"Wars are won by men not weapons":

The invention of a militarised British settler identity in the Eastern Cape

c. 1910–1965

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Compulsory Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and question in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

This thesis considers the ways in which South African Anglo identity was constructed in the Eastern Cape during the years spanning c. 1910 to 1965. In particular, it focuses on how two key technologies – that is, the museum and, to a lesser extent, the map – worked to shape this identity in the Eastern Cape town of Grahamstown.

Museums, which were increasingly linked to tourism, allowed the state to appear as the guardian of a generalised, but also local, heritage. By displaying visual representations of the state's past in the form of artefacts, museums also helped produce a national identity. The visual representation – in this case, of the artefact – became a powerful signifier for national identity because of everyone's awareness of its location in an infinite series of identical symbols.

The map, which was designed in the nineteenth century to demonstrate the antiquity of specific, tightly bounded territorial units, also helped create imagined political communities that were limited. Maps were models for, rather than models of, what they purported to represent. This thesis will illustrate how the map helped produce an "imagined community" in Grahamstown by positioning this community in the old frames of empire.

This thesis is concerned with the invention of English settler identity in two primary sites in Grahamstown: namely, the school (St Andrew's College) and the museum (the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum). The cadets and the officers commanding the cadet corps at St Andrew's College, founded in 1875, used maps to traverse and mark the landscape and, in turn, to identify with the 1820 settlers – specifically with their means of defending the colony and with their strategies for survival.

Meanwhile, the curators of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum, founded in 1965, helped produce British settler identity by carefully selecting nineteenth-century British cultural artefacts for display. The curators afforded pride of place to rifles and, in doing so, helped militarise and gender identity among Eastern Cape males. The main argument of this thesis is that, during the twentieth century, the school and the museum were structured to promote a style of Anglo-masculine identity that reflected images of the British settler who, in the Eastern Cape, could adapt to local conditions and defend the land against hostile enemies in a protracted low-intensity war over generations.

Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the invention of South African Anglo identity and attempts to provide a new perspective on how this identity was constructed and invented in the Eastern Cape from c. 1910 to 1965. In particular, it considers the ways in which the museum (the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum) and the school (St Andrew's College) developed to construct South African Anglo identity in Grahamstown.[1]

In the waves of nationalism that gripped postcolonial states, these newly independent countries erected museums in their capitals. Martin Hall and Ann Laura Stoler contend that these institutions constituted an essential part of national heritage, were crucial for the advancement of education, and operated as a means through which the "imagined community" of the nation-state was itself curated and sustained.[2]

Furthermore, Stoler asserts that, like archives, museums function as a "corpus of selective forgettings and collections"; they are institutions in which the principles and practices of governance are lodged in particular forms.[3] By "form", Stoler denotes the mechanisms of persuasion, the categories of classification, the genres of documentation and the forces that generate rational response.[4]

Benedict Anderson writes that postcolonial nationalisms are imagined through the grammar provided by empire. In other words, they are imagined in terms of the administrative and archaeological evidence that colonialism has "gathered" and displayed in its museums.[5] In the postcolonial museum space, the visual representation of the artefact became a powerful signifier for national identity because of everyone's awareness of its location in an infinite series of identical symbols.[6]

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[1] Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris and Graeme Reid, "Introduction", in *Refiguring the Archive*, eds. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid and Razia Saleh (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 15.

[2] Martin Hall, "Blackbirds and Black Butterflies", in *Refiguring the Archive*, eds. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid and Razia Saleh (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 337.

[3] Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance", in *Refiguring the Archive*, eds. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid and Razia Saleh (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 87.

[4] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common-Sense* (United States: Princeton University Press, 2009), 20.

[5] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1982), 178, 181–183.

[6] Ibid.

Anderson also indicates the importance of the map in constructing political communities that are limited. Maps illustrate the boundaries within which a finite number of people live and, in doing so, help construct an "imagined community" that is unique. Anderson highlights the fact that the people who comprise the nation are sovereign and, therefore, claim the right to rule themselves.[7]

This thesis's main focus is on how South African Anglo identity was invented in two key sites in Grahamstown: namely, the school and the museum. It will illustrate how rifles – which were used by the cadet corps at St Andrew's College, an Anglican private school, and which were also carefully gathered, selected and displayed in the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum's Military Gallery in 1965 – came to play a central role in symbolising and militarising Anglo identity in the Eastern Cape in the twentieth century.

In particular, this study will argue that, although English identity was reinvented following the 1820 settlers' centenary in Grahamstown, it was not imagined as a military identity until after the Second World War and the concomitant return of veterans to St Andrew's College and the cadet corps.[8] Importantly, it will reveal how South African Anglo identity was constructed through the key sites of the school and the museum to reflect images of the British settler who, in the Eastern Cape, could adapt to local conditions.[9]

If one were to define what typified the analytical approach to the colonial archives during the late twentieth century, it would be an attentiveness to the notion of reading colonial archives "against the grain".[10] Students of colonialism were taught to communicate popular histories by discerning the voices from below – histories of resistance that emphasised human agency in acts of refusal and silence among indigenous people. Thus, late-twentieth-century engagement with the colonial archives was committed to, and focused on, that which was not said in historical sources, in order to illuminate the language of rule and the biases implicit in government officials' outlooks.[11]

Stoler questions how students of colonialism can so hastily turn to readings "against the grain" without moving along the grain first.[12] How can they read against it without first

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[7] Ibid., 163.
[8] Terry Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College: 1855–1990* (Grahamstown: St Andrew's College, 1990), 260.
[9] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 257 (1956), 1.
[10] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance", 91.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., 92.

having an idea of its very "texture and granularity"?[13] In considering how archival production is itself both a process and a prevalent instrument of rule, Stoler argues, one need not only move against the archive's inherited categories. The student of colonialism needs to also search for the archive's regularities, for its repeated errors and falsities, and for its obsessions, along the archival grain.

In view of Stoler's approach, this study attempts to critically reflect on the making of museum displays: on how publics choose to use them, and on displays as sites not of knowledge retrieval but of knowledge production.[14] Reading only against the grain when engaging with the museum display means eschewing any careful consideration of the power at work in the production of the museum display itself.[15]

It is clear that museums play a significant role in influencing South Africans to consider, narrate and envisage their society and its past, as well as their own identities – their sense of belonging or exclusion – as individuals within that society.[16] For this reason, I am interested in how artefacts and their twentieth-century artefactual presentation continued to constitute and interpolate publics of the Eastern Cape.

In the case of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum in Grahamstown, which was established in 1965 and funded by the Provincial Administration, the artefactual presentation of the nineteenth-century firearm continued to evoke frontier discourses for ongoing consumption.[17] This research, therefore, attempts to gain insight into why and how this way of thinking was so durable and, more importantly, so easily employed across generations in the Eastern Cape.

The relationship between people and things

The complex relationship between people and "things" has been studied by various distinguished scholars, among them Pierre Bourdieu, Bruno Latour, Daniel Miller, Gustavo Buntinx, Ivan Karp, Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool. Bourdieu shows how objects became signs that have meaning and interest, though only for those members of the

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., 85.
[15] Ibid., 92.
[16] Carolyn Steedman, "Chapter 4: The Space of Memory: In an Archive", in *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 67.
[17] Barry M Berkovitch, *The Cape Gunsmith* (Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch Museum, 1976), 40.

group who possess the cultural competence or the code into which the object has been encrypted.[18]

He asserts that an art gallery visitor without the necessary cultural code cannot move past the primary level of meaning of the artwork. While this level can be grasped through sensory experience, the level of secondary meaning – of what is signified – can only be understood if the beholder possesses the necessary cultural concepts into which the artwork has been encoded.[19]

Bourdieu's work is significant in that it encourages one to question for whom artefacts on display in museums hold meaning – that is, for whom they become signs representing identity and status. In a variant of this idea, this study will illustrate how a different meaning to the one intended becomes possible when a different code is applied: after all, a rifle means fundamentally different things when viewed by a white South African and a black South African.

Latour differs in his approach to "things" by focusing on an object's ability to influence human action. He considers how the concept of agency, the defining quality of people, can easily be applied to the non-human world.[20] Latour asserts that a computer that crashes, and thus prevents a person from using it, or a seed that "refuses" to sprout the way it is expected to when planted is the agent behind what subsequently happens.[21] In line with Latour's argument, Miller asserts that objects are influential precisely because one does not "see" them: "The less one is aware of them, the more powerfully they can determine one's expectations by setting the scene and ensuring normative behaviour, without being open to challenge."[22]

Buntinx and Karp argue that, in collecting and displaying artefacts, museums allow communities, whether local or dispersed, to use collections in the process of community formation. These historians use the phrase "tactical museologies" to refer to "the process

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[18] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Harvard University Press, 1984), 2.
[19] Ibid., 2–3.
[20] Bruno Latour, "When Things Strike Back: A Possible Contribution of 'Science Studies' to the Social Sciences", *The British Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 1 (2000), 119.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Daniel Miller, "Materiality: An Introduction", in *Materiality*, ed. Daniel Miller (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 5.

through which the museum idea is utilised, invoked, and even contested in the process of community formation".[23]

Witz, Minkley and Rassool assert that at the root of the heritage concept are masculinist ideas of family, legacy or bequest. They illustrate that, in the museum during the early twentieth century, this set of metaphors became bonded with nineteenth-century concepts of both gender and race, resulting in a powerful discourse about the nation as family. It returned visitors to the concept of inheritance as a conservative (masculinist) dynamic for ensuring continuity and progress.[24]

The various arguments on the agency of things outlined above are largely applicable to this study, which focuses on how artefacts in the museum worked to construct a South African Anglo identity in Grahamstown. Rather than examining what it is that artefacts *show,* as distinct entities, the work of Bourdieu, Latour, Miller, Buntinx, Karp, Witz, Minkley and Rassool lends itself to uncovering what it is that artefacts *do* when they are exhibited.

Kate Pahl and Jennifer Rowsell illustrate how identity features significantly in the work of "artifactual literacies", in that artefacts and identities are interwoven. According to these historians, identities are lodged in particular experiences, and these experiences are inextricably linked to material culture. The artefacts that are displayed in a museum, then, are used by individuals to confirm their identities and articulate new ones.[25]

The construction of British settler identity on the frontier

Anderson, who is best known for his book *Imagined Communities,* asserts that a nation is a socially constructed community, imagined by individuals who recognise themselves as part of that group. According to Anderson, it "is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion".[26]

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[23] Gustavo Buntinx and Ivan Karp, "Tactical Museologies", in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations,* eds. Ivan Karp, Corinne A Kratz, Lynn Szwaja and Thomas Ybarra-Frausto (United States: Duke University Press, 2006), 208.

[24] Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool, "Heritage and the Post-antiapartheid", in *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts*, eds. Kelly Askew and Anne Pitcher (United States: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 205–206.

[25] Kate Pahl and Jennifer Rowsell, *Artifactual Literacies: Every Object Tells a Story* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2010), 8.

[26] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* 6–7.

Anderson applied his theory to the construction of nationalism in Southeast Asia.[27] The present study, however, will apply the theory developed by Anderson to the settler context of Grahamstown. In particular, it will illustrate how an imagined colonial identity, and then successive white nationalist identities, was imagined and invented in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa.

In *Imperial Networks*, Alan Lester illustrates that, just as British metropolitan identities were created in relation to others during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, different kinds of British identities were being shaped in a variety of colonial settings. He asserts that these colonial identities were constructed in relation to particular cultures, such as those of Indians, Maoris, Aborigines and West Indian slaves, among others.[28]

Lester indicates that, in the Eastern Cape, a British settler identity was developed in tension with the identities of Khoisan- and Dutch-speakers, but especially in relation to the material and symbolic practices – and not least the resistance – of the Xhosa tribes. In each settler colony, he asserts, colonial identities were also invented through contact with, and often out of antagonism towards, metropolitan social and political groups that concerned themselves with events at the margins of empire.[29]

In *The Making of Colonial Order*, Clifton Crais explores the ways in which various peoples with radically different ways of perceiving the world around them participated in the construction of an unequal and racially divided colonial society. In particular, Crais is concerned with how the Xhosa people on the eastern frontier, who lived to the east of the Fish River, "critically shaped the colonial order in South Africa, from outright armed struggle to the less visible contests over power and identity".[30]

Lester and Crais both pay particular attention to the political, economic and military interactions on the eastern frontier in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They reveal how these interactions helped produce a community with a distinct British colonial identity. This thesis, on the other hand, will illustrate how two key institutions – that is, the school and

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[27] Ibid., 178.
[28] Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), preface.
[29] Ibid., 45–46.
[30] Clifton C Crais, *The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770–1865* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992), 2.

the museum – worked to develop Anglo-masculine identity in the Eastern Cape during the twentieth century.

It will focus on the processes through which museums are made and remade rather than on "museums-as-things". By illustrating how the museum display is a "condensed site of epistemological and political anxiety", it will argue that museum displays were both transparencies on which power relations were engraved and complex devices of rule in and of themselves.[31]

In *Inventing Australia,* Richard White contends that new nations invent identities for themselves and that, when examining such national identities, historians should question "what their function is, whose creations they are, and whose interests they serve".[32] White stresses the importance of considering how these identities are shaped and reshaped over time.[33]

White's observation applies to group identities as well, in that they, too, are not static but constantly shift and develop. The American historian John Gillis takes this point further in his observation that the concept of identity is reliant on memory and that the "core meaning of any […] group identity, namely a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is sustained by the assumed identity".[34]

Identities are, however, extremely selective. They are both subjective and flexible, and they can be used to serve certain interests and ideological positions. This is a key reason identities never stop changing and evolving and are constantly being made and remade. Just as identities transform over time, so too do memories.[35] Gillis asserts that extensive economic and political changes can produce so great a gap between the past and the present that individuals have to repeatedly revise their memories to suit their current positions.[36]

White's and Gillis's assertions on national and group identities are borne out in the South African context by the large number of studies on Afrikaner identity that exist within South African historiography. As time progressed, the ways in which Afrikaners remembered their

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[31] Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common-Sense,* 20.
[32] Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity, 1688–1980* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1981), 1.
[33] Ibid.
[34] John Gillis, "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship", in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3.
[35] John Lambert, "'Tell England, Ye Who Pass this Monument': English-Speaking South Africans, Memory and War Remembrance until the Eve of the Second World War", *South African Historical Journal* 66, no. 4 (2014), 678.
[36] Gillis, "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship", 3–4.

past was altered to suit the different circumstances in which they found themselves.[37] As John Lambert reveals, this is true of English-speakers' memories as well. They, too, changed over time, as an English-speaking South African identity evolved.[38]

While the construction of Afrikaner identity has been exhaustedly scrutinised by historians, this study focuses on the invention of English identity in the Eastern Cape province and, in particular, in Grahamstown. Lambert highlights the differences between various English-speaking communities in South Africa and explains that these differences largely resulted from the communities' distinct origins in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. He adds that there were regional differences between the English of Cape Town, with their Cape liberal traditions, the English of the Eastern Cape, with their 1820 settler traditions, the English of Natal, with their separatist traditions, and the English of the Orange Free State, with their devotion to their republic.[39]

Lambert asserts that, regardless of where in the United Kingdom they came from or where in South Africa they settled, the great majority of English-speakers retained their British identity until the mid-twentieth century. Although by the beginning of that century they were beginning to refer to themselves as English-speaking South Africans, they continued to accept that this identity had to be viewed in a British and imperial context.[40] Lambert stresses that remembrance played a key role in how English-speakers viewed their past, with the memorialisation of the wars in which they had fought, particularly the First World War, playing a crucial role in their understanding and portrayal of their identity.

This study will draw on the literature provided by the above-cited historians to illustrate that, although for the original settlers Britain was home in a way that it could not be for their children and descendants, as time progressed the individual memories of Britain brought by the settlers were passed down. These individual memories, in turn, became a collective memory among later generations of the diaspora. This collective memory was more abstract than the memories that existed among first-generation settlers, but it was nevertheless a memory moulded by a sense of historical continuity.[41]

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[37] See Herman Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2003).
[38] Lambert, "'Tell England, Ye Who Pass this Monument': English-Speaking South Africans, Memory and War Remembrance until the Eve of the Second World War", 678.
[39] Ibid., 678–679.
[40] Ibid., 679.
[41] Ibid., 679–680.

The militarisation of South African Anglo identity on the frontier

The second key point that this thesis will make is that South African Anglo identity was militarised in the Eastern Cape during the twentieth century. The study will show how the school and the museum in Grahamstown were structured to promote a particular style of Anglo-masculine identity – one that "mimicked" images of the British settler but that also, to varying degrees, influenced boys to become soldiers that could "adapt" to the landscape and to political conditions after the Second World War.

The following section will draw on the work of Tim Stapleton, Sandra Swart, John Lambert, Andre Wessels and Deon Visser to provide a sense of the wider cadet programme in South Africa. More importantly, it will provide a narrative of the cadet system's mobile attachment first to an imagined colonial identity and then to successive white nationalist identities.

Stapleton indicates that, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the cadet programme provided an increasing portion of the Cape Colony's military reserve.[42] By the start of the twentieth century, it provided more or less one-third of the colony's military reserve.[43] Child soldiers, Stapleton contends, were important to the settler militia because boys were significantly more compliant than adult males, and could thus be more easily inducted into British Army standard operating procedures.[44]

Moreover, Stapleton asserts that, because child soldiers were trained on standard imperial army lines in the Cape Colony, they could be seamlessly integrated into the professional British Army during times of war.[45] The competition in shooting, the parade ground drill, the uniform and the field days all formed part of cadet training. Hence, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the cadet programme in the Cape Colony was inseparable from an imagined colonial identity.

The concept of militarism is rarely used in the historical literature that focuses on military conflict in South Africa. There is comprehensive coverage of wars and rebellions, but the militarised social context is largely ignored. The literature provided by Stapleton is of great

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[42] Tim Stapleton, "South Africa", in *Citizen Soldiers and the British Empire, 1837–1902*, ed. Ian F. W. Beckett (London: Routledge, 2016), 151.

[43] Province of the Cape of Good Hope, *Statistical Register of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope for the year 1909*, Cape Town: Cape Times, Government Printers, 1910.

[44] Stapleton, "South Africa", in *Citizen Soldiers and the British Empire, 1837–1902*, 151.

[45] Ibid.

value to the present study, because it illustrates that soldiers and soldiering do not exist in a vacuum. They exist and occur when people believe in the need for, or in the danger of, war.[46]

Swart's main focus is on the construction of Afrikaner identity in the first decades of the twentieth century. She asserts that this identity was intimately bound up with a sense of republicanism, which found expression and legitimisation in the traditional commando system. According to Swart, the commando system functioned as a practical and symbolic mode of masculinity for Boers, who, by the turn of the century, were starting to understand themselves as constituting Afrikaner society.[47]

Swart reveals how the 1912 Defence Act presented a major challenge to the masculinity of both the Boer leadership and the ordinary Boer in the commandos. The act imposed modern training methods, uniforms, ranking system disciplinary codes and promotional norms on Afrikaners.[48] During the South African War, children had served in the military; however, the introduction of compulsory cadets in 1912 caused great conflict among the Afrikaans population.[49]

Although cadets had been part of the English school system in the Cape Colony since 1875, and in Natal since 1895, the 1912 Defence Act formally introduced the system into the two former republics.[50] Cadets were to be drawn from the 13–17 age bracket, and training would involve physical exercise, target shooting and signalling. Swart indicates that, within the Dutch-speaking community, the new measure was met with apprehension. This concern over cadets was part of a broader fear that the Boer male child would have his masculinity replaced with an English conception of what it meant to be a man.[51]

Although Swart is primarily concerned with the construction of Afrikaner identity, her work is useful for this study because it highlights the importance of the rifle in producing a white masculine identity in the twentieth century. Swart indicates that, when the government implemented the 1912 Defence Act and encouraged men to serve in the First World War,

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[46] Robert Graham Morrell, "White Farmers, Social Institutions and Settler Masculinity in the Natal Midlands, 1880–1920", PhD diss. (Durban: University of Natal, 1996), 121.

[47] Sandra Swart, "'A Boer and His Gun and His Wife are Three Things Always Together': Republican Masculinity and the 1914 Rebellion", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24, no. 4 (1998), 738.

[48] Ibid., 743.

[49] Ibid., 749–750.

[50] Paul Thompson, "The Natal Militia: Defence of the Colony, 1893–1910", *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 29, no. 1 (2011), 25.

[51] Sandra Swart, "'A Boer and His Gun and His Wife are Three Things Always Together': Republican Masculinity and the 1914 Rebellion," 749–750.

some Afrikaners refused to comply. When the government attempted to seize the weapons of those who refused to be commandeered, Afrikaners denounced this action.[52]

Bittereinder Boer general of the South African War Piet de Wet once stated, "A Boer and his gun and his wife are three things always together". [53] His gun is his "second wife, or his sweetheart".[54] De Wet noted that a Boer without his gun "is a helpless creature"; therefore, "do not touch his gun or his wife".[55] Amid the fear and uncertainty about what was happening, many Afrikaners rebelled as a result of the government's intrusion. "Over my dead body will I relinquish this gun which is my property that cost me money!" exclaimed one man during state requisitioning.[56] The continued domination of English-speakers within politics, the economy and the military promoted a new Afrikaner nationalism with an attendant form of ethnic masculinity.

The desire for freedom from British influence and superiority over blacks was channelled into a new masculinity, which stressed the importance of independence, resourcefulness, physical and emotional toughness, and the ability to give and (depending on one's position) take orders. These values were gendered as male in the church, in schools, in community meetings, and on the sports field.[57]

While Swart reveals how the cadet system appeared to pose a threat to the identity of Boer male children in the early twentieth century, Lambert and Poland point out that, during the First World War, it helped strengthen feelings of Britishness and encouraged the development of a white South African consciousness among English-speaking South Africans.[58] These historians illustrate the ways in which the cadet programme worked to bring together English and Afrikaner groups in a South Africa that was an integral part of the Empire-Commonwealth.[59]

Within days of the outbreak of war, boys from South Africa's white elite boys' schools responded to the call to arms as enthusiastically as did young men of a similar background in

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[52] Ibid., 737.

[53] Ibid., 750.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Robert Morrell, "The Times of Change: Men and Masculinity in South Africa", in *Changing Men in Southern Africa*, ed. Robert Morrell (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001), 15.

[58] Marguerite Poland, *The Boy in You: A Biography of St Andrew's College, 1855–2005* (Grahamstown: St Andrew's College, 2015)*,* 211.

[59] John Lambert, "'Munition Factories…Turning Out a Constant Supply of Living Material': White South African Elite Boys' Schools and the First World War", *South African Historical Journal* 51, no. 1 (2004), 69.

Britain. According to Lambert and Poland, many schools were soon exhibiting impressive numbers of men serving. By the end of 1914, 264 old boys from Grahamstown's Anglican private school, St Andrew's College, had enlisted. Although small by comparison, the number of Afrikaans-speaking young men who enlisted from parallel-medium schools such as Grey College is evidence that closer ties were being forged between English-speakers and Afrikaners in the country's elite schools.[60]

Moreover, the fact that English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites eventually fought and died together during the First World War contributed to English-speaking South Africans' awakening South Africanism.[61] Lambert and Poland stress that this development did much to pave the way for cooperation between English-speakers and moderate Afrikaners in the South African Party after the war.[62]

The scholarship produced by the historians discussed in this section emphasises the importance of the cadet programme in forging, first, an imagined colonial identity and, subsequently, different white nationalist identities in South Africa. However, it falls short of providing a sense of the different ways in which these identities were militarised over time. Hence, this study will demonstrate how the Second World War cohort of veterans, who returned to the Eastern Cape to assist with the teaching at white elite boys' schools, provided the cadet corps with a transfusion of new skills and initiatives and, in turn, militarised South African Anglo identity.[63]

Specifically, this study will argue that English identity, although reconstructed after the 1820 settlers' centenary in Grahamstown, was not imagined as a military identity until after the Second World War and the return of veterans to schools such as St Andrew's College, with its cadet corps. Moreover, it will stress that this identity, which conveyed masculine virtues of loyalty, bravery, strength and willingness to fight, was also conditioned by the perceived threat of black nationalism in the 1960s.[64]

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[60] Ibid., 75.
[61] Morrell, "The Times of Change: Men and Masculinity in South Africa", 15.
[62] Lambert, "'Munition Factories…Turning Out a Constant Supply of Living Material': White South African Elite Boys' Schools and the First World War", 86.
[63] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 260.
[64] McGill Alexander, "The Militarisation of South African White Society, 1948–1990", *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 30 no. 2 (2000), 269.

The masculinisation of South African Anglo identity on the frontier

The history of South Africa lacks a gender perspective that extends beyond the study of women. By the 1990s, investigations into women were much in evidence within South African historiography and were greatly detailed. They revealed that women had been excluded from history and that they were oppressed. In the early twenty-first century, too, gender literature remained effectively synonymous with the study of women.[65]

This study will attempt to develop an informed understanding of masculinity in South African history and society. Robert Morrell has periodised the history of masculinity in South Africa from the late nineteenth century. In the late nineteenth century, British imperial rule was being extended into the sub-continent, subjugating both Afrikaners and indigenous people. The process was driven by white British men, most of whom were educated at public schools. Morrell indicates that the notions of superiority and toughness taught in these schools were reflected in the way colonial rule was carried out. A readiness to resort to force and a belief that there was nothing more honourable than to fight for the empire were features of imperial masculinity and the colonial process.[66]

Once colonial rule had been established, institutions were set up that had the explicit agenda of homogenising the white population. Among these institutions was the white South African school. There are many ways in which one could begin to unravel the construction of masculinity in the school. For example, Morrell has shown how important the sporting system and the house and prefect systems were in shaping masculinity in the schools in Natal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[67] Working through these institutions, the colony's settlers created "a tight knit, racially exclusive community with a hegemonic masculinity that borrowed heavily from metropolitan representations of manliness".[68]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, existing white masculinities (Afrikaner and British) changed. Afrikaner masculinity differed from imperial masculinity. In the Afrikaner republics, a rural system of production and a social system of kinship were founded on certain institutions (for example, the commando) and gave rise to particular masculinities.

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[65] Morrell, "Preface", in *Changing Men in Southern Africa,* ed. Robert Morrell (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001), xi.

[66] Robert Morrell, "Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24, no. 4 (1998), 616.

[67] Morrell, "White Farmers, Social Institutions and Settler Masculinity in the Natal Midlands, 1880–1920", 55.

[68] Morrell, "Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies", 618.

Afrikaner masculinity had been dominant over women, indigenous people and *uitlanders* in the independent republics, but under colonialism, this hegemony was modified.

Apart from the humiliation of military defeat, Afrikaner men temporarily lost political influence – although as burghers they soon regained the vote and thereby some influence within government. In addition, the rural base of Afrikaner production was put at risk because economic pressures and land policies favoured large-scale commercial farmers. Families were forced off the land and men lost the patriarchal authority that had existed in the gender regime of the farm. The replacement of the old order, based on the family, with a new modern state posed a threat that men experienced as an attack on their masculinity. What Swart calls a Republican masculinity emerged to challenge the changes.[69]

The coming of the Union led to a blending of the different forms of white masculinity in South Africa, although other masculinities (oppositional, submissive, complicit) did still exist. The ways in which Afrikaner and English settler masculinities merged remains debatable, but the fact that (with a few exceptions in the Cape) white men alone had the vote until 1931 and that white men were predominantly employers, law-makers and decision-makers were likely to have been factors that produced a racially exclusive fraternity. Moreover, during the First World War, Afrikaners and English-speaking people fought for their country and affirmed their role as protectors of a particular way of life.[70]

In particular, this study will focus on how the school and the museum were developed in Grahamstown in the twentieth century to produce a particular style of Anglo-masculine identity, based on a militarised reimagining of the original British settlers.[71] In revealing the constructedness of masculinity in this instance, this thesis will suggest that masculinity in general, rather than being a fixed, essential identity that all men have, is malleable and can change.[72] To this end, the thesis draws on the work of historians such as Morrell and Michael Mann, who examine the construction and articulation of different masculinities as emergent local processes.[73]

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[69] Ibid., 617.
[70] Ibid., 618–619.
[71] J M Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on Its Early Years", *Annals of the Eastern Cape Museums* 4 (2003), 14.
[72] Robert Morrell, "Introduction", in *Changing Men in Southern Africa*, ed. Robert Morrell (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001), 4.
[73] Michael Kimmel, "Afterword", in *Changing Men in Southern Africa* ed. Robert Morrell (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001), 338.

Morrell is concerned with the construction of white masculine identity in the Natal Midlands during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He asserts that, in 1909, cadets became compulsory at the schools in this province and instilled in schoolboys a love of guns and the idea of war. As the Rector of Michaelhouse put it, "Boys leave this school with a taste for military work."[74] Morrell contends that the school and the cadet corps thus constituted key sites for the propagation of a particular kind of masculinity, which was in accordance with the code of male behaviour produced by Natal's regiments.[75]

Moreover, Morrell writes that links between the cadets and the volunteer regiments were very important in spinning an apparently seamless web between boyhood and adulthood, and between school and army. These links were fostered in a host of different ways. Military men like Natal Carbineers Commander Colonel E M Greene were very much in favour of the cadet movement. They regularly used cadet parades to strengthen links between cadets and volunteer regiments.[76]

In explaining the continued influence of the military in Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Mann highlights the importance of "the primacy of the command principle". [77] He asserts that this principle perpetuated obedience and ensured that mutiny and disloyalty were infrequent. The principle was inculcated in elite schools and their cadet corps. Prefects, for instance, were given a number of duties and responsibilities. They had to watch out for bad language and receive complaints from younger boys about bullying.[78] They had limited corrective power, but in these circumstances both the punished and the punisher were instilled with the command principle.[79] These elements undoubtedly stimulated the development of colonial militarism.[80]

While Morrell and Mann examine the construction of masculinities in the cadet corps in the early twentieth century, Jock Phillips explores the production of masculinity in the volunteer regiment during this period. He asserts that, in the context of New Zealand, regiments were places where friendships were created, and that the form that these friendships took and the

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[74] Robert Morrell, "Military Matters in the Natal Midlands, 1880–1920" (South Africa: South African Historical Society, 1995), 7.
[75] Ibid., 8.
[76] Ibid., 7.
[77] Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power Volume 2: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993). 429.
[78] Ibid.
[79] John M. MacKenzie, ed., *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850–1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 12.
[80] Mann, *The Sources of Social Power Volume 2: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914*, 429.

role that they played in men's lives were crucial to the production of masculinity. Military friendships added to the regime of toughness, violence and intolerance that characterised the regiments.

The standard kind of friendship was with one's mate – usually a man who had joined at the same time, who had the same rank and who was often a family friend or a neighbourhood friend. Phillips refers to this class of friendship as "mateship". In wartime, according to Phillips, one's mate was "the only consolation for the desolation and daily tragedy".[81] However, he and historians such as Lynne Segal and David Morgan are quick to point out that friendship was a complex phenomenon and not what the media tended to portray it as – namely, as a comfortable, sociable and unthreatening space.

Segal asserts that, on the one hand, armies do "help forge and consolidate certain dominant patterns of masculinity" (for example, avoiding the public expression of gentleness or tenderness towards a woman).[82] Morgan observes, on the other hand, that it was not the regiment itself that was producing this version of masculinity; rather, it was that men were "learning to identify masculinity and being male with these (military) traits and pieces of behaviour".[83]

The scholarly work of Phillips, Segal and Morgan is of considerable value to this study because it indicates that changes in masculinity are highly complex and are better understood as part of society, which Mann refers to as "a patterned mess".[84] Moreover, their work illustrates that it is easier to understand changes in masculinity by examining specific moments, institutions and actors, as this thesis will attempt to do. Lastly, it underscores the fact that soldiers were not just "raced" but also came to be significantly "gendered" as ideally masculine.

As this study will reveal, in post-war Grahamstown, the Second World War cohort of masters at St Andrew's College dealt with a crisis of masculinity and anxieties about national identity by re-masculinising the school's cadet corps. There was a conscious attempt to move cadets

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[81] Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male, a History* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1987), 179.

[82] Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men* (New Brunswick and New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 20.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Mann, *The Sources of Social Power Volume 2: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914,* 1.

off the parade ground and into the countryside and to encourage schoolboys to view the settler as the epitome of the good soldier.

The deeply engrained volunteer spirit, which had been so noticeable a feature in the past, persisted in Grahamstown. In the mid-twentieth century, the membership of the First City Volunteers Regiment, which was established in 1875 and which originally comprised English-speaking white settlers from Grahamstown and Bathurst, was drawn from the schoolboys at St Andrew's College.[85]

The merging of English and Afrikaner nationalist identities in the Eastern Cape

This thesis aims to disrupt the rigid binary that tends to place English-speakers and Afrikaners in opposition in the second half of the twentieth century in South Africa. While the liberal tradition asserted that veterans who returned to South Africa after the Second World War were opponents of apartheid, this thesis will highlight the ways in which English and Afrikaner identities converged in the Eastern Cape, paving the way for national mobilisation.[86]

Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz indicate that Afrikaner nationalist identity emerged out of the Great Trek, an eastward migration of Dutch-speaking settlers who travelled by wagon trains from the Cape Colony into the interior of modern South Africa in 1838.[87] As Witz notes, the selected starting point of this trek was the Eastern Cape, where most of the trek leaders had begun their journeys. These historians stress that, in effect, the Great Trek led to the founding of several autonomous Boer republics, which were birthed in the Eastern Cape.[88]

This thesis will emphasise the fact that, since the Great Trek took place only eighteen years after the British settlers arrived in the Eastern Cape, English and Afrikaner identity reached back to the same period, as well as the same place.[89] Moreover, it will argue that, in the twentieth century, South African Anglo identity was also developed in the Eastern Cape, and

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[85] Reginald Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service* (South Africa: Howard Timmins, 1970), 1.
[86] Neil Roos, "The Springbok and the Skunk: War Veterans and the Politics of Whiteness in South Africa during the 1940s and 1950s", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35, no. 3 (2009), 643; Kenneth Kirkwood, "The Constitution Crisis in South Africa", *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944–)* 28, no. 4 (1952), 437–438.
[87] Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz, "The 1952 Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and Contesting Public National History in South Africa", *The Journal of African History* 34, no. 3 (1993), 448–449.
[88] Leslie Witz, "Commemorations and Conflicts in the Production of South African National Pasts: The 1952 Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival", PhD diss. (University of Cape Town, 1997), 62.
[89] J Alton Templin, "God and the Covenant in the South African Wilderness", *Church History* 37, no. 3 (1968), 282.

that this province was therefore the scene for the development of both English and Afrikaner identities.

The militarisation of white society

An additional point that this thesis will attempt to make is that, contrary to the notion that the national army militarised the white population in the 1960s, the Second World War cohort of veterans who returned to various towns in the Eastern Cape after the war had the military experience required to militarise schoolboys as early as a decade before. Since Afrikaner nationalism opposed South Africa's involvement in the Second World War, when the Defence Force was reconstructed after the advent of the republic, the military experience that it had to draw on was not as advanced as that of the English veterans.

In 1945, the wartime supporters of the United Party coalition had come through six harrowing years of the war effort. In all branches, the lessons and privations of front-line warfare were learnt and experienced. First-hand exposure to debilitating combat, prisoner-of-war camps, and the very real cost of war – a comrade wounded or killed – provided veterans with advanced military knowhow.[90]

In particular, as this study points out, when the veterans returned to Grahamstown from active service and began assisting with teaching and coaching at St Andrew's College, they gave the cadet corps, which comprised 330 students, a transfusion of the skills they had acquired during the war.[91] For instance, a new system of tests in various branches of cadet work was introduced. The tests had to be passed before Cadet Proficiency Points could be awarded. The subjects involved included drill, map reading, field craft, knowledge of the parts of a rifle, musketry, compliments and saluting, and leadership.[92] Furthermore, the masters introduced specialist courses for older boys in motor transport, survey, signals and first aid.[93]

Primary sources

This study is concerned with how the school and the museum in twentieth-century Grahamstown were specifically structured to produce an Anglo-masculine identity that

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[90] Major L G Murray, *First City/Cape Town Highlanders in the Italian Campaign: A Short History 1943–1945* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, 1945), 17.
[91] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College: 1855–1990*, 260.
[92] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 252 (1954), 10.
[93] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 260 (1957), 7.

mirrored re-imaginings of the British settler who, in the Eastern Cape, could adapt to the local environment and defend the land against hostile enemies in a protracted low-intensity war over generations.

Hence, the first archive that this study has made use of is that of the Albany Museum and the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum, both of which are situated in Grahamstown. It has utilised these museums' annual reports from the 1950s to the late 1960s to illustrate the ways in which museum displays enable but also organise Anglo national imagining, so as to produce a desired Anglo national consciousness.

The second archive that this study has used is that of the Department of Nature Conservation. In 1952, the Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope decided to establish the Department of Nature Conservation, whose task, apart from the control and extension of the functions of the then Division of Inland Fisheries, would include the coordination of provincial museums. The department's annual reports are concerned with the development of the Albany Museum and the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum, and are thus of great value to this study.

Part of this study's attempt to measure "collective imagining" for the period 1910–1965 is an investigation of the role of the school in engendering a particular white masculine identity through its cadet programme. This investigation has involved consulting school magazines published by St Andrew's College between 1923 and 1966, which reveal the ways in which the cadet corps helped promote a particular style of Anglo-masculine identity that was in accordance with re-imaginings of the 1820 British settler.

Conclusion

According to Anderson, in the "nation-building" policies of the postcolonial state, a systematic instilling of nationalist ideology through mass media, the education system and administrative regulations was deemed necessary, under the premise that texts and institutions would raise citizens who were servants of the state.[94] Anderson asserts that museums' publicness, therefore, was shaped by their interactions with other civic and

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[94] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* 114 and 116.

governmental institutions whose development was coeval with their own: libraries, adult education and, above all, schooling.[95]

This chapter has argued that the museum should be examined within an array of related cultural institutions, such as the school, through which values and notions of citizenship are inculcated. In view of Anderson's argument, this chapter has provided a sense of the ways in which the school and museum worked together to establish a particular kind of individual consciousness in the twentieth century. Furthermore, it has stressed that individual consciousness sparks the standard imagining effect that is essential to the emergence and cohesion of the national community.[96]

Finally, this chapter has revealed the main focus of this thesis: how the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum in Grahamstown and the cadet corps at St Andrew's College were used in the twentieth century to construct a particular kind of Anglo-masculine identity, built on images of the British settler as soldier.[97] These institutions were designed to influence boys to become soldiers who could adapt to local conditions and, more importantly, political conditions after the Second World War.[98]

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[95] Tony Bennett, "Exhibition, Difference and the Logic of Culture", in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations,* eds. Ivan Karp, Corinee A Kratz, Lynn Szwaja and Thomas Ybarra-Frausto (United States: Duke University Press, 2006), 51.
[96] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* 178, 181–183.
[97] Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on Its Early Years", 14.
[98] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College: 1855–1990,* 260.

Outline of Chapter Two

The following chapter examines the development of Grahamstown from its establishment as a garrison centre in 1812 to its emergence as a Victorian town in the late nineteenth century. It argues that, although the town was transformed from a military base to a place that exhibited significant signs of urban modernity, firearms continued to influence and shape the identity of the town's citizens. In other words, beneath the veneer of urban modernity, there remained an awareness of the fact that Grahamstown was a frontier garrison centre, which influenced notions of self in crucial ways.

The chapter will illustrate how the formation of the first cadet corps in Grahamstown in 1875, as well as the widespread awareness of the destructive capacity of rifles in this unit and in the First City Volunteers Regiment to which it was connected, helped shape British identity on the frontier. Similarly, the display of animal bodies in the Albany Museum, founded in 1855, emphasised the centrality of hunting and of rifles in the life of a frontiersman. The old military identity that Grahamstown had ostensibly abandoned was in fact retained beneath the surface of emerging Victorian modernity.

Chapter Two: The Development of Grahamstown from 1812 to 1905: The Identity of the Inhabitants of a Frontier Town

Introduction

This chapter considers the development of Grahamstown from its establishment as a garrison centre in 1812 to its emergence as a Victorian town in the late nineteenth century. It begins by illustrating how Grahamstown was founded as part of Sir John Cradock's decision to transfer the headquarters of the Cape Regiment to the eastern frontier, in order to provide a system of defence against the Xhosa tribes.[99] In its early years, therefore, Grahamstown consisted of only a few military buildings and constituted for the colonial administration, a "symbol of the imposition of human order on the wilderness".[100]

After discussing the development of Grahamstown as an important garrison centre, the chapter considers the ways in which the town developed into a civil establishment. In 1812, the first public buildings were erected; they included a house for the deputy landdrost, a prison, and accommodation for a messenger, a constable and two indigenous people. Grahamstown, which up until this point had consisted solely of the camp of the few officers and men of the Cape Regiment, was suddenly in possession of an administrative structure.[101]

By 1824, Grahamstown was considered to have moved beyond the status of a village and to have assumed that of a town. This chapter explores how the civic pride of the town was established subsequent to the arrival of the 1820 settlers.[102] It explains that the ideal of Victorian respectability was thought to be attainable through education and that, as a result, a printing press, a library, a town hall and a series of public lectures were approved in the 1830s.[103]

Moreover, in the late 1830s, a number of private schools were established in Grahamstown. These private schools, receiving no assistance from the government, were maintained almost

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[99] George Edward Cory, *From the Earliest Times to the Year 1820*, vol. 1, *The Rise of South Africa* (Cape Town: Struik, 1965), 247–250.
[100] Linda Robson and Mark Oranje, "Strategic Military Colonization: The Cape Eastern Frontier, 1806–1872", *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 40, no. 2 (2012), 66.
[101] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa,* 267–269.
[102] D H Thomson, *A Short History of Grahamstown* (Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry, 1952), 22.
[103] Richard Marshall, "A Social and Cultural History of Grahamstown, 1812 to c. 1845", Master of Arts (Rhodes University, 2008), 107 and Robert Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870: A Tragedy of Manners* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 79.

exclusively through school fees. Initially, they consisted of a small number of children, and the abilities of their teaching staff were typically limited or doubtful.[104]

Of the many schools in Grahamstown, St Andrew's College held pride of place. In 1854, Bishop Armstrong left England for South Africa and founded the college, which was "to provide a sound Christian education for the youth of the (Eastern) Province, according to the principles of the church of England".[105] It was to be an elite school that attended to the needs of the sons of the white English-speaking middle class. The foundation stone was laid with due ceremony on 15 August 1855.[106]

This chapter's description of Grahamstown's development in the nineteenth century illustrates that, beneath the surface of an emergent urban modernity, an awareness of frontier dominance and violence still pervaded the town.[107] The training that the cadet corps at St Andrew's College and the First City Volunteers Regiment underwent helped the settlers imagine and appreciate the destructive potential of rifles.[108] Meanwhile, the display of animals in the Albany Museum, founded in 1855, created the impression that hunting was a necessity and, consequently, that rifles were indispensable to life on the frontier.[109]

Grahamstown, 1812 to 1820

From the early nineteenth century, the eastern province experienced heightened conflict. After the new British administration's first significant war of expansion, the Fourth Frontier War of 1812, it was clear to the administration that the region to the west of the Great Fish River had to be defended.[110] Therefore, the Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir John Cradock, instructed Colonel John Graham and the Cape Regiment to drive the Xhosa out of the Zuurveld and found a headquarters on the frontier for the military.[111]

Lieutenant Colonel Graham instructed Lieutenant Robert Hart and Ensign Andries Stockenström to join Captain Donald McNiel in carrying out a survey of fitting sites for a

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[104] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, 212.
[105] R F Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 10–12.
[106] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 14; Terry Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990* (Grahamstown: St Andrew's College, 1990), 32.
[107] Noël Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (London: Pimlico, 1993), 657.
[108] Reginald Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service* (South Africa: Howard Timmins, 1970), 45.
[109] Brian L Ott, Eric Aoki and Greg Dickinson, "Ways of (Not) Seeing Guns: Presence and Absence at the Cody Firearms Museum", *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 8, no. 3 (2011), 232.
[110] Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870: A Tragedy of Manners,* 61.
[111] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa,* 247–250.

new headquarters. Stockenström guided the men to an abandoned Boer farm – formerly belonging to Lucas Meyer – called de Rietfonteyn.[112] He pointed out to Graham the several sources of the Blaauwkranz River, which would provide a water supply sufficient for military use.[113]

Importantly, this farm was central to the region of the Zuurveld. From the top of a hill a few kilometres to the east, the view to the east went as far as the Keiskamma River and to the north as far as the Tyumie Valley and the Katberg. After surveying the site, Graham was certain that it would be suitable for a new military headquarters. The deserted farmstead was to become a temporary officers' quarters, and accommodation was to be built for the soldiers. Furthermore, plots of land were provided for officers' houses.[114]

As adjutant, Lieutenant Hart supervised the implementation of Lieutenant Colonel Graham's orders, making sure that lots were surveyed and allocated to members of the party. There were seven narrow lots along the hypotenuse of a triangle on the north side and six lots along the south side. The reason for this design was that, during the period in which the plan was under way, two streams ran along the sides of the triangle, providing a convenient water supply to the officers' lots. Lieutenant Hart himself had a square lot, which was positioned at the point of the triangle. Meyer's old farmhouse was transformed into the officers' mess and huts were built on the west side of the mess to accommodate troops.[115]

Following the establishment of the new military headquarters, a number of military posts were set up that overlooked critical areas of the region. These were not forts but wattle-and-daub constructions or old farm buildings.[116] Having completed his task, Lieutenant Colonel Graham left the frontier for a long-anticipated retirement to Britain, leaving the Cape Regiment under the command of Major Lyster.[117] Several months after the founding of the military headquarters, Cradock declared that it should be named Graham's Town in gratitude of Lieutenant Colonel Graham's achievements on the frontier.[118]

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[112] A D M Walker, *Pawns in a Larger Game: Life on the Eastern Frontier* (Durban: Calamaish Books, 2013), 32.
[113] J B McI Daniel, W Holleman and A Jacot Guillarmod, ed., *Grahamstown and its Environs* (Grahamstown: Albany Museum, 1974), 1.
[114] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa,* 248–249.
[115] Walker, *Pawns in a Larger Game: Life on the Eastern Frontier,* 33.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa,* 249–250.
[118] Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People,* 391.

Before the arrival of the 1820 settlers, Grahamstown experienced little development. In November 1812, only a few months after the garrison centre's establishment, the deputy landdrost, Major Fraser, and Major Lyster were told to construct buildings that would be suitable for civilian occupation. Among Grahamstown's first buildings were a house for the deputy landdrost, a prison, and accommodation for a messenger, a constable and two black police officers.[119]
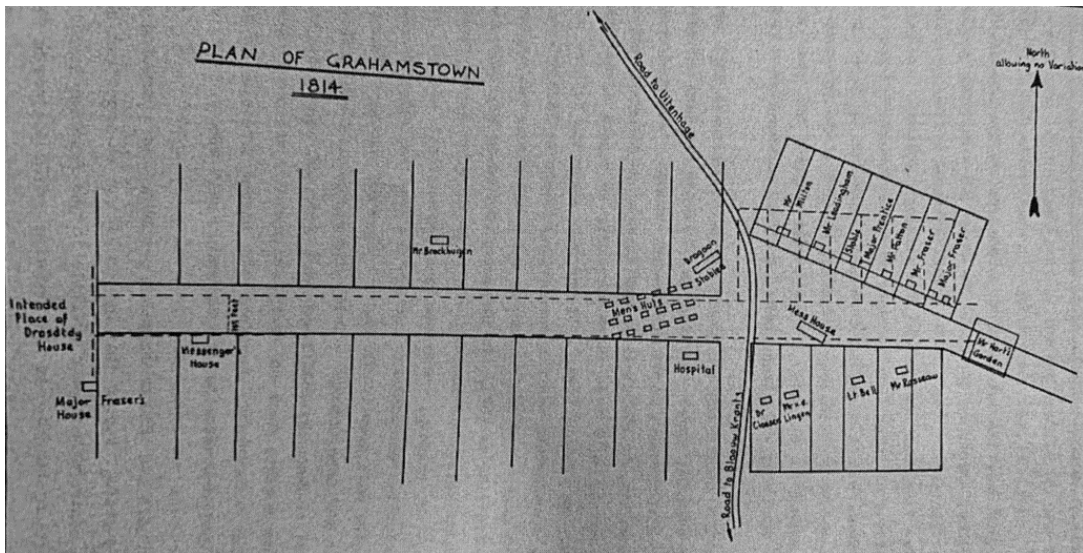
Figure 1: Plan of Grahamstown in 1814

The shortage of skilled workers and the evident incompetence on the part of contractors, however, inhibited the development of government infrastructure in the town. In as late as 1817, Lieutenant W L von Buchenroder, a contractor from Uitenhage, had still not completed the messenger's house, while the construction of the other buildings, which were planned in 1812, had not yet commenced.[120]

In 1814, a government surveyor, J Knobel, laid out the plots on which the settlers were to build their houses. The following year, the first lots of erven in High Street were sold by auction on the condition that a house be built within eighteen months of purchase.[121] Meanwhile, the chaotic assembly of huts in the middle of the new street, which accommodated the soldiers of the Cape Regiment, were cleared out and the men were relocated to the East Barracks. By 1820 – that is, eight years after Grahamstown was

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[119] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa,* 267–268.
[120] Marshall, "A Social and Cultural History of Grahamstown, 1812 to c. 1845", 16.
[121] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa,* 269–271.

established as a garrison centre – the town remained undeveloped, and only thirty houses had been built.[122]

During the early stages of Grahamstown's development, opportunities to earn a living were limited, depending mainly on the presence of the military and the small number of settlers who were living in the town. Construction and supplying the commissariat were the only ways of generating an income.[123]

The few buildings that had been constructed by 1820 were mainly military buildings, which included the private residences of officers and the military chaplain. A basic hospital was also built. Over the next decade, however, Grahamstown was to experience significant growth. With the arrival of the 1820 settlers, the town's population increased considerably, its economy became diversified, and the community experienced prosperity.[124]

The development of a Victorian town

The aim of the 1820 settlement was to form a tight-knit agricultural community on the frontier, which, through its establishment of volunteer units, would function as a barrier against the inroads of the Xhosa tribes. Each settler family introduced into the Cape Colony was to receive an allocation of 100 acres of land, which was small when compared to the farms of between 3,000 to 6,000 acres that were occupied by the Dutch farmers.[125] The settlers were to use their land to grow crops, keeping their livestock populations to a minimum.[126]

However, this scheme met with little success. Very few settlers possessed the skills necessary for the successful cultivation of the soil. About 50% of them came from English industrial cities, and their "efforts at farming were ridiculed as being those of 'Cockney gardeners'".[127] Moreover, irregular rainfall in the Zuurveld made farming near-impossible. Although some crops were grown successfully, wheat crops, which were the main staple of the settlers, were regularly attacked by disease and seldom produced a significant yield.[128]

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[122] Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People,* 525.
[123] Marshall, "A Social and Cultural History of Grahamstown, 1812 to c. 1845", 17–18.
[124] Ibid., 18.
[125] Arthur C M Webb, "The Agricultural Development of the 1820 Settlement Down to 1846", Master of Arts (Rhodes University, 1975), 18.
[126] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, 47.
[127] Basil A Le Cordeur, *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism 1820–1854* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1981), 3.
[128] Web, "The Agricultural Development of the 1820 Settlement Down to 1846", 66.

Finally, the lack of a significant market was a considerable disincentive. This situation was aggravated by the fact that the military, who could potentially have consumed the settlers' produce, were supplied by the Somerset farm. This farm was run by the government, which employed Khoekhoe labour at a low cost.[129] By the mid-1820s, the majority of the settlers were in a position to answer the call of the colony for skilled artisans.[130] In being steered away from agriculture, they ended up assisting in the development of a market for the crops they had tried to cultivate, the absence of which would otherwise have caused their downfall.[131]

The growing challenges faced by the settlers, which included increasing raids on their cattle by the Xhosa tribes, led them to believe that the government in Cape Town had neglected the interests of the Albany district. The appointment of Harry Rivers as the landdrost of Albany at the end of 1821 only compounded the bitter conflict that had taken root between the settlers and Lord Charles Somerset, who was the Governor of the Cape Colony at the time.[132]

Rivers was ill equipped to manage the situation in the area, which required patience and sympathy for the desperate circumstances of the settlers. According to some commentators, he took the easier path of flattering the prejudices of his patron, Lord Charles, against the settlers by withholding information regarding the state of affairs in Albany from him.[133]

Whatever the settlers' challenges were, they eventually came to focus their attention on the disadvantages – or, as they perceived it, the dangers – of the tyrannical powers of a governor who would tolerate no opposition. By expressing complete disapproval of Lord Charles's policies and actions in relation to the affairs of Albany, the settlers attacked the entire system of government as it then functioned in the colony. Hence, this initial phase of separatism became caught up in the increasing opposition throughout the colony to the "old colonial system", which was represented by Lord Charles.[134]

The acting governor of Albany, Sir Rufane Donkin, attempted to provide relief for the settlers. He agreed to allow those in the ornamental trades who could not easily be employed in agriculture on the locations to find work where they wished. Settler artisans, labourers and indentured servants, favoured by the labour shortage and current high wages, left their

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[129] Ibid, 18–19.
[130] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, 181.
[131] Web, "The Agricultural Development of the 1820 Settlement Down to 1846", 19.
[132] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa,* 181.
[133] See Le Cordeur, *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism 1820–1854,* 5, 9, 63.
[134] Ibid, 10.

masters, who could no longer pay or feed them, and willingly obtained employment in Grahamstown and other parts of the colony.[135] By the mid-1820s, the settlers had established themselves in secure trades such as carpentry, masonry and butchery.[136]

Following the foundation of the settlement in 1820, a number of settlers were involved in breeding woollen sheep. The failures of the first crops confirmed the determination of the men who had introduced woollen sheep to persevere in the husbandry of these animals.[137] In doing so, they were to pioneer this form of husbandry on the eastern frontier.[138] Although these settlers were not the first people to introduce sheep into the Cape Colony, the willingness with which they grasped sheep husbandry did much for the spread of sheep farming throughout the eastern districts.[139]

Since the settlers came from a country that had undergone significant agricultural and social change, it was inevitable that there would be some among them who were familiar with the experiments that were being undertaken to improve the various breeds of British sheep.[140] These individuals would also have been familiar with the new importance that had been ascribed to wool as a fabric by the Napoleonic Wars and the high prices that could be obtained for this product on the British market. By 1830, Thomas Pringle, Miles Bowker and Major Pigot had established prosperous wool farms in the eastern province, which supported more or less 10,000 sheep.[141]

During the 1830s, Grahamstown was recognised as the second town in the Cape Colony, inferior in size and population only to Cape Town.[142] Although still a developing town, its citizens were aware of the prominence they had achieved, and this awareness brought about a transformation in their way of life. Whereas, previously, personal considerations had dictated the order of living, now a communal consciousness and a sense of civic pride emerged, revealing themselves in a growing interest in public affairs and a more pronounced desire for social improvement.[143]

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[135] Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People,* 656.
[136] Thomson, *A Short History of Grahamstown,* 15.
[137] Web, "The Agricultural Development of the 1820 Settlement Down to 1846", 116 and Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870: A Tragedy of Manners,* 79.
[138] Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People,* 658.
[139] Web, "The Agricultural Development of the 1820 Settlement Down to 1846", 116.
[140] Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870: A Tragedy of Manners,* 79.
[141] Ibid, 18–19.
[142] Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People,* 656.
[143] Thomson, *A Short History of Grahamstown,* 22.

By 1831, Grahamstown had its own weekly newspaper, titled the *Graham's Town Journal*.[144] This paper was largely the work of Louis Meurant, who was born in Cape Town to a Swiss immigrant father and a British immigrant mother. Meurant started his career in journalism as an apprentice with the South African Commercial Adviser and, in 1831, moved to Grahamstown, where he founded the *Graham's Town Journal.* Robert Godlonton, an 1820 settler, became editor of the paper and later took over the whole business.

Most of the newspaper was filled with tedious reports of the minutiae of small-town life; however, when more substantial events took place, Godlonton made the most of them. He was conservative, not broadly educated, a pillar of the Wesleyan congregation in Grahamstown and entirely one-sided in his identification with the interests of his own community.[145] His determination to forward the interests of Albany and his position of control over the only newspaper in the region lent him a significant role in promoting frontier separatism.[146]

In the early 1830s, a determined attempt was made to establish several institutions of education, which were directed towards ensuring the preservation of the Victorian principles of respectability among the settler community.[147] A mobile library was opened in 1834 and was succeeded in 1841 by a municipal one. The opening of the latter was celebrated with a fete at which the band of the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders Regiment of Foot, a Line Regiment of the British Army, played.[148] Public lectures were also given, which early Victorians, both in Britain and in Grahamstown, had shown considerable interest in.[149]

In 1833, the foundation stone of the town's Commercial Hall was laid. With its great flight of steps, four large stone columns, Greek pediment and two wings with decorative lintels, the hall would symbolise, when completed, the coming of age of Grahamstown. There would now be in the town a place that could be used for civic occasions, theatres, balls and circuit courts.[150] These recreational opportunities reinforced a sense of British identity by giving settlers a sense of belonging to a wider British public.[151]

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[144] Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People,* 656.
[145] Walker, *Pawns in a Larger Game: Life on the Eastern Frontier,* 181–182.
[146] Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People,* 656.
[147] Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870: A Tragedy of Manners,* 61–63.
[148] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, 262.
[149] Marshall, "A Social and Cultural History of Grahamstown, 1812 to c. 1845", 107–108.
[150] Thomson, *A Short History of Grahamstown,* 23.
[151] Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870: A Tragedy of Manners,* 62–64.

In March 1830, Grahamstown had applied to the government for permission to establish a municipal board. This application had been declined, with the result that there were no local authorities whose special duty it was to see to the improvements of the town. In 1836, the Legislative Council awakened to the importance of a well-ordered town life and passed an ordinance authorising the creation of municipal boards throughout the colony. Grahamstown hastened to take advantage of this authorisation, and in April 1837, second only to Beaufort West, was denominated a municipality.[152]

By and large, Grahamstown imparted an air of establishment, propriety and decorum.[153] The Seventh Frontier War was to bring more fear and more barricades. However, the fighting was so distant that Grahamstown itself was barely affected. Thus relieved of the burden of self-preservation, the people could devote more attention to literary and intellectual pursuits.[154]

The private schools in Grahamstown during this period were established by Mr Walker and Mr C Hyman, head of one of the groups of 1820 settlers. Without any assistance from the government, these schools were maintained almost exclusively by fees. These schools typically comprised a small number of the children of a district that was far removed from the nearest town, collected together in the house of one of the parents, and a teacher engaged by the promoter of the school.[155]

Of the many schools in Grahamstown, St Andrew's College was the most distinguished.[156] On 15 August 1855, Bishop Armstrong laid the foundation stone of the fledgling college, which he dedicated to St Andrew, as it was on St Andrew's Day that he was consecrated bishop. The following year, the college was opened with the Rev. F Bankes as principal; it included a School Department and a College Department.

These departments were for some time combined within one institution, but the establishment of government-aided lectureships in 1878 enabled the original intention of the foundation to be more closely carried out. The college and school departments remained distinct until 1 July 1904: in that year, the College Department was incorporated into Rhodes University College.[157]

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[152] Thomson, *A Short History of Grahamstown,* 24.
[153] Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People,* 657.
[154] Thomson, *A Short History of Grahamstown,* 30.
[155] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, 212.
[156] Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870: A Tragedy of Manners,* 92.
[157] Thomson, *A Short History of Grahamstown,* 31.

The citizens of Grahamstown's pride in their British connections and in Victorian principles of respectability was evident in the commonality between schools such as St Andrew's College and schools in Britain. These were elite schools that catered mainly for the sons of the white, English-speaking middle class.[158] Moreover, they recruited masters from Britain and sought to maintain British standards among their students and to instil loyalty to team, house and school.[159]

In the mid-1850s, the settlers launched an initiative to found a medical society and a museum to help further the education of the citizens of Grahamstown. On 3 July 1855, a group of four doctors – George Hutton, William Edmunds, R M Armstrong and William Guybon Atherstone – and an officer from the garrison's Ordnance Department, Alex McDonald, held a meeting, with the goal of establishing a medical society. At this meeting, which Atherstone chaired, the Grahamstown Medico-Chirurgical Society was founded. Dr A Melvin, Deputy Inspector of the Hospital and Inspector of Colonial Hospitals, was elected as the first president of the society.

The society had two primary aims: "to facilitate intercourse on professional subjects" and "to collect specimens in the various departments of Medical Science in all its branches, with the view of forming the nucleus of a Museum".[160] By the end of 1855, the society was renamed the Literary, Scientific and Medical Society, and a resolution was almost immediately put forward for "the establishment of a general museum", which opened for the first time in February 1856.[161]

In 1863, the *Graham's Town Journal* announced the governor's decision to hold the next parliamentary session in Grahamstown the following year. Indirectly, the anticipated meeting of parliament in Grahamstown helped to speed up the arrival of the telegraph. In 1860, the first electric telegraph had been opened in Cape Town, and the public were able to ring Simon's Town from Cape Town. In 1862, a line was projected to Grahamstown, and it was completed in January 1864. At first, the quality of the line was poor, but with the opening of

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[158] Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870: A Tragedy of Manners,* 92.
[159] John Lambert, "'Munition Factories…Turning Out a Constant Supply of Living Material': White South African Elite Boys' Schools and the First World War", *South African Historical Journal* 51, no. 1 (2004), 68.
[160] Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on its Early Years", 2.
[161] Gore, "A Lack of Nation? The Evolution of History in South African Museums, c. 1825–1945", *South African Historical Journal* 51, no. 1 (2004), 27.

parliament, there was an increase in traffic and the number of staff at one of the operators was doubled.[162]

In 1870, the Molteno Ministry embarked upon a railway extension programme, and the struggle for the routes began. Accessing the diamond fields was the goal for all: Cape Town wanted to go via Beaufort West; East London demanded a route through Queenstown; and Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown debated the rival merits of a railway via Graaff-Reinet versus one up the Bushmans River and Fish River valleys via Cradock.

In Grahamstown, public meetings were held, and in the face of Atherstone's warning that the greatest good for the greatest number should be the first consideration, resolutions were carried out in favour of a direct line from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown and another one from Port Elizabeth via Graaff-Reinet. This solution turned out to be folly: in spite of the determination with which the town's delegates fought, the two northern lines were constructed, and Grahamstown had to take a branch line from Alicedale.[163]

Grahamstown remains a garrison centre

Beneath this veneer of urban modernity, Grahamstown retained and supplemented its garrison. The invasion of Albany in 1834 by the Xhosa tribes instilled a considerable sense of vulnerability in the settler community, leading them to construct military buildings both within Grahamstown and along the Fish River.[164] The final trigger that set off the Sixth Frontier War in 1834 was yet another reprisal raid to recover stolen cattle.[165]

The 1836 transformation of Grahamstown's Drostdy House for military purposes marked the beginning of a period of great expenditure on military buildings. Between 1838 and 1842, two large double-storied stone buildings were built on the Drostdy grounds, along with an artillery barracks and a powder magazine. The Drostdy archway and the Provost, a military prison with a round tower, were also constructed.[166] The prison was built in Lucas Avenue by the Royal Engineers between 1836 and 1838 according to a design based on Jeremy

[162] Thomson, *A Short History of Grahamstown,* 32–33.
[163] Ibid, 34.
[164] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, 190 and Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870: A Tragedy of Manners,* 62.
[165] Walker, *Pawns in a Larger Game: Life on the Eastern Frontier,* 172.
[166] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, 190.

Bentham's eighteenth-century "panopticon" system for the ceaseless surveillance of prisoners.[167]

Moreover, in 1836, Fort Selwyn was built on Gunfire Hill to protect the approaches to the town and guard its water supply. The fort was occupied by the Royal Artillery until 1862 and manned until 1870.[168] Along the Fish River, strong forts with accommodation for large numbers of men and horses were erected. Among these were Fort Brown, Double Drift Fort and Trumpeter's Drift Fort.[169]

The presence of the frontier was inescapable. It enlivened Grahamstown's wide streets, specifically designed to allow a sixteen-span team of oxen to turn easily. The whip-cracking, bellowing, wheel-rumbling discord generated by such activities was constant, as wagons belonging to the military, traders and farmers came and went. The sounds of bugle calls, parade-ground drills and galloping cavalry platoons, moreover, only underscored the tensions lurking in the area.[170]

On first sight of Grahamstown, a British traveller in the 1850s would have encountered much that was exotic and novel. On the other hand, there would have been much about the town that was familiar, from its churches to its clubs, from its halls to its parks. Among the various familiar institutions would have been the highly visible forces of citizen soldiers throughout the town.[171]

South African citizen units fall clearly within the typology of colonial forces developed by Karl Hack and Tobias Rettig, who define them as "a special case" for their being comprised of men who were locally born or resident but not indigenous.[172] Within the British Empire, these citizen units represented a community's development, maturity and cohesion and were comparable to other local colonial organisations such as cricket clubs or fire brigades, requiring as much or more initiative and commitment to create and maintain.[173]

However, the citizen soldiers of the empire were neither simply another type of colonial unit nor solely an expression of settler community. Importantly, they also represented Britain's

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[167] Daniel, Holleman and Guillarmod, *Grahamstown and Its Environs,* 55.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, 190.
[170] Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People,* 657.
[171] Ian F W Beckett, ed., *Citizen Soldiers and the British Empire, 1837–1902* (London: Routledge, 2016), 1.
[172] Karl Hack and Tobias Rettig, "Imperial Systems of Power, Colonial Forces and the Making of Southeast Asia", in Colonial Armies in Southeast Asia, eds. Karl Hack and Tobias Rettig (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 4.
[173] Beckett, *Citizen Soldiers and the British Empire, 1837–1902,* 1; C Wilcox, *For Hearths and Homes: Citizen Soldiering in Australia, 1854–1945* (St Leonard's NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1998), 34.

well-established tradition of raising non-professional citizen soldiers – militia, yeomanry and volunteers – for home defence. By the end of Queen Victoria's reign in 1901, there were over 360,000 citizen soldiers in Britain as well as over 100,000 more throughout the empire.[174]

In the 1840s and early 1850s, the Cape Colony was continually at war with indigenous societies on its eastern front.[175] During the so-called frontier wars, several volunteer units were formed, both white and black, that fought under British command. In the early 1850s, mostly urban, English-speaking Cape white settlers began to establish militia units based on the British model. As in Australia, the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853 was a particular catalyst for the establishment of these volunteer units. In 1857, for instance, the Cape Royal Rifles volunteered for garrison service to release regulars for the suppression of the Indian Mutiny.[176]

After the Cape settlers gained internal political control through responsible government in 1872, many more volunteer units were formed in the main urban centres of the colony.[177] These units included the First City Volunteers Regiment, the Cape Town Highlanders, the Diamond Fields Horse and the Afrasian Rifles.[178] The First City Volunteers Regiment was established in 1875 and was made up of English-speaking white settlers who were drawn in equal numbers from Grahamstown and Bathurst.[179]

The cadet corps at St Andrew's College was founded by the then headmaster of the school, Dr Charles Gould Ross, in 1875, and originally consisted of fifty-four students. Ross had arrived at the beginning of that year to take up the position of headmaster of St Andrew's College, and he established the cadet corps as a local extension of the First City Volunteers Regiment.[180]

Originally, the cadets at St Andrew's College used snider carbines, but these were exchanged for Martini-Henry carbines in about 1897. Both types of rifles "kicked like a Missouri mule", and it took great physical courage for a boy to fire them with live ammunition.[181] The cadets,

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[174] Beckett, *Citizen Soldiers and the British Empire, 1837–1902,* 1; Jacob Ivey, "'Young Men Like These…': The Volunteer Corps and the Emergence of the Settler Community in Colonial Natal", *South African Historical Journal* 70, no. 3 (2018), 478.
[175] Walker, *Pawns in a Larger Game: Life on the Eastern Frontier,* 283.
[176] Beckett, *Citizen Soldiers and the British Empire, 1837–1902*, 13.
[177] Christopher Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988), 89.
[178] Beckett, *Citizen Soldiers and the British Empire, 1837–1902*, 13.
[179] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 1.
[180] Ibid., 45.
[181] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 254 (1955), 95.

however, "learned to hold the stock really tight against the shoulder", placing a college cap into the shoulder part of their jackets to help them provide some measure of protection against the rifle's weight.[182]

The training that the cadet corps and the First City Volunteers Regiment underwent – and particularly the emphasis it placed on rifle practice and the implementation of military exercises during combat – encouraged the settlers to imagine and physically feel the unmitigated power of rifles to destroy human and animal bodies.[183] Over the course of the nineteenth century, rifles in the frontier had come to symbolise military virtues such as aggression, strength, courage and endurance (the presumed inherent qualities of manhood), in turn helping to shape British imperial identity in Grahamstown.[184]

Grahamstown's status as a garrison centre dressed up in Victorian drag was made even more apparent in the displays of the Albany Museum, which contained specimens of natural history. One of the most well-known collectors of insects, flora and fauna in the Eastern Cape at the time – and a prominent contributor to the museum's collections – was Mary Barber, born Mary Bowker. In 1845, Mary Bowker married Frederick Barber, a chemist who came to South Africa in 1839, specifically because of his connection with Atherstone, his cousin. Barber started farming on Atherstone's father's land and, in 1848, after a short stay in Graaff-Reinet, he and his wife settled on their own property, Highlands, near Grahamstown.[185]

The Bowkers were ubiquitous in British military activities in the Eastern Cape and were outspoken in demanding land in areas captured from the Xhosa. Mary Barber's younger brother, James Henry, with whom she worked most closely in botanical research, was a professional soldier. Her husband fought in the War of Mlanjeni (1850–1853) and was rewarded with land on the Swart Kei river, where the couple briefly moved.[186] Most of the Bowkers were strong proponents of settler interests and were against missionary endeavours

[182] Ibid.
[183] Ott, Aoki and Dickinson, "Ways of (Not) Seeing Guns: Presence and Absence at the Cody Firearms Museum", 232.
[184] Toni Pfanner, "Military Uniforms and the Law of War", *International Review of the Red Cross* 86, no. 853 (2004), 94.
[185] William Beinart, "Men, Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape", *Journal of South African Studies* 24, no. 4 (2007), 793.
[186] Ibid.

to protect the indigenous people; one member of the family has been called "an anti-liberal extremist".[187]

Mary Barber lived among men who, although they differed as individuals (and Atherstone may have been a genuine exception), were collectively imbued with a newly forged British frontier masculinity. According to William Beinart, "[w]ith its land-owning, hunting and military ethos, its emphasis on accumulation and settler racial superiority, this was closer to what might be termed a 'hegemonic' masculinity than that displayed by some of the earlier scientific travellers".[188]

Barber found Highlands, where she lived for much of the period between 1848 and 1870, a "paradise for the naturalist".[189] Its varied topography, with its elevated pastures, deep forested valleys and rocky outcrops, increased the number of species that could be discovered within a small area.[190] Barber often attended her father's and brothers' hunting expeditions, during which she also found and collected beetles, butterflies, birds and plants. Many of her specimens were contributed to the Albany Museum's natural history displays.[191]

Within these displays, violence towards animals was alluded to by the presence of trophy heads and different taxidermied animals, but it was never explicitly depicted. The animals that were displayed were cleansed of any trace of bloodshed or butchery. Moreover, they were strikingly lifelike, as the work of the taxidermist allowed animals to be exhibited with eyes wide open and in "natural" poses.[192] Consequently, hunting was stripped of its brutality and dreadfulness in Grahamstown.[193]

The display of animals in the Albany Museum suggested that hunting had been carried out primarily out of necessity: that is, for educational purposes, self-preservation or the preservation of fauna. Linked to this suggestion was the parallel one that rifles were indispensable to living in the untamed wilderness of the Zuurveld. Through its display of natural history specimens, the Albany Museum implicitly cast rifles as technologies for

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[187] Andrew Bank, "Of 'Native Skulls' and 'Noble Caucasians': Phrenology in Colonial South Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22, no. 3 (1996), 399.
[188] Beinart, "Men, Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape", 794.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Beinart, "Men, Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape", *Journal of South African Studies*, 795.
[192] Ott, Aoki and Dickinson, "Ways of (Not) Seeing Guns: Presence and Absence at the Cody Firearms Museum", 221.
[193] Ibid, 215.

survival and not as weapons; it associated them with life in the frontier rather than with death.[194] Despite the fact that Grahamstown's citizens lived in a town that showed considerable signs of Victorian modernity, rifles were introduced as an essential, domesticated and unavoidable part of living and, as a result, continued to shape settlers' identities during the second half of the nineteenth century.[195]

The South African War paused the development of Grahamstown's educational identity. This pause was short-lived, though, because Rhodes University was founded in 1904. At the beginning of the academic year, in 1905, the university moved from its uncomfortable temporary home at St Andrew's College to the Drostdy grounds, reminding the citizens of Grahamstown yet again of their town's military character.[196]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the development of Grahamstown over the period 1812–1905, focusing primarily on the social and cultural life of the town. It has shown how the town developed from a basic garrison centre to a thriving commercial settlement that displayed significant signs of Victorian modernity. Furthermore, it has noted the importance of the town's proximity to the indigenous people who inhabited the region to the east of the Fish River.[197]

Tracing the development of Grahamstown has revealed that, despite the desire of the white settler community to anglicise the urban environment through the introduction of a town hall, a library, a printing press and elite private schools to educate the sons of the white English-speaking middle class, military connections to the old garrison centre were retained.[198] Grahamstown failed to dispose of its old identity as a military centre, mainly because, from 1827 onwards, the frontiersmen were in an almost continuous state of alarm at the prospect that the colony would be invaded by the neighbouring Xhosa tribes.

The emphasis that the training of the cadet corps and the First City Volunteers Regiment placed on rifle practice helped shape British identity on the frontier in the second half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the stirring presence of violence and rifles in the Albany Museum – reproduced and signalled through the displays of specimens of natural history –

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[194] Ibid, 221.
[195] Ibid, 215.
[196] R F Currey, *Rhodes University 1904–1970: A Chronicle* (Grahamstown, 1970), 17.
[197] Marshall, "A Social and Cultural History of Grahamstown, 1812 to c. 1845", 2.
[198] Ibid, 107–108.

worked to fuel, sustain and legitimise violence on the frontier.[199] Hence, the old identity that Grahamstown had ostensibly relinquished (in essence, its military character) was in fact maintained beneath the veneer of Victorian modernity.

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[199] Ott, Aoki and Dickinson, "Ways of (Not) Seeing Guns: Presence and Absence at the Cody Firearms Museum", 230.

Outline of Chapter Three

As discussed in the introductory chapter of this thesis, wherever they originated in the United Kingdom or settled in South Africa, the majority of English-speakers continued to preserve an essentially British identity until the latter half of the twentieth century. Although by the beginning of that century they were increasingly beginning to think of themselves as English-speaking South Africans, the majority continued to believe that this South African identity had to be seen in a British and imperial light.[200]

As will be illustrated in the following chapter, remembrance played a central role in how English-speakers viewed their past. The memorialising of the wars in which they had fought, especially the First World War, was key to the way in which they understood their identity.[201] While it is true that, for the 1820 settlers, Britain was home in a way that it could not be for their children and descendants, as time went on the individual memories of Britain, retained by the early settlers, were passed down and became a collective memory among later generations of the diaspora. This collective memory was more diluted than the memories that existed among first-generation settlers, but it was nonetheless a memory forged by a sense of historical continuity.[202]

The following chapter will describe how the school masters who commanded the cadet corps at Grahamstown's Anglican private school, St Andrew's College, in the early twentieth century went off on active service during the First World War. The masters' experiences of the war, which included conventional trench warfare, did not influence them to change the type of cadet training that they taught at the school when they returned.[203] As a result, schoolboys continued to be put through their paces in parade ground drill and received instruction on the various parts of a rifle.[204]

The Second World War was fundamentally different to the First World War. The war was more widespread and less static than its predecessor. Moreover, there was little conventional trench warfare.[205] Terrain-related difficulties and climate extremes previously unknown to

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[200] Lambert, "'Tell England, Ye Who Pass this Monument': English-Speaking South Africans, Memory and War Remembrance until the Eve of the Second World War", 679–680.
[201] Ivey, "'Young Men Like These…': The Volunteer Corps and the Emergence of the Settler Community in Colonial Natal", 490.
[202] Lambert, "'Tell England, Ye Who Pass this Monument': English-Speaking South Africans, Memory and War Remembrance until the Eve of the Second World War", 679–680.
[203] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 145.
[204] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 46, no. 1 (1924), 34.
[205] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 192.

South African troops were some of the challenges that the masters from St Andrew's College had to contend with in their long and bitter offensive against the Axis powers.[206]

The following chapter will demonstrate how, when the Second World War cohort of veterans took over command of the cadet corps at St Andrew's College in the 1950s, the A and B Company learnt field-craft, stalking, elementary tactics, shooting, and leadership for officers and prospective officers.[207] Furthermore, specialist courses such as motor transport, survey, signals and first aid were introduced to the older cadets.[208] The chapter will argue that, by moving cadet training off the parade ground and into the countryside, the school's masters helped militarise settlement and, in turn, encouraged schoolboys to imagine the 1820 settler – and themselves – as the prime example of the modern soldier.[209]

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[206] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 212.
[207] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 244 (1950), 14; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 251 (1954), 7; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 264 (1959), 15.
[208] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 260 (1957), 7.
[209] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 272 (1961), 34.

Chapter Three: The Development of the Cadet Corps at St Andrew's College

The establishment of St Andrew's College

In 1854, Bishop Armstrong left England for South Africa. Within a few weeks of his arrival, Armstrong had established the clear intention of founding a college in Grahamstown. On 2 December, only five weeks after his arrival, he issued an appeal for funds to enable him to found a school that would "provide a sound Christian education for the youth of the (Eastern) Province, according to the principles of the Church of England", "furnish the means of training men for Holy Orders" and "form a centre from which Missionary operations may be more effectively carried on".[210]

When Armstrong arrived in Grahamstown, he discovered that a foundation had already been established. On 11 April 1848, at the top of Adderley Street in Cape Town, Bishop Robert Gray founded St George's Grammar School. During the same year, he visited Grahamstown, which then fell within his own diocese, and established St George's Grammar School there as well. The fact that the two schools were hundreds of miles away from each other allowed him to make the most of his connection with the patron saint of England.

The Revd F Bankes became the first headmaster of St George's Grammar School in Grahamstown and, seven years later, of St Andrew's College. The association of St Andrew's and St George's in Grahamstown was confirmed in the mid-1850s. St George's Grammar School, which was situated in Huntley Street, was to be merged with the new St Andrew's College, without, however, giving up its own identity at the outset. Revd Bankes found himself running two schools under the same roof and decided that his students were to sleep and eat in the new college buildings on West Hill but attend classes in the grammar school building on Huntley Street.[211]

During the mid-1850s, Grahamstown was the seat of the lieutenant governor and, very often, that of the governor himself. The former's presence at the laying of the foundation stone of St Andrew's College, on 15 August 1855, ensured that the government, as well as the church, gave its blessing to the fledgling foundation. This blessing carried with it no promise of financial support. As a result, the land on which the new college was built was provided by A

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[210] R F Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 11–12.
[211] Ibid., 12–13 and 36–37.

W Beck, while a gift of £1,000 towards the cost of building from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge made the start possible.[212]

In 1859, Bankes' health deteriorated and he felt compelled to resign from his post as headmaster of St Andrew's College. The so-called frontier wars, economic distress and internal difficulties of every kind had made his task a hard one.[213] When St Leger succeeded Bankes as headmaster of St Andrew's College, the school consisted of himself, two other masters and twelve boys. As a student, Leger had won a scholarship to Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, where he had been a gold medallist in the Classical Tripos.[214]

In 1860, the number of boys at St Andrew's College increased, and with this increase came the need for new classrooms. The need for additional space was great because the college had lost possession of the buildings on Huntley Street. In 1861, a classroom was obtained in Anglo-African Street, and the students were taught in this classroom until 1872.[215]

In 1862, St Leger resigned from his position at St Andrew's College and went to Queenstown to do pastoral work. Thereafter, he went to Cape Town, where he founded the *Cape Times* and became the paper's first editor. When he left, the school, which had had twelve names on its roll when he became headmaster in 1859, had almost fifty students, and the college was saved from the extinction that had been the fate of so many other projects of its kind.[216]

The Revd G E Cotterill, a graduate of St John's College in Cambridge, succeeded St Leger as headmaster of St Andrew's College.[217] Cotterill continued doing the important work of his predecessor, and it was clear that the quality of the teaching at the school improved dramatically during the three years of his headmastership.[218]

In June 1865, Cotterill left St Andrew's College, and Bishop Langford Browne was promoted to the position of headmaster. At the time, he was twenty-six; he was to occupy the position for the next ten years. In 1874, Browne launched his new project, which was titled the "Extension Scheme". He built a number of classrooms to add to the rudimentary buildings that were spread out behind Upper House.[219]

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[212] Ibid.
[213] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 22.
[214] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 39.
[215] Ibid., 40–41.
[216] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 26.
[217] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 45.
[218] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 28.
[219] Ibid., 28–29.

During that same year, it became essential to appoint more masters. The appointments were made from England, and the headmaster found that the masters' services in Grahamstown could only be guaranteed by his paying the cost of their travels himself. By 1875, there were sixty names on the school roll, forty of whom were boarders.[220]

In 1875, Browne was asked to take on the headmastership of a new diocesan school that was situated in King William's Town. He felt that this was a call to service that he could not refuse. On his retirement, the bishop appointed in his place Dr Charles Gould Ross, MA, Doctor of Civil Law. Since Ross could not leave England straight away, there was a short intervening period in which the school had no leadership. During this period, the numbers in the school, which Browne had built up so steadily over the course of a decade, dropped to nine boarders and only eighteen day boys.[221]

The establishment of St Andrew's College's cadet corps

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the cadet corps at St Andrew's College was established by the then headmaster of the school, Dr Charles Gould Ross, in 1875, and originally comprised fifty-four students. Ross had arrived at the beginning of that year to assume the role of headmaster of St Andrew's College and he founded the cadet corps in connection with the First City Volunteers Regiment.[222]

In 1875, the cadets at St Andrew's College were dressed in a grey uniform with black braid facings across the chest. The Senior Company wore white helmets with a spike at the top, a great metal badge in front and a curb-chain chin strap. The Junior Company wore little round pillbox caps cocked over the right side of the head, kept in place by a patent leather chin strap.[223]

The reason Ross chose this uniform for the cadet corps at St Andrew's College is unknown. Nothing more unsuitable for the frontier's climate could have been thought up. The grey cloth was at least 3 millimetres thick and would have made for excellent saddle cloths. One theory is that it must have been cloth made for the Crimean Campaign that was then bought up cheaply.[224]

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[220] Ibid., 28–29.
[221] Ibid., 31.
[222] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 45.
[223] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 254 (1955), 95.
[224] Ibid.

The Revd John Espin and his wife, both of whom moved from Britain to South Africa for the benefit of John Espin's health, arrived in Grahamstown in April 1874. In 1882, Espin was appointed headmaster of St Andrew's College. From the time he took over from Ross, the college entered a period of notable success. The progress was great, whether measured materially, in the form of buildings, or by the increase in the number of students who attended the school, or by the boys' success in university examinations.[225]

In November 1883, the first issue of a paper titled *The Andrean* was published. This was an unofficial publication that existed for a long period and contributed to the interest of life at St Andrew's College. In the very first issue of the paper, after some complimentary remarks about the school's cadet corps, the editor felt compelled to add, "But we should like to make one small suggestion…There is a practice in vogue which is undesirable, viz. that of administering corporal punishment in the ranks to offenders. In well-organised armies offenders have to fall out and are punished after drill."[226]

It is evident that, in the late nineteenth century, punishment at white elite boys' schools in the Cape Colony was considered normal and, within limits, essential. The editor of *The Andrean* felt that it was necessary for boys at St Andrew's College to be punished and undergo hardship – in short, to be toughened up. In effect, punishment was accepted at the school not just because the system required it but also because it was a means of performing masculinity.[227]

In 1902, the Revd William Stuart Macgowan was appointed Espin's successor as headmaster of St Andrew's College. The March 1902 school magazine reported that Espin had found it necessary to resign due to poor health but that his actual departure from the school would not take place until after June.[228]

In the 1880s, Macgowan had graduated from King's College with an honours degree in modern languages and law, and later took the degree of Doctor of Law. The four scholastic men that Macgowan brought with him from England took control of the four houses at St Andrew's College. Espin House had just been opened, and Macgowan made a determined effort to organise Day House into a distinct house under the supervision of a housemaster. In

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[225] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 56.
[226] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 50–51.
[227] Morrell, "White Farmers, Social Institutions and Settler Masculinity in the Natal Midlands, 1880–1920", 55-57.
[228] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 78.

this manner, four new housemasters and a new headmaster, all from England, were integrated into this South African school in 1902.[229]

By 1909, the cadet system provided a third of the Cape Colony's military reserve. Child soldiers were important to the settler militia because schoolboys were infinitely more biddable than adult males were and thus could be more easily inducted into British Army standard operating procedures.[230]

St Andrew's College and the First World War

After the Union of South Africa was established in 1910, Jan Smuts, the Union's first minister of defence, made a determined effort to form a unified military out of the separate armies of the Union's four provinces. The South African Defence Act of 1912 made provision for a South African Defence Force that would consist of a Permanent Force, an Active Citizen Force, a Coast Garrison Force and the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve.[231]

The 1912 Defence Act demanded that all white men between the ages of 17 and 60 serve in the military.[232] However, this law was not strictly enforced since there were a large number of volunteers.[233] On 31 December 1912, 5,937 volunteers comprised the Active Citizen Force.[234] In contrast to the South African Defence Force's full-time force, which consisted of professional soldiers, conscripted national servicemen, "service volunteers" (white women and coloured and Indian men) and civilian employees, the Active Citizen Force consisted of volunteers or temporary conscripts. It lay in reserve for back-up duties, "area defence" and periods of acute emergency.[235]

The 1912 Defence Act put the military on a new footing in that it diluted local regimental particularity and forced all units to conform to a centrally determined structure.[236] Although

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[229] Ibid.

[230] Province of the Cape of Good Hope, *Statistical Register of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope for the year 1909*, Cape Town: Cape Times, Government Printers, 1910.

[231] W A Dorning, "A Concise History of the South African Defence Force (1912–1987)", *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 17, no. 2 (1987), 2.

[232] Andre Wessels, "The First Two Years of War: The Development of the Union Defence Forces (UDF) September 1939 to September 1941", *Military History Journal* 11, no. 5 (2000), 2.

[233] Dorning, "A Concise History of the South African Defence Force (1912–1987)", 16.

[234] Ian van der Waag, *A Military History of Modern South Africa* (South Africa: Jonathon Ball Publishers, 2015), 75.

[235] Jacklyn Cock and Laurie Nathan, eds., *War and Society: The Militarization of South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1989), 17.

[236] Morrell, "White Farmers, Social Institutions and Settler Masculinity in the Natal Midlands, 1880–1920", 124.

this threatened the existence of the country's volunteer regiments, joint protest prevented their definitive dissolution.[237]

At midnight on 4 August 1914, Britain declared war on Germany. Early in September 1914, the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, Louis Botha, offered to undertake the defence of the Union and to relieve Imperial troops stationed in the country for service elsewhere.[238] Botha's offer was gratefully accepted by the British authorities, but they asked in addition that the South African Defence Force undertake the neutralisation of German South West Africa by occupying the country and taking control of the ports of Lüderitzbucht and Swakopmund, in order to silence the radio stations that were in touch with the German raiders in the Atlantic.[239]

The South African government mobilised the South African Defence Force's regiments and called for additional volunteers. The first year's registration, in 1914, produced 44,193 volunteers (out of a total of 64,000 who were liable for service).[240] Few of St Andrew's College's masters and old boys questioned the call of king and empire. They joined the First City Volunteers Regiment, which was to serve in the German South West African Campaign as the First Eastern Rifles.[241]

Their regimental obligations required most of St Andrew's College's masters and old boys to serve in South West Africa, but after its conquest in mid-1915, the First Eastern Rifles demobilised.[242] Thereafter, the South African government acceded to a British request for troops to be raised for Europe and East Africa. However, as the 1912 Defence Act stipulated that members of the Active Citizen Force could serve only in defence of the Union, the government called for volunteers for a field artillery and two brigades of infantry – the first for service in Flanders as part of the Imperial 9th (Scottish) Division, and the second for service in East Africa.[243]

The East African Campaign engaged volunteers from 1915 to 1917. During this period, however, the First Eastern Rifles were not called upon, and the role of the men lapsed into a

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[237] Ibid.
[238] Brigadier-General J. J. Collyer, *The Campaign in German South West Africa 1914–1915* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1937), 6–7.
[239] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 143.
[240] Collyer, *The Campaign in German South West Africa 1914–1915,* 16.
[241] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 143.
[242] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 106.
[243] Lambert, "'Munition Factories…Turning Out a Constant Supply of Living Material': White South African Elite Boys' Schools and the First World War", 81.

pool of reserves who individually volunteered for the several South African brigades. This, in fact, was the position of all of the old established units of the Active Citizen Force, and it was not until the early 1920s that an attempt was made to re-establish the regiments.[244]

It is evident that most of St Andrew's College's old boys carried into manhood the qualities of loyalty to the empire that had been instilled in them at school. They were prepared to fight for the preservation of the empire at a time when it was under attack from Germany abroad and from a nascent Afrikaner nationalism at home. To this extent, the war strengthened the sentiment of Britishness that was developed both at home and at school.[245]

At the same time, however, the war generated a greater loyalty towards and pride in South Africa than had existed before. The fact that South Africans from both white groups had fought and died together contributed to English-speaking peoples' emerging South Africanism. This development notwithstanding, the quality of loyalty to empire certainly formed part of South African Anglo identity in the early twentieth century.[246]

From the day that war was proclaimed, Revd Kettlewell, who had taken his master's degree at Keble College in Oxford in 1892 and who succeeded Macgowan as headmaster of St Andrew's College, found it increasingly difficult to get adequate masters to teach the boys, whose numbers kept rising steadily.[247] He asserted that, in order to teach a class of young men, one needed to have great organisational skills and be able to deal with conflict.[248]

Revd Kettlewell had to look to retired masters to fill the gaps left by the young teachers who had gone off to fight in the war. The reason for this was that female teachers were considered ill-equipped to cope with the job.[249] In particular, they were considered unable to uphold the masculinist character of the school and the sports field, which worked to entrench the notion of team-work and the importance of bravery and self-sacrifice.[250]

Boys who matriculated from St Andrew's College at sixteen or seventeen demonstrated little inclination to go to university in war-time; however, a year or two had to be filled somehow before they were old enough to be accepted in the services. Hence, all through 1917 and

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[244] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 156.
[245] Lambert, "'Munition Factories…Turning Out a Constant Supply of Living Material': White South African Elite Boys' Schools and the First World War", 86.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855-1955*, 96 and 122.
[248] Ibid., 115.
[249] Ibid., 115 and 117.
[250] Morrell, "Military Matters in the Natal Midlands, 1880-1920,"

1918, a select group of these boys were recruited to teach and, thanks to them, something like a complete structural breakdown at St Andrew's College was prevented.[251]

John Lamoureux Cawse registered at St Andrew's College in July 1913, and most of his time at the school was spent in the shadow of the war. Indeed, that shadow stretched so far that, before he left in June 1918 to join the army himself, he was one of a small number of prefects who helped the college in its time of need by working as masters while themselves still prefects at the school.[252]

Substantial relief came in 1918 with the return of Bill Hoskin, Arthur Knowling, W D Wood and St Andrew's College old boy Al Murray to the permanent staff.[253] Previously, these masters had assumed great responsibilities at the school and had contributed towards its development and success. Hoskin was a Rhodes Scholar in 1904 and, in 1913, he captained the cricket team that represented Grahamstown against Marylebone Cricket Club.[254]

Knowling had been the backbone of tennis and hockey at St Andrew's College.[255] In 1915, he was appointed first housemaster of Day House. Previously, day boys had no housemaster and had not been attached to boarding houses. This changed in 1902, when the school came under the headmastership of Revd Macgowan.[256]

Murray was known by the students and staff at St Andrew's College as "Matie", on account of his Stellenbosch background.[257] Murray and Wood were members of the First City Volunteers Regiment and worked closely with the mayors and councillors of Grahamstown to help develop the unit. It was common for the mayor of Grahamstown to be closely associated with the First City Volunteers Regiment.[258]

After service first in South West Africa, then in East Africa, and in the latter part of 1915 in France, the above-mentioned masters returned to St Andrew's College to assist with teaching and coaching.[259] Knowling was appointed housemaster of Mullins House, and Hoskin and

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[251] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855-1955*, 119.
[252] *St Andrew's College* no. 274 (1962), 3.
[253] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855-1990,* 99, 117 and 126.
[254] Ibid., 99.
[255] Ibid., 180.
[256] Ibid., 99.
[257] Ibid., 178.
[258] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 156–157.
[259] Ibid., 101.

Murray coached rugby and cricket respectively.[260] Wood took command of the school's cadet corps.[261]

With the return of the commanding officer of the cadet corps, W D Wood, comprehensive training sessions were organised. In the beginning of 1923, the cadets at St Andrew's College were coached in parade ground drill.[262] At the end of that year, they received instruction first in the parts of a rifle and then in rifle drill.[263] Kettlewell asserted, "I must lay special emphasis on the efficiency of the cadet corps under Major Wood. It is certainly better than it has ever been; and something of this is due to the fact that the school have been roused to take interest and pride in the work."[264]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the presence of the cadet parades showed just how far Grahamstown had come under the custodianship of British settler nationalism. In this regard, the neat, compact coherence of the town suggested an organic unity of form and content.[265]
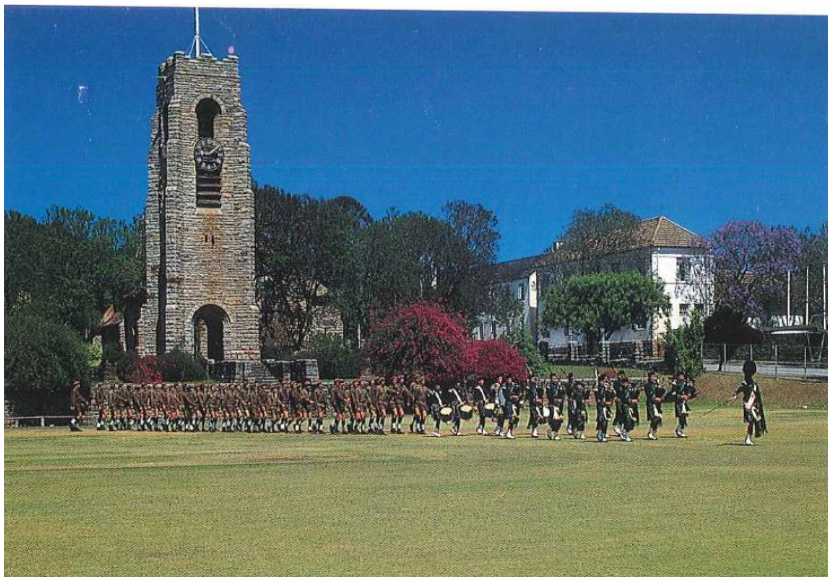
Figure 2: Clock Tower at St Andrew's College

When the war ended, the headmaster of St Andrew's College, Revd Kettlewell, and the Committee of the Old Andrean Club raised funds to build a memorial to commemorate the

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[260] Ibid., 126.
[261] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 18, no. 185 (1926), 9.
[262] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 46, no. 1 (1924), 34.
[263] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 45, no. 3 (1923), 5.
[264] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 22, no. 193 (1929), 8.
[265] Leslie J Bank, *City of Broken Dreams: Myth-making, Nationalism and the University in an African Motor City* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2019), 100.

one hundred and twenty-five old boys and masters who had sacrificed their lives for their country and empire.[266] Due to their efforts, in 1921, a memorial clock tower was built (Figure 2).[267] The Clock Tower, conceived as a prominent feature overlooking the playing fields, was of simple design: round-arched, and Gothic in style and character. It was unveiled on St Andrew's Day, 1923, by the then Commanding Officer of the South African Brigade, General Sir Henry Lukin.[268]

After the headmaster's address, and once Revd R G Mullins had read the Roll of Honour, General Lukin addressed the assembly. He expressed the wish that, on a suitable date each year, the boys of St Andrew's College should gather to honour the devotion of duty of those whose names were inscribed on the Clock Tower. He said, "As we gather here each year, may we be spurred on to carry, with pride and humility, the torch that has been handed down to us. Move our hearts in memory of all who gave up their lives for our freedom, and of all of those Old Andreans who have died since last we stood here together."[269] The clock and chimes that had been installed in the Clock Tower gave out a very mellow and pleasing note as a large number of Old Andreans watched General Lukin perform the unveiling ceremony.[270]

It is evident that the fallen served as examples of bravery and devotion to a "great cause" and that they helped to develop a spirit of loyalty and sense of duty that the school masters hoped would have its effect on the future manhood of the country. They also helped to show the boys at St Andrew's College what schoolboys were capable of when king and empire called on their services, and that patriotism was an inherent quality of English-speakers.[271] The school's strong support for the Allied efforts during the First World War, embodied in the war memorial, was a further expression of English settler identity. By contrast, the frontier past that preceded formal colonisation remained largely unmemorialised.[272]

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[266] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 117; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 102.

[267] Peter Hawthorne and Barry Bristow, *History Schools of South Africa: An Ethos of Excellence* (Cape Town: Pachyderm Press, 1993), 81.

[268] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 46, no. 1 (1924), 18; Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 136.

[269] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 130–131.

[270] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 45, no. 2 (1923), 3.

[271] Morrell, "White Farmers, Social Institutions and Settler Masculinity in the Natal Midlands, 1880–1920", 128.

[272] Bank, *City of Broken Dreams: Myth-making, Nationalism and the University in an African Motor City*, 100.

At 5:30 p.m. on that same day, General Lukin inspected the Guard of Honour. He admired the cadets' smart turn-out and steadiness under arms and stressed that such precision in ceremonial movements could only be attained by constant practice and the enthusiastic cooperation of all ranks. General Lukin also reminded the cadets that the men whose memory they were honouring that day had received their initial military training – which later assisted them in becoming leaders of men – in the St Andrew's College cadet corps.[273]

In December 1923, the Prince Alfred's Guards from Port Elizabeth and the Kaffrarian Rifles from East London were in camp in Grahamstown for ten days. The cadet corps at St Andrew's College took part in a field day with them, during which they formed the defending force. The visitors, who attacked, had the assistance of two aeroplanes from Pretoria.[274]

In 1915, General Smuts persuaded Parliament to put the Defence Act on the Statute Book, but the system of compulsory, if limited, national service that the act provided for had become almost a dead letter by the mid-1920s. Grahamstown had a long-established military tradition of its own, though, and had been very proud of its First City Volunteers Regiment. In 1925, this volunteer corps existed only on paper, until a few supporters managed to get the regiment revived. St Andrew's College helped provide three of the four companies and Rhodes University College provided the fourth.[275]

The First City Volunteers Regiment was a single-sex, exclusively white institution. In this unit, men could express those aspects of masculinity that were prioritised at St Andrew's College. Team work, determination, aggression, toughness, precision, obedience and the protection of white "brothers and sisters" were all drilled into the men who formed part of the regiment.[276]

The first commander of the new Rhodes Company was Ronald Currey. At the beginning of the war, he was gazetted as second lieutenant in the 13th Battalion of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. In October, 1915, Currey crossed the Channel to France. On arrival at Etaples, he found himself attached to the 4th Black Watch in "a little community of a kind entirely new to me".[277] Most of the men who comprised this unit were drawn from the

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[273] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 46, no. 1 (1924), 34.
[274] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 45, no. 3 (1923), 3.
[275] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 134.
[276] Morrell, "White Farmers, Social Institutions and Settler Masculinity in the Natal Midlands, 1880–1920", 119.
[277] Marguerite Poland, *The Boy in You: A Biography of St Andrew's College, 1855–2005* (Grahamstown: St Andrew's College, 2015)*,* 211.

Dundee area of Scotland.[278] In 1916, he was awarded the Military Cross and, the following year, a bar to the Military Cross.[279] Evidently, Rhodes Company – or D Coy, as it was known in the First City Volunteers Regiment – had a man of experience as its commanding officer.[280]

Currey remembered with deep affection those "rough, tough, great-hearted Scotsmen" with whom he served.[281] He wrote, "War is a cruel and bloody business, but even in war there are interludes of decency and comradeship and quiet happiness and a long march with an infantry regiment can be one of them."[282] He recalled, nostalgically, the drone of the pipes that always accompanied the regiment on the move. The pipers were positioned in the middle of a column so that the sound could reach the men at both ends.[283]

In the mid-1930s, Al Murray, an old boy of St Andrew's College, was appointed commanding officer of the First City Volunteers Regiment.[284] In 1937, he received permission from the Duke of Montrose and the approval of St Andrew's College old boy Sir Thomas Graham to turn the unit – and the St Andrew's College cadets who were affiliated with it – into a kilted regiment.[285] The tartan adopted was that of the Clan Graham. The volunteers' and cadets' new uniform thus consisted of a balmoral, a khaki shirt, a cadet belt, a kilt, a plaid, a horsehair sporran, tartan hose, spats and black shoes.

Evidently, their uniform was modelled on the uniforms of the British Army's ethnic Scottish regiments.[286] Currey and Murray, who were both of Scottish descent, chose this uniform for the regiment and the cadets precisely because it helped maintain a connection with the Scottish units.[287] For the latter, the kilt was an emblem of freedom. The Jacobite risings found their most effective support among the Scottish clans, and the Dress Act of 1746 was part of a series of measures that attempted to bring the warrior clans under government control. It made wearing the Highland dress, including the tartan and kilt, illegal in Scotland. Since the

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[278] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 159.

[279] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 165; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 254 (1955), 2.

[280] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 159.

[281] Poland, *The Boy in You: A Biography of St Andrew's College, 1855–2005,* 211.

[282] Ibid.

[283] Ibid.

[284] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 178; Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 160.

[285] Ibid., 190.

[286] Ibid., 173 and 178.

[287] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 191.

Highland regiments were exempted from the ban on Highland dress, they kept the tartan industry alive and gave permanence to the kilt.[288]

In 1934, the Revd Canon C B Armstrong succeeded Kettlewell as headmaster of St Andrew's College. Armstrong was a graduate of Dublin University, where he had obtained the highest undergraduate distinction in 1910, as well as a classical scholarship. In 1911, he graduated with a first-class honours and gold medals in classics and philosophy. In addition to his rigorous academic commitments, Armstrong found time to play a large part in the social and athletic life of Trinity College. He played in the university football, tennis and golf teams and obtained colours in the Tourist Eight of the Dublin University Boat Club. He was also regatta secretary of this club, as well as treasurer of the Golf Club.

In 1914, Armstrong was offered and accepted the post of headmaster at Cork Grammar School, which was the largest church school in the south of Ireland.[289] During the war, he held a commission in the Officers' Training Corps, for which he qualified by attachment to the Royal Irish Fusiliers. At the end of 1919, he was appointed warden of St Columba's College, in Rathfarnham, which was one of the most renowned Irish public schools. Thus, when Armstrong eventually arrived at St Andrew's College in Grahamstown, he had been a headmaster for twenty years already.[290]

At St Andrew's College, Armstrong initiated a Careers Office to assist schoolboys who were leaving. He also introduced the Classical Society to encourage the reading of the classics throughout the school.[291]

St Andrew's College and the Second World War

On 3 September 1939, Britain declared war on Germany. Shortly afterwards, a large number of her dominions and colonies decided to go to war.[292] For South Africa, the decision was not an easy one; however, on 6 September 1939, incoming prime minister General Smuts confirmed South Africa's involvement.[293]

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[288] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland", in *The Invention of Tradition,* eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 23–25.
[289] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 154.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 178; Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 186.
[293] John Lambert, "'Their Finest Hour?' English-Speaking South Africans and World War II", *South African Historical Journal* 60, no. 1 (2008), 63–64.

In the November 1939 issue of the St Andrew's College magazine, the arrival of war is described: "All through the winter holidays the crisis thickened and curdled", until, at the end of the XV's rugby tour in the Transvaal, on the morning of Sunday, 3 September, "the storm broke".[294] "Term began five days later", the author continues, and "there was hardly an absentee from first roll call [...] But twenty-four hours later, Mr Boston was on his way to re-join the R.A.F., and Mrs McKerron had joined the staff".[295]

At a special meeting of the College Council in November, Murray was granted leave "for the duration" to go on military service.[296] At the regular council meeting that month, leave to go off on active service was given to two other members of the staff: the drama teacher, S F Gascoigne-Smith, and the mathematics teacher, H P C Harvey.[297]

At that same meeting, Currey, who had succeeded Armstrong as headmaster of St Andrew's College and who had a good reputation as the former rector of Michaelhouse, had to report that two old boys, Michael Aylmer and Keith Chiazzari, both in the Royal Air Force, had been killed in action.[298] By the time Japan surrendered in Tokyo Bay six years later, there were to be one hundred and thirty-one names on the college's list of deceased.[299]

The months of the "phoney war" passed uneasily by. The year that was to be acknowledged as its "finest hour" began with a cheerful outlook for St Andrew's College. This was mainly because there was a significant increase in the enrolment list of February 1940 compared to that of the previous year.[300]

However, just before the third term of 1940 commenced, the war suddenly ceased to be phoney. Telling the schoolboys as they came out of the chapel one morning in mid-June that France had capitulated and that the British Commonwealth now stood alone was among the hardest tasks that Currey had to undertake as headmaster. By the end of the month, eight of the staff had been given leave to enter into military service.[301] These masters included N

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[294] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 27, no. 223 (1939), 1.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 142–143.
[297] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 27, no. 224 (1940), 10; *St Andrew's College Magazine* 27, no. 225 (1940), 6; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 158 and 184.
[298] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 176.
[299] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 143.
[300] Ibid.
[301] Ibid., 144.

Noyes-Lewis, R Gathorne, R R Sutherland, K E Driver, H A Harker, F E Newton, C G Browning and J P van Zijl.[302]

Mention has been made above of the difficulties that Kettlewell encountered and had to overcome between 1914 and 1918. Exactly the same difficulties arose in 1939 – but in the quarter century that had passed, a subtle social change had taken place. It was not as much of a surprise for the boys at St Andrew's College in 1939 to find themselves being taught by women as it would have been for their fathers twenty-five years earlier. At one time, there were eight full-time women teachers on the staff. They kept the school running, as the numbers of boys increased and the numbers of masters dropped.[303]

Noyes-Lewis' departure in 1940 involved a reorganisation of the musical arrangements throughout St Andrew's College. The school was fortunate in obtaining the services of Mrs Currey as organist, and pianoforte pupils and musical appreciation classes were taught by Madame Romagnoli.[304] When Harvey left to fight in the war, his role at St Andrew's College as first-class mathematics teacher and the master in charge of athletics was filled by Mrs Hobart Houghton.[305]

Currey, with his usual humour and apt self-mockery, allayed the alarm of the notoriously misogynist Old Andrean community when, at the second Speech Day that took place during the war, he said it had come to his attention that there was "the hair-raising impression of St Andrew's in 1940 as a place where ancient grey-beards and flighty young ladies were holding high carnival, whilst the schoolwork and discipline went up in smoke".[306]

Almost despite himself, he went on to tell the tale of the decision-making process around how the female teachers at the school should be addressed. Leaving the question to settle itself did not prove successful. "Miss" or "Teacher" were thought to be in too unfamiliar a tradition. An involuntary "Sir" or even "Mum" only made everyone laugh. "Mrs X" or "Miss Y" were too cumbersome, "Missus" rather too South African. Clearly, there had to be some ruling on the matter. Since the members of the Queen's immediate entourage always addressed Her

[302] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 237 (1946), 20; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 239 (1947), 10; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 186.
[303] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 144–145.
[304] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 27, no. 224 (1940), 11.
[305] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 27, no. 225 (1940), 6; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855-1990,* 184.
[306] Poland, *The Boy in You: A Biography of St Andrew's College, 1855–2005,* 214.

Majesty as "Ma'am", this became the chosen term for addressing the women teachers at St Andrew's College.[307]

According to Currey, the title, though sanctioned by the noblest of usage, somehow still carried with it a suggestion of housemaids and of the ladies behind the counter in the establishments where schoolboys waited for their mothers to finish their shopping.[308] This commentary on Currey's part is indicative of the fact that he regarded St Andrew's College as a key site for the propagation of masculinity – a masculinity that was primarily chauvinistic and hierarchical. It is also suggestive of the fragile nature of settler masculinity in the Eastern Cape, which needed to prop itself up with a pervasive misogyny.

There was not a boy at St Andrew's College whose family was unaffected by the serious attrition of the years of war. The fighting men, the escapees and the prisoners of war were remembered in the daily services in the college chapel.[309] There was also a strong perception among the boys at the time that they, too, were prisoners. Petrol restrictions meant parents could no longer make the trip to Grahamstown, and "away" matches had to be carefully organised. The only escape was to wander through the hills surrounding the town on Sundays.[310]

The First City Volunteers Regiment in Madagascar and Italy

The Second World War was quite unlike the First World War. Secrecy with respect to troop and ship movement was of chief importance. In spite of the "Don't talk about ships or shipping" notices pasted around most towns, lamps flashed from Swakopmund, and wireless telegraphy was tapped out from Cape Town and Durban. The war was more widespread and less static than the First World War was. Moreover, there was little trench warfare.[311]

It took six long years to defeat the Axis powers, with Britain and the Commonwealth bearing the brunt of the war from the Battle of Dunkirk until they were joined by the United States after Pearl Harbour. Several of St Andrew's College's masters and a large number of the school's old boys could be found fighting in Africa, Abyssinia, North Africa and then Italy.

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[307] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 145.
[308] Ibid.
[309] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 44, no. 2 (1922), 3.
[310] Poland, *The Boy in You: A Biography of St Andrew's College, 1855–2005,* 222.
[311] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 192.

There were others in England, on the beach at Normandy, or at the other end of the world in Burma.

There was little evidence at the time of where the men in the navy were during the war. Many were seconded to the Royal Navy, and several South African ships came under Royal Navy operational control in convoys and patrols off South Africa's coast or in the Mediterranean. Moreover, the Royal Navy River Class frigate, HMS Swale, had many South Africans on board and, from August 1945, a fully South African crew. Many members of the South African Air Force, meanwhile, were seconded to the Royal Air Force.[312]

Under the Defence Act of 1912, the Active Citizen Force could fight outside the Union only if the country was threatened. Within months of the outbreak of war, it became clear to Smuts that the Union's security depended on East Africa remaining in British hands and that, should Germany be successful in Europe, her Axis ally Italy would attack the British colonies in the region. To counter this threat, it was essential for the Union to send troops "up north".[313]

In response to outgoing prime minister General J B M Hertzog, who had argued that the Union had no duty to fight a foreign war, Smuts announced that he would not pressurise a single man to go beyond the country's geographic borders and would instead establish a fighting force of volunteers. These volunteers were required to sign a document known as the "Africa Oath", in which they declared that they were willing to fight anywhere in Africa. Members of the Active Citizen Force who volunteered were distinguished from others by orange-scarlet shoulder tabs on their uniforms, which were often referred to as "red tabs".[314]

On 20 September 1940, the First City Volunteers Regiment, which comprised 715 men, was mobilised and became involved in the Madagascar Campaign, alongside the Pretoria Regiment and the Pretoria Highlanders.[315] This campaign helped to ensure that Madagascar was not lost to the Axis powers, which would have exposed the coast of East Africa to Axis attack.[316] At the beginning of that year, Wood took over command of the regiment from

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[312] Ibid.
[313] Wessels, "The First Two Years of War: The Development of the Union Defence Forces (UDF) September 1939 to September 1941", 2.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 199.
[316] Ibid., 192 and 205.

Murray, who along with Gascoigne-Smith and Noyes-Lewis served in the unit for the duration of the war.[317]

As stated, the masters at St Andrew's College volunteered to go on active service, and in turn agreed to wear the orange-scarlet shoulder tabs on their uniforms. Since wearing these tabs generated a lot of resentment from those who opposed active involvement, and stigmatised those who were prepared to fight, this was no small commitment.[318]

It must be noted that, by 1943, the Allied armies had taken the initiative on all fronts. Following El Alamein, the course of war turned, and the forward push to defeat the Axis forces was set in motion. The British Eighth Army was rapidly progressing along the Northern shores of Africa in a movement from East to West. Field-Marshal Rommel, the commander of the German Afrika Corps, was reeling from the ever-increasing impact of the drive, which gradually gained momentum after the Battle of Alamein.

South Africa, having participated in the turning of the tide at Alamein, hoped to play an even greater role in the ultimate victory. On the successful conclusion of the campaign in Madagascar, the 7th South African Infantry Brigade returned home and, with it, the First City Volunteers Regiment. Within the Union, the land forces were being speedily regrouped so as to enable South Africa to again take its place in the field of battle, but this time as an armoured division.[319]

When the 6th South African Armoured Division was formed on 1 February 1943, considerations of man-power made it necessary to combine certain regiments for the duration of the war. This would enable all the regiments to carry on their fighting traditions and to participate in, and share equally, the battle honours that followed.[320]

Thus, on the successful conclusion of the campaign in Madagascar, the First City Volunteers Regiment and the Cape Town Highlanders entered into an agreement of "marriage" and, with the inclusion in the combined regiments of one company of the Southern Rhodesian Defence Force, went into training in the 12th South African Motorised Brigade. The latter consisted of

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[317] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 194; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 186.

[318] Lambert, "'Munition Factories…Turning Out a Constant Supply of Living Material': White South African Elite Boys' Schools and the First World War", 65.

[319] Major L G Murray, *First City/Cape Town Highlanders in the Italian Campaign: A Short History 1943–1945* (Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, 1945), 13.

[320] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 210.

one component of the 6th South African Armoured Division. On 21 April 1944, it went into action in the mountains of Italy.

In all branches, the lessons and privations of front-line warfare were learnt. In the high mountains of Cassino, for instance, the infantryman went out at night to look for the enemy, to watch his activities at close quarters, and to kill. He learnt to creep silently in rubber-soled boots over rock and dead leaves or branches, to use his ears as much as his eyes, and he experienced throughout the day and night the continuous rain of enemy mortar bombs and shells. He also saw the cost of war: a comrade wounded or killed.

The signaller learnt his duty – that of maintaining telephone communications. The lines seemed to be broken on countless occasions. He also learnt the implications of specific reports, such as "Corporal, the line to No. 1 platoon is down".[321] With pliers, adhesive tape and a Tommy gun, he set out to fix it. Along the line he would move, crawling long distances to remain undetected by the enemy and always knowing that a shell or mortar bomb had fallen in the area of the broken line.[322]

But it was in respect of supplies that the tasks and problems were the greatest in Italy. In April 1944, on the mountains before the Cifalco range in the village of Aquafondata, the "B" Echelon of the 12th South African Motorised Brigade was established. As far as this point, normal three-ton trucks could operate in carrying food and ammunition. They could go no further, however. And so the Jeep train was born.

Jeeps with trailers left in darkness down the Inferno Track for the Main Echelon situated at the bottom of a ravine. This Inferno Track had been constructed some months earlier by French engineers. The course of a ravine was selected and the track constructed. Its gradients were so steep that special steel mesh track had to be laid to enable even Jeeps, with their incredible climbing abilities, to make the grade.[323]

In May 1944, mines, which were scattered in vast fields, were first encountered by the South African troops on the outskirts of Rome. When they arrived in the vicinity of Frosinone, it was discovered that the area was covered with mines of several varieties. These included teller anti-tank mines, which were either normally laid or booby-trapped, and anti-personnel mines.

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[321] Murray, *First City/Cape Town Highlanders in the Italian Campaign: A Short History 1943–1945*, 17.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Ibid., 18.

This experience did, however, provide very extensive practice in what was to be a frequent exercise: namely, the "delousing of an area".[324] It brought home the invaluable lesson that, in pursuit, every place previously occupied by the enemy must be suspected of housing mines, the most potent killing devices in the Nazis' arsenal. It also reiterated the fact that souvenir hunting was a dangerous occupation, reserved for the reckless alone.[325]

Evidently, the 6th South African Armoured Division's advance was carried out in continuous contact with a determined and fanatical enemy over terrain that, in itself, was a natural fortress and that offered every conceivable advantage to the defence.[326] Moreover, the casualties had not been light.[327]

When the cease-fire sounded on Victory over Japan Day, 15 August 1945, there were, as mentioned, one hundred and thirty-one names on the Roll of Honour at St Andrew's College. Germany had surrendered three months previously. On the morning of that day, Prime Minister Smuts, in the name of all South Africa, sent a message to the soldier who had the responsibility of leading the Union forces in the field. "Your task is accomplished", the message read.[328] St Andrew's College never forgot that it was to an old boy, Major-General Evered Poole, General Officer Commanding the 6th South African Armoured Division, that this message was addressed.[329]

On 8 December 1945 – that is, on St Andrew's Day – students gathered at the school's Clock Tower to watch the laying of the wreath ceremony. At this ceremony, the names of the old boys who had died during the previous year as well as the names of those who had fallen during the war were read out. The service was short; however, it passed in deep silence and sad reflection. By all accounts, this occasion was a particularly poignant one for most of the boys who were present.[330]

When the ceremony ended, photographers took group photographs of the boys who were gathered at the Clock Tower. In total, three hundred old boys were present. From the Clock Tower, one hundred and ninety-two old boys went to the Annual General Meeting. Students who used to attend St Andrew's College continued to arrive at the school throughout the

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[324] Ibid., 20–21.
[325] Ibid.
[326] Griffiths, *First City: A Saga of Service,* 212.
[327] Murray, *First City/Cape Town Highlanders in the Italian Campaign: A Short History 1943–1945*, 79.
[328] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 153.
[329] Ibid.
[330] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855-1990,* 230.

course of the day, forming part of the largest group of old boys that had ever been present at the school at the same time.[331]

Army Cadets at St Andrew's College

In 1946, Gascoigne-Smith, Harvey, Gathorne, Sutherland, Harker and Browning returned from active service and began assisting with the teaching at St Andrew's College.[332] In 1948, Ashley Brooker, who was the matric students' English teacher, the master in charge of cricket and the commander of the cadet corps at St Andrew's College, retired from the Army Cadets, and Browning and Sutherland took his place.[333]

These masters transfused the cadet corps, which comprised 330 students, with the skills they had acquired during the war.[334] During that year, A and B Company learnt field-craft, stalking, elementary tactics, shooting, and leadership for officers and prospective officers.[335]

The production of masculinity at St Andrew's College after the war was not the "natural" result of military culture, but rather a construct that was inextricably tied to anxieties about femininity. In post-war Grahamstown, the masters dealt with a crisis of masculinity at the school by re-masculinising the school's cadet corps.[336]

In 1949, Browning asserted, "The most important things you can, and should, learn at a school like St Andrew's are discipline [and] an ability to think things out for yourself."[337] Furthermore, he stressed that boys should learn "a sense of responsibility; to do what [they] are told, and to use [their] initiative; to follow if there is a capable leader, or to take the lead with determination if leaders are blind or lacking."[338]

In 1950, cadet training included drill and shooting, patrol work, and 3-inch mortar and Bren gun drill. In addition to practising these military exercises, A Company carried out an effective attack scheme on the hill to the right of the Cradock Road. The attackers were given

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[331] Ibid.
[332] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 237 (1946), 20.
[333] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 244 (1950), 14; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 251 (1954), 7; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 264 (1959), 15; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 182.
[334] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 235; *St Andrew's College Magazine* 244 (1950), 14.
[335] Ibid*.,* 259.
[336] Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857–1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 204.
[337] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 261.
[338] Ibid.

steel helmets, which turned them into a fierce and determined-looking army, and both attackers and defenders used blank cartridges, which helped to give the "whole show an air of realism".[339]

Several of the masters at St Andrew's College helped with cadet training in an unofficial capacity, devoting considerable time to specialist training. For example, they undertook a large part of the shooting instruction and organisation, which, although part of cadet training, was really an activity in itself. House shooting practices took place frequently.[340]

The cadet corps at St Andrew's College was an undoubtedly gendered institution. Schoolboys were expected to uphold rigorous codes of masculinity and to dissociate themselves from so-called feminine traits, such as cowardliness. In particular, they were encouraged to behave with strength and courage.[341] Evidently, the school developed a masculinity that was hegemonic – that is, one that created cultural images of what it meant to be a "real man".[342]

Crucially, hegemonic masculinity must be understood within a social context and as something that is constantly produced and contested. Paying particular attention to specific locations allows one to analyse the ways in which these processes take place.[343]

In February 1952, Michael de Lisle arrived at St Andrew's College. Soon after his arrival, he took over command of the cadet corps from Browning and Sutherland.[344] The personification of "Head up, shoulders back" had marched onto the scene, according to first-hand accounts.[345] De Lisle explained why cadets were "never popular" at St Andrew's College: "The staff who were not involved in cadet training wanted the time for their own important and constructive activities – and competition for boys' time is the mark of a strong staff with great esprit de corps."[346]

De Lisle went to school at the Diocesan College (Bishop's) in Cape Town. He was about to begin as a Jagger Scholar at the University of Cape Town when war was declared. Subsequently, he went to East and North Africa with the South African forces as a gunner. He was captured at Tobruk on 21 June 1942, escaped twice from prison camps in Italy and

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[339] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 243 (1950), 9–10.
[340] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 285 (1966), 14.
[341] Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857–1914*, 10.
[342] Morrell, "Introduction", 7.
[343] Morrell, "Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies", 609.
[344] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 247 (1952), 14.
[345] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 259.
[346] Ibid.

lived in hiding for thirteen months in the Apennine Mountains behind enemy lines. This dramatic series of events won him a mention in dispatches.[347] In 1952, the headmaster of St Andrew's College said, "We hope that after all this he doesn't find the charge of the 1952 recruits to the School Corps a little dull."[348]

When the National Party came to power in 1948, there was no national service system of conscription in place in South Africa.[349] However, conscription first reared its head shortly after, in 1952. The period of continuous training for recruits during the first year was forty-two days, and the ballot system, which was provided for under the 1912 Defence Act, was implemented for the first time in South Africa, in order to increase the strength of units.[350]

In March 1952, the South African Defence Force was prepared to put money into the preparation of boys for Citizen Force service, which in 1968 became compulsory national service.[351] Successive officers commanding the Eastern Province Command and their staff officers were enthusiastic about the smartness of St Andrew's College's cadets on parade. They were also pleased with the other cadet activities, which de Lisle used to relieve the monotony of the parade ground.

But what did the school community find to justify its big commitment to cadets? The Clock Tower memorial to the fallen old boys bore witness to a strong tradition of patriotism that was kept alive by the Armistice Day parades in Grahamstown.[352] There was a very real sense of pride and achievement in a smart annual inspection, all the more so when the St Andrew's College cadet corps wore the Graham tartan and enjoyed its affiliation with the First City Volunteers Regiment.[353]

In 1955, a time when the South African Defence Force was trying to enforce uniformity of dress for cadets in all schools, Freddy Spencer Chapman, who succeeded Currey as headmaster of St Andrew's College, put forward to the army the argument that the kilt had been the Scots' badge of resistance towards England. St Andrew's College was allowed to

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[347] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 248 (1952), 2; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 275 (1962), 23–24.
[348] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 248 (1952), 2.
[349] Van der Waag, *A Military History of Modern South Africa,* 75.
[350] McGill Alexander, "The Militarization of South African White Society, 1948–1990", *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 30, no. 2 (2000), 267 and 274–275.
[351] Ibid., 284–285.
[352] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 117; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 260.
[353] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 260.

keep the kilt in the pipe band, as well as for the whole detachment on domestic occasions such as the inspection ceremony.[354]

In the 1950s, through the initiative of Harker, many cycle tours took place at St Andrew's College. These tours, as well as other sporting tours and holiday activities, continued into the headmastership of Chapman. In other words, the spirit of adventure was nothing new at St Andrew's College when Chapman arrived. What was new at the school, though, was the continuous drawing in of every boy, not only during the holidays but also during the term, through the Hogsback camp, the cadet corps and a number of other minor trips and excursions.[355]

The 1956 issue of the St Andrew's College magazine included the following statement:

> [T]he Tuesday afternoon parades are not just a means of turning schoolboys into brave little soldiers. There is much more to it. First and foremost cadet training offers an opportunity to develop a completely different type of discipline and leadership. Your prefect need not necessarily hold any rank in the cadet corps…though it is usually the case. And the scheme does not exclude those who do not shine at parade ground work: specialist training caters for a variety of abilities: in addition to drill there is map reading, survey work, field craft, signal work, administration, shooting, not to mention the wide range of training offered by the Sea Cadet Detachment.[356]

It is evident that, in the mid-1950s, there were few cadet activities that called for instant and unhesitating obedience to an order.[357] The basic army drill was one of the few that survived, and one that de Lisle believed had intrinsic merit.[358] De Lisle asserted that there were occasions in life when one needed to recognise authority and obey without discussion or delay, and he felt that this principle justified parade ground work.[359] Hence, the idea behind drill was not only to make a man perfect in drill, but also to make him amenable to the word of command.[360]

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[354] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 251 (1954), 10–11; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 257 (1956), 11.
[355] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 255.
[356] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 257 (1956), 1.
[357] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 252 (1954), 10–11.
[358] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 264 (1959), 14.
[359] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 264 (1959), 14.
[360] Morrell, "White Farmers, Social Institutions and Settler Masculinity in the Natal Midlands, 1880–1920", 131.

This raised the question of authority and leadership. At worst, an immature corporal would send a reluctant cadet running around the edge of the parade ground, most likely with a carbine held over his head, but, to de Lisle, this was not leadership; it was only bullying.[361] In 1961, de Lisle initiated the Long Walk, during which great emphasis was placed on "manliness and evolution of character" and on inculcating "backbone" (see Figure 3).[362] There was scope for sensitive and intelligent leadership on the Long Walk, where the leader of a small section needed to be aware of the needs of the slow, the weak and the young if he was to bring his section to the end of a four- or five-day course in good shape.[363]

Figure 3: Long Walk at St Andrew's College

Teams were central to the way boys were organised at St Andrew's College. De Lisle created teams on the Long Walk to help structure social interaction and collective behaviour at the school. His model of the team was distinctly hierarchical, with a clear division between leaders and junior members, but it was based on fairness: the leader of a section had to share in the challenges of the Long Walk equally with his team. Evidently, esprit de corps could not be imposed on the schoolboys. It had to be built.[364]

Cooperation was a major factor in sections.[365] It was not uncommon to come across a struggling section member carrying nothing, while his companions took turns to carry his

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[361] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 260.
[362] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 272 (1961), 34; Marguerite Poland, *The Boy in You: A Biography of St Andrew's College, 1855–2005,* 337.
[363] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 260.
[364] Morrell, "White Farmers, Social Institutions and Settler Masculinity in the Natal Midlands, 1880–1920", 130.
[365] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 276 (1963), 8.

pack or distributed its contents between them. Favoured, too, on the Long Walk was the practice of mixing up house members as much as possible so that there were seldom three from the same house in a given section. This created the necessity for adaptation and a new loyalty. As these examples show, group bonding was the prescribed form of male companionship at St Andrew's College.

The diversity of cadet activities helped relieve the inevitable boredom of square-bashing. Shooting reached a very high standard, and map-reading and field-craft took boys into the bush on the Cradock Road.[366] The writer produced a gridded map, which surveyed the school area up to the golf course. He was helped by small groups who worked with plane-tables. In addition, a motor transport course was introduced into the cadet syllabus, covering the inner-workings and mechanics of a car, as well as those of the Wankel rotary internal-combustion engine, which was studied long before it came on the market.[367]

In 1963, stabilisation lent the Long Walk the more military appearance it required to prove that it was indeed a cadet undertaking. Salutes were given in the morning and the Last Post blew at night; defaulters defaulted and guards watched.[368] At every camp fire on the Long Walk (there were approximately sixteen during a four-day course), there was someone on watch throughout the night. Every member of each section took an hour's watch, while the masters and student officers took a double watch each night.[369]

Another routine event that took place on a four- or five-day course was sick parade. It was an essential service, but it became a major social event. Every evening and morning, and sometimes in the afternoons, a student officer and his two orderlies attended to blisters and thorns, sunburn and sprains, headaches and other afflictions with professional skill and scintillating bedside manner. In addition to their normal loads, they were forced to carry an additional 5 to 6 kilograms of medical supplies.[370]

In the 1960s, then, the boys at St Andrew's College were expected to endure physical hardship, and to endure it cheerfully. Part of being a cadet was not complaining. Not complaining, in turn, was part of military obedience. The rigours of camp life on the Long

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[366] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 257 (1956), 1; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 260.
[367] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 260 (1957), 7; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 260.
[368] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 278 (1963), 25.
[369] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 272 (1961), 36; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 275 (1962), 29.
[370] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 272 (1961), 36.

Walk provided opportunities for the boys to experience these hardships. In times of war, the students could then be expected to cope with an arduous regime.[371]

In 1964, the military aspect of the Long Walk increased.[372] The schoolboys carried out an attack scheme on a stretch of the Highlands road. The attack saw "hand grenades" being thrown into the opposing camps. More or less seventy grenades (fireworks crackers) were issued to each section, and at the height of the battle the realistic crackle of exploding bombs contrasted sharply with the quiet in the officers' camps. In the latter, reports were brought in and instructions were issued with great calmness.[373]

The ability of the boys to make war was routinely conflated with their masculinity. They were considered to be strong and brave by the masters who supervised the Long Walk. Moreover, they were considered to have displayed a readiness to act and an indifference to personal danger – to have displayed manliness, in short. The violence that was carried out by the schoolboys helped to erase so-called "feminine" qualities such as softness, weakness and vulnerability.[374]

In the same year that the Long Walk was introduced by de Lisle, the new headmaster of St Andrew's College, John Lamoureux Cawse, initiated "St Andrew's Tide". This was to be performed in November each year as part of the cadet corps' guard of honour; it involved commemorating students of the nineteenth century by reading out their names and their achievements at the school's Clock Tower. Cawse was the third generation of his family to teach at St Andrew's College and, as such, was knowledgeable about the history of the school and its distinguished old boys.[375]

St Andrew's Tide worked to remind students of the men who came from Britain and of their descendants who had helped build and develop the country, as the presiding narrative went.[376] At the event each year, it was asserted that the 1820 settlers had fought for the freedom of the press and had founded schools, libraries, museums, financial institutions and

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[371] Morrell, "White Farmers, Social Institutions and Settler Masculinity in the Natal Midlands, 1880–1920", 134.
[372] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 281 (1964), 60.
[373] Ibid., 62.
[374] Ibid.
[375] Poland, *The Boy in You: A Biography of St Andrew's College, 1855–2005,* 303.
[376] Ibid.*,* 306–307.

learned societies. Furthermore, it was stated that they had contributed to the development of trade, commerce and farming in the Eastern Cape.[377]

During this period of the school's history, the veterans moved cadet training off the parade ground and into the open veld, influencing students to think of the landscape in a military sense. By instructing boys on how to set up shelters, conduct manoeuvres in the field, and draw and read maps, they effectively taught them to view the landscape in the way that the settler had viewed it, and to imagine the settler as the epitome of the good soldier. Hence, the synergy between the remilitarisation of the cadet corps and the commemoration of the settlers allowed the veterans at the college to inculcate the art of soldiering in the cadets.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that the Second World War cohort of veterans at St Andrew's College played a major part in the socialisation of schoolboys, who were recruited for Citizen Force service.[378] By instructing students on how to shoot accurately, conduct manoeuvres in the field, and draw and read maps, and by moving cadet training off the parade ground and into the countryside, they encouraged boys to inhabit the landscape in a military sense and to imagine the settler as the epitome of the modern soldier.[379] In addition, the veterans brought into visibility those sites and structures that pertained to the frontier's colonial history.[380]

A synergy emerged between the remilitarisation of the cadet corps and the introduction of the St Andrew's Tide commemoration ritual for the nineteenth-century settlers, which allowed the veterans at St Andrew's College to instil a strong sense of soldiering in the cadets.[381] As the next chapter will reveal, this synergy was consolidated and extended when the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum was built in Grahamstown.

Of the eleven veterans who returned to St Andrew's College after the war ended to assist with the teaching and coaching, Gascoigne-Smith, Harvey, Sutherland, Browning and de Lisle

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[377] Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument,* 14.
[378] Alexander, "The Militarization of South African White Society, 1948–1990", 273–274.
[379] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 259.
[380] Phindezwa Elizabeth Mnyaka and Leslie Bank, "Salvage Anthropology in a City Without History: East London and Photographic Collections of Joseph Denfield, 1950–1969", *South African Historical Journal* 66, no. 1 (2014), 70.
[381] "Chairman's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1965*, 1.

were still present at the school in 1965, the year that the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum was established.[382]

This chapter also discussed the shifts in conscription that occurred first in 1952, when the ballot system provided under the 1912 Defence Act was implemented, and again in 1968, when a system of universal male conscription ("national service") was introduced, and how these shifts brought the national army into alignment with the military training that was being conducted by the masters at St Andrew's College among the cadet corps.[383]

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[382] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 284 (1965), cover pg.; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 285 (1965), cover pg.
[383] Alexander, "The Militarization of South African White Society, 1948–1990", 273–275 and 284–285.

Outline of Chapter Four

The conceptual theory provided by Anderson of how postcolonial national imagining is constructed through the map and the museum lays the foundation for the following chapter. Anderson asserts that the map and the museum are institutions of power that, although invented before the mid-nineteenth century, changed their form and function as the colonised zones of Asia and Africa entered a period of mechanical reproduction.[384]

While Anderson focuses on how these institutions worked to produce a national community in Southeast Asia, the following chapter will illustrate how the map and museum functioned to create a South African Anglo community in the Eastern Cape – that is, in a settler context.[385] It will indicate how, together, the map and museum profoundly shaped a community – one that was imagined by individuals who recognised themselves as being part of that group.[386]

Anderson is vague on how museum displays not only enable but also format imagining to produce a consistent and desired result.[387] The following chapter will consider the ways in which the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum, which was established in 1965 in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, articulated British cultural artefacts – and, in particular, the firearm – so as to trigger the standard imagining effect that was essential to the emergence and cohesion of the South African Anglo community.

The second point that the following chapter will make is that, after the end of the Second World War and the concomitant return of masters to St Andrew's College, firearms came to play a larger role in symbolising South African Anglo identity in the Eastern Cape. The masters encouraged cadets to practise shooting in the landscape, to carry out attacks on one another's camps and, in turn, to identify with the early settlers.[388]

Furthermore, in 1965, the curators of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum carefully selected and displayed nineteenth-century British cultural artefacts and afforded pride of place to firearms and their manufacturers and users in the museum's Military Gallery. The following chapter will argue that, by separating firearms from domestic objects, and by affording prominence to the former, the curators helped militarise settlement and gender firearms as

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[384] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* 163.
[385] Ibid., 164.
[386] Ibid., 15.
[387] Ibid., 183.
[388] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 243 (1950), 9–10.

male.[389] The chapter will also highlight the fact that, in the twentieth century, the museum and the school co-constituted each other.

The third point emerging in this chapter is that both Afrikaner and English identity reached back to the same place – the Eastern Cape – and to the same period.[390] While the liberal tradition positioned Afrikaans- and English-speakers in opposition to one another after the Second World War, the chapter will argue that these nationalist identities in fact converged in the Eastern Cape in the twentieth century.

Like the veterans at the school, the curators of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum had a thorough understanding of Afrikaner nationalism and worked to militarise society and masculinise firearms. The following chapter will make the case that the synergy between the commemorative displays in the museum and the remilitarisation of the cadet corps at St Andrew's College furthered the school masters' project of inculcating a sense of soldiering in the cadets they were teaching.

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[389] "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December*, 1966, 6.
[390] Witz, "Commemorations and Conflicts in the Production of South African National Pasts: The 1952 Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival", 62.

Chapter Four: The Development of the Albany Museum and Its Historical Collections

As mentioned in chapter 1, on 3 July, 1855, a group of four doctors (not all military) – Hutton, Edmunds, Armstrong and Atherstone – and an officer from the garrison's Ordnance Department, McDonald, met and agreed to found a medical society. At this meeting, which Atherstone chaired, the Grahamstown Medico-Chirurgical Society was established. Dr A Melvin, Deputy Inspector of the Hospital and Inspector of Colonial Hospitals, was appointed the first president of the society.

The society sought to facilitate discussions on medical subjects and to collect specimens in the various departments of Medical Science in all its branches, with the aim of creating the nucleus of a Museum.[391] By the end of 1855, the society was retitled the Literary, Scientific and Medical Society, and a resolution was almost immediately put forward for "the establishment of a general museum", which opened in February 1856.[392]

The public donated a large number of items to the museum, and a storage room was made available by Dr Edmunds in his home, which was situated in Bathurst Street. In the minutes of a meeting of the society that was held in January 1856, the specimens that had been received by the museum were recorded under six divisions: Natural History, Native Manufacture, Anatomy, Physiology and Pathology, Geology and Mineralogy, Palaeontology and Curiosities.[393]

The importance of collecting and displaying "Native Manufactures" was outlined by Atherstone, one of the museum's founding members. In a meeting that took place in 1855, Atherstone argued that the relics of the "former customs and manners" of the "native tribes", many of whom were "making some progress in the scale of civilisation, and consequently emerging from the condition they were in some years ago", had to be "procured before being entirely lost".[394]

Crucially, the Albany Museum restaged the scene of colonial conquering, and the scene of nation-building, through what it excluded. Absent from the museum were any images of indigenous people, whose near extermination was carried out by the 1820 settlers. Given that

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[391] J M Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on Its Early Years", *Annals of the Eastern Cape Museums* Vol. 4 (2003), 2.

[392] J M Gore, "A Lack of Nation? The Evolution of History in South African Museums, c. 1825–1945", *South African Historical Journal* 51, no. 1 (2004), 27.

[393] Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on Its Early Years", 2.

[394] Mackenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities,* 106.

the settlers' stated role was to defend the Cape Colony against attacks by the Xhosa tribes who lived to the east of the Great Fish River, this absence would have been conspicuous to museum-goers.[395]

Since the establishment of the museum in 1855, suggestions had been made for finding a suitable building to house not only the museum but also the Municipal Council and Public Library. In 1864, plans for such a building were put together but, owing to a lack of funding, they went no further. There were also hopes of constructing a building to house only the museum, and in 1867 the Albany Museum was granted a site on the north side of the Drostdy Gate, which was situated at the top of upper High Street.[396]

However, at the beginning of that year, no funds were available to construct the building, so in June the museum moved into three rooms that were rented by the Town Council on Bathurst Street. The Literary, Scientific and Medical Society continued to plan for the development of a suitable building. In 1873, it prepared an appeal to the government for £1,000 to aid in its construction. These pleas went largely unheard, though, and by the end of 1881 the Albany Museum had moved into the top floor of the newly completed City Hall.[397]

In 1889, Dr Selmar Schönland arrived in Grahamstown and was appointed curator of the Albany Museum. Schönland was a botanist who came from Frankenhausen in Germany. He had been educated at the University of Berlin and the University of Kiel. At the latter, he had obtained a PhD in 1883. Despite also holding teaching qualifications, he preferred botanical work and, before coming to South Africa, had been an assistant in the herbarium and botany museum at the University of Oxford.

Under Schönland's guidance, the Albany Museum rapidly gained in importance. He brought the experience, knowledge and perseverance necessary to make the museum a recognised scientific research institution, both in South Africa and abroad. During his appointment, he wrote for numerous journals and attempted, with support from the public, to increase the Albany Museum's collections of natural history.[398]

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[395] A D M Walker, *Pawns in a Larger Game: Life on the Eastern Frontier* (Durban: Calamaish Books, 2013), 32.

[396] Emily O'Meara, *Grahamstown Reflected* (Grahamstown: The Trustees of the Albany Museum, 1995), 14.

[397] J M Gore, *Albany Museum: Celebrating 150 Years of Heritage* (Grahamstown: Grocott's Publishers and Printers, 2005), 10.

[398] Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on its Early Years", 7.

In 1896, the colonial secretary, Dr T N G te Water, visited Grahamstown and was shown the Albany Museum, "with which he expressed himself much pleased".[399] He returned to Cape Town and placed £3,000 on the colonial estimates for the purpose of erecting a new building to house the Museum. Progress towards construction then moved swiftly forward. Finally, on 8 September 1897, the governor of the Cape Colony, Lord Alfred Milner, laid the foundation stone of the new building.

The construction of the new building was constantly hindered by problems. These ranged from a lack of bricks to the need to change the site from the north to the south side of the Drostdy Gate, as the original site granted in 1867 would have interfered with military drilling. Although the building was completed by the end of 1898, the lack of funding for display cases meant that it was not officially opened to the public until 1902.[400]

In April 1900, the old premises of the museum were closed. New display cases began to arrive and the public began to be admitted to particular sections of the new museum on weekday afternoons. The entire building was eventually fitted out by the end of 1901, and the new museum building was officially opened on 22 January 1902 by Sir Walter Hely-Hutchison, then governor of the Cape Colony.[401]

The Albany Museum and the centenary of the arrival of the 1820 settlers

For many years after its founding, the Albany Museum had no choice but to operate on inadequate finances, which became a central issue after 1910. Before this period, the museum depended on grants from the colonial government. However, when South Africa became a settler nation-state, the new government decided to recognise only two national museums – in Cape Town and Pretoria – and, thereafter, two others in Pietermaritzburg and Bloemfontein. The other museums in the country (including the Albany Museum) became the responsibility of provincial administrations, which left their finances less secure. As a result, for many years the Albany Museum had to function on a low budget and through loans. Nonetheless, the museum continued to expand. [402]

In 1910, John Hewitt replaced Schönland as the director of the Albany Museum. It was a position he was to hold for forty-eight years. Hewitt had been educated at Jesus College in

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[399] Ibid., 9.
[400] Ibid., 9–10.
[401] Ibid., 10.
[402] Ibid., 11.

Cambridge, where he had achieved a first-class in the Natural History Tripos in 1903. He was a zoologist, specialising in spiders, scorpions and lizards.

During his directorship of the Albany Museum, Hewitt wrote several papers on rock art, archaeology, prehistory, local history and animal distribution. In 1921, he described the Wilton culture of stone implements from a type site near Alicedale.[403] Despite constant financial constraints, Hewitt's directorship was characterised by the strengthening of the museum's natural science collections and the growth of its school service programme (of which more below).[404]

In 1921, the committee responsible for the 1820 settler centenary celebrations, which were held in Grahamstown, declared that a century had passed without any consideration being given to the preservation of the physical evidence of British culture since its arrival in the Eastern Cape. The committee was under the chairmanship of Sir George Cory.[405]

After completing his bachelor's degree at the University of Cambridge in 1888, Cory had been appointed as a demonstrator in the chemical laboratories at Kings College in London, while at the same time studying for his medical degree. His demonstratorship was not a permanent appointment, and at the end of three years he was advised to look for a teaching post in chemistry.

In 1891, he came to South Africa to take up a position as vice-principal at the Grahamstown Public School, and in 1894 he was appointed lecturer in chemistry at St Andrew's College. He became the first professor of chemistry at that institution in 1904. In the Cape Colony, Cory was also offered the position of assistant professor of chemistry at the University of the Cape of Good Hope. Since that institution was only an examining body, he was allowed to live in Grahamstown with the headmaster of St Andrew's College in the Old Drostdy house.

It was this building, which still carried evidence of military occupation, and its association with the defence of the eastern frontier that first turned Cory's attention, in 1894, to Eastern Cape history.[406] His first inquiries with regard to the Old Drostdy house had inspired a kind of systematic research process in which he looked for any information of potential historical

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[403] C J Beyers, ed., *Dictionary of South African Biography Vol IV* (Pretoria: Butterworth & Company, 1981), 232.

[404] Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on Its Early Years", 10; "Chairman's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1969*, 4.

[405] Rita Snyman, "A Short History of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum", *SAMAB* 10, no. 3 (1972), 112.

[406] W J de Kock and D W Kruger, eds., *Dictionary of South African Biography Vol II* (Pretoria: Tafelberg-Uitgewers, 1972), 142.

value from the older inhabitants of Grahamstown, as well as surviving 1820 settlers and their descendants.

After his oral sources in Grahamstown were completely used up, he visited places in the immediate and more remote surroundings – that is, places where old residents could be found or where documents were likely to be discovered. Cory dedicated his holidays to historical research. In his leisure time, he travelled alone and on foot, and was often forced to spend the night in the countryside. He visited farms and villages and recorded, in notes, the results of his investigations.

Cory left St Andrew's College in 1904 to become the first professor of chemistry at the newly founded Rhodes University. His department expanded and his days were filled with work. However, the collection of historical information on the early settlers continued to occupy his leisure time. Because of his extensive knowledge of the subject, he became increasingly in demand as a public lecturer on the 1820 settlers in Grahamstown and throughout the Eastern Cape.[407]

In 1921, the centenary committee passed a resolution to approach Hewitt, the director of the Albany Museum, with a request to make space available in the museum where material of historical value could be "put out" (not displayed) for public observation.[408] Cory asserted that this would encourage people to contribute to the museum's historical collections, which the committee had already started developing.[409] Thus, for the first time since the Albany Museum was founded in 1855 as a "general Museum for scientific purposes", a section for history was added to the museum.[410]

In the Albany Museum, indigenous histories were reduced to the status of the ethnographic present. Indigenous artefacts were collected and displayed in the museum to illustrate the progress that the colonies and European civilisation had made in comparison to so-called "primitive" cultures. Such museological practices were not confined to South Africa, or even the African continent, but were found in most settler societies, including Australia and New Zealand.[411]

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[407] Ibid., 143.
[408] Snyman, "A Short History of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum", 112; "Chairman's Report": *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1965*, 1.
[409] Rita Snyman, "A Short History of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum," *SAMAB* 10, no. 3 (1972), 112.
[410] Ibid.
[411] Gore, "A Lack of Nation? The Evolution of History in South African Museums, c. 1825–1945", 33.

The 1820 settlers' centenary stimulated great interest in the historical collections, and donations to the Albany Museum increased during the next few decades. The centenary also gave the festival committee the idea to establish a settlers' memorial museum. However, this vision would not be realised for another forty-four years.[412]

During the centenary year, the festival committee created a "living memorial" in the form of an immigration scheme to assist British immigrants to South Africa.[413] To emphasise the importance of this scheme, C W Whiteside, the mayor of Grahamstown, reminded readers that South Africa was threatened by the predominance of "the Native" over the white. "It is only by the introduction of fresh blood of the right kind that we can counteract this," he wrote in an article published in Grocott's *Penny Mail* on 20 August 1919.[414]

Sir Walter Stanford, a descendant of the 1820 settlers and the commissioner for returned soldiers (as of 1919), established the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Association to administer the immigration scheme.[415] The scheme was encouraged by the governor general of South Africa, Viscount Buxton, who, writing in the centenary souvenir brochure, referred to "this great Dominion" as being equally the home of the English and the Dutch: "Neither race can claim the country especially its own and come what may they have to live side by side for ever and aye."[416]

In addition to the immigration scheme, a number of memorials were erected, including the Campanile in Port Elizabeth and a memorial in High Street, Grahamstown. (It must be noted that, due to its dilapidated appearance, the latter was eventually pulled down in 1950 and replaced by the Trilithon, where services were held on Settlers' Day – a public holiday in September that was created in 1952.) The hospital in Grahamstown, which was allocated a donation of £10,000 from the centenary fund, was renamed the Settlers' Hospital. But as the fervour of the centenary celebrations dwindled, and with the advent of the depression in the 1930s, Cory's plan for a memorial museum gathered dust.[417]

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[412] Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on Its Early Years", 11.
[413] Thelma Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument* (Pietermaritzburg: The Natal Witness Printing and Publishing Company, 1992), 11.
[414] Ibid.
[415] J W Macquarrie, ed., *The Reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1958), xxvi.
[416] Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument,* 11.
[417] Ibid., 12.

The Albany Museum's school service programme

In 1929, Sir Henry Miers and S F Markham – members of the British Museums Association and the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, which was established in 1913 for the wellbeing of the people of the British Isles – suggested that a survey of museums throughout the British Empire should be conducted. They believed that it would allow the British Museums Association to acquire all the outstanding information on overseas museums and publish a report to complete its museum directory.[418]

The Carnegie Corporation in New York, which was established in 1911, agreed that the museum survey should be conducted by the members of the British Museums Association and granted $5,000 for the project. In 1931, Miers and Markham informed the High Commissioner of South Africa that the association's aim was to compile a survey on museums and a report for the Carnegie Corporation in New York.

The following year, they began their investigation, visiting Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, East London, Durban, Johannesburg and Pretoria. Their visits allowed the British Museums Association to learn more about the museums in South Africa and vice versa. Moreover, the visits ensured that the association became the centre for museum interests throughout the British Empire.[419]

The most prevalent recommendation in the survey conducted by Miers and Markham regarded the advancement of educational schemes, such as "travelling collections", in selected areas in the Cape Province.[420] In 1935, the Carnegie Corporation of New York made a block grant, which a number of museums in South Africa benefited from.[421] The trustees of the Albany Museum used this grant for a school service programme, which originally entailed sending two display cases to each of the eleven schools in Grahamstown each term.[422] The grant provided for display cases and taxidermy, and the museum provided the specimens.[423]

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[418] Elda Grobler and Fransjohan Pretorius, "The British Museums Association, the Carnegie Corporation and Museums in South Africa, 1932–1938", *South African Journal of Cultural History* 22, no. 2 (2008), 48.
[419] Ibid., 61–62.
[420] Ibid., 59.
[421] Ibid.
[422] Albany Museum, *School Service Annual Report for 1965*.
[423] Grobler and Pretorius, "The British Museums Association, the Carnegie Corporation and Museums in South Africa, 1932–1938", 59.

A Rothman, with a master's degree in the field of science, was made available by the Education Department to send off the museum's cases, which contained vertebrate specimens of an ecological nature and notes for the use of the teachers. The teachers' notes were accompanied by summaries of the most important facts about the specimens in question, which were to be read by the students. Revd J Pendlebury of St Aidan's College painted the cases' backgrounds and assisted with the composition of specimens.[424] By all accounts, then, historical collections were present in the Albany Museum, but the museum's school service programme educated children only on specimens of natural history.

Reconstructing the Albany Museum's natural history displays after the Great Fire of 1941

As mentioned previously, the Albany Museum was opened to the public on 22 January 1902 in its new position along Somerset Street. It fronted the prison, which was built in 1824, as well as what would become the Rhodes University campus. It soon had a collection of temporary buildings at the back, which acted as storerooms and eventually as laboratories.[425] Despite constant appeals for funding, it was not until 1920 that the Albany Museum gained the necessary extension of a new wing, followed by another, which was opened in 1940.[426]

On 6 September 1941, an enormous fire broke out in the old section of the Albany Museum. The prison officers across the road sounded the alarm, but not in time to prevent extensive damage, both to the building and to its collections. Students from Rhodes University rushed to assist and were able to rescue the entire contents of the library. The new wings were not affected, and the research collections, herbarium and bird gallery escaped with little damage.[427]

However, the mammal collections, as well as the reptile, shell and fish displays, were almost completely destroyed. Only a number of large mammals were rescued from the Mammal Hall, which was left in a complete state of ruin. The damage caused by the Great Fire in 1941 might have been prevented had the Albany Museum Committee accepted an offer made by the City Engineer in 1908 to install a fire alarm. The committee declined the offer, thinking

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[424] Ibid.
[425] John Mackenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* (Oxford: Manchester University Press, 2009), 111.
[426] Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on Its Early Years", 10.
[427] Ibid., 12.

that the museum's close proximity to the police station's fire alarm would be adequate for obtaining the help required if a fire were to occur.[428]

A determined attempt was made to reconstruct the Albany Museum. Although the Second World War slowed down the progress that was being made by the museum's staff in this regard, valuable assistance was provided by the public of the Albany district and by museums in Natal and the Transvaal, which indicates that the museum was widely known and held in high regard throughout South Africa.

Farmers in the Albany district provided the museum with local specimens, and museums in Natal and the Transvaal provided long-term loans of specimens. Although the museum was drastically altered, it reopened its doors to the public in June 1944. Several months later, collections were almost lost again, when a fire broke out in the taxidermy room. Fortunately, this incident only caused slight smoke damage.[429]

Although historical collections were "put out" in the Albany Museum during the centenary of the arrival of the 1820 settlers, no new items of cultural history were donated to the museum during the months that followed the Great Fire of 1941. In effect, the Albany Museum continued to be viewed by the public in South Africa as a building that stored and exhibited specimens of natural history.

The 1820 Settlers' Commemoration Committee

Concerns about English-speakers having no place in the Broederbond-dominated regime and being left out of the designs of the new architects of the nation influenced Thomas Bowker, in the mid-1950s, to highlight British settler history. During this period, he launched a campaign for a national monument and museum that would honour the early settlers.[430]

"We must always remember," he said, "that although the Voortrekkers opened up the country it was the British pioneers who developed it. They initiated trade, education and the building of roads and bridges. The time is now right in our history to honour them in a lasting manner; otherwise their achievements will be forgotten."[431]

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[428] Ibid.
[429] Ibid.
[430] Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument,* 1–2.
[431] Ibid., 2.

Thomas Bowker was the great-grandson of the well-known 1820 settler Miles Bowker, whose nine sons and two daughters distinguished themselves in a number of ventures that, as they saw it, helped to develop and enrich South Africa.[432] He went to school at Marist Brothers College in Port Elizabeth and farmed at Glen Ovis on the Fish River before being elected, in 1936, as the United Party Member for Albany, which was then a stronghold of the United Party.[433]

As a member of the opposition to the National Party government, Bowker was well informed of the implications of the renaissance of Afrikanerdom after 1948. This, he feared, could undermine the idea of a broader unity between English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. Domination by the Broederbond could effectively weaken the influence of English-speakers, who were generally disdainful of those who did not agree with Rhodes that "to be born an Englishman was to win a ticket in the lottery of life".[434] Bowker knew that the whole system was changing, and he was determined to secure a place for the English-speaking population in the new order.[435]

For this reason, Bowker, who was also a member of the board of trustees of the Albany Museum, set about his great task of entrenching the values and traditions of English-speaking South Africans in the museum agenda.[436] But first he had to establish a sense of pride in this heritage. In 1953, D J J Pretorius, the Afrikaner editor of Grocott's *Daily Mail*, helped Bowker form the 1820 Settlers' Commemoration Committee. The committee's primary aim was to organise events to help stimulate discussions on settler history in the Eastern Cape.[437]

With Bowker as chairman and Pretorius as secretary, this committee consisted of Ernest Willmore, the chronicler of Sevenfountains, Wilby Lanham, the knowledgeable sheep farmer of Highlands, Percival Kirby, emeritus professor of Witwatersrand University, Frederick Charles Metrowich, researcher of history, Sir George Cory and Dorothy Rivett-Carnac.[438]

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[432] Ibid.
[433] Ken Donaldson, ed., *South Africa's Who's Who* (Johannesburg: Ken. Donaldson, 1956), 120.
[434] Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument,* 2.
[435] Ibid., 2–3.
[436] Board of Trustees of the Albany Museum, *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1958.*
[437] Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument,* 3.
[438] Ken Donaldson, ed., *South Africa's Who's Who* (Johannesburg: Ken. Donaldson, 1957), 345 and 493; Dirk J J Pretorius, ed., *In the Land of the Settlers* (Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry, 1956), 2.

Rivett-Carnac was the wife of Arthur Temple. Temple was the former chairman of the board of trustees of the Albany Museum and a St Andrew's College old boy.[439] Also on the committee were, ex officio, the mayor and town clerk of Grahamstown, who at the time were Steward Armitage and Stanley Louw, respectively.[440]

Each year on the Settlers' Day public holiday – which, as mentioned, was celebrated during the first weekend in September from 1952 onwards – the 1820 Settlers' Commemoration Committee organised a pilgrimage over the old routes in the Albany district, to a place of historic interest. At each site, a quartzite monolith was erected. It bore a bronze tablet that set out the significance of the marker stone. Wilby Lanham, a descendant of the 1820 settlers, meticulously mapped out the routes and, with Bowker, erected the stones.[441]

The first of these stones, which was donated by Bowker, was unveiled on Settlers' Day of 1956, which fell on 3 September. It was unveiled on the west bank of the Kowie River, at the point where the ox wagons that carried the first parties of 1820 settlers from Algoa Bay crossed the river on the way to their destinations around Cuylerville. Among the settlers who traversed this route was the party of Miles Bowker, father of Thomas Bowker.[442]

The following year, Bathurst was the place where the settler descendants gathered. The weekend programme included two pilgrimages. The first was to Barville Park, which was the original home of the distinguished soldier General Charles Campbell. It was also the last of the fortified homesteads in the Eastern Cape. The second pilgrimage was carried out along the route to Kaffir Drift, which was situated on the Great Fish River. Here, the head of the Bowker family, J M P Pringle Bowker of Middleburg, unveiled a bronze plaque at the drift. This marked the northernmost gateway to the Cape frontier and what for years was the most exposed outpost of the Albany settlement.[443]

On Settlers' Day of 1958, the sculptor Ivan Mitford Barberton, who was also a Bowker descendant, unveiled the plaque on the stone, which was set up at Highlands Nek. This stone marked the route that the 1820 settlers had taken over the hills to reach Grahamstown.[444] On 1 September, hundreds of people gathered at Carl's Rust Mountain, whose northern shoulder

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[439] Ken Donaldson, ed., *South Africa's Who's Who* (Johannesburg: Ken. Donaldson, 1957), 493; "Chairman's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31ˢᵗ December, 1961*, 2.
[440] Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument,* 3.
[441] Ibid.
[442] Pretorius, *In the Land of the Settlers,* 1.
[443] Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument,* 4.
[444] Wilby Bain Lanham and Ernest R Willmore, *On the Road of the Settlers, Highlands Nek* (Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry, 1958), 3.

formed Highlands Nek, to watch the unveiling ceremony. They were also interested in seeing the remaining tracks of a road that was considered to have been the only lifeline between the Albany frontier outposts and civilisation.[445]

In 1958, Hewitt retired as director of the Albany Museum and was succeeded by Dr T H Barry. Barry was a lecturer in zoology at the University of Pretoria. Throughout his period of tenure, the museum continued to develop, despite often having to operate under significant financial constraint. Research and collections in the natural sciences expanded, becoming important resources for scientists both in South Africa and overseas. Moreover, due to the success of Bowker's pilgrimages and the general interest aroused in settler history, the museum's historical collections grew considerably.[446]

On the morning of 7 September 1959, the 1820 Settlers' Commemoration Committee erected a plaque at Seven Fountains to honour the village's founders, William and Jane Norman.[447] Later that day, at Salem, they listened to Bowker give thanks to the Quaker Richard Gush, who in January 1835, alone and unarmed, rode out into the hills to negotiate with the Xhosa chief Sandile.[448]

At Salem, Bowker also paid tribute to those settlers who had used "their civilizing influence in every sphere of life throughout South Africa".[449] He emphasised the fact that the settlers had established a new way of life in the Eastern Cape and asserted that "[t]he great educational, religious, industrial, commercial and mining development which followed was the result of their inspiration and leadership".[450]

In 1960, Peddie in the Eastern Cape was chosen as the setting for commemorating the part that the British settlers had played in defending the eastern frontier. The mayor of the town, R Q Davies, unveiled the memorial stone, which was erected on the west side of the Keiskamma River. This was the site of the Old Line Drift Post and Fort, which was built to help protect the Fingoes.[451] The old Star Fort at Peddie was built in 1835, and in 1841 a start

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[445] Ibid., 6.
[446] Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on Its Early Years", 11.
[447] Wilby Bain Lanham and Ernest R Willmore, *The 1820 Settlers of Sevenfountains and Salem* (Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry, 1959), 15–16.
[448] Ibid., 47–49.
[449] Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument,* 4.
[450] Ibid., 3–4.
[451] Ibid., 5.

was made on the Watch Tower, the Cavalry and Infantry Barracks, and the Military Hospital.[452]

The Watch Tower, with its six-pounder cannon, was occupied in periods of unrest. It was from this tower, that the 7th Dragoon Guards and the Cape Mounted Rifles rode out to the battle of Gwanga in 1846. Owing to the difficulty of transporting military supplies to the scene, it was decided to bring the supplies by sea. Waterloo Post was the name given to the camp at the mouth of the Great Fish River, and from here supplies were sent to the troops at Fort Peddie. For a short period of time, the affairs of the entire Cape Colony were administered from this site. The Waterloo anchorage, however, proved too dangerous and was abandoned.[453]

In addition to organising pilgrimages, the commemoration committee published an annual souvenir brochure on the history of each of the chosen places. The brochures were printed by Grocott and Sherry, and they were thoroughly researched. In this way, they helped to fill a gap in school textbooks. Professor Kirby was responsible for most of the research, and J B Bullock, who succeeded D J J Pretorius as editor of Grocott's *Daily Mail*, was part of the team that produced the brochures. His great coverage in the paper, as well as his editorials, reflected the importance of the events at the time.

This stirring of pride was not confined to those whose forebears had been allocated plots of land in the Albany district. Far away, in the Baviaans River, near Bedford, the descendants of the Scottish party that had arrived in the Cape in May 1820, under the leadership of Thomas Pringle, worked to gather groups of people to help construct a chapel in honour of their ancestors.

Alan Pringle, who was to become a member of the 1820 Settlers' National Monument Council, and who was the owner of the farm Eildon, which was situated in the Baviaans River Valley, granted a suitable stretch of land on his property for the chapel. The architect Graeme Rennie, who was also a direct descendant of the Scottish party, drew up plans for the chapel, and W K Pringle of Tarkastad quarried the required stone. Descendants from different parts of the country helped contribute towards the cost of the chapel, which was about £6,000.[454]

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[452] Ibid.
[453] Ibid.
[454] Ibid., 6.

The foundation stone was laid in 1957, and together with Mrs Percy Far, who had been a Miss Rennie, the Revd J D Thom performed the ceremony. Revd Thom was also of Scottish descent and was the Dutch Reformed minister of Bedford. On 1 September 1958, the chapel was dedicated and opened by the moderator of the Presbyterian Church, the Right Revd R H R Liddell. This service was attended by more than six hundred descendants and visitors.[455]

Bowker's pilgrimages each year were prefaced by an interdenominational service, which took place in front of the Trilithon Monument in High Street, Grahamstown. After this service, the 1820 Settlers' Commemoration Committee proceeded to the site where the memorial stone was to be set up. The excursions were like family gatherings, with Bowker presiding over the picnic. There was no intense patriotism, no flag waving, no exclusivity and no speeches. Moreover, many Afrikaners joined in the general festivity of the Settlers' Day celebrations.

Bowker was careful not to press sentiment too far. Most of his constituents were practical, hard-working farmers who did not have much money. Hence, his appeal was to their pride in their heritage and not to their pockets. This seemed to work miraculously. In the 1950s, a new settler freemasonry emerged, which was similar to the Old School Tie network. Whether one liked it or not, if they were an 1820 settler descendant, they had a particular tradition behind them and were thus part of the "club".[456]

The 1820 Settlers' National Monument Committee

Encouraged by the success of his pilgrimages and by the general interest generated in settler history, Bowker put forward his plan for a national monument at a meeting of the celebrations committee in the Grahamstown City Hall on 18 January 1957. In a four-part resolution, the meeting accepted the principle of a national monument. It stressed that it should be located in Grahamstown and (a proposal made by Rivett-Carnac) that it should include a section to house 1820 settler relics.[457]

A representative committee was formally constituted to carry the project to completion. The original 1820 Settlers' Commemoration Committee was renamed the 1820 Settlers' National Monument Committee and, in addition to those already serving on it, Professor J V L Rennie, vice-principal of Rhodes, and Guy Butler, professor of English at Rhodes, were elected.

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[455] Ibid., 7.
[456] Ibid., 8.
[457] Ibid., 16.

Bagshawe Smith, who represented the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Association in East London, Noel Gilfillan, who was chairman of the National 1820 Settlers' Memorial Association, T C White and Sellen King, who acted as secretary, were also elected. Others were co-opted later as the need for their specialist knowledge arose.[458]

The appeal made by Rivett-Carnac for the monument to include a museum that would display and preserve settler relics was not ignored.[459] It was to be incorporated into the broader scheme by means of extensions to the Albany Museum and the Cory Library, which was mainly used for historical research at Rhodes University.[460]

In 1960, a fundraising campaign was launched by way of a travelling exhibition, which was mounted by the Albany Museum.[461] The exhibition highlighted the achievements of the settlers. It illustrated their way of life, their culture and what they understood to be the great contributions they had made to the building of the nation. "South Africans by choice and conscious will" was the motto on the crest that was adopted by the monument committee.

The travelling exhibition included a pictorial story that was based on forty-two paintings, which depicted different periods of settler history. Barry, the director of the Albany Museum, accompanied the exhibition throughout the country. The Eastern Province Guardian Trust Company in Grahamstown handled the funds. More or less R400,000 was raised.[462]

In 1963, the "museum facet" of the monument project grew. Through the influence of the administrator of the Cape, Dr Nico Malan, and his association with the National Monuments Council, the Provincial Administration granted R20,000 for the building of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum, as part of the Albany Museum. The foundation stone and its inscription were unveiled by Malan on 2 September 1963, Settlers' Day, with this event involving full cooperation between members of the board of trustees of the Albany Museum, the staff of the museum, and members of the 1820 Settlers' National Monument Committee.[463]

On the evening of the unveiling, subscribers to the Albany Museum were given the opportunity to see the plans and architectural drawings of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial

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[458] Ibid., 17.
[459] "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1964*, 4.
[460] Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument,* 19.
[461] "Chairman's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1961*, 3.
[462] Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument,* 23–24.
[463] "Chairman's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1963*, 1.

Museum. The latter's appearance was to conform to that of the Albany Museum's, although the Albany Museum's gable-shaped entrance would not be repeated. Instead, the memorial museum would have a front elevation that was in accordance with the Georgian architecture of the early nineteenth century or settler period.[464] The 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum was to consist of "various galleries" of "Cultural History".[465]

The Long Walk at St Andrew's College

The difficult routes that were developed by the masters at St Andrew's College and that were taken by the cadets at the school in the 1960s rubbed up against the paths and remains of settlement encountered by Bowker and the members of the commemoration committee in the late 1950s. Like Bowker and the members of the committee, the Second World War cohort of veterans at St Andrew's College encouraged individuals to inhabit the landscape as the settlers had done and begin to identify with the settler ideal.

Although the first Long Walk, which was initiated by Michael de Lisle, took place in 1961, it was not until 1962, with the advent of the military call-up, that it became an "official" part of the St Andrew's College programme. The first walk was from Hunt's Drift Bridge on the East London Road to the mouth of the Great Fish River and then along the coast to the Kowie River, where the schoolboys were picked up.[466]

Much encouraged by the then headmaster of the school, Spencer Chapman, Long Walk went through different phases. At first, it was a vigorous "outward bound" exercise. It then went through a period of being a quasi-military operation in which opposing forces pitted their wits against each other.[467] Despite its shifting character, however, Long Walk was consistently an activity that alerted masters to boys with leadership skills.[468]

Different experiments had been tried, and a maze of routes developed, by the veterans at the school. There were some anxious moments on the Long Walk. On one occasion, a group of boys got lost in an unexpected fall of snow, when the resultant flash flood bowled down a dry riverbed. Leon Jacobs, a student at St Andrew's College, heard the distant rumble and

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[464] Ibid., 2.
[465] "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1970*, 7.
[466] Marguerite Poland, *The Boy in You: A Biography of St Andrew's College, 1855–2005* (Grahamstown: St Andrew's College, 2015)*,* 310.
[467] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 281 (1964), 62.
[468] Terry Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990* (Grahamstown: St Andrew's College, 1990), 260.

managed to herd and haul boys out of danger just as a wall of water washed away tents and sleeping bags, clothes and supplies. Even then, when roll call was taken, three boys were missing.[469] (They were subsequently found).

In 1963, masters tried to introduce a more militaristic dimension, with activities such as map reading, orientation, guard duty and an appreciation of the environment. Hence, Long Walk became an excursion where schoolboys could challenge each other and themselves through four or five days in the countryside, buoyed by the knowledge of how it would benefit them during their future military training.[470]

Evidently, the reanimation of cadets at St Andrew's College after the war drew strength from the concomitant commemorations of the 1820 settlers, which were initiated by Bowker in the late 1950s. Schoolboys were moved off the parade ground and into the open veld and were forced to walk through the landscape and to think of it in a military sense. Moreover, they were confronted with similar challenges to those faced by the 1820 settlers and, thus, began identifying with the latter.

Commemorating the 1820 settlers

As has been discussed, the Second World War veterans at St Andrew's College played an important part in the socialisation of boys who were recruited for Citizen Force service. By shifting cadet training off the parade ground and into the surrounding area, they helped militarise settlement and, in turn, encouraged boys to view the settler as the prime example of the good soldier. Crucially, this idea was subsequently drawn on and reinforced by the authors of commemorative works that were published in the 1960s.

In 1961, Dorothy Rivett-Carnac published her first book, which was titled *Thus Came the English.* Rivett-Carnac was, as mentioned, a member of the 1820 Settlers' National Monument Committee and, in 1957, had made an appeal for the monument to include a space for displaying and preserving settler relics.[471] She referred to the book as an attempt to provide insight into historical events that took place in the Eastern Cape. She also stressed that the work was produced for the benefit of those who had no access to source material. "It is intended, not to meet the needs of the research scholar, but to satisfy the curiosity of

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[469] Poland, *The Boy in You: A Biography of St Andrew's College, 1855–2005,* 310.
[470] Ibid., 11.
[471] Neville, *More Lasting Than Bronze: A Story of the 1820 Settlers National Monument,* 18.

anybody who is interested in knowing what type of people these English settlers were," she wrote in the foreword.[472]

In Chapter Nine of her book, "Death and Destruction", Rivett-Carnac praised the early settlers for calling a halt to the westward expansion of the Xhosa tribes, depicting these settlers as the defenders of civilisation. She argued that the settlers had continually acted in defence, for in 1834, as she put it, "[w]ith fire, assegai and club, the Kaffirs brought death and destruction to a peaceful prosperous land".[473] Since the Xhosa were said to have "swept on to the fringes of Uitenhage and beyond the Sundays River, spreading their front over a wide area and wreaking devastation wherever they went", it was Rivett-Carnac's contention that they brought the violence inflicted on them by the settlers upon themselves.[474]

In 1966, the 1820 Settlers' National Monument Committee sponsored *The Settlers of 1820: A Brief History for Use in Schools.* The author, Harold Hockly, having prepared his manuscript, placed it at the disposal of the committee, at no cost whatsoever, with the intention that any profits that arose from the sale of the book by the committee or the publishers were to represent a contribution by him to the monument funds. The work, therefore, not only informed readers about what the author referred to as "a not unimportant episode" in South African history, but also contributed to this episode's long-term commemoration.

In the introduction, the author wrote:

> This little work is not a general history of any period in South Africa, nor of the Eastern Province, nor of the English-speaking section of the people of this country. It is simply a very brief account of the varied fortunes – and misfortunes – of one particular group of people who sailed from their native land in 1820 to make their home in what was then, to them, an unknown country at the other end of the world.[475]

Hence, the objective of *The Settlers of 1820: A Brief History for Use in Schools* was to introduce young readers to a significant episode in the general story of their country and its peoples, in the hope that their interest would be sufficiently stimulated to encourage them to undertake further and more detailed study of the subject matter. At the end of each chapter in

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[472] Dorothy Rivett-Carnac, *Thus Came the English in 1820* (Cape Town: Citadel Press, 1961), 8.
[473] Ibid., 92.
[474] Ibid.
[475] H E Hockly, *The Settlers of 1820: A Brief History for Use in Schools* (Cape Town: Juta & Company, 1966).

the book, Hockly provided space where readers could make notes on particular points that had arisen from their reading of that chapter.

Chapter Six of the book was titled "The Sixth Frontier War and Its Aftermath". At the beginning of this chapter, Hockly stated, "This is not the place for a detailed exposition of the causes, conduct and consequences of the Sixth Frontier War, one of the most important and tragic episodes in South African history, as well as the most serious clash anywhere, up to that time, between the races; but in this brief sketch of the settlers we must at least record the part played by them in that conflict and its effect upon their fortunes."[476]

In Chapter Seven of the book, Hockly reasserted that his intention was to provide insight into the ways in which the 1820 settlers helped defend the frontier. In this chapter, which was titled "Later Wars – Cape Frontier and Natal", Hockly wrote:

> As was the case in the Sixth War, actual details of these later campaigns belong to general history and here only the settlers' contribution and sacrifices will be mentioned. The general pattern was very similar in the subsequent Seventh and Eighth Wars: thus, large numbers of settlers again joined the various volunteer units raised on each occasion.[477]

It is thus evident that, much like the Second World War cohort of veterans at St Andrew's College who framed the landscape in military terms and the settler as a model soldier, Hockly focused on the military settler idea. In his book, he paid particular attention to the ways in which the settlers defended the frontier against attacks by the Xhosa tribes who lived to the east of the Great Fish River. In doing so, he helped persuade young white male readers to imagine the British settler as a soldier.

In 1967, Frederick Charles Metrowich, a member of the 1820 Settlers' National Monument Committee, published *The 1820 Settlers*. Metrowich was born at Cookhouse in the Eastern Cape in 1903. After matriculating at Selborne College in East London, he took the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Education at the University of Cape Town. He then taught for over thirty years, and when he retired in 1958 he was vice-principal of Graeme College, which was situated in Grahamstown. He is the author of five books and of several articles that are of South African historical interest.

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[476] Ibid., 29.
[477] Ibid., 35.

Chapter Fourteen of *The 1820 Settlers* was titled "Early Blunders and Mistakes". In this chapter, Metrowich wrote about the 1820 settler John Ayliff, who

> on the very first night he spent on the veld, while on the way with his party to the Zuurveld, made the most stupid mistake. Fearing that they were about to be attacked by dozens of tigers he aroused the whole sleeping camp. Hastily grabbing their guns 28 fully armed men were soon resolutely prepared to repel the attack of the savage beasts. Imagine the roar of laughter which arose from the farmers and the soldier escort, when it was discovered that the flashing light from the tigers' eyes was nothing more than the illumination given off by innumerable fire flies![478]

As this passage suggests, Metrowich introduced firearms to his readers as tools that were used by the early settlers to defend themselves and their homes against attacks carried out by animals and by the Xhosa tribes.[479] He framed the rifle in particular as an essential, domesticated and unavoidable part of living on the eastern frontier in the nineteenth century.[480] Rifles were implicitly cast as technologies for survival, not as weapons, and thus they became associated with life in the frontier district rather than with death.[481]

In 1969, Guy Butler, who was also a member of the 1820 Settlers' National Monument Committee, published *When Boys Were Men.* This book consisted of extracts from diaries, letters, journals and memoirs. The experiences or adventures described in this work took place when the narrators were under the age of twenty-one and, in most cases, considerably younger. On a few rare occasions, Butler stepped beyond this structural limit in order to fill in background details or shine more light on the young protagonist in question. In the introduction of the book, he asserted, "Much of the impact of the passages will be lost if the youthfulness of the main figures is forgotten."[482] It is worth recalling here that considerably more than half the settlers of 1820 were under the age of twenty-one, and very few were over forty. Hence, it was in many respects a youthful invasion.[483]

In Part Two of *When Boys Were Men,* Butler described Stubbs as an experienced frontier fighter. In a chapter titled "Thomas Stubbs: Comedy and Tragedy at Clay Pits", Butler

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[478] Frederick Charles Metrowich, *The 1820 Settlers* (South Africa: South African Broadcasting Corporation, 1967), 33.
[479] Ibid.
[480] Brian L Ott, Eric Aoki and Greg Dickinson, "Ways of (Not) Seeing Guns: Presence and Absence at the Cody Firearms Museum", *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 8, no. 3 (2011), 215.
[481] Ibid., 222.
[482] Guy Butler, *When Boys Were Men* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1969), preface.
[483] Ibid, x.

explained that Stubbs was a "thorough frontiersman" and "an expert at bush craft, tracking and night patrols, with nothing but contempt for the noisy, massive operations of professional troops".[484] He also stressed the fact that Stubbs had suffered a disordered and rather riotous youth but that, in early manhood, he had organised a sporting and hunting club for the youngsters of Grahamstown to help keep them out of trouble. This group formed the nucleus of his formidable Mounted Rangers, who did signal service during the Seventh and Eighth Frontier Wars.[485]

In the introduction of a chapter called "Bertram Egerton Bowker: Running Wild", Butler evoked the life that Bertram had led in the Eastern Cape. Bertram was the son of Miles, who was the head of a party from Wiltshire, England. Butler asserted that Bertram was "an experienced frontier fighter" who therefore had "something in common with Stubbs".[486] Furthermore, he lifted a passage out of Bertram's journal in which the young boy described his tough exploits with leopards in the Fish River bush.[487]

In his journal, Bertram wrote:

> When about 8 yards off I gave him partridge shot in the face and put both his eyes clean out. He still came on through the smoke. I jumped out of his way as he bounded past and off down the bush with the dogs after him, we three brothers following as hard as we could run and shout. When we came up, the tiger had dropped dead and the dogs were mauling him. Two of us set to work to skin, the others to see after old Tuck, who was left on the battlefield.[488]

Throughout his book, Butler stressed that the 1820 settlers had roots in the countryside and were, therefore, not mere townies. In particular, he demonstrated how the early settlers carried out "tough pioneering jobs" and were largely responsible for "opening up the country".[489] Moreover, Butler provided insight into the socialisation of white pioneer youth in South Africa in the nineteenth century.

Like Rivett-Carnac, Hockly and Metrowich, then, Butler piggybacked on the project that was initiated by the masters at St Andrew's College. As already stated, this project worked to

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[484] Ibid., 73.
[485] Ibid., 74–75.
[486] Ibid., 99.
[487] Ibid., 100.
[488] Ibid.
[489] Ibid, preface.

militarise different acts of settlement and, in turn, to encourage schoolboys to view the settler as the epitome of the modern soldier.[490] The synergy between commemorative works such as these books and the remilitarisation of the cadet corps at the school allowed the masters to inculcate the crafts of soldiering in the boys they were teaching.

In addition to Hockly's more detailed and larger book, *The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa*, available in a second and revised edition, other commemorative works were also published in the 1960s. These included *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa,* by Thomas Pringle and A M Lewin Robinson; *The Journal of Harry Hastings,* by the Revd John Ayliff; and the personal *Letters* of Thomas Philipps. These works, as well as a large number of others, were produced by original settlers and gave interesting descriptions of the contemporary scene, though they were written in later life.

The 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum

On Settlers' Day, 6 September 1965, the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum was opened to the public by W J B Slater, who replaced Bowker as chairman of the 1820 Settlers' National Monument Committee (see Figure 4).[491] That year, Charles Jacot-Gillarmod, the professional officer in charge of the Entomological Collections and the director of the Albany Museum, oversaw the transference of the museum's historical material to the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum.[492]

The memorial museum was dedicated to displaying nineteenth-century British cultural artefacts and, to a lesser extent, items pertaining to Afrikaner culture.[493] Objects relating to the cultures of indigenous people remained in the Albany Museum's natural history building, since indigenous culture was considered primitive and inferior to European civilisation.[494] For the general white population, European culture represented the pinnacle of development,

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[490] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 257 (1956), 1; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 260.

[491] Republic of South Africa Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope, Department of Nature Conservation, *Report No. 22* (1965), 93.

[492] "Chairman's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1965*, 1.

[493] Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on Its Early Years", 14; "Chairman's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1965*, 1.

[494] J M Gore, "A Lack of Nation? The Evolution of History in South African Museums, c. 1825–1945", *South African Historical Journal* 51, no. 1 (2009), 31.

while the little-known cultural practices of black South Africans were relegated to the category of "uncivilised".[495]
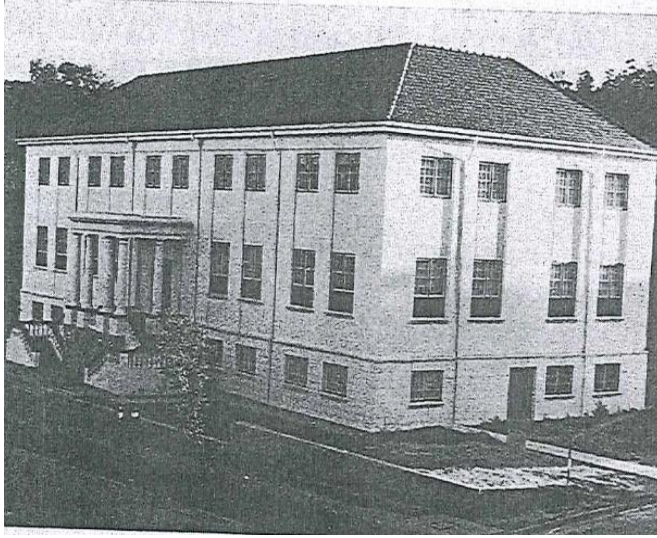

Figure 4: The 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum

The memorial museum constructed the Eastern Cape's past through a lens that fed into broader concerns around the constitution of settler identities and pasts. In the context of the hegemony of Afrikaner nationalism in the early 1960s, the memorial museum registered the uneasy, changing subjectivities of white settler identity. It expressed remembrance of a colonial frontier and pointed to the "tumultuous" changes brought about by the declaration of a republic.[496]

The 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum's primary aim was to provide displays of "satisfying appeal and educational value".[497] Indeed, a large part of the museum's effort was "directed especially to the education of the children" in Grahamstown.[498] For this reason, the museum made a determined attempt to provide individuals with "accurate information" on the history of the Eastern Cape.[499]

In 1965, E B F Lewcock, possessing a bachelor's degree, and D G Cillié, possessing a master's degree and a diploma in education, were appointed historians of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum. They were also responsible for allocating the large number of items

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[495] Ibid., 33.
[496] Phindezwa Mnyaka, "An Imperial Past in Ruins: Joseph Denfield's Photographs of East London, 1960–1965", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, no. 4 (2014), 802.
[497] "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31ˢᵗ December, 1971*, 7.
[498] Ibid.
[499] Ibid.

donated to the museum to its various galleries.[500] Although the public had to bear with some rather empty and temporarily arranged rooms in the memorial museum for a year or two after it was opened, one of the first galleries available for public observation was the Military Gallery.[501]

Of the ten display cases that were transferred from the Albany Museum to the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum, six were installed in the Military Gallery. Display material in the military cases, which included an extensive collection of firearms and military objects such as medals and decorations, was left much as it was in the Albany Museum, except for changes in colour scheme and lettering.[502]

Like the authors of the commemorative books that were published in the 1960s, the curators of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum contributed to the project that was started by the masters at St Andrew's College. In moving cadet training into the open veld and educating schoolboys on the different crafts of soldiering that were initially carried out by the 1820 settlers, these masters, as has been argued, helped to masculinise firearms and militarise settlement in the Eastern Cape.[503]

By carefully selecting and displaying nineteenth-century British cultural artefacts in the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum – and by affording prominence to firearms and their manufacturers and users in the Military Gallery – the curators supported the broader cultural project initiated by the masters at the nearby school.[504] They displayed firearms upstairs, in a room that was specifically designed to attract male viewers, which in turn helped to masculinise these objects. Moreover, they worked to militarise settlement by portraying the settler as the epitome of the modern soldier.[505]

As museum-goers entered the main hall of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum, they walked into what looked like the parlour of an elegant home. Below the panelled staircase was a grandfather clock, which was made by the Grahamstown watch and clock manufacturers

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[500] "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31ˢᵗ December, 1965*, 2.
[501] Ibid., 1; "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31ˢᵗ December, 1966*, 6 and 4.
[502] Department of History, *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31ˢᵗ December, 1966*, 15; "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31ˢᵗ December, 1970*, 8.
[503] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 257 (1956), 1; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 260.
[504] "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31ˢᵗ December, 1966*, 6.
[505] Department of History, *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31ˢᵗ December, 1966*, 16.

John and Charles Rhodes. Near the clock was a Regency wall-table, which was thought to have been brought to the Cape Colony in the "Chapman", one of the settler ships. The table was one of the most valuable pieces in the museum. A prie-dieu, or praying chair, belonging to Simon Haw was also considered one of the museum's prized possessions. Simon Haw was a settler who travelled to the Cape in the "Northampton".

To the right of the "parlour" was the Settlers' Hall. In this hall were six pillars, which represented the settlers as pillars of the Eastern Cape and which were covered with photographs of well-known members of later generations. One side of the Settlers' Hall was occupied by china, silver and glass displays. The other side struck a note of pathos: in niches in the wall stood the shovels, ploughs and wheelbarrows that had been improvised by the settlers at the height of their privations. These tools were made out of the only materials that were available at the time – mimosa wood and strips of hide.

In the Settlers' Hall, there were also some old wooden milking stools, buckets and churns. A wall chart showing the area between the Fish and Kowie rivers, as well as the boundaries of the plots of land that were allocated to the different parties of settlers, was another attraction.[506]

The silver in the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum was of particular interest to museum-goers. This was mainly because most of the pieces had been made for specific occasions. For example, the curators of the museum displayed a candelabrum, which had been presented to Robert Godlonton, who helped found Grahamstown's weekly newspaper, by his fellow colonists in 1853. The candelabrum's design depicted a Euphorbia tree encircled by a wild fig tree. This hybrid tree at the base of the candelabrum represented the different groups of people that were involved in the frontier wars. The three female figures alongside the tree represented commerce, peace and plenty.[507]

To the left of the main entrance hall was a room that contained an extensive collection of women's dresses and wedding and presentation gowns. It also contained shawls, christening robes and spinning wheels. These items belonged to well-known personalities of the nineteenth century, such as Miss H Cloete, who was a direct descendant of Colonel John

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[506] Lesley Dellatola, "Heritage of the 1820s", *South African Panorama* 15, no. 7 (1970), 7.
[507] Ibid., 8.

Graham, the founder of Grahamstown. The staircase formed a portrait gallery of widely known Eastern Cape public figures, such as Godlonton, among others.[508]

Upstairs was the Military Gallery.[509] The curators of the Museum installed six of the ten display cases that were transferred from the Albany Museum to the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum in this space.[510] They kept the material in the "Colonels Nelson and Grant", "Sir Andries Stockenström", and "Military Tunics" display cases, as it had been in the Albany Museum. However, in 1966, they added two firearms cases, which were designed by G P Bezuidenhout and which displayed several firearms selected from the museum's extensive collection (see Figures 5 and 6).[511]

The firearms collection consisted of more or less forty flintlocks, which had been used by the settlers in "defence" of their homes in the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth frontier wars. The display cases, which were designed by Bezuidenhout, also contained some historic uniforms and accoutrements that belonged to well-known figures such as Sir Peregrine Maitland.[512]
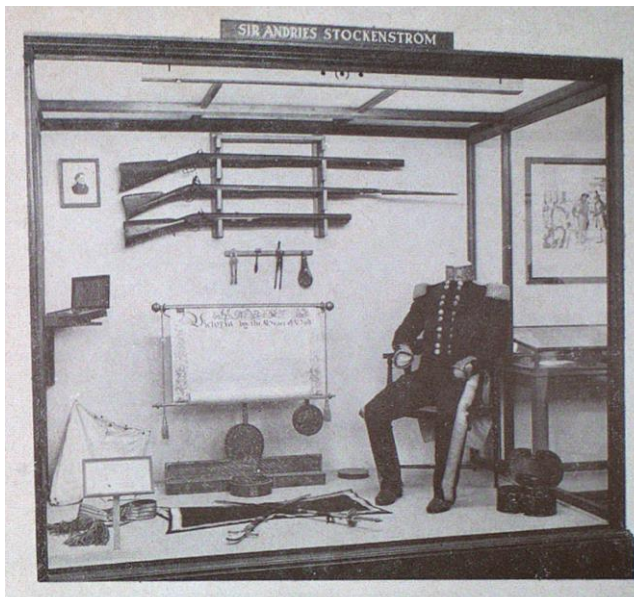

Figure 5: Sir Andries Stockenström case

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[508] Ibid., 7; Department of History, *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1966*, 15.

[509] Dellatola, "Heritage of the 1820s", 7.

[510] "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1966*, 6.

[511] Department of History, *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1966*, 16; H M J du Preez, *Museums of the Cape* (Cape Town: Nature and Environmental Conservation of the Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope, 1982), 21; Republic of South Africa Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope, Department of Nature Conservation, *Report No. 20* (1963), 109.

[512] Lesley Dellatola, "Heritage of the 1820s", *South African Panorama* 15, no. 7 (1970), 8.
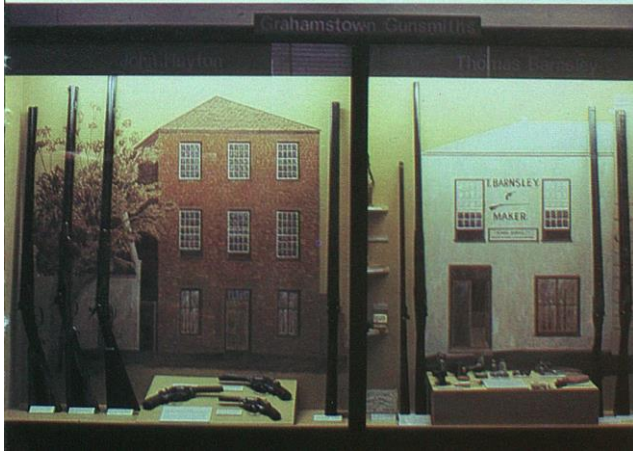
Figure 6: Grahamstown gunsmiths' case

Displayed in one of the firearms cases was the "Cape" gun, with a calibre of 14 millimetres (0.55 inches) and with the inscription "John Hayton" on the lock plate.[513] This was a double-barrelled rifle, "with one barrel smooth for *looper* charges (shot) and the other rifled to take the Enfield cartridges".[514] This particular configuration was suited to fighting at close quarters and in thick bush, where broadcast destructive power mattered more than accuracy. For this reason, the gun was naturalised and eventually considered "the ideal military weapon for the conditions which prevailed on the Eastern frontier".[515] Many gunsmiths – the most famous being John Hayton – either imported or made these rifles, which were some of the very few sporting-type weapons to have been used by the military forces in the Cape Colony.[516]

It is evident that the curators of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum separated firearms from popular household wares. In particular, they separated firearms from china, silverware and glassware, and from milking stools, buckets and churns, as well as from women's clothing.[517] In doing so, they helped gender the entrance hall, the Settlers' Hall and the "dressing" room as feminine and the Military Gallery, conversely, as masculine.[518]

It is also clear that South African Anglo identity in Grahamstown was created from a masculinised memory. In the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum, women were relegated to minor roles, which implied that they needed to be elevated or defended. In contrast, the

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[513] Albany Museum, "Accession Register: Military Gallery", AM28516.
[514] Berkovitch, *The Cape Gunsmith*, 40.
[515] Ibid.
[516] Ibid., 39.
[517] "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1966*, 6.
[518] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 257 (1956), 1; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855-1990,* 260.

curators of the memorial museum portrayed men as the real actors on the frontier – that is, as gallant figures who worked to defend their freedom, honour, land and women.[519]

Finally, there was an identifiable "normative" or "hegemonic" masculinity on display in the museum, which set the standards for male demeanour, thinking and action in the Eastern Cape more generally. Hegemonic masculinity was more than an ideal in this segment of white South Africa: it was assumptive and widely held, and it had the quality of appearing natural. This is not to suggest that there was consensus among all men and women in the Eastern Cape about what constituted the ideal man. Hegemonic masculinity often stood in contrast to other class-, race- and sexuality-based masculinities. Nonetheless, hegemonic masculinity remained a standard against which other masculinities competed or defined themselves.[520]

It is evident that the memorial museum bolstered hegemonic masculinity and excluded many men on the grounds of, for example, race and sexual orientation. Furthermore, it associated white settler men with certain ways of waging war and injected violence into the gender identities of these men.[521] The memorial museum constituted an important site at which ideas of progress, skill and high standards were deployed as expressions of English white settler identity.[522]

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that, during the first half of the twentieth century, the focus of the Albany Museum was largely on displaying specimens of natural history. Not only did the museum's school service programme entail sending display cases containing vertebrate specimens to schools in the Albany district, but after the Great Fire of 1941 the staff of the museum also made a concerted effort to restore the museum's scientific exhibits.[523]

Although historical collections relating to the settler history of the Eastern Cape began to grow after the centenary of the arrival of the 1820 settlers, these were merely set aside for

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[519] Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations", *Ethnic and racial studies* 21, no. 2 (1998), 244.
[520] Ibid., 247.
[521] Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool, "Sources and Genealogies of the New Museum: The Living Fossil, the Photograph, and the Speaking Subject", in *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts*, eds. Kelly Askew and Anne Pitcher (United States: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 202.
[522] Bank, *City of Broken Dreams: Myth-making, Nationalism and the University in an African Motor City,* 99.
[523] Gore, "A Short History of the Albany Museum 1855–2005, with a Focus on Its Early Years", 12.

public observation and not displayed in the museum.[524] As this chapter has indicated, it was only in 1965 – when the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum was opened to the public as part of the Albany Museum – that curators began carefully selecting and displaying nineteenth-century British cultural artefacts.[525]

The previous chapter showed how the Second World War cohort of veterans at St Andrew's College played a significant role in the socialisation of boys who were recruited for Citizen Force service. By transferring cadet training from the parade ground to the countryside, and by introducing boys to skills such as building shelters, conducting night patrols, recognising danger, and drawing and reading maps, they encouraged students to perceive the settler as the prime example of a good soldier.[526]

This chapter has revealed that the authors of commemorative works that were published in the 1960s, along with the curators of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum, drew on and furthered the project that was initiated by the veterans at the school. In particular, the authors of 1820 settler history drew readers' attention to the fact that the settler was a thorough frontiersman and an expert at bush craft. Meanwhile, the curators of the memorial museum separated the museum's household objects from its firearm collection and, in turn, masculinised the latter and militarised settlement.[527]

Importantly, this chapter has illustrated that the synergy between the commemorative books, the memorial museum, and the remilitarisation of the cadet corps at St Andrew's College provided the ideal cultural moment for the veterans at the school to induct the cadets they were teaching into the practice of soldiering.

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[524] Snyman, "A Short History of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum", 112.

[525] Republic of South Africa Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope, Department of Nature Conservation, *Report No. 22* (1965), 93.

[526] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 260 (1957), 7; Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 260.

[527] Dellatola, "Heritage of the 1820s", *South African Panorama* 15, no. 7 (1970), 7.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This study has been primarily concerned with the construction of South African Anglo identity in the Eastern Cape. Specifically, it has provided a new and critical perspective on how this identity was created and weaponised in two key sites in Grahamstown – namely, the school (St Andrew's College) and the museum (the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum) – from 1910 to 1965. The central argument of this thesis has been that these institutions were developed, in the twentieth century, to construct an Anglo-masculine identity that "mimicked" images of the British settler, who – in the context of the Eastern Cape – could not only adapt to the local landscape but also defend the colony against the indigenous people in a protracted low-intensity war spanning generations.[528]

At the beginning of the Second World War, leave was granted to the masters at St Andrew's College to take up active service. As the numbers of pupils at the school grew, the number of masters decreased.[529] The headmaster of the school at the time, Ronald Currey, was therefore forced to look to female teachers to fill the gaps left by the departing young men.[530] Importantly, this study has indicated that, by coming to the headmaster's rescue, and by taking the place of masters away on service, these women teachers feminised the school for a brief period, which paved the way for a crisis of masculinity in the post-war years and for a strong re-masculinisation effort.[531]

After the Second World War, several masters who had fought in the war returned to St Andrew's College to assist with teaching and coaching. The return of these veterans to the school – even more so than the subsequent implementation of apartheid and militarisation of white society – goes a long way in explaining the subsequent revival and reconstitution of the school's cadet corps. This study has indicated that, when the masters returned from active service, they sought to transfer the skills they acquired during the war to the boys at the school and, in turn, they reshaped the cadet corps in crucial ways.[532]

The return of the veterans to St Andrew's College – and to the cadet corps in particular – re-masculinised the school and ensured that the boys, who attended the school from the late

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[528] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 272 (1961), 36; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 275 (1962), 29; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 278 (1963), 25.
[529] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College 1855–1990,* 185.
[530] *St Andrew's College Magazine* 27, no. 224 (1940), 10; *St Andrew's College Magazine* 27, no. 225 (1940), 6.
[531] Currey, *St Andrew's College Grahamstown 1855–1955,* 144–145.
[532] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 235 (1945), 25; *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 243 (1950), 9–10.

1940s to the mid-1960s, underwent a fundamentally different cadet experience to that of their predecessors.[533] This thesis has shown that the effect of the Second World War on Grahamstown was significant. It stimulated the remilitarisation of young white men a decade before the apartheid government began to rearm itself to fight black nationalism.[534]

During the war, terrain-related difficulties and climate extremes previously unknown to South African soldiers were just some of the challenges that the masters at St Andrew's College had to face, in their long and bitter offensive against a determined and fanatical enemy. The gunners among these masters had fired rounds of ammunition; the signallers had laid miles of cable and handled messages; the sappers had built a large number of bridges and roads. Many of the masters had also destroyed enemy equipment and captured prisoners. They had, moreover, witnessed first-hand the true cost of war: a comrade wounded or killed.[535]

The masters at St Andrew's College were therefore battle-hardened by the time they returned to the school and, because of their experiences, were sceptical of the way cadet training was being conducted. Their wartime experiences influenced them to reconsider how cadets were being trained for Citizen Force service – how and to what extent this training was preparing the boys to face what the masters had already faced. A decade before the apartheid state initiated the conscription of white youth, these veterans made a determined attempt to change the nature of cadet training at St Andrew's College, remilitarising it significantly.[536]

This study has revealed that the Second World War cohort of veterans at St Andrew's College gave the cadet corps a transfusion of the skills they acquired during the war. By instructing students on how to shoot accurately, carry out manoeuvres in the field, and draw and read maps, and by moving cadet training off the parade ground and into the countryside, they encouraged schoolboys to inhabit the landscape in an explicitly military sense. Moreover, they masculinised firearms and militarised settlement and, in doing so, they influenced students to imagine the settler as the epitome of the modern soldier. [537]

Furthermore, this study has suggested that the individuals who wrote commemorative books about the 1820 settlers in the 1960s – many of whom were members of the 1820 Settlers' National Monument Committee – tagged onto the cultural project that had been initiated by

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[533] Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College: 1855–1990*, 259–260.
[534] Alexander, "The Militarisation of South African White Society, 1948–1990", 268.
[535] Murray, *First City/Cape Town Highlanders in the Italian Campaign: A Short History 1943–1945,* 41.
[536] Ian van der Waag, *A Military History of Modern South Africa* (South Africa: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2015), 241.
[537] *St Andrew's College Magazine* no. 272 (1961), 34.

the masters at St Andrew's College. These authors described the settlers as pioneers of civilisation. They also portrayed the settlers as defenders of the frontier and as experts in field craft, tracking and night patrols. In doing so, they helped invent an Anglo-masculine identity that was built on images of the British settler as soldier.

Finally, this thesis has shown that, in 1965, the curators of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum, which was established to display nineteenth-century British cultural artefacts, also piggybacked on the project that the veterans at St Andrew's College had begun. During the second half of the twentieth century, the memorial museum was reconfigured by the curators, and its technologies of creation, preservation and use changed significantly.[538] The museum was routinely added to and subtracted from, existing in dynamic relation to its physical environment.[539]

By carefully selecting for display nineteenth-century British cultural artefacts – and by affording pride of place to rifles and their manufacturers and users in the Military Gallery – the curators expanded and institutionalised the St Andrew's College veterans' efforts to militarise settlement.[540] Moreover, by separating weapons from domestic objects such as crockery, cutlery and furniture, and by exhibiting them in a Military Gallery – that is, in a room that was chiefly designed to attract male observers – they helped gender rifles as male.[541]

It is important to note that the curators of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum relegated women to minor, often-symbolic roles. Women were merely portrayed as icons of nationhood, who needed to be elevated and defended by English-speaking men. Indeed, the curators consistently presented men as the real actors on the frontier – protagonists who defended their freedom, their honour, their land and their women.[542]

Although English identity was certainly reinvented following the 1820 settlers' centenary in Grahamstown, then, it was not imagined as a military identity until after the Second World War and the concomitant return of veterans to St Andrew's College and the cadet corps.[543] Unlike the curators of the Albany Museum, who displayed British artefacts in a haphazard,

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[538] Hamilton, Harris and Reid, "Introduction", 7.

[539] Ibid.

[540] "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1966*, 6.

[541] Department of History, *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31st December, 1966*, 16.

[542] Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations", 244.

[543] Terry Stevens, *The Time of Our Lives: St Andrew's College: 1855–1990* (Grahamstown: St Andrew's College, 1990), 260.

jumbled fashion, the curators of the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum made a clear effort to afford prominence to these artefacts, and specifically to rifles and weapons.[544]

Studies on the processes of colonialism

This thesis relates to other studies that focus on the wider processes of colonialism. In particular, it relates to the work of Stoler and McGranahan, which highlights the adaptability of empire. These historians assert that, in the past two decades, scholars of colonialism have become fixated on the idea that empires were "clearly bounded geopolities, as if the colour-coded school maps of a clearly marked British empire were renderings of real distinctions and firmly fixed boundaries".[545] As Thongchai Winichakul has observed, imperial maps were a model for, rather than a model of, what they claimed to represent.[546]

Rather than treating empire as a steady state, this study has posited that imperial formations such as the map and museum were refigured in the Eastern Cape during the twentieth century. It has indicated that, although imperial formations may present themselves as fixed technologies of rule, they are in fact highly flexible, subject to change within particular circumstances. As Stoler asserts, "[B]lurred genres of rule are not empires in distress but imperial polities in active realignment and reformation."[547]

This thesis also relates to studies that explore the relation between empire and nation. Frederick Cooper argues that colonial studies have overemphasised the national impulse for empire, while Prasenjit Duara maintains that they have not acknowledged that impulse enough.[548] Duara argues that, as occurred in Manchukuo, the prevalent modern imperial form is empire without colonialism: that is, "empire beholden to a nation-state project rather than to an expansionist or territorial one".[549]

This thesis has illustrated that nations and nationalism developed out of certain colonial processes. In particular, it has shown that postcolonial nationalisms were imagined in terms of the administrative and archaeological evidence that colonialism had "collected" and

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[544] "Director's Report", *Report of the Albany Museum Grahamstown for the Year Ended 31ˢᵗ December, 1966*, 6.
[545] Ann Laura Stoler and Carole McGranaham, "Introduction: Refiguring Imperial Terrains", in *Imperial Formations,* eds. Ann Laura Stoler, Carole McGranaham and Peter C Perdue (United States: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007), 8–10.
[546] Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 1994), 130.
[547] Stoler and McGranaham, "Introduction: Refiguring Imperial Terrains", 9–10.
[548] Ibid., 15–16.
[549] Ibid.

exhibited in its museums.[550] It has also shown that, in the Eastern Cape, the nation worked to erase empire in service of new strategies for managing difference and for highlighting national unity, for example, rather than imperial variations among the state's population.[551]

Lastly, this study has provided new insight into the ways in which colonialism used key technologies, such as the museum, to help construct "imagined communities" that were limited. It has argued that the way the map and the museum were constituted, the forms they took, and the systems of classification they employed at specific times were critical features of colonial politics and state power.[552]

Studies on the production of masculinities

Until very recently, men were a taken-for-granted category in South African history. Despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that men – and, in particular, white men – paraded powerfully, dominantly and visibly across the historical stage, there was little attention paid to them as anything other than bearers of oppressive gender, class and racial values.

This is not to suggest that previous historical studies were ignorant of the diverse social and economic locations, and the changing agency, of men. Works on young men and gangs, for example, are testimony to a widespread, if implicit, acknowledgement of the importance of generational difference and men's varying associations. They also provide evidence of the ways in which race, class and location circumscribed South African men. Similarly, a rich tradition of anthropological work in southern Africa has recorded the way boys became men, how the sexual division of labour was established, and how people related to one another in specifically gendered ways.

These works have left us with detailed descriptions of the actions of men, but they have operated from an implicit sex-role position and have not examined or theorised the association of men with masculinity itself.[553] The present study has drawn on the important work of Belinda Bozzoli, which focuses on the complexity of gender relations in South Africa. Bozzoli states that it is easy to view South Africa as being under the control of one

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[550] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* 178, 181–183.
[551] Ibid., 21.
[552] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 6.
[553] Morrell, "Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies", 613.

system of male rule and stresses, instead, the coexistence of many patriarchies in the country. She identifies an "English-speaking variety", "Afrikaner patriarchy" and "Black culture".[554]

This study has focused on the development of an Anglo-masculine identity in the Eastern Cape in the twentieth century. It relates to existing research – such as that done by Robert Morrell and John Lambert – on how the public school system in the British colonies of South Africa served to promote an expansionist, elitist, racist and militarist sense of masculinity.[555] In particular, this study indicated the importance of schoolmasters and of the cadet corps in Grahamstown in championing these character traits in the Eastern Cape.

In addition, this thesis has illustrated that, in the twentieth century, the South Africa military built on the existing masculinism of elite schools in the Eastern Cape, which had already entrenched the notion of teamwork and the importance of bravery and self-sacrifice in the young white male imagination.[556] In other words, the military made a conscious attempt to cement certain masculine values and traits that had been produced and reinforced in schools such as St Andrew's College in Grahamstown.

Studies on the politics of curatorship

Curators have an important and leading role in the construction and organisation of museums. They make the decisions regarding which objects are selected and displayed in a museum, they are the overseers of a museum's documentation, and they share research with the public through exhibitions. For these reasons, the politics of curatorship are important to consider when studying museum exhibitions.

This thesis speaks to previous studies that focus on the politics of curatorship, such as those produced by Leslie Witz, Ciraj Rassool and Carolyn Steedman. Witz and Rassool argue that, when examining a museum display, one needs to interrogate the categories of analysis, examine the "agencies of image making and memory production", and consider claims of objectivity, in order to debunk the "protocols of history production".[557]

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[554] Belinda Bozzoli, "Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 9, no. 2 (1983), 140 and Morrell, "Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies", 613.
[555] Lambert, "'Munition Factories…Turning Out a Constant Supply of Living Material': White South African Elite Boys' Schools and the First World War", 69.
[556] Morrell, "Military Matters in the Natal Midlands, 1880–1920", 2 and Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870: A Tragedy of Manners,* 92.
[557] Leslie Witz and Ciraj Rassool, "Making Histories", *Kronos* 34 (2008), 6.

Like Witz and Rassool, Steedman analyses the modern uses of the past, including those of museum exhibitions in contemporary South Africa. In line with the argument presented by Witz and Rassool, she asserts that historians should be less concerned with history as *stuff* than with history as *process*. Importantly, Steedman argues that history is fluid, changing depending on the uses it is put to.[558]

These historians all highlight the issues at stake in the production of histories. They stress that, rather than events and personages of the past possessing a status or significance that is derived in and of itself, selection and intended exaggeration are largely at play in any museum.[559] Furthermore, they emphasise that it is not the accumulation of information with regard to "what happened" that is of significance, but rather which stories – and in which particular configurations – were and were not accepted at specific moments in time and space.[560]

Like the work produced by Witz, Rassool and Steedman, this thesis has focused on the processes through which museums are made and remade, rather than on museums-as-things.[561] Specifically, it has described the processes involved in the creation of displays in the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum. Moreover, it has highlighted the fact that the form or shape of the museum's exhibitions largely affected its content, and that historical representation is almost always defined by a process of selection and exclusion.

Future areas of research arising from this study

The work on men and masculinity in South Africa that constitutes this thesis provides a helpful starting point for further inquiry. This study has illustrated that masculinities are constantly protected and defended, as well as constantly broken down and reconstructed. It hopes to encourage gender scholars to identify what forces operate to effect change in masculinities. It also hopes to prompt students to identify when, where and how such changes occur, and what their effects may be.[562]

The mass media and the people and companies that use them; institutions such as schools and the masters and employees who inhabit them; leisure and work activities and the people who

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[558] Steedman, "Chapter 4: The Space of Memory: In an Archive", 76.
[559] Ibid.
[560] Ibid., 10.
[561] Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common-Sense*, 20.
[562] Morrell, "Introduction", 7.

are involved in them – all these media, institutions and agents are involved in the multi-layered process of constructing gender discourses and identities. This project invites scholars to consider how technologies and people censure certain gender constructions and affirm other ones.[563]

With reference to the ways in which white elite boys' schools produced a particular kind of masculinity in South Africa in the twentieth century, a number of works have been published. Most of these books were commissioned by individual schools to mark important milestones such as centenaries. Common to all of these books, however, is the fact that the First World War features prominently.

In particular, these books refer to how elite schools were affected as old boys, teachers and senior pupils volunteered to fight, with many never to return or to come back with wounded or injured bodies. In addition, they explain how elite boys' schools strengthened school boys' feelings of Britishness, and instilled in them a particular version of masculinity.[564]

This study, by contrast, encourages scholars to develop a deeper understanding of how the Second World War affected British schools in South Africa in the twentieth century. In particular, this thesis can be used to help illustrate how the war influenced masters to create prescriptions of masculinity that were binding (or at least partially so), and that created cultural images of what it meant to be a "real man".[565] Moreover, this study can be used by scholars to show how institutions such as the cadet corps and the regiment were not only products of state machines but were also, in their own right, technologies that bolstered the state itself.[566]

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[563] Ibid., 8.
[564] Lambert, "'Munition Factories…Turning Out a Constant Supply of Living Material': White South African Elite Boys' Schools and the First World War", 69.
[565] Morrell, "Introduction", 7.
[566] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance", 87 and 99.

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