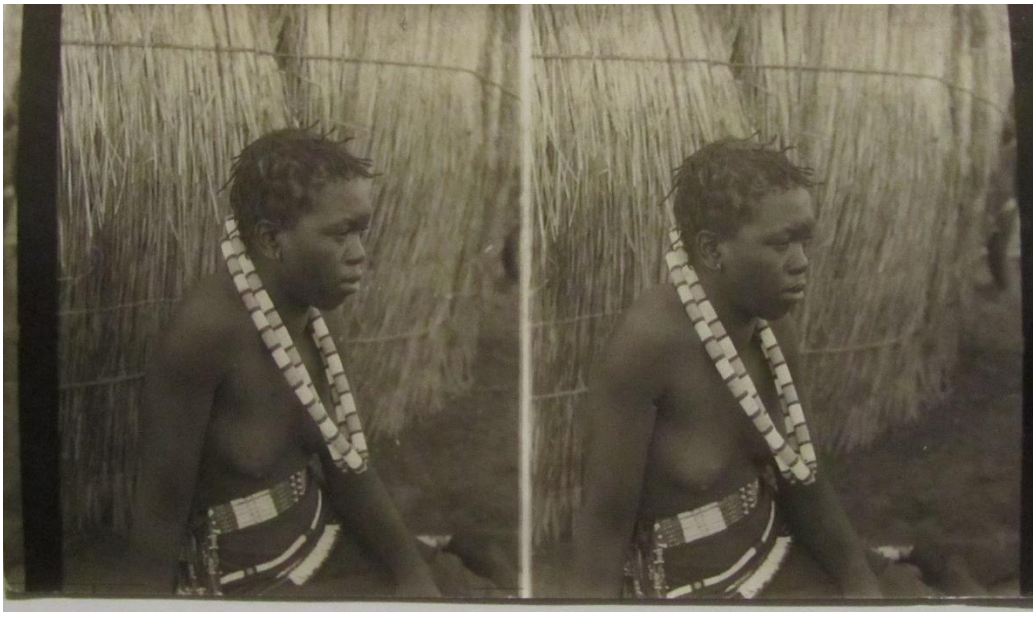

Figure 1.6 Underwood & Underwood, “African Belle,” 1901, Natal, South Africa. Print stereograph. Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside.

Figure 1.7 Underwood & Underwood, “Old Zulu Chief and his Warrior Family,” 1901, Zululand. Print stereograph, Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside.

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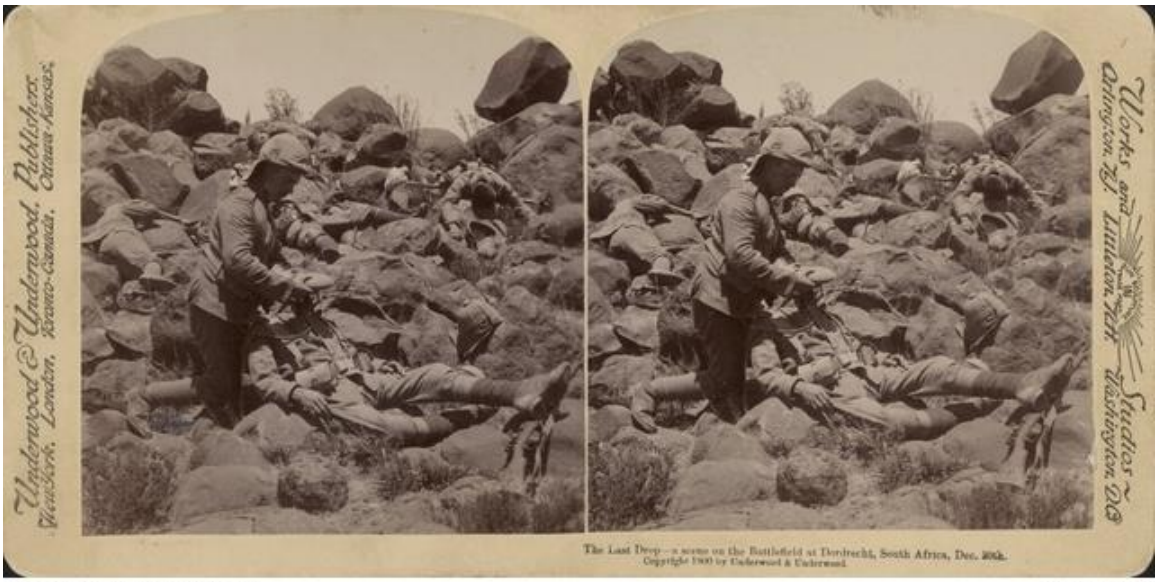
Figure 1.10 Underwood & Underwood. “Worcesters Charging a Kopie and Facing Death Near Norval’s Point, South Africa.” 1901. Print stereograph. Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside.



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL P05524.025

Figure 1.11 Underwood & Underwood, "The Last Drop-A scene on the Battlefield at Dordrecht, Dec 30," 1900. Print stereograph. Australian War Memorial Collection. https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1205284.

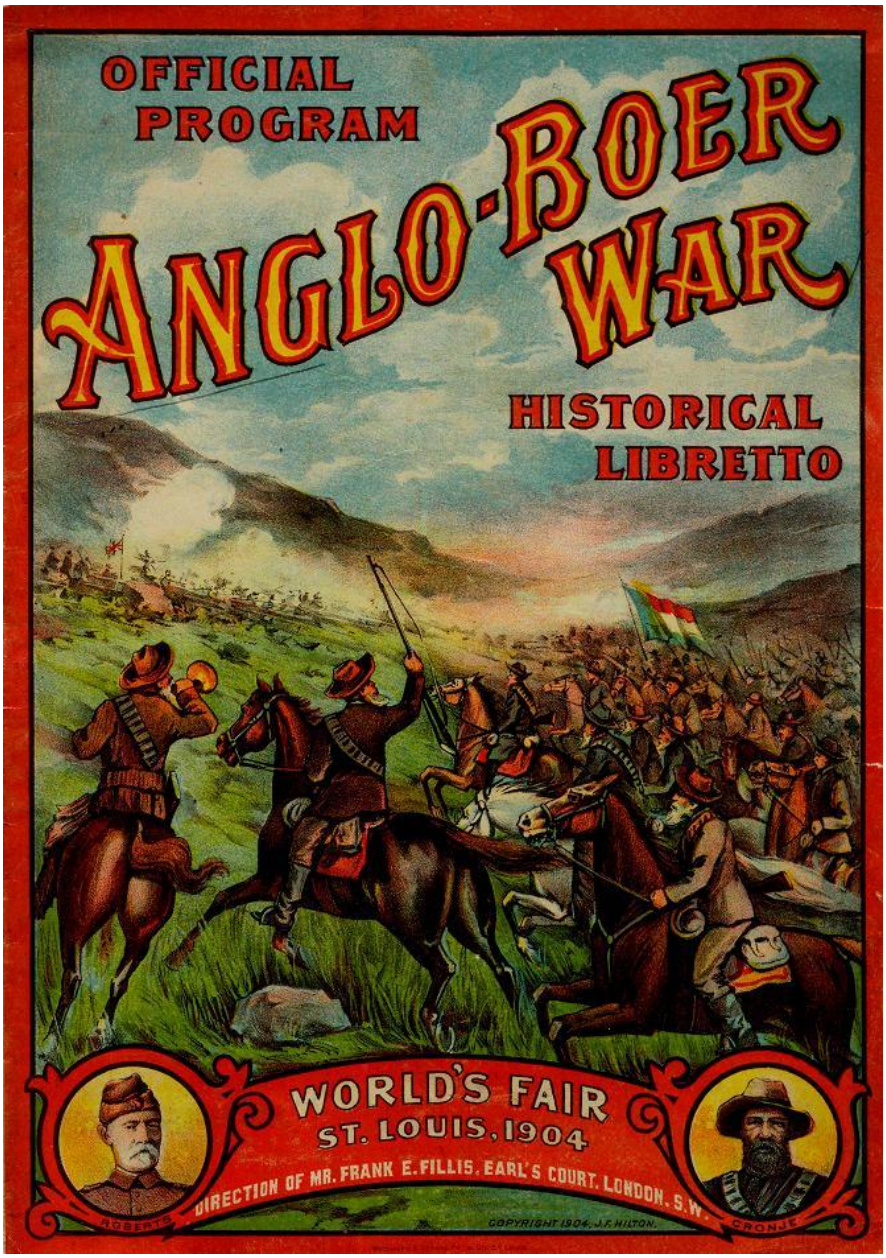


Figure 2.1 Frank Fillis, Official Program of the Anglo-Boer War Historical Libretto. World's Fair St. Louis, 1904. South African Boer War Exhibition Co. Smithsonian Libraries. https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/angloboerwar00fill

Figure 2. 2 Underwood & Underwood, "A Daring Leap, Illustrating Gen. DeWet's Escape. Boer War Spectacle, World Fair. St. Louis, MO" 1904. Print stereograph. Library of Congress.

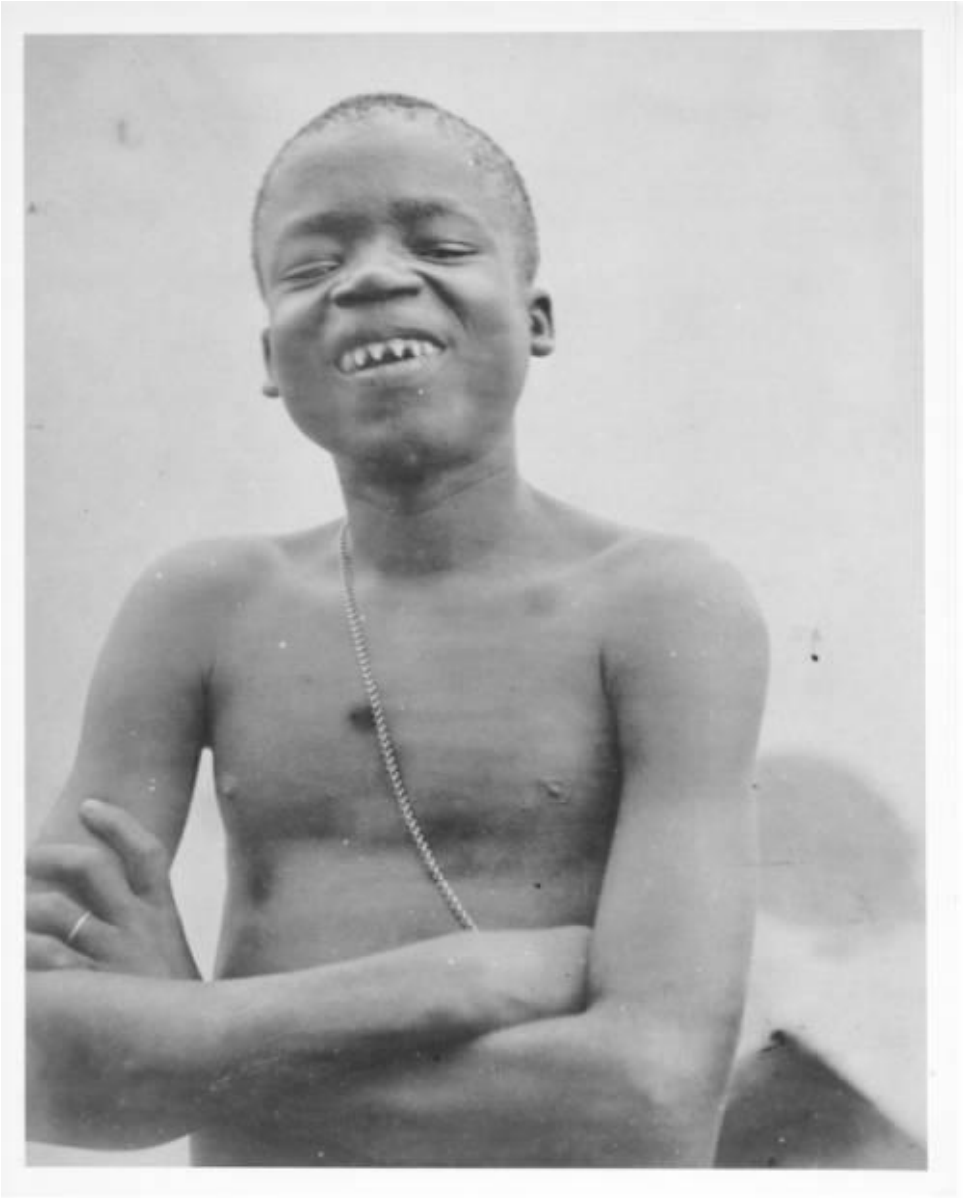


Figure 2.3: Jessie Tarbox Beals, “Pigmy Boy Showing Sharpened Teeth,” 1904. Photograph. Jessie Tarbox Beals Photographs: Louisiana Purchase Exhibition, Rare Books & Manuscripts. St. Louis Public Library Digital Collections. https://cdm17210.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/beals/id/116/rec/122

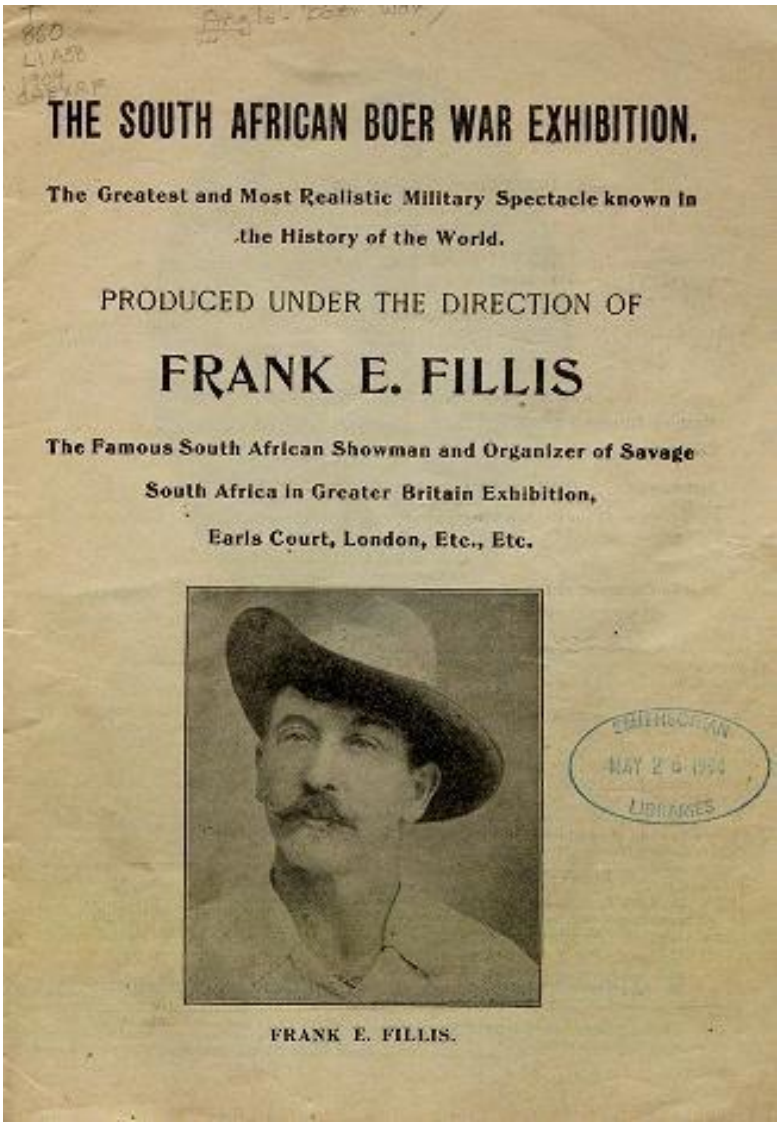


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Figure 2.4: Frank Fillis, Official Program of the Anglo-Boer War Historical Libretto. World's Fair St. Louis, 1904. South African Boer War Exhibition Co. Smithsonian Libraries. https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/angloboerwar00fill

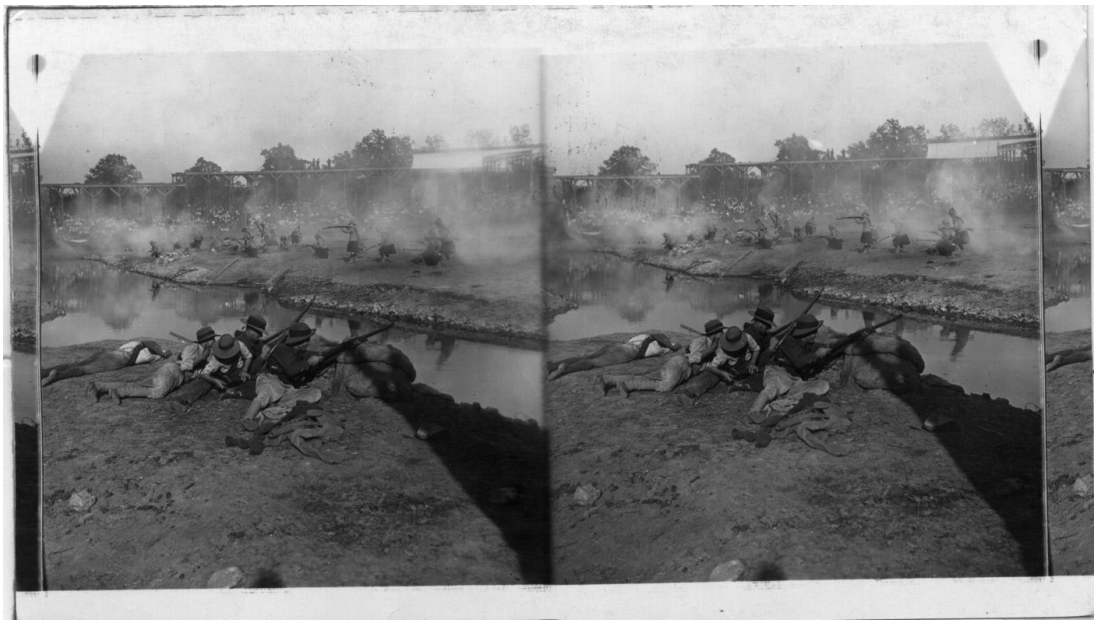

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Figure 2.6 Jessie Tarbox Beals, “1904 Olympic Marathon participants,” 1904. Photograph. Missouri Historical Society. Len Tau (left) and Jan Mashiani of the Tswana tribe of South Africa facing camera standing on the track.
http://collections.mohistory.org/resource/141407

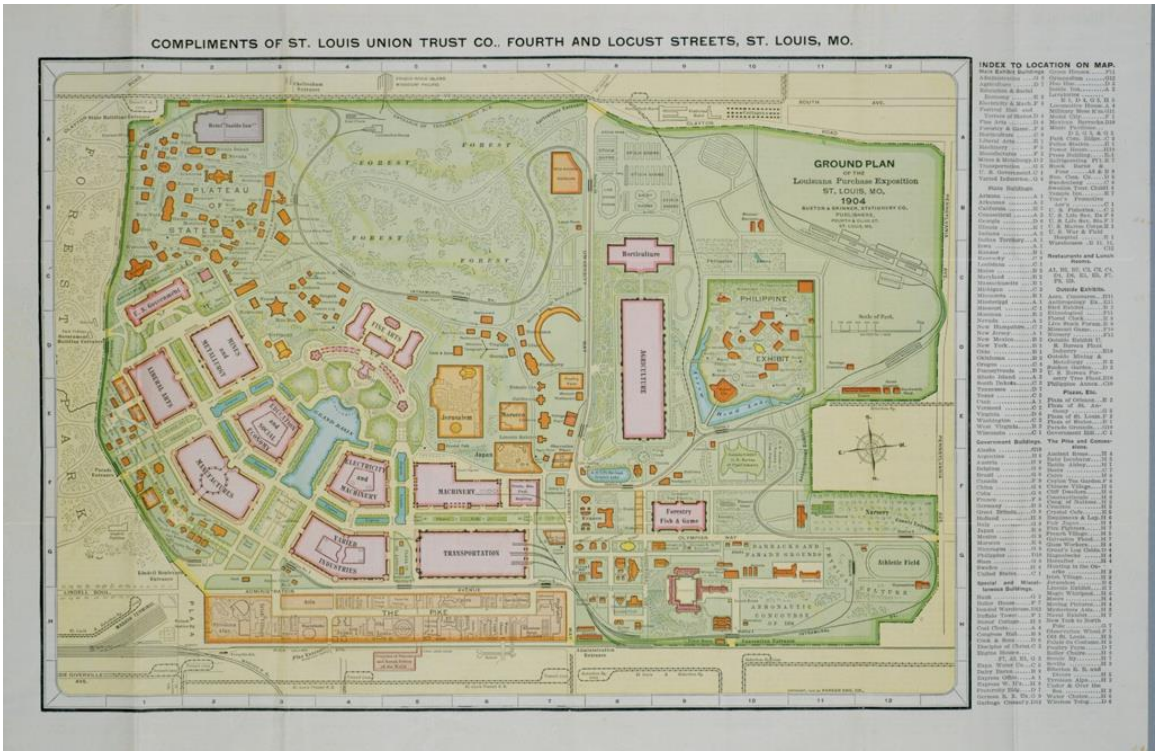

Figure 2.7 “Ground Plan of the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition. Compliments of St. Louis Trust Company (World’s Fair, 1904).” Missouri Historical Society. https://mohistory.org/collections/item/N16600

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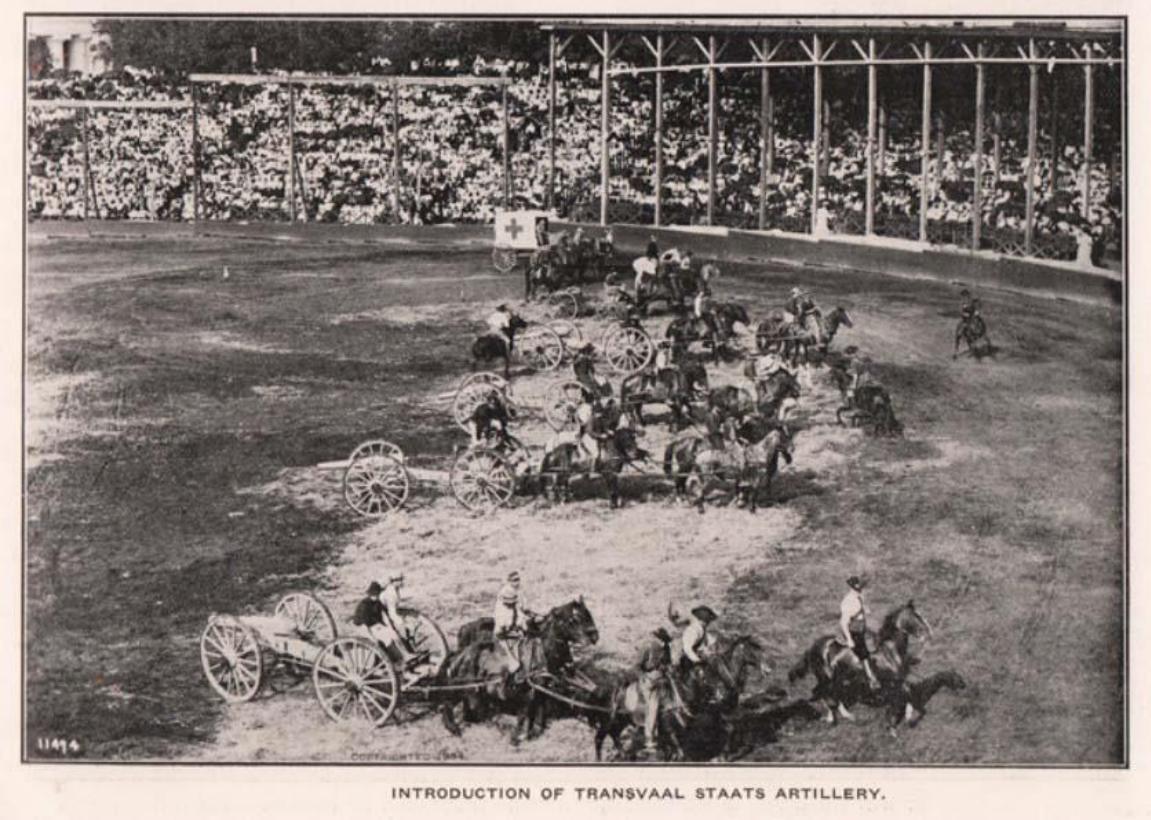

Figure 2.9 Photographer unknown, “Introduction of Transvaal Staats Artillery,” St. Louis, 1904. https://www.angloboerwar.com/forum/13-miscellany/29933-the-st-louis-fair-1904

Figure 2.10 Underwood & Underwood, "Basuto Chief and Men with the Long and the Short of the Boer Army, World's Fair, St. Louis, U.S.A, 1904. Print stereograph. Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside.

Figure 2.11 Photographer unknown, "Kaffir Kraal (South African Native Village)," St. Louis, 1904. https://www.angloboerwar.com/forum/13-miscellany/29933-the-st-louis-fair-1904

Figure 2.12 Jessie Tarbox Beals, “Rain suit of African,” 1904. Photograph. Jessie Tarbox Beals Photographs: Louisiana Purchase Exhibition, Rare Books & Manuscripts. St. Louis Public Library Digital Collections.
https://slpl.bibliocommons.com/item/show/1428871116

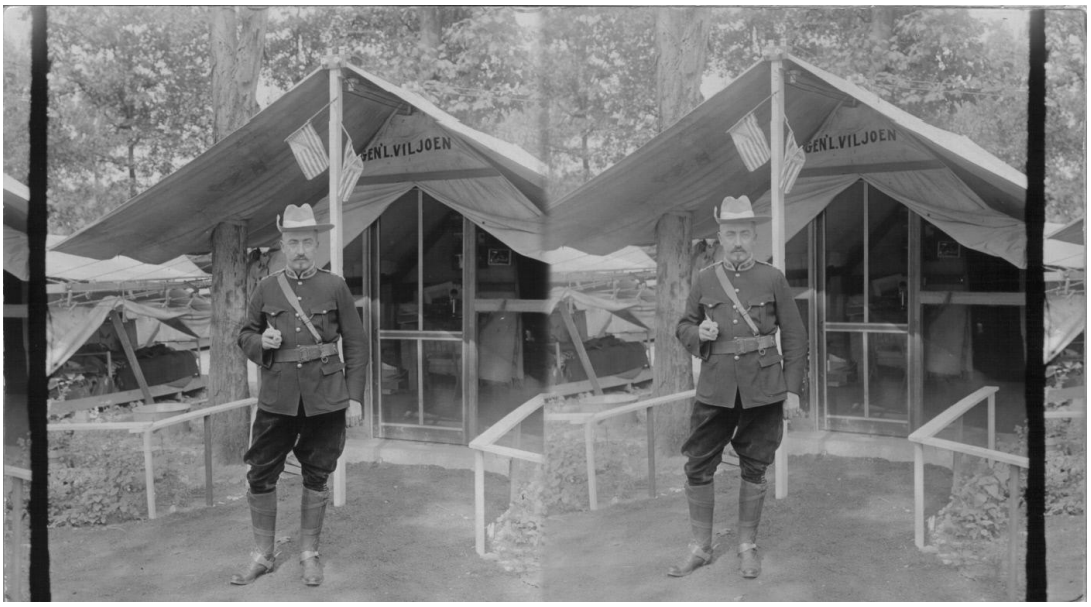

Figure 2.13 Underwood & Underwood, “General Viljoen. La. Purchase Expo. Missouri,” 1904. Print stereograph. Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside.

Figure 2.14 “Explosion of an ammunition wagon during the Battle of Paardeberg, Boer War, World’s Fair, St. Louis, U.S.A.,” 1904. Print stereograph. Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside.

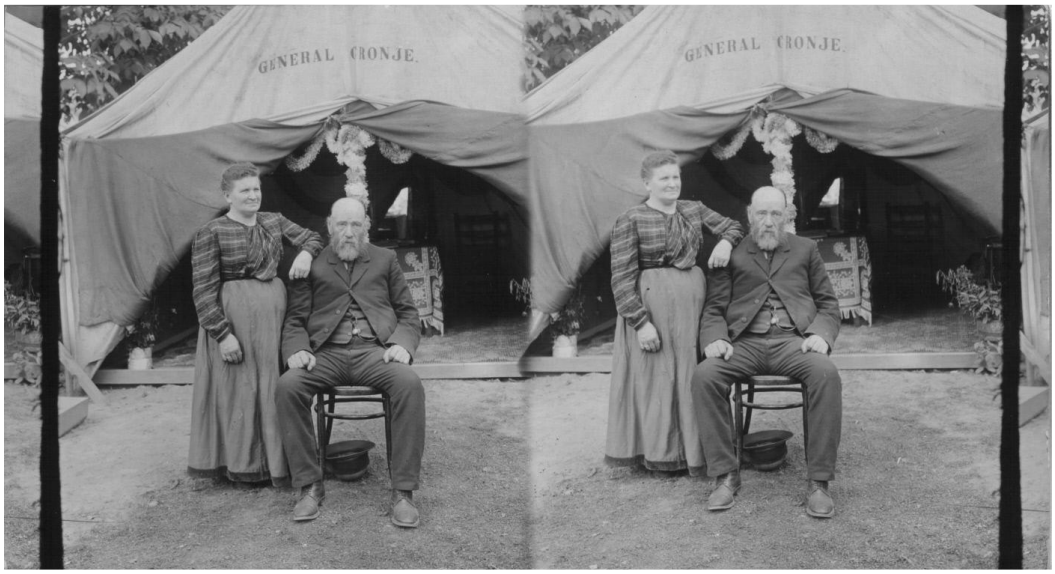

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Figure 2.16 Dianne Apen-Sadler, “Historical actors dressed in military uniforms and traditional costumes recreate the bloody Battle of Islandlwana where 20,000 Zulu warriors attacked 1,300 British soldiers in the first clash of the Anglo-Zulu war 140 years ago,” 25, January 2019, *Daily Mail*. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6633147/Actors-recreate-bloody-Battle-Isandlwana-clash-Anglo-Zulu-war-140-years-ago.html

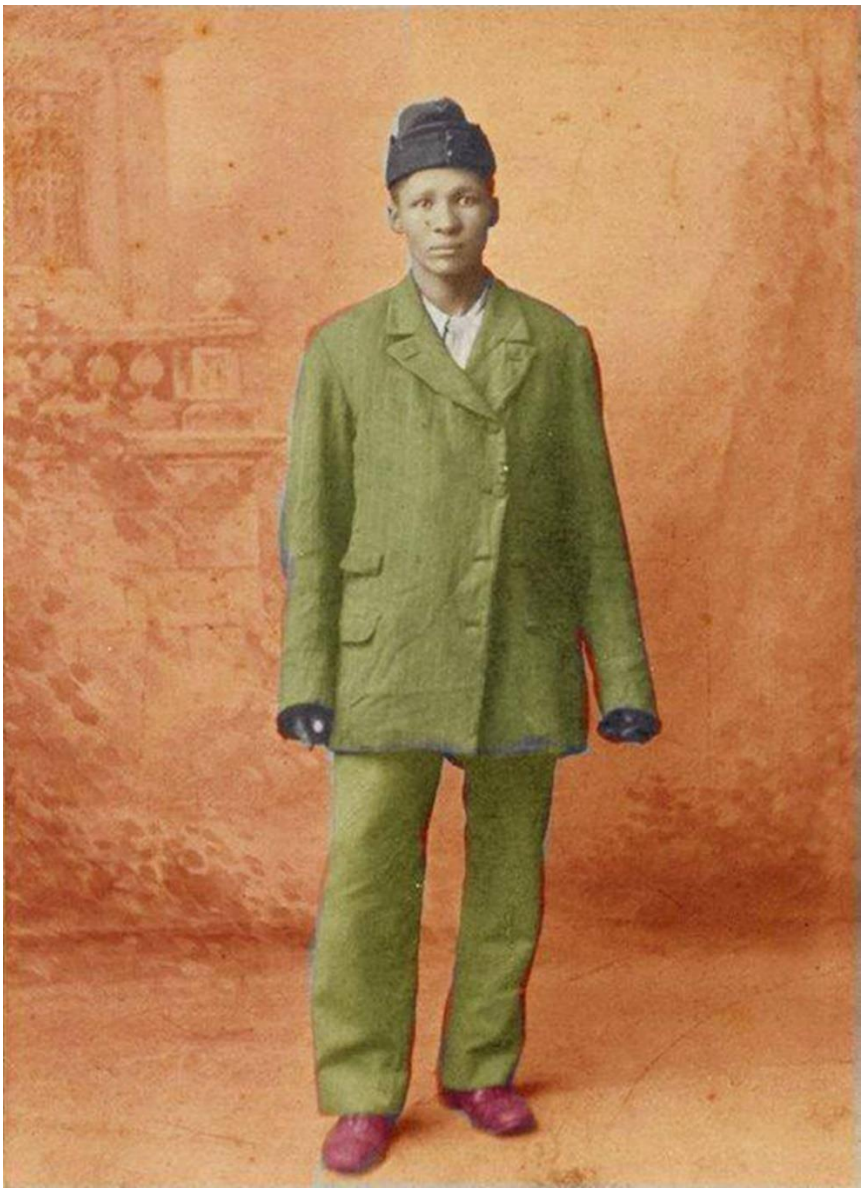

Figure 2.17 Photographer unknown, “Jan Ruiter, President Steyn’s agterryer,” ca 1900. Colorized photograph from the original at the War Museum of the Boer Republics. http://henrileriche.com/the-agterryers-of-the-anglo-boer-war-twin-mosia-taking-back-history/

Figure 2.18 Photographer unknown, from “Hartskombuis: Boerekos van die Anglo-Boereoorlog tot vandag,” 2016. Tafelberg: War Museum of the Boer Republics. Danie Swanie Swanepoel, Dané Van Wyk, Twin Mosia. http://henrileriche.com/the-agterryers-of-the-anglo-boer-war-twin-mosia-taking-back-history/

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Chapter 3

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Figure 3.2 Sam Nzima, “Hector Pieterson being carried by Mbuyisa Makhubo. His sister, Antoinette Sithole, runs beside them,” June 1976. Black and White Photograph. Wikimedia commons.
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Figure 3.4 Gerrit Hattingh, “Before and After Hector,” 2013. Charcoal on paper. War Museum of the Boer Republics. With photograph source.

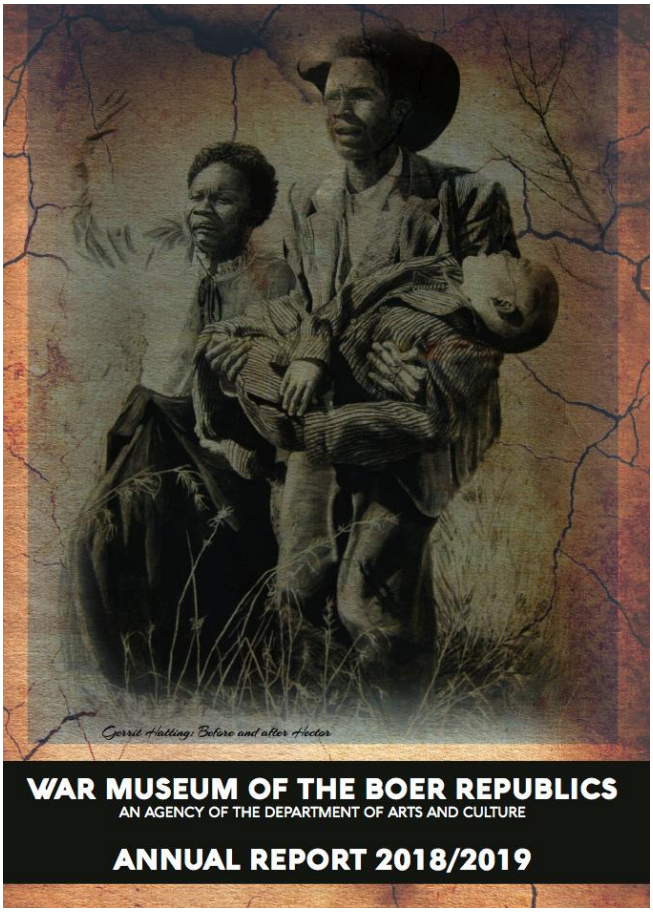

Fig 3.5 War Museum of the Boer Republics, “Annual Report 2018/2019”. Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Figure 3.6 Naomi Moolman, “Heritage Quilt” (2010). Fabric and mixed media. Emily Hobhouse Hall, War Museum of the Boer Republics, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

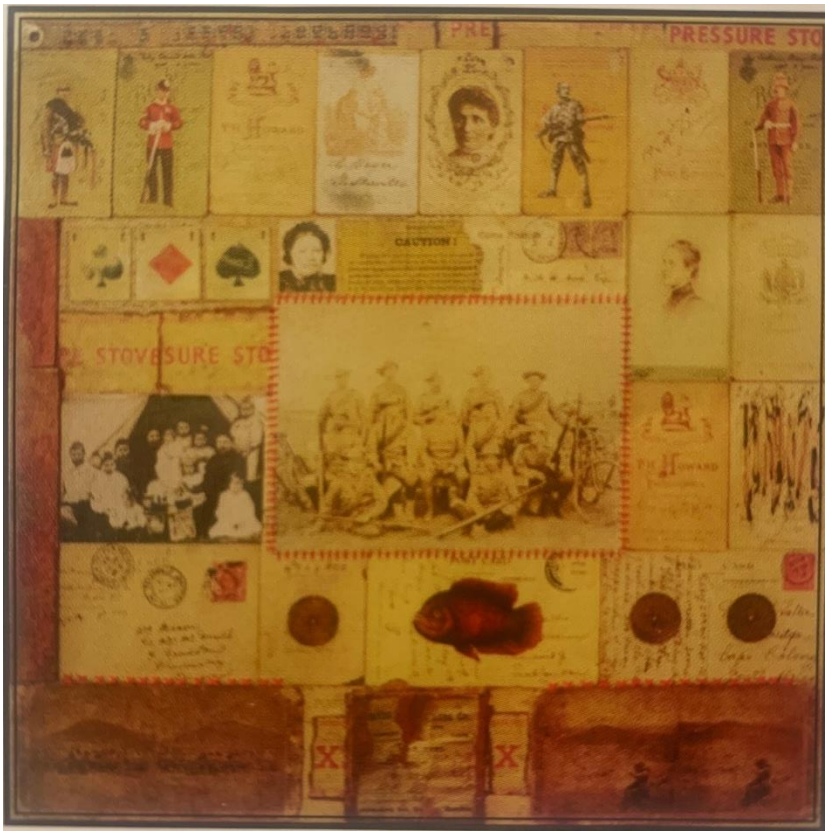

Figure 3.7 Aidon Wescott, “Aggressors and Victims,” (2013). Collage, mixed media and oil paint. In, Universal Suffering: During the South African War 1899-1902: The Centenary Collection Catalogue. Bloemfontein, South Africa: War Museum of the Boer Republics, 2013.

Figure 3.8 Igshaan Adams, “Desire Lines.” Mixed media installation. Igshaan Adams: Kicking Dust. Haywood Gallery, UK. 2021. https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whats-on/art-exhibitions/igshaan-adams-kicking-dust

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