

THE HISTORICAL PRODUCTIONS OF CECIL JOHN RHODES IN 20TH CENTURY CAPE TOWN

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DECLARATION

I, Khayalethu Mdudumane, declare that *The Historical Productions of Cecil John Rhodes in 20th Century Cape Town* is my own work, and that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Khayalethu Mdudumane

Signature.....

December 2005



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ABSTRACT

The historical productions of Cecil John Rhodes in twentieth century Cape Town is a project which grapples with the legacy of Cecil John Rhodes in post-apartheid South Africa. Rhodes died in his small cottage in Muizenberg in 1902. He was given a monumental funeral journey to the Matopos. This mini-thesis attempts to look beyond his death by analysing the historical productions of Rhodes in 20th century Cape Town. The critique of this study is that Cape Town embodies the history of imperialism in maintaining the memory of Rhodes. Rhodes is an imperialist icon. I examine the following sites: Rhodes Cottage Museum in Muizenberg, Rhodes' Groote Schuur minor house at his Groote Schuur estate, Rhodes' Memorial on Devils Peak and two statues, one in the Company Gardens at Cape Town and the other at the University of Cape Town. I argue that Rhodes straddled Dutch and British history. The historical productions of Cecil John Rhodes continue to feature in post-apartheid South Africa through the birth of the Mandela Rhodes Foundation. He bequeathed the land to the nation without anticipating its current form. Rhodes' Groote Schuur estate is now a national asset and an official residence for the president of the post-apartheid government, in keeping with Rhodes' wish. Rhodes legacy is both protected by law and the state. The legal protection of his estate enhances his name to be reproduced in every government that gains power. This reinsertion of Rhodes' name in every government allows the ghost of Cecil John Rhodes to haunt post-apartheid South Africa. The identified sites and monumental landmarks resonate with the imperial present in the production of the post-apartheid history. My point of departure is the view that there is no reason in keeping these monuments. The estate and the Cottage Museum must be closed down and the monuments need to be destroyed. They all represent a fixture of history that impedes our desire for a post-apartheid society.

Chapter One

Rhodes beyond the discourse of imperialism

The literature about Rhodes, especially by his biographers is overwhelmingly concerned with his character, blinded by his boyish vision, which they translated as characteristic of the age of empire. According to his official biographers, he must not be judged as a bad person but as simply human. In a book on the *Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition*, Rhodes is described in the following way: “Indeed he was very human, in spite of the mask of rigour and imperious will that confronts us in his portraits, like the ideal representation of a Roman Emperor or a Napoleon.”¹ The secret to understanding Cecil John Rhodes’s personality and how he wanted to be remembered, however, does not only lie in the literature produced long after his death but in the analysis of his will which stated unabashedly as to how he wanted to be buried. Rhodes *prescribed* his memory when he asked to be buried on the Matopo hills. The significance of his wish can be seen from what followed his death in Cape Town and the funeral journey to the Matopos. The event replayed his colonial vision of connecting the Cape to Cairo. In beginning with this theme, I want to show how his character was imagined as a memory of death foretold and how his death connected two countries, South Africa and the then Southern Rhodesia, monumentally and historically. The gigantic statues and memorials of Rhodes in highly elevated landscapes of Southern Africa suggest an imagined colossus and an empire builder. His fantasy of being associated with Napoleon Bonaparte, the French imperialist, can be seen as his inspiration to further imperialist ideas. To demonstrate his admiration from Napoleon he had collected a small sculpture of Napoleon which today is still kept in his bedroom at Groote Schuur house. The literature on the character of Rhodes can be classified into three frameworks: colonial, post-Union, apartheid and post-apartheid period.

Obviously Rhodes’ contemporaries, especially those who wrote along the grain of the discourse of empire, will always glorify him for his work. Most interesting in this respect is how his biographers have interpreted the historical myth of Cecil Rhodes. This paper attempts to scrutinise the following three issues in connection with Rhodes

¹ V.W. Hiller *The Story of Cecil Rhodes; Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition*, (Scotland: Glasgow 1953) p. 8.

life; firstly, a representation of Rhodes that celebrates him as a cultural icon, secondly, a representation of Rhodes that celebrates his economic achievement, and lastly, Rhodes as a contradiction between culture and economy.

The Cultural Biographies of Rhodes

Cecil John Rhodes was born on the 5th of July 1853 in, we are told, a typical English country town called Bishop's Stortford. He was the fifth son of Francis W. Rhodes, an Anglican minister.² At the age of eight Cecil began his studies as a dayboy at a local grammar school. Religion was said to be his favourite subject, and he also learnt French, the Classics, History, and Geography. According to Bates, Rhodes contemplated going into the ministry in his early years of adulthood:

Rhodes left grammar school when he was sixteen as Francis Rhodes wanted to conduct his son's education personally. The time had come to start thinking seriously about Cecil's future. The reverend Rhodes wanted the boy to follow in his footsteps and enter the church.³

This rather familiar beginning is intended to give Rhodes a human face. Rhodes, according to this biographical narrative, was the only one of Francis Rhodes' sons who furthered himself in his studies to a higher education at college. However, Rhodes didn't follow in his father's footsteps and he became, we are told, an empire-builder following his boyish dream. He grew up away from home, away from his families' guidance, along with his brother Herbert, in South Africa. The impact of his lung infection had forced him to find a place to recuperate in his illness; hence he migrated to South Africa. Rhodes's life story gave another meaning to his future as a British South African. Rhodes was destined to become an empire builder. But his was a destiny built on fortune not war.

Bates tells us that he criticised General Charles Gordon's response on refusing a roomful of gold offered him by the Chinese Government after suppressing the Tai-Ping rebellion. Rhodes thought that Gordon was foolish. Instead, his empire would be built on the idea that "it is no use to have big ideas if you have not the cash to carry

² N. Bates *Cecil Rhodes* (Great Britain: Wayland Publishers Limited 1976) p. 13.

³ N. Bates *Cecil Rhodes* (Great Britain: Wayland Publishers Limited 1976) p. 13.

them out.”⁴ It was this thought that furthered his economic achievements according to V.W. Hiller, another biographer of Rhodes who wrote in 1953. He meant to achieve his big ideas through his fortunes in the diamond mines and other businesses. This was a mission of conquest with money, not war.

This point highlights how he combined his imperial vision with money. Rhodes used his fortune to buy his way to the north. It was however his way of ‘civilising’ Africa that comprises his dream and big ideas, to be carried out through business consolidations under his Chartered Company. He was associated with Kipling and Baden-Powell in these ventures. According to Elleke Boehmer’s critical study of Rhodes biographical constructions:

men who were well networked across the empire established and promoted networks to perpetuate the Empire. Lest the focus on personalities obscure the fact, imperial networks were, in a sense, both operating through and constituting these men as imperial agents.”⁵

Contrary to this view, in conventional biographies the character of Rhodes describes his personality contributed to sharing the wealth of the globe amongst “Anglo-Saxons”. Rhodes and his friends had laid a foundation of racial ideology. The idea of painting the African map red and connecting all British colonies with railway lines and telegraphs was not only about accumulating wealth and networking but also about claiming racial superiority. Britain, in the scramble of Africa, was competing with other European countries. The idea of Anglo-Saxon race as superior race undermined not only the black subject treated as invisible but also other Europeans in the scramble of Africa. The distinguishing mark was perhaps the enterprising and resourced quality of Englishness that was born with the industrial revolution in the late eighteenth century and carried forward in the late nineteenth century by Rhodes.

In short, the conventional biographies of Rhodes, tell the story of a change from humble beginnings to greatness. It tells the story of economic ambition as the basis for empire rather than war. Rhodes is responsible for this shift and at the same time is helped along by the mineral revolutions in Southern Africa.

⁴ V.W. Hiller *The Story of Cecil Rhodes: Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition*, (Scotland: Glasgow 1953) p. 8.

⁵ Elleke Boehmer, “Global and Textual Webs in an Age of Transnational Capitalism; or what isn’t new about Empire”, *Postcolonial studies*, Volume 7, no 1, 2004, p. 18.

But another factor hampered Rhodes' passage to the north. This was the question of the relation between Boer and Briton. He may have had enough money to carry on his dreams to the north but the presence of Afrikaners, with their own settlement ambitions, obstructed him in creating a gateway to the north. Rhodes had found himself caught between his dreams and "ethnic" differences. He had found himself caught in the middle of British settler and Afrikaner trekker conflict. This tension between these "ethnic groups" was extended by the mineral discovery, which at the end brought in the Jameson raid and the Anglo Boer War (also known as the South African War).

In the commemoration lecture at Rhodes University in 1981, George Shepperson and William Robertson blamed Rhodes for the South African War of 1902. They argued that "if Rhodes had never lived, the Boer war might never have take place, a different form of South African union might come about peacefully, and the present geo-political situation in Southern Africa might have evolved on different lines."⁶ This critique rejects the notion of Rhodes as a unionist, an idea that is conveyed in colonial biographies. The history of Jan Van Riebeeck and the Boer republics tended to undermine his imperial project.

The cultural contradiction is even now preserved in Cape Town with its iconographic overlaps of Van Riebeeck and Rhodes as founding fathers of the city. Boehmer elevates this argument to another level. She argues that,

empire manages hybrid identities, flexible hierarchies, and plural exchanges through modulating networks of command. Empire of this sort is all-consuming, all-inclusive, everywhere, sustaining itself by ceaselessly staging, policing and commodifying forms of dissent-including, presumably, postcolonial critique itself."⁷

Rhodes biography gives the impression of having overcome the tensions of empire. But what it merely does, if we use Boehmer's argument, is that it replays the central

⁶ Rhodes Commemoration Lecture, by Prof. George A. Shepperson, et al, (1981) p. 3.

⁷ Elleke Boehmer, "Global and Textual Webs in an Age of Transnational Capitalism; or what isn't new about Empire", *Postcolonial studies*, Volume 7, no 1, 2004, p. 13.

contradictions of empire. The official colonial biography of Rhodes is an ideological defence of Englishness – otherwise known as Anglo-Saxon heritage.

From Van Riebeeck to Rhodes and Beyond

Colonial histories of Rhodes have found their way into later public histories in apartheid Southern Africa. Two examples are the Van Riebeeck Festival of 1952 and the Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia in 1953. In both, Rhodes emerges as a unifier and as a symbol of Union.

Leslie Witz's "*Apartheid's Festival*" gives us a description of the role given to Rhodes in a festival about the founding of modern South Africa. Rhodes' character and Van Riebeeck emerged in the festival as white heritage, bound together by an attempt to weave disparate "cultural scripts of whiteness."⁸ Whereas the 1952 festival looked back on the origin, 1953 looked ahead to a new imperialist beginning. Whites in the then Rhodesia addressed their position as British subjects in contrast to Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa. According to Witz

Van Riebeeck, in his English guise of a rural landlord, is reinforced as the initiator of the civilising mission in southern Africa and his landing is being painted onto the canvas of the past as the starting point of history that Bell had helped to make.⁹

This was the first British South Africans' public initiative to insert their identity in the myth of founding white South African heritage. Indeed, it was Rhodes who commissioned the insertion of this identity. As Witz argues

the identity of the claimant, in this instance, was clear: it was Cecil John Rhodes, the major proponent of British imperial ambitions in southern Africa in the late nineteenth century. Rhodes was insistent that it be his name, and not the Scottish sculptor's John Tweed, which would appear on the final product."¹⁰

⁸ L. Witz *Apartheid's Festival: contesting South Africa's National Pasts*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2003).

⁹ L. Witz, *Apartheid's Festival: contesting South Africa's National Pasts*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2003) p. 42.

¹⁰ L. Witz, *Apartheid's Festival: contesting South Africa's National Pasts*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2003) p. 43.

Firstly, the sculptors name was substituted with that of Rhodes. Secondly, Rhodes association with Van Riebeeck meant that he was now claiming an invented Dutch past. This substitution introduces a dualism in claims to Cape ancestry. Rhodes according to this view was not just recording his name on the sculpture but also erecting British culture in the Dutch heritage as overlapping identities.

If Rhodes was introduced as an ethnic marker in 1952, in 1953 he is introduced as an icon of an imperial mission. The memory of Rhodes in conjunction with Rhodes Centenary Exhibition (RCE) embraced his idea of equal rights with no exception of colour. It has recently been argued by Allison Shutt and Tony King that

not only did the RCE come at a convenient time for Rhodesia, but it also established a contrast with the Van Riebeeck commemoration in South Africa the year before. Both festivals had similar aims to assimilate white immigrants and provide a justification of white rule, but the RCE differed in that it hoped to introduced white immigrants to the tentative inclusion of Africans as increasingly acceptable partners in the formation of Rhodesian identity.¹¹

This speaks to the capitalist ethic of his brand of imperialism. Rhodes imagined Southern Africa, as a small village in or of England and his developmental plans were to convert it to such an English village. This was realised when he promoted telegraph lines, railway lines and equal rights as part of legislation governing a British lifestyle in Southern Africa. The experimental implementation of this kind of cooperation, a risk-taking for white Rhodesians however honoured Rhodes's memory through the myth and histories. It was built on a colonial foundation. In this manner White Rhodesians saw themselves as different from Afrikaner nationalists. To draw this distinction they overemphasised their relation with a select number of "African intellectuals like Michael Hove."¹² Rhodes was quoted:

my motto is equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambezi." And further, "what is a civilized man? A man, whether white or black, who has sufficient education to write his name, has some property or works, in fact, is not a loafer."¹³

¹¹ Allison K. Shutt and Tony King, "Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 31, no2 June 2005, p. 378.

¹² Allison K. Shutt and Tony King, "Imperial Rhodesians: The 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 31, no2 June 2005, p. 368.

¹³ V.W. Hiller *The Story of Cecil Rhodes: Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition*, (Scotland: Glasgow 1953) p. 50.

What this unity did not say was that Rhodes was taking that cultural logic into the sphere of economic expansion. The concept of culture and heritage had a contradictory meaning for his contemporaries especially when he declared equal rights to every man in the southern African region including blacks. It recalled Rhodes' encounter with pre-colonial African kingdoms.

In looking to where this myth and history originated, we have to consider a time when Rhodes proclaimed Rhodesia, currently known as Zimbabwe and Zambia. It has been argued that Rhodes sent Robert Moffat to sign a concession with Lobengula, the king of Ndebele people. It was at this point, at the height of his economic and political success, that he first came into contact with Ndebele people.

In October 1888, he negotiated a contract that saw Mzilikazi's son, Lobengula, signing away the mineral rights to what eventually became the British South Africa Company. It was this land that the so-called "Pioneer Column" later took over by force, better known as Matabeleland in the 1890s.¹⁴



The official occupation of the Matabeleland was after 1893 at the time of Rhodes' premiership in the Cape Colony. But the final defeat of the Ndebele people can be drawn from the famous indaba, a meeting with Ndebele chiefs, which saw Rhodes' wish to be buried in those mountains of Matopos being fulfilled and an agreement that saw Ndebele people as subordinates of the "Pioneer Column". Rhodes is described by his official biographers as a very persuasive and a good negotiator through his "so-called" peace treaty with the Ndebele chiefs. Following his death, Rhodes was buried alongside Mzilikazi on the 10th of April 1902. It was reported to be the beauty and wildness of the place that first attracted him. This is well captured in a description of a journalist at the turn of the century:

a marvelous view is obtained from the top of the world's view. The country round seems to be debris-a-shattered world of compressed piled rocks, woodland, and kopjes in every shape and form. An immense dam closes the

¹⁴S. Lunderstedt *The King of Diamonds* (Kimberley: Kimberley Marketing and Promotions 2002) p. 47.

valley or wall from which is bounded by the Matopos hills to the left. In these hills is the spot where Moselikatze lies buried.”¹⁵

It was this vista that seduced Rhodes and drew his attention away from the Cape politics and put his focus in building Rhodesia. He chose the Matopos and an honour given to Ndebele people suggested a permanent peace between white Rhodesians and Ndebele people.

As the prior burial of king Mzilikazi suggests, the Matopo hills had a history of their own that predated Rhodes’ arrival. Matopos, like the whole “Rhodesian” countryside, was inhabited for centuries, indeed millennia, before its annexation by empire-builders. Africans had a rich history, culture and social life associated with the area. So it would be inadequate to write about what was reshaped by Rhodes and leave out the relationship of this area to its indigenous people. Ranger also notes that the people of the Matopos used the hills as a cemetery for their chiefs.¹⁶ When Mzilikazi asked to be buried there in 1868, it was a burial in an established tradition:

The bones of the rulers of the indigenous natives (not the Matabele) were placed in a cave in the Matopos known as Murindidzimu, the bones being covered with stones. Mzilikazi himself was buried in Entumbane cave, a cleft among great boulders situated on the very edge of the hills overlooking the Umzingane valley. His personal bodyguard, the Inyati regiment, was appointed as guard of honour at the grave, to keep away intruders, to prevent veld fires and to sing the king’s praise songs. Black cattle too were regularly sacrificed to his spirit and mourners paid pilgrimages.¹⁷

Like the insertion of his name on Van Riebeeck’s sculpture, Rhodes’ burial in the Matopos is very similar to that idea. Up to this point my analysis of Rhodes achievement resembles a contradiction between culture and economy. It was part of this culture Rhodes once wanted to emulate in order to win the Ndebeles’ loyalty. His funeral extended its representation as a monumental event to a connective cultural identity between South Africa and Rhodesia. Hence Rhodes was a hero of white Southern Africans. In the same way that Rhodes inscribed himself in the founding

¹⁵ *Cape Times*, 09 April 1902.

¹⁶ T.O. Ranger *Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture and History on the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe* (Indiana: Indiana University Press 1999) p. 4.

¹⁷ T.O. Ranger *Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture and History on the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe* (Indiana: Indiana University Press 1999) p. 19.

narrative of Afrikaner nationalism, so too did he attempt to inscribe himself in the African landscape more generally.

Critiquing the Economic Basis of Imperialism:

Rhodes is implicated in every recent critique of imperialism. He is seen as exemplary of the story of African expropriation, capitalism, cultural genocide and cultural change. If we are to dislodge Rhodes's memory, these critiques of imperialism are important to consider.

Basil Davidson (1978) pointed out that a standpoint on the question of imperialism results in another problem. According to Davidson "this standpoint sees the 'colonial period' not as an episode but as an interlude of complex and often contradictory consequences, precisely because the new imperialism did not operate in a vacuum but within the packed arena of ongoing African society."¹⁸ Davidson argues that Africans had their own societies and culture before and during their encounter with Europeans. Colonists, in this view, never operate in an empty space, there were indigenous people whom they subjected, controlled and exploited for their capitalist interests. Africans in this regard were turned into colonial subjects.

No matter how inferior and primitive Africans were according to Europeans, they had their pre-colonial history outside colonial history. And their historical existence will never be erased by western civilisation or ideas of racial inferiority. Yet, Davidson argues that, "taxation in cash turns farmers into proletarians, and a trail of devastation marks course."¹⁹ This point also connects to capitalist solutions to the so-called "native labour problem" which implicates Rhodes in exploiting Africans and expropriating land and livestock.

In particular, Davidson writes about Rhodes as imposing such a project in Southern Africa. Rhodes came up with Cape Colony Act of 1894 which imposed a tax in cash, of ten shillings, on fit adult males so that, as Prime Minister Cecil Rhodes blandly explained, "rural producers might be removed from their life of sloth and idleness,

¹⁸ B. Davidson *Africa in the Modern History: the Search for a New Society*, (England: Penguin 1978) p 18.

¹⁹ B. Davidson *Africa in the Modern History: the Search for a New Society*, (England: Penguin 1978) p 24.

and made to give some return for our wise and good government.”²⁰ The process that unfolded is well known in South African radical history. As Davidson puts it, “the idea took on fast. To pay cash taxes, Africans would have to earn cash: almost invariably in that period, this meant leaving their villages for European employment.”²¹ Money became a pull factor that forced Africans to leave farming practice to look for a cash payment labour in the cities. This form of migrant labour system enforced the outsider’s dominance to control the Africans. He also argues that “much of the initial drive for conquest and enclosure came from those segments of middle-class European society that stood outside the ring of real economic power.”²²

The idea of imperialism was planned to destroy the “so-called” African primitive subsistence farming communities, so that a new form of European commercial farming could take control. This was meant to exploit Africans through hard labour with low wages. Davidson suggests that

the total effect, and not only in these equatorial colonies, was to stop or frustrate African economic effort at expanding pre-colonial African productive and trading activities, while, at the same time, impressing very large numbers of Africans into effectively wage-less labour on behalf of companies which had not the slightest interest in promoting African welfare, let alone African development.²³

The concession signed by Lobengula the king of the Matebele saw him loosing the full control of his country. Rhodes abused Lobengula’s trust.

Davidson describes Rhodes as a racist and his ideology was justified by his policies and stereotypes towards Africans. This view challenges the production of Rhodes in the festival of 1953. Davidson builds his argument around three themes. Firstly, he points to the cultural chauvinism of Rhodes. Secondly, he examines how Rhodes betrayed African kings. And finally, he sees Rhodes as the reason for African resistance.

²⁰ B. Davidson *Africa in the Modern History: the Search for a New Society*, (England: Penguin 1978) p. 110.

²¹ B. Davidson *Africa in the Modern History: the Search for a New Society*, (England: Penguin 1978) p. 110.

²² B. Davidson *Africa in the Modern History: the Search for a New Society*, (England: Penguin 1978) p. 76.

²³ B. Davidson *Africa in History: Themes and Outlines*, (USA: Collier, 1991) p. 292.

Rhodes, says Davidson, helped to invent a doctrine of new racism which held the African as “idle both by habit and nature.”²⁴ Nativism was a European invention in this argument and was used to stereotype Africans by claiming their difference from Europeans. This image is conveyed in paintings of Rhodes meetings with African chiefs in the Matopos which fix the empire builder’s dominance.

Secondly, the Chartered Company that Rhodes headed, monitored and drew up economic goals for the empire, which encouraged colonial expansion. I am picking up on this point to position Rhodes as an economic engineer of the British South African Company’s contribution to the cultural and economic conditions of empire. The concessions were used by some African rulers, such as the Asante king in 1895 to extend international trade. Even though the British government under Chamberlain refused the offer, it was clear that Rhodes’ company had created the basis for relations between Africans and British. But Rhodes had negotiated his concessions with Lobengula in bad faith. Davidson (1984) argues Lobengula wrote to the queen twice and the first response was constructive and cautioned him about giving away his land. However, on the contrary it has been argued that “quite without consulting Lobengula or any other African authority, the company was likewise authorised by Queen Victoria’s charter to make and enforce laws, raise and maintain a police force, and undertake “public works” as well as opening mines.”²⁵ That Rhodes obliged tells us that he was not sincere in his relations with African rulers.

Finally, Davidson tells us that if African kings or governments should then object to the broader work of the company, that would be called rebellion.²⁶ Rhodes’ action was backed by this policy, which counteracted his opponents to fast track, his concession with Lobengula. Again the British control of distant colonies was mediated by Queen Victoria’s charter that gave British agents of imperialism, like Rhodes, power to colonise African states irrespective of African kings authority. When Lobengula realised that he had been tricked into signing a concession his reaction was associated with rebellion. The ‘Pioneer Column’ took over in 1893.

²⁴ B. Davidson *The Story of Africa*, (London: Mitchell Beazley 1984) p. 181.

²⁵ B. Davidson *The story of Africa*, (London: Mitchell Beazley 1984) p. 178.

²⁶ B. Davidson *The story of Africa*, (London: Mitchell Beazley 1984) p. 178.

African history is full of deception, resistance and colonial expansion. Lobengula's persuasion to sign the concession was completed by sending a group of pioneers to take over the country.

Davidson highlights racism, notions of pre-colonial Africa, concessions and the signing of treaties with the chiefs, 'rebellions,' reserve system, indirect rule and finally the migrant labour system as key to understanding the relationship between colonialism and imperialism. He situates Rhodes as a connection between the two. While Davidson's rendering is important, it does not account sufficiently for the cultural undertones of imperialism.

In South Africa, Africans were not only used for working in the mines, on farms and performing other manual chores for whites. They were used in the South African War and in the world wars as part of the larger project of empire. The white exclusion of Africans in the union of 1910 and after was not co-incidental in the story of capitalist industrialisation. Instead, it is premised on the idea of Rhodes' biography and his legacy which served to remind Africans of their place in empire. Africans as they were always meant to appreciate the good governance of Europeans were segregated to the reserves after the war. Chiefs were to act as the puppets of the white government hence indirect rule was introduced to control Africans at a distance and served as the origins of the idea of separate development.

Another compelling critique of imperialism is drawn from Hobsbawm's book '*The Age of Empire*' published in 1987. The central theme of his book is on the turning point of western imperialism which is derived from the title. However, the most significant date in the age of empire is August 1914. Its significance was the outbreak of the First World War. The age of empire in his opinion is still our heritage, much like the lasting legacy of Rhodes. Like Davidson, Hobsbawm's story of empire links colonialism and imperialism. In other words, it gives us a way to locate Rhodes in a larger framework of international capital. If Davidson shows how Rhodes' legacy gave rise to African resistance Hobsbawm gives us a larger picture of the tensions of empire that undermined the leading position of the great imperialist.

Hobsbawm drafted events in a chronological order to argue about the ages of empire. These are the age of revolution 1789-1848, the age of capital 1848-1875 and the age of empire, which was terminated by the outbreak of the First World War. The end of these eras created the most memorable and continuous tension in the western countries. Moreover, this tension threatened the bourgeois class in Europe. The outbreak of the First World War saw the end of private enterprise, of the kind made popular by Rhodes, and the states were actively involved in the economic prosperity. Hobsbawm argues that the memories of the First World War mark the fall of the era of the age of empire. We might say that this is the true burial of Rhodes.

Hobsbawm in his study is describing how much damage this turn caused in European countries. According to Hobsbawm 1914 was a turning point in the centuries of imperialism and the uncertainties of the regimes and revolutions that followed were the results of the outbreak of the First World War. The memories and biographies of Rhodes come from this era of demise, when it became necessary to construct a nostalgic sense of the great imperial past. Hobsbawm also suggests that, “today’s world was shaped by what one might call the historical landscape left behind by the age of empire and its collapse.”²⁷ Hence even now, when tracing the history of imperialism you will find the history of European middle class most significant. Rhodes is an icon of this class and its relations to the story of imperialism. His monumentalisation represents the imperial past on the African landscape.

New Cultural Critiques of Imperialism

The cultural narrative of imperialism read through the biographic production of Rhodes draws inspiration from recent postcolonial criticism, especially the work of Edward Said. Said’s *Culture and Imperialism* analyses both nineteenth and twentieth century imperialism by using literature. In his analysis he uses novels and poetry written for Western audiences and against prevailing notions of Western imperialism, underpinning the projection of imperialism both in the imperialist and colonized point of view. He delves into issues around separatism and nativism. Both concepts are fundamental to the idea of western civilisation.

²⁷ E.J. Hobsbawm *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, (Great Britain: Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1987) p. 336

Said's importance for a study on Rhodes is that he not only allows for a critique of dominant culture, as in the early biographies of Rhodes, but he also cautions against over-emphasising economic factors. *Culture and Imperialism* is a text that allows us to examine the multiple productions of a figure such as Rhodes without sacrificing a critical stand on his colonial past. As Said puts it:

one of imperialism's achievements was to bring the world closer together although in the process the separation between Europeans and natives was an insidious and fundamentally unjust one. Most of us should now regard the historical experience of empire as a common one."²⁸

He addresses two important reasons for his focus on culture and imperialism. The idea has a lot to do "with projections, whether in fiction or geography or art [that] acquires a continuous presence through actual expansion, administration, investment, and commitment."²⁹ Said's mediation was conceived in his academic experiences in seeking to scrutinise and critically analyse the notion of western domination over its colonies. As such he is arguing for a cultural reinterpretation of imperialism.

Said is so adamant that culture is not monolithic. Settlers' movement and encounter of different cultures can be influenced by other cultures. He argues, "western imperialism and third world nationalism feed off each other, but even at their worst they are neither monolithic nor deterministic."³⁰ With this point he is arguing that western culture is subject to the influences of other cultures and that the European encounter with natives of these distance colonies had complicated the monumentalisation of western culture. He even concludes that the fortunes and misfortunes of nationalism resemble separatism and nativism.

In relation to Rhodes, this would imply that we consider the texts through which he is mediated and by which he emerges as a founding icon of imperialism and Southern African nationalism. Said's description of the main aim of imperialism and how it became a subject of imperial discourse can be associated with the scramble for Africa and the cultural conditions for this expansion. Imperialists like Rhodes saw Africa as a sparsely inhabited place that could accommodate British settlers and prosper them

²⁸ E.W. Said *Culture and Imperialism*, (Great Britain: Vintage 1993) p. xxiv.

²⁹ E.W. Said *Culture and Imperialism*, (Great Britain: Vintage 1993) p. xxvi.

³⁰ E.W. Said *Culture and Imperialism*, (Great Britain: Vintage 1993) p. xxvii.

with enough land for agriculture and moreover with mineral resources, as well as strengthen British economic and political power. Said argues that

what otherwise honorable explorers thought and did may be seen in the writings of men like Cecil Rhodes and his mineral-hunting agents, ready as they were to present themselves as honest allies of their African friends so long as the treaties were secured – the treaties through which ‘effective occupation’ could be proved to each other by the governments or private interests which they served and formed.³¹

If western civilisation was like that there was no benefit for Africans in it except their loss of land and hard labour as a price for friendliness to Europeans. Said is saying that cultural encounters were often the source of unequal exchanges.

Rhodes as icon who combines culture and imperialism can be measured through his legacy, which then included his Rhodesia, his Chartered Company, his pieces of land and money that were left to the nation after his death. I wish to return to the point I made earlier that he wrote his monument before he died in order to explore this connection more closely. Rhodes’ public history competes at an equal level with academic literature on him hence his name remains un-erased in Southern African history. He was an imperialist, a British agent who thought that African continent was meant for Britain. According to Said “this point of view marched in step with Europe’s overwhelming expansion of power and wealth, with its political strength and resilience and sophistication, with its belief in somehow being the elected continent of God.”³²

Said concludes his analysis with his reference to the most recent history of emancipation, where he stressed that multiculturalism must not suppress the original history. He argues

what does need to be remembered is that narratives of emancipation and enlightenment in their strongest form were also narratives of integration not separation, the stories of people who had been excluded from the main group but who were now fighting for a place in it. And if the old and habitual ideas of the main group were not flexible or generous enough to admit new groups, then

³¹ E.W. Said *Culture and Imperialism*, (Great Britain: Vintage 1993) p. 120.

³² E.W. Said *Culture and Imperialism*, (Great Britain: Vintage 1993) p. 120.

these ideas need changing—a far better thing to do than reject the emerging groups.³³

For Said the idea of nativism and separatism can be resolved by integrating those native histories to the main history. The acceptance of this history of pre-colonial and colonial history weighs the same. The lack of opportunity that natives had in not being able to write their history does not mean that their narratives fall out of the mainstream or Europeans were operating in a vacuum. And moreover, a change can be brought through uncovering the past and only these narratives can bring integration of these groups together.

Cooper and Stoler, in keeping with Said's intervention, help us to locate Rhodes in the "Tensions of Empire". Their collection of essays helps us to understand the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised differently to earlier political economy notions. Combined, the papers assembled in their book explore different issues around empires and the impact of imperialism in the colonies. I will draw my argument on relevant themes as these papers address issues in a broader spectrum. My focus will be based on the impact of British influences in her colonies. Cooper and Stoler argue

we have tried to keep our focus firmly on a set of tensions particular to European imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: between the universalizing claims of European ideology and the particularistic nature of conquest and rule, the limitations posed on rulers by the reproduction of difference as much as by the heightened degree of exploitation and domination that colonization entailed.³⁴

Between two centuries they analyse the impact of western civilisation in "native" colonies. These Metropoles were the sources of dominant cultures, which authorised the implementation of rules and the development of the colonies for their benefit. Cooper and Stoler argue

its newness was part of the making of bourgeois Europe, with its contradictions and pretensions as much as its technological, organizational, and ideological

³³ E.W. Said *Culture and Imperialism*, (Great Britain: Vintage 1993) p. xxx.

³⁴ F. Cooper and A.L. Stoler *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Culture in a Bourgeois World*, (California: University of California Press 1997) p. iv.

accomplishments. The bourgeoisie aspired to be, as Karl Marx called it, a “universal class,” yet it marked its distinctiveness in particular cultural forms.³⁵

Amongst this class were a group of missionaries who brought religion as a form of civilisation. A shortage of labour was also caused by an obliteration of slave trade early in the 19th century. An alternative had to be made for the need of labour for agriculture hence conversion. Stoler and Cooper write “in pursuing a “civilising mission” designed to make colonised populations into disciplined agriculturalists or workers and obedient subjects of a bureaucratic state, colonial states opened up a discourse on the question of just how much “civilising” would have in store.”³⁶ Among the education curricula that were suggested to suit the natives was the one a Dutch official called “perfected natives, not imitation Europeans.”³⁷

Nonetheless, the most convenient way of civilising Africans was through using African leaders as suggested by Stoler and Cooper. They argue

watchtower participants constructed religious networks and beliefs that stressed the utter irrelevance of the legitimizing structure that officials had attempted to put in place, one built around the idea of traditional authority that was negotiated with African chiefs under the system of indirect rule.³⁸

The victory that earned Rhodes an honour of being a good negotiator during the indaba with the Ndebele chiefs celebrates this imperialist idea and power. This kind of assimilation confused the African chiefs because they were encouraged to keep their position but it was a question of how that benefited the Europeans. On the other hand it was still the very same system that undermined the African tradition as converts were encouraged to western tradition. Even on that note boundaries were set on racial lines to keep a clear distinction between the subjects and the colonists.

³⁵ F. Cooper and A.L. Stoler *Tensions of Empire; Colonial Culture in a Bourgeois World*, (California: University of California Press 1997) p. 2.

³⁶ F. Cooper and A.L. Stoler *Tensions of Empire; colonial culture in a bourgeois world*, (California: University of California Press 1997) p. 7.

³⁷ F. Cooper and A.L. Stoler *Tensions of Empire, Colonial Culture in a Bourgeois World*, (California: University of California Press 1997) p. 7.

³⁸ F. Cooper and A.L. Stoler *Tensions of Empire; Colonial Culture in a Bourgeois World*, (California: University of California Press 1997) p. 8.

But this had never qualified missionary education as a workable solution for need of labour. Instead it worsened the antislavery situation. Africans, to quote Rhodes, “were taught the importance of labour [and] working for the white man.”³⁹ According to Stoler et al

the expansion of Christianity was increasingly promoted as an adjunct to the expansion of “legitimate” commerce, a means of “civilising” the world’s “barbaric races,” now considered peculiarly susceptible to savage cruelties like slavery. Thus were Africa and Africans transformed in the course of Britain’s age of reform from the victims to the villains of antislavery invective.⁴⁰

The use of Christianity as a substitute for slavery encouraged commercial growth, which saw Africans as victims while whites prosper in their land. The relevance of this however, was that Rhodes also referred to Africans as barbaric and backward in need of western civilization, a view that resonates with liberal qualifications on equality in South African in later years. The concept of religion came in handy in the exploitation of Christianity for the success of the so-called civilizing mission of Africa. Africans right from slavery were already inseeded in Christian belief as a method of behaviour and obedience. However, Christian education didn’t help very much in fulfilling that ideology hence Africans used it to strengthen their hope for liberation.

The concept of imperialism was a tricky one. It did not only down play the Christian ideology of civilisation but also extended on territorial expansion and colonial rule. This can be figured in the basis of control, exploitation and appropriation of land on Africans, which emerged in the construction of western identity for the benefit of the empire. Stoler et al wrote,

following the definition given by Lenin, imperialism is a technical word indicating a particular stage in the evolution of any capitalist society. Such an imperialist state has a number of special features, one which is a propensity to acquire or control dependent societies; and this tendency is not restricted to any particular period of time.⁴¹

³⁹ F. Cooper and A.L. Stoler *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Culture in a Bourgeois World*, (California: University of California Press 1997) p. 249.

⁴⁰ F. Cooper and A.L. Stoler *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Culture in a Bourgeois World*, (California: University of California Press 1997) p. 249.

⁴¹ D.K. Fieldhouse *The Theory of Capitalist Imperialism: Problem and Perspective in History*, (London: Longman 1967) p. xiii.

The most contradictory notion is that of European implementation of civilization in the expense of racial superiority and the construction of African history through in the eyes of white man using their own discretion.

Getting Beyond Rhodes

A century after his death, Rhodes is still tied with imperialism and his memory presented itself very strongly in the imperial discourse. After his death Rhodes not only bequeathed his land to the nation but he bought his name from the world through his finances including his scholarship. The monumentalisation of Rhodes can be found in every literature on imperialism, whether critiquing him or glorifying him. However Rhodes was not the only icon of imperialism but his name is in every book, why? South Africa on the other hand holds on to his legacy, which was nationalised after his death. Rhodes's wish in his will that his house at Groote Schuur estate should be used as an official residence for the Prime Minister of federated Southern African states is still used as a residential property for parliamentarians, including the president. However, few changes took place when the post-apartheid government assumed power in 1994. South Africa is no longer a federal state and the main house at Groote Schuur fell out of favour as a presidential house, especially for the post-apartheid leaders. This project is about the monumentalisation of Rhodes in the 20th century and the linking of his legacy to the nation.

Rhodes' friends took his death very seriously in 1902. The following of his wish to be buried in the Matopo hills was not the only monumental event under his name. It was also a moment when Rhodes's name was documented in literature and also inserted in public spaces. Some historical public spaces were chosen to erect statues and memorials for Rhodes, a hero of white Southern Africa. In Cape Town alone, Rhodes' statues were erected in the Company Gardens near South African Library and another one below the upper campus and above the rugby field facing down the Cape Flats at the University of Cape Town. There is also a famous Rhodes Memorial on Devils Peak just above the University of Cape Town. These commanding spaces suggest two things about his character, an empire builder and a great thinker. The marks of imperialism in the public spaces insert and install Rhodes' name in the history of

South Africa. And the question is to what extent shall we continue producing a history that has an official stamp of Cecil John Rhodes on it?

I am asking this question because not only Rhodes Memorial and his statues occupied public spaces in the history of South Africa; there is also Rhodes cottage in Muizenberg and his main house in Groote Schuur estate that still maintain a colonial legacy. The influence inserted by these properties in South African history not only keep Rhodes's name continuing but also encourages a static and unbreakable history of imperialism. Historians complicated the issue by problematising the connection between Rhodes and imperialism. The South African government is also tied up by the question of how to present Rhodes and his legacy in each period there is a change of the system of government. Rhodes cottage was converted in the memory of Rhodes to a national monument and since 1938 it was known as the Rhodes Cottage Museum. It had and still has to collect and display the furniture used by Rhodes before he died and it must also display a diorama of his grave in the Matopos, especially since he died in the cottage. It also includes a history about him. However, the cottage museum does not fit an acceptable standard of history and it must be closed.

Groote Schuur estate was given to the state after the union of 1910 under a special act called Rhodes' will (Groote Schuur devolution) Act No. 9 of 1910 for the transfer of the property to the nation. From a text written by Simons, I was struck by these introductory words on the cover his book; 'no other house can claim to be as 'South African' as Groote Schuur. Not only does it bear the stamp of this country's history, but since 1657 it has played – and still plays – a role in that history.' The notes provide very interesting points to think about, like which and whose history and which one is still plays a role in that history?

The historical productions of Cecil John Rhodes in the twentieth century Cape Town is just a limitation of the study since I do not have enough resources to cover the larger concept of this historical production of Cecil Rhodes. I have not drawn much attention from his scholarship and Zimbabwe since that can be useful in a bigger project than a mini-thesis. The areas I have chosen for this mini-thesis in Cape Town alone are enough to build a strong argument about the historical productions of Cecil John Rhodes. Groote Schuur alone has been publicly central in the historical

productions of Cecil John Rhodes and the reproduction of its history. The existence and the maintenance of the house and the estate claim its existence from the owner, Cecil John Rhodes. If this man has done so much for the country is that grant him a position in each regime when there is a new government in power? And finally, this project looks at Rhodes as an imperialist, a founder of apartheid and a “rainbow nation.” However the question is, will this fantasy about Rhodes ever cease, or will it stop when his finances are dried out, or maybe when there is really nothing to write about him? Or is it the fulfilment of what Rhodes contemporaries claimed that he said he wanted to be remembered for at least four thousand years? This project will be divided into three main sections: Rhodes Cottage Museum in Muizenberg, the Rhodes Groote Schuur estate and the manor house, and Rhodes statues in the Company Gardens and at the University of Cape Town and the Rhodes Memorial on Devils Peak. Ultimately, my aim is to ask whether after all is said and done in the name of Cecil John Rhodes, we can truly get beyond his disastrous legacy, The answer to that question must reside in how Rhodes is allowed to inhabit our present, Can we in fact live without Rhodes and the scars he has left on the African landscape?



Chapter Two
The Bust of Cecil John Rhodes

The Rhodes Cottage Museum should be closed. If the Bushmen diorama in the South African Museum was closed because it proved to be offensive to black people, the Rhodes Cottage Museum must be closed because it presents a timeless and unproblematic history of imperialism. In this history Rhodes is presented as an iconic figure of unity and a white South African hero. The cottage does not meet an acceptable standard of history and the requirements of a post-apartheid rewriting of history. I intend to construct an argument by reviewing its position in post-apartheid history of South Africa and looking at its displays and the sources that covers the historical production of a cottage museum. This chapter drew its inspiration from Tony Bennett's book, *"The Birth of the Museum,"* which challenges our understanding of the museum, placing it at the centre of modern relations of culture and government. He argues, "the public museum should be understood not just as a place of instruction but as a reformatory of manners in which a wide range of regulated social routines and performance take place."¹ In this chapter I do not intend to narrate the history of the cottage but to show that its image as museum has problematic consequences in our history. The Rhodes Cottage Museum is run by ratepayers, many of whom are still obsessed with Rhodes. They intend to keep this cottage as part of Rhodes' legacy. The cottage itself is only meant to display the 19th century histories of Cecil John Rhodes, and proves to be unproductive and alienated from the history of the present. For the younger generation the cottage on its own has no meaning. It is in this context that I argue that it does not meet an acceptable standard of history in post-apartheid South Africa. Over and above the management of this cottage as a museum lacks proper running from the beginning which makes me ask this question: why is Rhodes's cottage so important to these ratepayers? In this chapter I will use the history of its inception as a museum to try and construct an argument on how banal, static and nostalgic these collections are in our history.

¹ T. Bennett, *The birth of the Museum*, (London: Routledge 1995).

Rhodes Cottage Museum contributes to Rhodes' memory as a place of his death. This memory has been constructed to juxtapose his burial place in the Matopos with the place of his death. To do this a diorama in one of the rooms in the cottage and an imitative alabaster bust of Cecil John Rhodes has been erected on the spot where he died. Both the bust and the diorama connect the story of his death and the funeral on the Matopo hills. In the transformation of the cottage to a museum, Rhodes's deathbed was said to be stolen and was replaced by the bust. This chapter is trying to contest the memorialisation of Cecil John Rhodes in the cottage by calling attention to the banality of representation. It draws its interest in these banal details in the refurbishment of the cottage, which I believe is utterly useless for history. My argument is that there is no point in the opening of this cottage as a museum because of its useless and timeless representation of imperial past. It does not produce the histories that meet an acceptable standard of a museum. It has no future in the new South Africa as it has an identity of imperialism with no epistemological contribution in the construction of post-apartheid history. It maintained that Rhodes once owned a property in Muizenberg and coincidentally he died there nothing more stimulating about the cottage.



A century after his death, Rhodes is still tied to the discourse of imperialism through the memory of that historic process. After his death, Rhodes not only bequeathed "his land" to the nation but also registered himself as an iconic figure of imperialism through his finances, his scholarship and his Groote Schuur estate which honored him a place in national and world history. As it is still the case in South Africa, Rhodes's legacy is claimed to be a national asset. The monumentalisation of Rhodes can be found in all the literature on imperialism, whether critiquing him or glorifying him. South Africa holds on to Rhodes legacy that was nationalised after his death. Trevor Oliver, a curator and a member of Muizenberg Historical Society at Rhodes Cottage Museum argues that "Rhodes listed all his properties in his will and the cottage was left out by mistake. The Rhodes cottage was incidentally mentioned, it happened to be a place where he died."² To show that was not a priority when he drafted the will, he bought the cottage four

² Interview with Trevor Oliver and Joy Gibbs members of Muizenberg Historical Conversation Society, and curators of Rhodes Cottage Museum, Rhodes Cottage Museum, Muizenberg, February 01, 2005

months before his final will. If it has been left out by mistake, why did he not include it when he reviewed his will in July the same year?

Rhodes's friends took his death very seriously in 1902. Following his wish to be buried on the Matopo hills was not the only monumental event conducted after Rhodes's death. It was also a moment when Rhodes's name was documented in literature and also inserted in public spaces. To commemorate Rhodes as a hero of white southern Africa and an icon of imperialism, significant spaces in his life were chosen to erect his statues and monuments. In Cape Town alone, Rhodes' statues were erected in the Company Gardens near the South African Library and another one below the University of Cape Town campus. There is also a famous landmark, Rhodes Memorial on Devils Peak just above the University of Cape Town. These marks of imperialism in the public spaces insert and install Rhodes' name in the history of South Africa.

There is also Rhodes cottage in Muizenberg and his main house at Groote Schuur estate. The influence inserted by these monuments and properties in South African history not only extend Rhodes's name but also lend themselves to a static and unbreakable history of imperialism. The critique of Rhodes coexists with his glorification. The specter of Rhodes haunts South African history. The historical productions of Cecil John Rhodes features in every regime. In his study of Apartheid's Festival, Witz for example argues that:

although Rhodes was not exalted and placed on the same level as Van Riebeeck, as the writer Sarah Gertrude Millin had hoped he would be (as she expressed in an article in the Anglo-American Corporation's journal, *Optima*), he became, alongside Kruger, part of three hundred years of a South African past, proudly proclaimed as an "apostle of Apartheid – the separation, apartness, of black from white."³

³ L. Witz *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2003) p. 141.

After 1948, Rhodes was publicly presented as an apostle of apartheid and a founding father of modern South Africa. His pairing with Kruger, who was his opponent, emerged as an idea of reconciliation and unity between the Britons and Afrikaners.

It is not surprising that the inception of the museum coincided with the apartheid festival and contributed to the restoration of Rhodes in South African history. Rhodes Cottage Museum was finally opened in 1953, a year after Van Riebeeck's festival. The significance of its opening coincided with Rhodes Centenary Birth held in Southern Rhodesia, which helped a lot in collecting the exhibitions for the museum. This was not only about associating Rhodes with apartheid but also a commemoration of "white icons." Rhodes Centenary Birth and the first landing of Van Riebeeck at the Cape emerged in the idea of white heritage in southern Africa. Van Riebeeck was a father of apartheid in South Africa while Rhodes in Southern Rhodesia emerged from the idea of introducing immigrant whites in the founding myth of Rhodesia and incorporated black middle class in their heritage.



In producing the history of Rhodes in the cottage reports and recommendations of the City Council are very important for this study because they are the main sources in the construction of the exhibition for the cottage museum. They have selected histories of Rhodes up to the time of his death. Since there is nothing academically written about the cottage, this chapter intends to draw its attention on the critique of representation of the cottage as Rhodes asset and its position as a memorial of Cecil John Rhodes.

The lack of history in the sources broadened the question of monumentalisation of Rhodes and the significances of the cottage to the public. According to Fritz Sonnenberg, a past mayor of Cape Town, "Rhodes purchased the cottage from the estate of Mr. John Robertson Reid on the 27th February, 1899, the year in which the Boer war broke out. Rhodes was in Kimberley during the initial stage of the war and after the relief of the city; early in 1900 he journeyed to Muizenberg to recuperate at the cottage."⁴ The cottage

⁴ F. Sonnenberg "Rhodes Cottage Museum," (Cape Town, Muizenberg, July 1953) p. 2.

has very little or nothing on Rhodes. It borrows its exhibitions from other historical sites that have a related history on Rhodes.

However, his stay in the cottage is argued to be very brief as he resided there during the war and while his health was critical. This could simply mean that he particularly had no time of considering the refurbishment of the cottage and he left it out of his will. It was not important and was accidentally memorialised because of his death. Sonnenberg notes that “his chief association with it however followed his return from England in February 1902. Rhodes returned a sick and dying man. It was a scorching February and Groote Schuur was unbearable.”⁵ So it was hoped that since the cottage is facing the Indian Ocean it would help him recover. But he died there.

The most significant association with the cottage was that it was an alternative accommodation to help Rhodes recover from his deteriorating health since Groote Schuur was not good for his condition. The cottage is linked to the historical monumentalisation of Rhodes funeral in the Matopos. Sonnenberg argued



he went down to the cottage and took to his bed on the 9th March. The cottage, too, was hot. At that time it had a corrugated iron roof. They propped him up with pillows and tore a hole in the outer wall of the room to let in more air.⁶

The details given in the above are for the curators of the cottage. Although it was a seaside cottage facing the Indian Ocean it was not ventilated enough to save his life. He died in there on the 26th of March 1902 and that was the last moment for the cottage to remain in proper care.

The cottage happened to be one of his properties around Cape Town that was left out of his will. Eric Philpot, a visitor from Northern Rhodesia, recalled it in the 1930s following the question of its use. Among Rhodes memorials, Rhodes Cottage Museum was the last property to be included in his memory in 1938. Rhodes’s death is the only matter recorded in the cottage. It does not therefore qualify as a museum. At the time of his

⁵ F. Sonnenberg “Rhodes Cottage Museum,” (Cape Town: Muizenberg, July 1953) p. 2.

⁶ F. Sonnenberg “Rhodes Cottage Museum,” (Cape Town: Muizenberg, July 1953) p. 2.

death, Rhodes Trustees had no idea on how to use the cottage. It had been recuperated from its dullness by an idea from his trustees that it must be used in memory of Rhodes following Philpot's criticism. The notion of turning the cottage into a museum was taken very seriously by the Cape Town City Council. Since the cottage was donated to the Northern Rhodesian government until 1932, the City Council had no idea on where to start in making it a museum. It was because of its lack history that the banal detail emerged in the memorialisation of a cottage as museum.

Rhodes himself mistakenly left the cottage out of the will. This also excluded it from being regarded equally with other properties of Cecil John Rhodes in his legacy. The cottage was taken over by Rhodes' Trustees but was closed until the 1930s when the closure was reversed. According to the minutes of the City Council at time,

for the past 20 years the Rhodes cottage has been looked after by a Miss White, who lives in a small adjoining cottage with her aged mother. Miss White obtained this position by virtue of the fact that her association with the estate at Groote Schuur had extended over a period of some 30 years. She is virtually acquainted with the cottage and well able to deal with any enquiries which may be made by visitors to the cottage.⁷

This much-recognised woman was going to work as caretaker of the cottage not a curator. The council had prepared remuneration for the services of Miss White and pointed out that, "in the circumstance the services of Miss White be retained in her present capacity and on the same condition as she has been working on hitherto, namely, at a salary of £ 12 per month, and the free use of the small adjoining three-roomed cottage which she at present occupies."⁸ This information only appeared after talks amongst the Rhodes Trustees, the then Rhodesian government and the City Council of Cape Town which brought in another important point about the extent to which the cottage was viewed as being of lesser significance.

⁷ The city of Cape Town proceedings of council for the mayoral year, September 1937 to August 1938 with index volume 96, (N.S.7) "3CT 1/1/1/92, minutes of 28th October 1937, p. 162.

⁸ The city of Cape Town proceedings of council for the mayoral year, September 1937 to August 1938 with index volume 96, (N.S.7) "3CT 1/1/1/92, minutes of 28th October 1937, p. 162.

To understand the founding of the Rhodes Cottage Museum and how it became a national monument in Rhodes's memory it is important to examine the period of the 1930s. This celebratory memory of Rhodes was followed by a deed of transfer from the Rhodesian government who was previous owners of the cottage, but had donated it to the Northern Rhodesian government. According to Sonnenberg, "the cottage remained in the possession of the Rhodes' Trustees until in 1932. It was donated to the government of Northern Rhodesia which, in 1937, transferred it to the City of Cape Town."⁹ The idea of memorialising Rhodes in the cottage also complicates the return of the cottage to the city of Cape Town. The history of the cottage involved a series of bureaucratic decisions. According to the minutes of the City Council, it was argued that

the General Purposes Committee at a meeting held on the 19th August 1936, had under consideration report from the mayor that the Rhodes Trustees had offered to hand over to the council the "Rhodes Cottage" at Muizenberg, to be retained as a memorial to the late Mr. Cecil John Rhodes, subject to the council undertaking to maintain the cottage.¹⁰



However, these considerations were based on certain conditions that the council had to adhere to. It has been argued that on the 18th November, 1936, the committee considered draft agreements to be entered into between the Rhodes Trustees and the government of Northern Rhodesia regarding the transfer of "Rhodes Cottage," subject to the following special conditions:-

- (a) The land and building shall be regarded and kept in perpetuity as a memorial to Cecil John Rhodes.
- (b) The land and building shall be preserved by the city of Cape Town in good order and repair.¹¹

⁹ F. Sonnenberg, "Rhodes Cottage Museum," (Cape Town: Muizenberg, July 1953) p. 2.

¹⁰ The city of Cape Town proceedings of council for the mayoral year, September 1936 to August 1937 with index volume 95, (N.S.6) "3CT 1/1/1/91, minutes of 28th January 1937, p. 414-415.

¹¹ The city of Cape Town proceedings of council for the mayoral year, September 1936 to August 1937 with index volume 95, (N.S.6) "3CT 1/1/1/91, minutes of 28th January 1937, p. 414-415.

The erection to national status and the maintenance of the cottage restored the identity of the cottage as a property of Cecil John Rhodes. It was also a rectification of an era when the cottage was donated to the Northern Rhodesian government instead of the Cape Town City Council. The bureaucratic procedures of transferring the cottage did not take into account the “deep histories” of the colonial past. Rhodes Cottage was not founded on a sound museum argument.

Opening the Museum

Rhodes Trustees, the then Northern Rhodesian government and the City Council of Cape Town approved the deed of transfer. The City Council of Cape Town negotiated with the department of interior about the immediate declaration of the cottage a national monument. It was stated that,

adverting to the report of the town clerk adopted by council on the 28th January, 1937, on the subject of Rhodes cottage, Muizenberg, your committee reports that the cottage duly passed into the possession of the council on the 24th September, 1937, by virtue of deed of transfer no. 10129/1937, and that the historical monuments commission has resolved to recommend to the minister of Interior that the cottage be declared a national monument in terms of Act 4 of 1934.¹²

Richard Stuttaford was a minister of interior who declared Rhodes Cottage as a national monument. That was an initial stage as the cottage was going to be turned into a museum at a later stage. According to the government of the time the cottage carried a “heavy name”, Cecil John Rhodes, a figure who bound Boer and Briton together. It goes without saying that the cottage was a monumentalisation of Cecil John Rhodes that contributed to the formation of “White South African identity.” However, one hundred years after it was occupied by Rhodes, the cottage remains static in its representation of history of Cecil John Rhodes. Ironically, the cottage with its banality was declared a national monument.

In converting a cottage to a museum, the City Council elected its members to do an inspection for them. An inspection by a town clerk and an agent for the Rhodesian

¹² The city of Cape Town proceedings of council for the mayoral year, September 1937 to August 1938 with index volume 96, (N.S.7) “3CT 1/1/1/92, minutes of 28th October 1937, p. 162.

government took place on the 6th of October 1937 to decide on the future of the cottage. Under the Northern Rhodesian government the cottage was utilised as holiday resort for Rhodesian civil servants to occupy the cottage during the season. However, when the idea of memorialising Rhodes emerged, it was converted to a cottage museum. It was under these circumstances of the cottage being under the Rhodesian government that the City Council ceased turned it into a museum in memory of Rhodes. It was stated that,

recommend that the cottage be authorized to collect objects of interest having a bearing upon the life and work of the late Cecil John Rhodes and that these be housed in the cottage. I recommend further that certain houses be fixed during which visitors will be permitted to inspect the cottage, and finally that a brochure be issued at a later date, giving the history of the cottage and the significance and details of the objects of interest housed in the cottage.¹³

Not that the City Council employed museum people to curate the cottage. Even the brochure according to Oliver was a chronological list of Rhodes's life and his achievement to the time of his death. At the time of its declaration as a national monument in 1938¹⁴, the future of the cottage as a museum was already determined but nothing materialised.



The inspection was about transferring the cottage and the furniture to the City Council. In the meantime, it allowed the City Council to find out if the cottage still had furniture that would fit the memorialisation of Rhodes. At the time of transforming the cottage to a museum, it had a quantity of second-hand furniture which cost about twenty pounds. The Northern Rhodesian government agreed on selling the furniture. The sub-committee recommended that,

in addition there were articles of furniture which were originally housed in the cottage during the life-time of the late Cecil John Rhodes. These I have requested the Rhodesian government officials to leave in the cottage in order that council might take them over at an agreed valuation. The Rhodesian government officials

¹³ The city of Cape Town proceedings of council for the mayoral year, September 1936 to August 1937 with index volume 95, (N.S.6) "3CT 1/1/1/91, minutes of 28th January 1937, p. 414-415.

¹⁴ This contrasts with Nsizwa Dlamini's argument about the declaration of Shaka Memorial as a national monument on the same year, see "Negotiating the Production of Shaka monuments: Royalty, Zulu Elites and Bureaucrats, 1930s-1940s," unpublished paper presented at UWC, 2005.

are prepared to accept this offer, and have obtained a sworn appraisal thereof indicating a value of £12510s, which payment I recommend for acceptance.¹⁵

Following the above recommendations, arrangements were made for repairing the cottage. Amongst these arrangements were that the Trustees will pay a figure £ 500 and that the City Council will take full control of the cottage when its condition is suitable for a museum. There was an inclusive insurance amounted to £1,800 approved by the City Council as temporary cover. These recommendations deal with the nature and the future of the cottage. All these amounts were to compensate the Northern Rhodesian government and also to repair the damages in the cottage, so that the City Council could take charge of it in good condition.

This verbal enthusiasm of those planning Rhodes's legacy took very long to be implemented. It took about fifteen years before the museum was opened for the public because of the renovation and the collection of the displays. The lack of history in the cottage and its delay in being opened as a museum were a result of the outbreak of the Second World War. The preparation of the cottage as a museum had to stop until the war was over. It was only after 1945 that most work was carried out in preparation for the opening of the Rhodes Cottage Museum. According to a guide booklet, "Rhodes Cottage Muizenberg [was] opened by his worship the mayor Fritz Sonnenberg in Muizenberg, Cape Town, 4th July, 1953."¹⁶ This date however coincides with a big event of Rhodes exhibition, the central African Rhodes centenary exhibition, which has contributed much in constructing a story about Rhodes. Even though this was initiated in the then Southern Rhodesia, the City Council of Cape Town was represented in the exhibition. Beside the Second World War and the Central African Rhodes Centenary exhibition, the apartheid government in South Africa was busy with the Van Riebeeck Festival at the time.

It is also very important to note that when the City Council took full control of the cottage, they also elected the committee members amongst themselves. This has been recorded in the minutes of the 5th September 1952. According to the above minutes, the

¹⁵Rhodes Cottage, Muizenberg, closed file from 1936 to 1990, File No. 9/2/081/50, reference No. 2/K/Kaa/16.

¹⁶F. Sonnenberg "Rhodes Cottage Museum," (Cape Town, Muizenberg, July 1953) p. 2.

cottage committee consisted of the following members; president: his worship the mayor; the chairman of the Amenities committee; Councilors Martin Hammerschlag and J. Walder. Co-opted members were: Mr. A.H. Gie, secretary of Rhodes Trust and Mr. Cecil J. Sibbett. Some of these members had been involved in the beginning of the project and they were reinstated again in the councils committee for the cottage.

The committee was also in charge of recommending the caretaker of the Rhodes Cottage Museum. There is no clear indication on whether they finally employed somebody for the job. The confusion emerged on the appointment of Miss White in the 1930s as caretaker. The committee recommended that,

it is urged that great care should be taken in selecting a suitable person to be known as the curator. It is felt that it would be possible to obtain an elderly couple who will be genuinely interested in Rhodes and who will take a pride in the cottage and in the garden and be able to run the tea garden efficiently and in good taste.¹⁷

By the 1950s, after the Second World War, the cottage was becoming a museum¹⁸. For this to happen, the museum needed a dedicated curator. The records from SAHRA indicate that Mr. W.H. Bentley applied but was not appointed caretaker of Cecil Rhodes Cottage. This kind of bureaucratic recording is replicating in the image of Rhodes Cottage Museum.

The confusion between curator and caretaker in the initial period did not help matters. Instead, the caretaker doubled up as the curator. In the end, the museum settled for a caretaker. In a letter held by SAHRA it is stated that “someone by the name MUSHET would occupy this position.”¹⁹ The cottage was not functioning as a museum, there was no curator employed for showing the exhibition instead they employed a caretaker to help in looking after the cottage and recording everything that needed to be fixed. This did not

¹⁷ Rhodes Cottage, Muizenberg, closed file from 1936 to 1990, File No. 9/2/081/50, reference No. 2/K/Kaa/16.

¹⁸ Interestingly as white South African were creating monuments to white founders in 1952 and 1953. They were stifling the creation of Shaka Memorial.

¹⁹ Rhodes Cottage, Muizenberg, closed file from 1936 to 1990, File No. 9/2/081/50, reference No. 2/K/Kaa/16.

set any standard for the operation of the cottage as a museum since it was run unprofessionally and that legacy is still carried on.

Ratepayers may have an interest in Rhodes but producing history is not their strong point. The critique of this century old history is in its nostalgia and banality exhibited through a timeless history of imperialism. Muizenberg will always share a memory of Rhodes's death because of Groote Schuur estate, which maintained Rhodes's name in post-apartheid history. The cottage failed to meet an acceptable standard of history. Despite this it became a fixture of history. In my interview with Trevor Oliver a curator in the cottage, he stated that under the City Council the cottage employed old men to look after the cottage and curate until 1998 when the City Council decided it could not run it anymore. Among the reasons for the City Council to decline in running the cottage was that it had to be funded. The City Council could not afford both maintaining the cottage and paying the employees. According to Oliver "the cottage cost the City Council ninety thousand a year including caretaker salary, electricity, water, telephone and looking after the garden,"²⁰ When they handed it over to the MHCS, in 2000, rate payers elected their own members to curate voluntarily.



After year 2000, the MHCS was leasing the museum from the City Council. The museum was not run professionally. The Sub-committee recommended the displays for the museum. Even recently no serious attention was given to exhibition development. An example is the disinterested Mr. Pitcher, a Rhodesian, appointed as curator but acted as a caretaker. According to Oliver, "the last paid resident curator was Mr. Pitcher, an old Zimbabwean, but when the Muizenberg Historical Conservation Society took over he lost interest, and he never came again to our meetings."²¹ The maintenance of this timeless history of imperialism followed the tradition left by Gie, Kendall and Sibbett who collected the exhibition that launched the museum. Mr. Pitcher and the City Council failed to improve the museum. It remained banal with no historical concept of its production as a museum. Another critical point emerged in this interview is that the City

²⁰ Rhodes Cottage, Muizenberg, closed file from 1936 to 1990, File No. 9/2/081/50, reference No. 2/K/Kaa/16.

²¹ A follow up interview with Trevor Oliver alone, on the 29th of April 2005 at Rhodes Cottage Museum.

Council purchased books relevant to Rhodes from the money given by the De Beers Company. The total cost of the books was twenty thousand rands. The City Council employed people who were not museologists and who had no knowledge of running a museum.

Rhodes Cottage Museum in the 21st century is still owned by the Cape Town City Council. However, the value of this museum is now equal to hundred rands that MHCS is leasing it from the City Council. According to Gibbs “in order for these museums to survive we have to raise money by ourselves and we sometimes got money from the De Beers and Rhodes Trustees, for the new video, furniture and displays.”²² However unlike other institutions they do not have professional staff of curators because the cottage is not a state funded institution. Ironically, Rhodes Cottage Museum also received money from the National lotto. The MHCS got two hundred and fifty thousand rands for renovations. The critique in the funding of the colonial legacy like Rhodes cottage is that it presents a colonial past that exclude the majority of South African people. Further more the cottage celebrates the exploitation of black majority of this country by celebrating its whiteness. Under these circumstances the cottage should be closed because it proves to be offensive to the majority people of this country.

Although the cottage is very small and contains Rhodes last moment alive, it also benefited from Rhodes’ former businesses. The De Beers diamond Mine Company and Rhodes Trustees are still co-sponsors of Rhodes Cottage Museum. The management of Rhodes Cottage Museum is currently shifting its presentation of Rhodes to align with post-apartheid South Africa. Rhodes Cottage has collected and displayed articles that are currently addressing the position of Cecil John Rhodes in post-apartheid South Africa. The Cottage Museum under MHCS is operational not only in keeping Rhodes’s legacy but also to conserve “their community” history. These historical sites are treated as community heritage that not only taught the community about Muizenberg history but also the world through its tourists’ attraction. Muizenberg has many old buildings some

²² Interview with Trevor Oliver and Joy Gibbs members of Muizenberg Historical Conversation Society, and curators of Rhodes Cottage Museum, Rhodes Cottage Museum, Muizenberg, February 01, 2005.

of which have been converted to museums. Rhodes Cottage Museum is amongst those buildings.

A Dying Rhodes

The cottage is where Rhodes died on the 26th of March 1902. However, after his death some literature argued that it was kept closed, others argued that Rhodesian bureaucrats used it as holiday accommodation. The people I interviewed were Joy Gibbs and Trevor Oliver, members of Muizenberg Historical Conservation Society. They both confirmed that “Rhodes did not leave the cottage with anybody and it went to his estate. It was initially used as a holiday resort for the bureaucrats working for the Northern Rhodesian government and the civil servants.”²³ The cottage really needed to be repaired judging from the cost set aside before it was transferred to the City Council in 1937. It is also under this point that I believe that the cottage needed this kind of refurbishment inside and outside. Another elaboration of its critical condition was that of a visitor, Eric Philpott who protested in the newspaper:



as a Rhodesian (since 1894) I wish to enter a word of protest at the state in which I find the cottage at Muizenberg in which Cecil Rhodes passed his last hours. I had hoped to find it just as he left it, instead of which a peep over the curtains (I was refused permission to enter) revealed two modern dining-room chairs and a photograph of the Founder, such as is seen in every school in Rhodesia.²⁴

This protest appeared in the newspaper of the 19th of September 1938, after the recommendations by a town clerk and an agent of the Northern Rhodesian government. His protest followed after 1937 when the cottage was transferred to the City Council of Cape Town. Most alarming from Rhodesians was how the South African government neglected Rhodes historical place of death.

Philpott a Rhodesian raised his concern about Rhodes who was treated as a white hero in Rhodesia while his cottage in South Africa had been taken for granted by South Africans.

²³Interview with Trevor Oliver and Joy Gibbs members of Muizenberg Historical Conversation Society, and curators of Rhodes Cottage Museum, Rhodes Cottage Museum, Muizenberg, February 01, 2005.

²⁴ *Cape Times*, 19 September 1938.

He argued that “this I think is a matter in which the Cape Rhodesian Society might interest itself as I was told that the whereabouts of the original furniture is unknown. An appeal through the press should elicit its whereabouts.”²⁵ This protest shows not only that the cottage was abandoned but also that some of the furniture were stolen because there was no proper care for the cottage. The cottage was the responsibility of the Northern Rhodesian government. The publicity of his protest in newspaper echoed the monumentalisation of Rhodes and a consideration of repairing of the cottage as was exposed in media. This protest emerged at the same time with the decision about declaring Rhodes cottage a monument. The decision gave it a sort of revival from its dullness. This monumentalisation of the cottage was meant to improve and revive it as a living legacy to the memory of Cecil John Rhodes. The cottage never improved as there was problem of stolen furniture that was a consequence of no proper care for the cottage and a lack of history and curatorship. The protest was based on these allegations.

The Sub-committee which was to collect material on Rhodes was made up of, A.H. Gie, C.J. Sibbett, F.K. Kendall, and L.M. Earle. Trevor Oliver stated that the cottage was opened after the Second World War and South Africa at the time was in a state of economic depression. It was difficult to find furniture and building material of Rhodes era and was delayed. It is however, the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in the then Southern Rhodesia that helped to rejuvenate the historical monument of the cottage. The year 1953 was associated with Rhodes Centenary Exhibition, a huge celebration of Rhodes birth in Bulawayo, and this prompted people in Cape Town, private enterprises not so much as City Council but a group of three private people. Oliver mentioned the following names;

Gie who was Rhodes Scholar, Sibbett an artist and Kendall who was an architect of the same company Hebert Baker established fifty year ago, to carry on his tradition. Baker was Rhodes architect and a designer of both Rhodes’s house in Rondebosch and Muizenberg.²⁶

²⁵ *Cape Times*, 19 September 1938.

²⁶ A follow up interview with Trevor Oliver alone, on the 29th of April 2005 at Rhodes Cottage Museum.

This cottage owes its existence as a museum to the effort given by these men. They were the ones who combined their ideas and brought the memory of Rhodes to the site. But the critique of its banal detail is invented in the story of the bed.

The documents from the South African Heritage Resource Agency (SARHA) give detailed records of information on inception of a Cottage Museum. The cottage was meant to represent Rhodes's life and his achievement up to the time of his death. Because the cottage had no furniture, it depended on Groote Schuur for refurbishment. Gie, Sibbett and Kendall reconstructed the memory of Cecil John Rhodes assisted by the 1953 Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Southern Rhodesia. It was these banal details that emerged in the story of his deathbed. The bust of Cecil John Rhodes replaced his deathbed, as it was among the furniture stolen at the cottage. The story of Rhodes's deathbed is a very interesting one, because it shows how banal, static and nostalgic the production of Rhodes' memory in the cottage. The diorama opposite to Rhodes bedroom is the only display that connects the cottage with his death. It was very surprising to discover that up until the eighties Rhodes's deathbed was replaced by an alabaster bust of Cecil John Rhodes because his deathbed was among the furniture that was stolen at the cottage.

When the museum was opened in 1953 Rhodes's deathbed was replaced by his bust with an inscription of his death date below it. In the refurbishment of the cottage, a pedestal of a dark wood has been erected on the spot of Rhodes's deathbed and upon this rests a bust in white marble replacing a stolen bed. On the pedestal written were the following words; 'Towards sunset at 6 o'clock on the 26th day of March 1902, Cecil John Rhodes passed away on a simple bed which stood on this spot.' Moreover, the following displays were suggested by cottage sub-committee; firstly, the replacement of Rhodes deathbed with his bust. Secondly, Kendall's opinion that a pedestal without something to support it and would do more than anything 'to bring Rhodes' spirit into the room. Lastly, he suggested that, the portrait of Rhodes by Roworth should not be hung in the room and juxtaposed with the bust of Rhodes in the same room. The returning of Rhodes' memory in the room was negotiated and constructed in an idea of reinventing the story of his death. The

pedestal was meant to substitute the bed that Cecil John Rhodes passed away on it. The suggestion of the pedestal and the bust emerged in the banal details of converting a cottage to a museum.

The curator at the cottage shared their obsession about the bed story. Oliver a curator in the cottage stated that they had photograph showing Rhodes's room of the house he lived in Kimberley with the same bed in it. The details of his brass bed step, single bed and that it can be folded down so that it can be put on the wagon through the interior are used as an evidence of the one they found at Groote Schuur. The reconstruction of the story of the bed extends to the lack of history in the cottage. When Oliver stated that,

the bed has an interesting story because after Rhodes's death the cottage was closed. Three or four years later, the curator at Groote Schuur received a phone call from a second hand furniture dealer at Rondebosch who said that a man came to the shop selling furniture which he claimed belonged to Cecil John Rhodes.²⁷

My sense of critique is that the production of history at the cottage emerged on the timeless history of imperialism. The obsession around this colonial legacy is about showing how a little sea cottage would have look like in the late 19th century. These banal details promote the conservation of colonial past in the post-apartheid South Africa. However, Rhodes Cottage Museum does not meet an acceptable standard of rewriting the history that is inclusive to all people of "rainbow South Africa." My argument is that an interest was drawn in restoring the dignity of the room where he died but the question of the bed retained those banal details in the refurbishment of the cottage.

After his death Rhodes was taken to Groote Schuur to lie in state for the preparation of his funeral procession to the Matopo hills. The Sub-Committee recommended that,

The small room opposite the dining-room is recommended that the proposed model or diorama of Rhodes grave and the Matopos be housed in this room. The Sub-Committee is in touch with Mr. Mitford-Barberton, the sculptor, and preliminary sketches and ideas will be available for the consideration of the committee. It is further suggested that the Rhodes Trust be approached with a view to donating this

²⁷ A follow up interview with Trevor Oliver alone, on the 29th of April 2005 at Rhodes Cottage Museum.

exhibit. If they are prepared to do so a suitable tablet must be placed in a prominent position reading (say) 'donated by the Rhodes Trust.'²⁸

As it was addressed earlier in this chapter Rhodes Trust was used as a co-sponsor of the memorialisation of Rhodes. After these significant rooms in Rhodes's death, the restroom was filled with history of his achievement and his vision of imperialism. The whole idea about memorializing Rhodes was to show according to Oliver, "what a little beach cottage would have looked like after hundred years of Rhodes's death."²⁹ This can be juxtaposed with the post-apartheid history of South Africa in opposing the legacy of imperialism. The cottage is not only representing Rhodes's death but it also preserves its own imperial history as an old building of that time. Then it is regarded as national asset because of its monumental status, which was granted by post-union government in memory of an imperial icon.

Rhodes Cottage after Rhodes

Rhodes Cottage Museum has no publicity like other national museums. Out of many properties in Rhodes legacy the Cottage has been retained as a memorial to Rhodes and has also acquired its national monument status and a museum. Rhodes Cottage did not meet an acceptable standard of history as it was left out in the history of monumentalizing Rhodes from 1902 until 1912 when Rhodes Memorial was erected. Rhodes Memorial was the last memorial erected in memory of Rhodes. This alienation of the cottage was corrected in 1938 but even then it did not restore the memory of his death. The banality of the inception of the cottage begins with the story of stolen bed, which was Rhodes deathbed, and returned to the story of recovering the stolen bed. Rhodes Cottage was kept as a museum under the City Council of Cape Town until 2000 but it had an inadequate collection of furniture. The most significant story in the cottage was a story of Rhodes' deathbed. This failure was worsened when they leased it for hundred rand to the Muizenberg Historical Conservation Society in 2000.

²⁸ Rhodes Cottage, Muizenberg, closed file from 1936 to 1990, File No. 9/2/081/50, reference No. 2/K/Kaa/16.

²⁹ Interview with Trevor Oliver and Joy Gibbs members of Muizenberg Historical Conversation Society, and curators of Rhodes Cottage Museum, Rhodes Cottage Museum, Muizenberg, February 01, 2005.

When the City Council took over, these problems were exaggerated by a growth of the tourism industry in Cape Town. Museums and colonial public past are juxtaposed with post-apartheid South Africa to attract tourists. The challenge facing the Muizenberg Historical Society was to bring tourists to the cottage. The discovery of Rhodes' deathbed brought another refurbishment of the cottage as it had a significant role to play in the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes at the cottage. According to Oliver

it was early in the 1980s that somebody from Groote Schuur found the bed. The museum opened in 1953 and it was refurbished in 1988 and again the exhibitions were displayed in 2002, during the Rhodes Centenary death, and it was during 1988 refurbishment when the bed was found. The small room in front, the death chamber was then rearranged to reflect Rhodes's death.³⁰

This discovery of the bed created dualism in the story of Rhodes' death. It would be interesting to find out how the so-called curators back in 1980 explained the story of his death in the absence of his deathbed and the reason for substituting it with the bust. The "so-called Rhodes scholars failed to authenticate Rhodes death and constructed the bust of Cecil John Rhodes. Gibbs also mentioned that with the division of municipalities, heritage sites especially museums were also under debate on whether they should fall under these municipality divisions, but the council had no funds. It was at the rescue of the civic committees that community museums like Rhodes Cottage Museum survived.

On my first visit to the Cottage in 2004 I had no idea of how it was refurbished, and I believed that to qualify as a museum, the cottage would convey a history. But all that was available was the bed, diorama and few newspaper clippings. The bust was supplemented the story of his deathbed. However, to find out about the cottage taught me more about museum history, and the silences of the history of imperialism in post-apartheid history of South Africa. It was a critique of this cottage that is the basis for my demand that this museum should be closed. Trevor Oliver is very passionate about his work and about Rhodes. He said they are aiming at making all these Muizenberg community museums, places for the public and for people all over the world. As I have indicated above, MHCS

³⁰ A follow up interview with Trevor Oliver alone, on the 29th of April 2005 at Rhodes Cottage Museum.

took control of Rhodes Cottage Museum. But this civic connection does not make it a community museum, not unless it is prepared to engage with its history critically.

Oliver believes that the museum suffers because of its location, lack of parking, lack of advertising, limited staff and insufficient funds for running the museum. The museum is merely a stop on the way to Cape Point, which would have acted on their advantage for getting more visitors. He has not considered that the reason for the museum's difficulty is the lack of history understood as a critical investigation and representation of the past. Overseas tourists and some school groups currently frequent the museum. About three hundred visitors a week use the museum.³¹ Gibbs states that "they have visitors from Zimbabwe as members of the country, British who identify themselves with Rhodes; people who are relatives of Barney Barnato, overseas tourists are also seasonal and also local people especially from Gauteng Province" added the numbers."³² Among these visitors there were few if any descendants of those who suffered under colonialism. As Gibbs stated above that there are sentimental values attached in some visiting groups like the ones from Zimbabwe.



The 20th century ended with no improvement in the cottage. These banal details emerged in the 21st century when the MHCS took over the running of the Cottage Museum. The most critical task faced the MHCS was the lack of history at the cottage. They were also entrapped in the production of colonial past, which present a fixture of history. The main challenge was how to incorporate a legacy of imperialism to the rewriting of post-apartheid history. In the present, the situation at the cottage has not improved. The only improvement is on the work of Desmond Colborne who is Rhodes scholar. He has done a research on Rhodes. Using his work, an exhibition was put up at the cottage during the Rhodes Centenary Death on the 26th of March 2002. It was a commemoration of the hundred years after his death. Oliver believes that the exhibition resurrected the future of the museum.

³¹A follow up interview with Trevor Oliver alone, on the 29th of April 2005 at Rhodes Cottage Museum

³²Interview with Trevor Oliver and Joy Gibbs members of Muizenberg Historical Conversation Society, and curators of Rhodes Cottage Museum, Rhodes Cottage Museum, Muizenberg, February 01, 2005

On the wall right of a passage in side the museum there is a poster of Rhodes Mandela Foundation. This poster not only positions Cecil John Rhodes in the twenty first century but also associates Rhodes with Mandela. This sums up the argument by Barry Ronge's article in the *Sunday Times* of the 24 August 2002, where he made a strong argument that, "liking or not, the vision of an African renaissance sounds very similar to what Cecil John Rhodes had in mind a century ago."³³ Trevor Oliver states that

this big room which we redecorate two years ago focus on Rhodes Mandela Trust, it focuses on the twenty first century. We have what Rhodes means today. We are trying to show that the idea Rhodes had South Africa a little country, by herself doesn't mean so much as all of Africa together.³⁴

Oliver is turning Rhodes into a symbol of the African renaissance that figures him in the post-apartheid present. Rhodes in Oliver's view is still a national icon.

Conclusion

In conclusion Rhodes Cottage Museum should be closed, because it does not meet an acceptable standard of re-writing the history of South Africa after apartheid. It was meant to display the nineteenth century histories of Cecil John Rhodes, and his involvement in the colonisation of Africa. The problem facing this cottage is that of collecting banal, static and nostalgic ephemera that belong to colonial history. Unlike other Rhodes associated historical sites; Rhodes Cottage was the last on the list to be proclaimed as a memorial and a national monument.

The idea of memorialising the cottage as a museum arose long after his death. It was about taking off the responsibility to Rhodes Trustees and putting it on the shoulders of Cape Town City Council, which also reinserted Rhodes' iconic figure in the government of white South Africa after 1910. The City Council had no clue of running a museum at all. Moreover, the most significant events that marked the history of this cottage were its declaration as a heritage site and later converted to a museum. These followed the most important date in the historical productions of Cecil John Rhodes. These were the Rhodes

³³ Barry Ronge, "Great Minds Think Alike," *Sunday Times*, 24 August 2002.

³⁴ A follow up interview with Trevor Oliver alone, on the 29th of April 2005 at Rhodes Cottage Museum.

centenary birth exhibition in Bulawayo in 1953 that significantly coincides with the official opening of the museum and Rhodes centenary death on 26th of March 2002. Oliver regard this day as one of fatal days of the museum when their guest speaker, a member of Rhodes Trust who was in Cape Town during the centenary death chose a cricket match over the centenary. This, he added was very disappointing. Finally, Rhodes Cottage Museum never got proper or professional operation just like other museums. At the moment it depends on ratepayers for caretaking and curatorship who are unpaid volunteers. Its funding is only enough for running and maintaining the museum but not for salaries. They depend on little donations and some funding from De Beers and Rhodes Trustees. The City Council is now leasing the cottage to the Muizenberg Historical Conservation Society for a value of hundred rands a year. This could mean that the cottage is now worth hundred rands as stipulated by the lease agreement. But most of all, Rhodes cottage has no memory of the millions of Black subjects that enabled Rhodes to die in peace on the shores of Muizenberg.



Chapter Three

The Framing of Post-Apartheid History in a Colonial Legacy of Cecil Rhodes

In contrast with Muizenberg's Rhodes Cottage Museum a very challenging statement has been made by Brooke Simons in his book about Groote Schuur that, "no other house can claim to be as 'South African' as Groote Schuur. Not only does it bear the stamp of this country's history, but since 1657, when it the house was built, it has played – and still plays – a role in that history."¹ A significant question to ask is what and whose history? This chapter attempts to follow the implication of this statement in trying to figure out the history of the house and the estate. The above two critical questions will help in critiquing the history of the house in relation to the idea of the "rainbow nation." By connecting this history to the house, Simons is bound to the history of imperialism.

Groote Schuur estate remains a fixture of history in post-apartheid South Africa. A house is just a combination of walls and a roof, but who owned it presents another statement in recording its history. Groote Schuur estate was once Cecil John Rhodes's home in Cape Town. He first leased it for £250 from Mrs. Van Der Byl the owner when he was a Prime Minister of the Cape Colony before he bought it in 1892. According to the curator at Groote Schuur, Rhodes paid £10000 for the estate, and employed Herbert Baker to retain its Dutch style. According to Anthony Thomas,

once Rhodes had bought the property, he was determined to take Groote Schuur back to its roots. Cape Dutch architecture was considered raw and crude at the time when the prevalent taste tended towards clutter and fussy detail, but, for Rhodes, it was a style that had come to express his sense of self – 'big and simple – barbaric if you like.'²

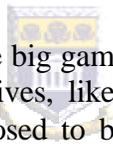
The idea of Dutch architecture and Dutch heritage will be debated throughout the chapter because it looms large in the history of the house. I will also examine his relationship with Dutch history, looking at cultural-history collection in the manor house. When Rhodes died in 1902, he laid in state in one of the rooms in Groote Schuur. Then three

¹ P.B. Simons *Groote Schuur: Great Granary to Stately Home*, (Cape Town: Fernwood press 1996).

² A. Thomas *Rhodes: The Race for Africa* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball 1996) p. 223.

days, later his funeral journey began to the Matopos in the then Rhodesia, “a country once his domicile.”³

This chapter is an attempt to establish the production of Cecil John Rhodes’ legacy and how this legacy becomes linked to the nation? It will also explore the insertion of Rhodes’s name in the production of its history. In debating these questions, I will critique the history of the estate and how Rhodes always manages to seep into this production. This will include the functioning of the estate and the manor house as directed in the will of Rhodes. I will construct a criticism based on debates in the continuous reproduction of the history of the house. In addressing these questions this chapter draws its inspiration from Njabulo Ndebele’s paper on ‘Game Lodge and Leisure Colonist.’ The relevance of his study may be found in the questions Ndebele raises when he tries to position the colonial legacy in post-apartheid South Africa. He asked the following questions in his paper,



it is possible that South Africa is one big game lodge where all its black citizens are struggling to make sense of their lives, like people who awake in an enormous vacation house which is now supposed to be theirs but which they do not quite recognize? Do they strive to be just like their fellow citizens who have mastered economics of the game lodge, and who may seek to consolidate a cultural condition in keeping with their strategies of survival by marketing an image of South Africa as a haven of safety and success in a dark, violent and threatening continent? Doesn’t it pay to belong to South Africa, to be free from the ‘chaos in the north’, to keep the north at bay at all cost? Doesn’t it pay to be the onlooker, gazing out ‘the rest of the continent’ from the window of a vacation house that offers comfort and security? What does it take to keep things this way?⁴

In thinking about Ndebele’s questions I realised that the significance of the estate as a national asset which draws its heritage from colonial Dutch and British imperialism that this heritage is now incorporated to the new South Africa. However, its fixture of history retains and protects colonial histories, which contradict the idea of post-apartheid South Africa.

³ *Cape Archives*, MOOC, 7/1/695 No 1707.

⁴ N. Ndebele “Game Lodges and Leisure Colonists”, In Judin et al (eds). *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After*, (Rotterdam: David Phillip NAi 1998) p. 122.

In contemplating Ndebele's argument, I came to realise that Rhodes's legacy especially the house does not belong to post-apartheid South Africa. Its colonial image rejects the closing chapter in colonial history. The house also falls out of favour in the late twentieth century, as post-apartheid leaders could not recognise it. None of them were interested in the house hence currently President Thabo Mbeki uses Genadendal (Westbrook) as his residential home while in Cape Town. The 1990s' negotiations between political leaders of the ANC and the previous government lead by F.W. De Klerk ended with the signing of the Groote Schuur minute in this house. It is ironic that the new South Africa was born in a house filled with memories of the colonial and imperial past. But the reason for this state of affairs is a result of Rhodes' will.

Rhodes' Will

The Dutch East India Company used the house in the 17th century as a barn for storage and accommodation. As its biography changes with time of occupation and ownership, it became a home for various bureaucrats serving in the governments of the then Cape Colony, including Rhodes. The use of the house had attracted Rhodes' attention, as he was once a tenant in the house that belonged to Mrs. Van Der Byl. This was when he was the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. Rhodes later purchased the property in 1893. He monumentalised its history when he bequeathed the house to the nation to maintain its political association as a residence of the Prime Minister of federated states of South Africa. Rhodes himself recommended this colonial legacy in his will. According to his will dated 1st July 1899, he wrote,

“neither the property nor any portion of it should ever be sold, let, or otherwise alienated; no buildings for suburban residences should be erected on it and any built for public purposes should conform in architectural style to that of Groote Schuur; the house, gardens and grounds should be retained ‘for a residence for the Prime Minister ... [of the] Federal Government of the States of South Africa’; and, until that ‘Federal Government’ came into being, the estate should be used as a park for the people.”⁵

⁵ P.B. Simons *Groote Schuur: Great Granary to Stately Home*, (Cape Town: Fernwood Press 1996) p. 28.

It was this generous offer to the nation that earned him the status of being a great South African. This production of history saw the transfer of Rhodes' legacy to the Union of South Africa in 1910.

However, a decision for transferring the land and other assets to the nation was handled by Rhodes Trustees. Not that everybody was astonished with his generous offer to the nation. A more critical tradition about Rhodes, interestingly enough, can also be traced back to his own era. A. J. Wilson criticised W.T. Stead who was an admirer and close friend, for his blind loyalty to Rhodes. The evidence of these criticisms emerges in a letter written on 20th December 1902. Wilson's own view was much more critical. He argued that:

the diamond mining industry in Kimberley was consolidated into a wide spread monopoly for private gain alone. The legislature of the Cape Colony was manipulated, bribed and suborned to pass laws in order to make this monopoly increasingly profitable. From the day it was instituted until now, this mining corporation has never paid a farthing in direct taxation towards the colony's revenue.⁶



Wilson depicted Rhodes as an individual who corrupted the state for his own selfish needs and saw Rhodes' handing over of his wealth for official use as nothing more than an exercise in self-gratification:

I am not deeply interested in wills, least of all in the wills of millionaires. The charity of the dead hand has always seemed to me a signal example of the essential meanness of human nature. That a man should spend his life in amassing money, power over the lives of other men, and selfishly using that wealth to the last hour of his life solely for his own gratification, no matter though the passion gratified may be 'empire' building, and then when death comes leave this wealth for public purposes, charity and what not, is to my mind always a revolting spectacle. The wealth thus dealt with invariably corrupts and disseminates corruption that is my opinion.⁷

This critique resonates with Rhodes's registering of his name in the circle of history. The idea about these notes is that even among white South African not all of them saw his as

⁶ Wilson A. L. *An Open Letter to Mr. W.T. Stead on his Friendship for Cecil J. Rhodes* (London 1902) p. 3.

⁷ Wilson A. L. *An Open Letter to Mr. W.T. Stead on his Friendship for Cecil J. Rhodes* (London 1902) p. 1.

generous when he bequeathed the land below Table Mountain to the nation. According to this view Rhodes was a charlatan and a manipulator.

There were conditions binding the trustees to the will. Among those conditions was an instruction that strictly rejects any construction of a different architectural style or utilising of the estate for other purpose except those recommended in the will. However, some of that land was used by the South African government of that time to build a hospital known as Groote Schuur and the University of Cape Town. After Rhodes's death the house was supposed to be vacant until such time the federal states of South Africa was formed. Rhodes's friend, Doctor Jameson remained in the house until 1909. Simons argued

as Groote Schuur had been bequeathed to prime ministers of a non-existent federated South Africa, none of these was, ex officio, entitled to live there and the house therefore stood empty for some time after Rhodes's death. However, in terms of his will, Dr Jameson was both a residuary legatee of his estate and one of its trustees.⁸



Doctor Jameson used the house as his home until the union of South Africa in 1910 as his rights indicated on the notes above. This shows that, eight years after Rhodes's death, the future of the house and of South Africa was not yet decided, as the union had not yet emerged between the Afrikaners and English.

The period between 1902 and 1910 signifies the gap between the war and the route to reconciliation of Afrikaners and Britons. The war ended in 1902 and the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910. Groote Schuur emerged in this union as a prize for peace while ironically the first Prime Minister to reside there was an Afrikaner. Anthony Holiday, a philosopher at the University of the Western Cape, describes Rhodes as follows:

his racist convictions are beyond dispute. Like Hitler, he had elevated them to the level of a kind of geopolitical philosophy. He was convinced, said in the

⁸ P.B. Simons *Groote Schuur: Great Granary to Stately Home*, (Cape Town: Fernwood Press 1996). p. 28.

“confession of faith” he penned in 1887, that Anglo-Saxons “are the fine race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for human race.”⁹

In thinking about Rhodes character and his vision of Southern Africa, the union of South Africa was not the ideal framework since Rhodes could not really deal with the idea of the first Prime Minister being an Afrikaner not an Englishman. In his plan of building the university he made it clear that the English are separable from the Afrikaners. This point opens up controversies about the construction of the university on the estate. Baker argued, “the site chosen is not that which he discussed with me, and which I surveyed for him. That was farther from his own house, and the present buildings with their ground and terraces encroach on the parkland which laid out at the back of Groote Schuur.”¹⁰ Baker’s argument resurrected the conditions of the will, which in his revision criticised the site chosen for the university as it was against the testator’s thought. The building of the Groote Schuur hospital near the slopes of the mountain was also not specified on the will. In honoring the wish of the dead, it was no wonder J.M Solomon, a young architect appointed for the planning of the university, committed suicide before the university was completed. These were some of the complex issues that dragged the union for such a long period before it was formed.



However, he maintained that buildings may be erected for public purposes and should be in a style of architecture similar to his residence. In contrast with his idea of opening Groote Schuur estate as an official residence and a park for the people, it was going to be impossible to serve both as police guards the premises. It is on these debates that I draw my argument in critiquing the historical production of the estate. Rhodes legacy has been presented as fitting for post-union, apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. The production of these histories at Groote Schuur has extended the monumentalisation of Cecil John Rhodes, a history of “the biographic order.”¹¹ My critique is about his impact in securing his name in South African history. Other than that a very critical argument

⁹ Anthony Holiday “Rhodes Statues Insults the New Order,” *Cape Times*, 14 March 2005.

¹⁰ H. Baker *Cecil Rhodes*, (London: Oxford university Press 1934) p. 49.

¹¹ C. Rassool “The Biographic Order: Further Notes on Biography in South African Public Culture after Apartheid,” unpublished paper.

emerges in colonial representation of the manor house, which has very strong implications in maintaining Rhodes's name.

Cecil John Rhodes, an empire builder died in his little cottage in Muizenberg on the 26th of March 1902. Before Rhodes died, he listed all his property in a will and elected a board of trustees to look after his legacy. The names of the first board of trustees are listed in his will dated 1st of July 1899. Clause number thirteen of the will protected Groote Schuur estate. But the dynamics of the history of the estate are blended by the manor house, Rhodes house or Great Granary as it once used to be. The manor house according to the wish of the testator was supposed to be retained as a residence for the Prime Minister of the Federated states of South Africa, which never happened. However, the house was transferred to the government that took control eight years after Rhodes's death. At the time of his death, the Afrikaners and English were still at war. The peace treaty of that war resulted in the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, a union that united the two "white ethnic groups" in South Africa and excluded the black South African majority who were nevertheless used in the South African War.



The door, which was opened for the union, was closed before black South Africans. As a result of this exclusive union, black elite in South Africa formed a resistant organisation called the African Native National Congress in 1912, which is now a ruling party after eighty-two years of exclusion. The first leader of the organisation was John Langalibalele Mafukuzela Dube. The ANC was formed to liberate Africans from white domination. Their resistance brought pressure to the union government. Three years at the office and a year after the formation of ANC, the union government passed the Land Act of 1913. This was the first law segregating Africans from the "so-called white areas." But segregation acts are traced back to Rhodes time when he introduced the Glen Grey Act of 1894. The 1913 Land Act gave thirteen percent of the land to the black majority and eighty seven percent to the white minority. Blacks who claimed to be the indigenous people of this country, who also assisted in the South African War, were left out in the union of 1910 as if the war was against them. This argument is motivated by Holiday's critique. He argues,

Rhodes's more formal oratory expressed the same sentiments with somewhat less vulgarity. In 1887, he told the Cape Parliament: 'the native is to be treated as a child and denied the franchise. We must adopt a system of despotism in our relations with the barbarians of South Africa.' Not even Verwoerd went to quite this extent.¹²

It is clear that Rhodes' generosity was an act of buying in Afrikaners in the project of British imperialism and Blacks were infantilised in the process.

The union government was awaited with this colonial legacy. Groote Schuur estate was more like a price for peace between Afrikaners and English and furthered the definition of a white heritage. The romanticism of this idea is shown by the cultural historical collection in the manor house, which is also indicated in Rhodes will. However, the transfer of the house to the union government was motivated by the act of parliament called 'Rhodes' will (Groote Schuur Devolution) Act No. 9 of 1910. This law was a revision of clauses number 13, 14, and 15 of the will and to make sure that the transfer was done according to the wishes of the testator. Unlike the Muizenberg Cottage, Groote Schuur estate had a provisional fund for maintaining the house of the Prime Minister and the estate as a whole. According to the Rhodes' will (Groote Schuur Devolution) Act No. 9 of 1910 point number three states: "at the commencement of this Act the trustees shall pay to the Union Government the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds sterling in lieu of the annual sum of one thousand pounds sterling provided for in clause 14 of the will of the testator."¹³ The money meant to keep the estate and the house in good condition. In that instance the trustees felt that the estate would be self-sufficient. The state and the law protected the estate. Rhodes provided a specific grant for the maintenance of the estate from the money he accumulated from the diamond mines of South Africa. The money was meant for the annual maintenance of the estate with specific measure on how to utilise it. If Rhodes managed to insure his estate, is it not possible that his name is also insured? This was one of Rhodes's ways of securing his legacy and the monumentalisation of his name for generations. Legally, Rhodes's legacy also protects

¹² Anthony Holiday "Rhodes Statues Insults the New Order," *Cape Times*, 14 March 2005.

¹³ Rhodes' will (Groote Schuur Devolution) Act No. 9 of 1910, assented to December 26, 1910.

the vanishing of his name in the history of South Africa as the nation is still tied with his legacy.

The Political Association of the House

When Rhodes bequeathed the land to the nation, he did not leave the estate to the British Colony of the Cape because it would have been governed from London. Alta Kriel states that

he apparently believed the country (South Africa) should be ruled by local people, hence he left the estate to the federated states of South Africa. When he bought the house from Mrs. Van Der Byl, he saw it as an arena for political activities that he envisaged Rhodes himself. Rhodes did not only maintain the Dutch architectural style of the house but he also improved it.¹⁴

He improved it by collecting cultural-history that the manor house displays to this day and also inserted a strong association of the house with a history of the Dutch at the Cape.

According to Simons



its most striking feature is surely the multiplicity of its gables and the fanciful style with which Baker imbued them. With the main, central gable a bronze panel modeled in full relief shows the landing in Table Bay of Jan Van Riebeeck, the Cape's first Dutch commander and Groote Schuur's original builder.¹⁵

The insertion of this historical moment registered the most important historical event in the history of the Cape. It monumentalised the “first landing of Van Riebeeck at the Cape and his encounter with the Khoinkhoin.”¹⁶ Moreover, it constructed and maintained the history of colonialism in association with Van Riebeeck as founder of the Cape and the original builder of the house. The Khoinkhoin are only highlighted in the panel but nothing is documented about them, which means that the production of colonial history was exclusive and Eurocentric. However, if the history of Van Riebeeck is that important what about the history of his first encounters? Rhodes traced and collected the history of

¹⁴ Interview with Alta Kriel, A Curator at Groote Schuur Manor House, June 22, 2005.

¹⁵ P.B. Simons *Groote Schuur: Great Granary to Stately Home*, (Cape Town: Fernwood Press 1996) p. 50.

¹⁶ P.B. Simons *Groote Schuur: Great Granary to Stately Home*, (Cape Town: Fernwood Press 1996) p. 50.

the Dutch and the house. In the process, he revived the demise colonial Dutch culture housed and displayed by Herbert Baker's rebuilding of the house.

The history of the house and colonial history were juxtaposed together as they both representing traces of the "founder" of the Cape. Simons further argued that,

Rhodes commissioned the young Scottish sculptor, John Tweed, to make the panel and Baker placed it where it would be most clearly visible. Like Groote Schuur itself, it does not find favour with everyone: according to its critics, its position impairs the quality of the gable as an architectural element. Was it fortunate, one wonders, that Tweed's work of art survived the fire of December 1896?¹⁷

The panel in its position in the house was erected as a memory to the founder of the Cape and the monumentalisation of his arrival. It has been placed as an official stamp of colonial history. The question in Simon's argument expresses the historical significance of the panel. However, it also qualifies his argument about South African history of the house. It was the production of this history and the fire of 1896 that cemented its existence. The house was rebuilt the same way it was before the fire. Rhodes's effort to bring Afrikaners under the British Empire took longer than he expected and his recognition of Dutch culture had never to that point, been credited him.

The political association of the house is an old tradition. It began when Rhodes gave his house to the nation so that it could be used as a residence for the Prime Minister. Throughout the twentieth century the South African government honoured his wish. Although the manor house fell out of favour, it is now used for functions and guided tours. Genadendal substituted its official position as a residence for the president. Alta Kriel, a curator in Groote Schuur, has explained this tradition. She argues that Rhodes admired the Dutch architecture and collected different cultural artifacts from various countries. His vast collection of Dutch cultural items is part of the furniture at Groote Schuur, showing his admiration of Dutch heritage. Rhodes also represented Dutch people in parliament and had a Dutch friend, Hofmeyr. It was "Rhodes who commissioned the

¹⁷ P.B. Simons *Groote Schuur: Great Granary to Stately Home*, (Cape Town: Fernwood Press 1996) p. 50.

Van Riebeeck statue in the city centre in Cape Town.”¹⁸ These activities not only show Rhodes respect for the Dutch but also Van Riebeeck as a “founder” of De Groote Schuur and of the Cape. However, Afrikaners, in contrast, obstructed his way to the north by establishing two Boer republics, Orange Free State and Transvaal. Andre Maurois in his book, *Cecil Rhodes* 1953, argues, “while Kruger was already dreaming of Africa for the Afrikaners, and in his dreams he in turn was painting the map in their national colours.”¹⁹ Rhodes may have thought that some day British imperialism would control Africa. In South Africa, his real attitude to Dutch culture emerged in the idea of Britons as superior race. But since he accommodated Dutch pasts, Groote Schuur after 1910 was easily made a part of Afrikaner nationalism. The Union Government of 1910 took advantage of the opportunity to honour the wishes of Rhodes. Rhodes wanted federated states of Southern Africa not a union of South Africa.

A related point in this argument is that first the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa in 1910 was an Afrikaner. According to Kriel “the first prime minister, Louis Botha, a Dutch descendent did not feel alienated with the structure and furniture of the house since it was Cape Dutch and was familiar to him. It represents a familiar historical background for him, and it was the purpose of the house from its conception.”²⁰ It was used as a venue for functions, dinners and special occasions like the opening of the parliament. The will prevented any use of the house for different purposes as the house was a fixture of history. The fact that it was Rhodes’s house had no political role in the immediate post-union era until recently when it has been nostalgically revived. The government of the post-apartheid South Africa declared the house and its cultural treasure a national monument in 1997. This monumentalisation of Rhodes house complicates even further the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes in post-apartheid history. Rhodes house is a fixture of history in more ways than one. It represents a timeless and lasting history of imperialism. Legally, Rhodes estate especially his house, protects the end of Rhodes’s name in post-apartheid South Africa. The house and its cultural-history

¹⁸ L. Witz *Apartheid’s Festival: Contesting South Africa’s National Pasts*, (Boomington: Indiana University Press 2003) p. 23.

¹⁹ A. Maurois *Cecil Rhodes: Brief lives* (London and Glasgow 1953) p. 56.

²⁰ Interview with Alta Kriel, A Curator at Groote Schuur Manor House, 22 June 2005.

collection are now regarded as a national monument. Not all South Africans know about this house or ever view this collection. Yet, in the will it is stated that the estate should be opened to the public to be used as a park.

The house under the leadership of the trustees has been presented as a colonial museum. Various leaders from numerous regimes resided in the manor house but none of them changed or removed the furniture as in accordance with clause number thirteen of the will. Even towards the end of apartheid, P.W. Botha, a president at the time, did not live in the house. He lived at Westbrook, another house on the estate. According to Kriel,

since September 1984 nobody lived in the manor house which brought the political association of the house on hold for a while. Groote Schuur regained its political position towards the end of apartheid, when P.W. Botha was succeeded by F.W. De Klerk who took the house to the post-apartheid South Africa.²¹

F.W. De Klerk was the last person to use the house as an official residence. There were more changes followed after 1994 with the end of De Klerk and his departure from the house.



Former president Nelson Mandela, the first democratically elected president of a non-racial South Africa, chose not to reside in Groote Schuur manor house. According to Kriel, when Mandela took over he said that, the house was not practical for residential purposes and that he could not stay with his grandchildren there. Former deputy president Jacob Zuma also chose not to stay in the house and he was the last person to stay in the house. He also complained that it is not good for the children. Because of the cultural collection in the house and a need to maintain it, a curator was employed to look after these antiques and other items. It was then when it started to operate as a museum. The cultural-history collection in the house makes it specifically a colonial museum and much effort has gone into preserving it. The house in post-apartheid South Africa seemed to be less desirable to be a residential home for the president. As a museum, the house is open for guided tours. Genadendal substitutes its position as a residence for the president.

²¹ Interview with Alta Kriel, A Curator at Groote Schuur Manor House, 22 June 2005.

Botha practiced this shift very briefly before he stepped down as president. Foreign tourists are guided around the manor house to view the interior decoration, which presents the house as a colonial museum with its colonial collection. The tour guide offers little political history dealing with the ideas and consequences of the people who once resided in the house.

In South Africa, the white colonial legacy cannot be easily erased. The complex of Rhodes's legacy can be explored in conjunction with Ciraj Rassool's unpublished paper, on "The Biographic Order: Further notes on biography in South African public culture after apartheid."²² His paper helps us to understand the biographic production of Cecil John Rhodes. If the biographic order in Rassool's paper is about the production of biographic histories of heroes then this historical production is contradicted by reinvention of Rhodes's biography in post-apartheid South Africa. The acknowledgement of these heroes in the struggle for liberation and shaping of the post-apartheid South Africa has been complicated by Rhodes' contribution in "bringing civilisation" in the African continent, which gave him credit to his admirers and those who work for him or represent him in the post-apartheid South Africa. The spirit of Cecil John Rhodes follows from the cultural-history he collected. The collection and the house make Rhodes available to the present.

The estate gained its biographic maintenance and reproduction in a decision initiated by Rhodes trust. According to Rassool,

as part of the management of Mandela's legacy with that of Cecil John Rhodes to create biography, the Nelson Mandela foundation made a decision to enjoin Mandela's legacy with that of Cecil John Rhodes to create the Mandela Rhodes Foundation, and historic amalgamation of resources to boost initiatives in education and other fields.²³

²² C. Rassool "The Biographic Order: Further Notes on Biography in South African Public Culture after Apartheid," unpublished paper.

²³ C. Rassool "The Biographic Order: Further Notes on Biography in South African Public Culture after Apartheid," unpublished paper. p. 16.

This initiative was about erecting Rhodes name in the post-apartheid history. Joining Rhodes' name with Mandela meant that the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes re-emerged and figured as a nationalist instead of an imperialist. In addressing this unusual merger Rassool argues "this almost unlikely initiative to bring together 'the names of two immense figures of Africa' in a biographic past signaled (in Mandela's words) "closing of the circle and the coming together of two strands in our history."²⁴ In closing this circle Mandela alerts us to acknowledge that our past will always have scars of imperialism. Groote Schuur estate emerged in this regard as a starting point of this realised post-apartheid South Africa. In reconciling the maltreatments of the past we have to presumably position our past to the present. This emerges on the basis of healing memories about the past in bringing together a "rainbow nation".

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in her book *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, 1998 helps us to understand the initiative Mandela had taken to close the bridge between colonial heritage and post-apartheid history. She argues,



If colonial past, a past of missionaries and forced acculturation, threatened to produce "de-culturation," the heritage industry does not so much reverse that process, even though its discourse of reclamation and preservation makes such claims. Rather, the heritage industry is a new mode of cultural production and it produces something new. There is no turning back. If heritage as we know it from the industry were sustainable, it would not require protection. The process of protection, of "adding value," speaks in and to the present, even if it does so in terms of the past.²⁵

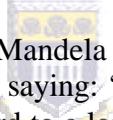
Pairing Rassool's biographic complex with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's notion of heritage industry, one realises that Mandela's initiative to bring together the colonial and post-apartheid legacy was more than just a closing of a circle. Rather it is also the production of post-apartheid history. It is however, then that Mandela might have realised that Rhodes cannot be erased in South African history.

²⁴ C. Rassool "The Biographic Order: Further Notes on Biography in South African Public Culture after Apartheid," unpublished paper. p. 16.

²⁵ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, (California: University of California Press 1998) p. 150.

Mandela Rhodes Foundation was launched on 13 of February 2002. In reinventing Rhodes house, the meeting was held at the Groote Schuur manor house. Mandela was officiating at the launch. The merger resonates with a claim Simon made earlier about a symbolic association of the house with the history and the politics of South Africa. The production of the history of the house in post-apartheid South Africa extends from the Groote Schuur minute. According to the Rhodes centenary website “[the merger] is a partnership which affirms the commitment to the reconciliation of different, and at times opposed, historical traditions, which is so central to the philosophy and practice of the new South Africa.”²⁶ Rhodes’ money has again bought his position in the new South Africa. The combination of Rhodes and Mandela emerge as a reconciling of South Africans and the emergence of the “rainbow nation.”

The unification of Rhodes and Mandela is beyond historical discourse. By that I mean it was unexpected and excessive. It noted on the Rhodes centenary website that


in his speech at Groote Schuur, Mr. Mandela emphasised the historical significance of the new partnership. He closed by saying: ‘we thank the Rhodes Trust for joining us in this partnership and look forward to a long and fruitful life for this entity.’²⁷

Mandela took the positive contribution of the Rhodes Trust and combined this idea to end the evil past. He recognised the significance of hybridism in merging colonial legacy in our new democracy as a symbol of “rainbow nation” and transformation. Mandela acknowledges the complexity of Rhodes’s legacy in post-apartheid South Africa.

Another complex issue about the estate, which also qualifies that Groote Schuur estate is a fixture of history emerged in the naming of the presidential residence, which after 1994, was Mandela’s responsibility. According to Kriel

Mandela may have realised that he could not change the original name of the manor house as he was in the process of changing names of both official residences. Pretoria was Libertas and he changed it to Mahlamba Ndlovu, Westbrook was

²⁶ http://www.rhodescentenary.co.za/Mandela_frame.htm 22 September 2005.

²⁷ http://www.rhodescentenary.co.za/Mandela_frame.htm 22 September 2005.

named until 1820s Onderschuur (Lower Barn), changed to Genadendal, a name of a Moravian Missionary Station built in the middle of the 18th century, close to Caledon in the Western Cape. It is mainly a “coloured community” living in there. It can be assumed that he wanted to give recognition to “coloured community” in the Western Cape, as Rhodes gave recognition to Dutch descendants in the architecture of the house.²⁸

De Groote Schuur remains a problem in post-apartheid South Africa. Its colonial fixture rejects the post-apartheid transformation. Groote Schuur estate is still public property and an official residence for the president South Africa. The future use of the estate and the house depends on the parliament staying in Cape Town. If it may happen in future that the government decided to move the parliament to another province, the estate and the house then can be open for the public.

The House on Fire

The 1896 fire did not destroy Rhodes’ plan about the house. At the time of the fire it was argued that Rhodes was away in Rhodesia and the furniture was almost burnt. The house had a thatched roof at the time that made the fire more uncontrollable. Baker, his architecture was instructed to reconstruct the house immediately. According to Simons “consideration was given as to whether an entirely new Groote Schuur should be built up the mountain where the air was clearer and the view even more magnificent, but ‘sentiment.... was always uppermost in him’ (so said Baker), and the site of the old house and garden won the day.”²⁹ The Groote Schuur manor house was rebuilt on the same foundation. Preference was given to the history of the house that Rhodes eventually wanted to reinvent Dutch architecture. Alta Kriel relates to the fire story in her guided tours in the house. She showed us a piece of floor survived the fire in the house. But the rest of the collection was burnt and Rhodes ordered it to be recollected immediately.

The cultural-history collection currently known as Groote Schuur collection and presently housed at the Groote Schuur manor house, consists of furniture, clock, porcelain, ceramics, silver, brass and metal-ware, as well as all the paintings, books, photographs,

²⁸ Interview with Alta Kriel, A Curator at Groote Schuur Manor House, 22 June 2005.

²⁹ P.B. Simons *Groote Schuur: Great Granary to Stately Home*, (Cape Town: Fernwood Press 1996) p. 22.

carpets, textiles and weapons, collected during Rhodes time both by him and his employees. He had to recollect the furniture and other cultural items after the fire. He bequeathed the cultural-history collection together with his house to the nation and protected his collection in clause thirteen of his will. However, in recognition of the cultural-history collection at the Groote Schuur manor house, it was declared as a national cultural treasure on the 21st of November 1997 together with the house as a national monument. According to the “national monuments act, No, 28 of 1969, the National Monuments Council hereby declares the cultural-history collection, and as more fully described in the Schedule, as a national cultural treasure on account of its cultural and historical importance.”³⁰ Another closing circle in the history of South Africa can be drawn in the recognition of this colonial heritage as signified by this cultural-history collection. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett offers us a way to analyse the house and its collection when she says, “heritage not only gives buildings, precincts, and ways of life that are no longer viable for one reason or another a second life as exhibits of themselves.”³¹ This collection and the house are now exhibiting the colonial past, when it fell out of favour for being a house of the president. Its second life is that of a colonial museum keeping colonial history. The furniture in the manor house depicts a representation of colonial legacy, which now can be seen as a colonial museum.

I came to understand that it was these fragmented stories that surrogate a history of the new South Africa. Groote Schuur estate may be an official residence for high profile people like the president and other officials, but when you visit the manor house, it is where you find the representation of colonial history. This “white heritage” remains exclusive especially to be used as a heritage of new South Africa, because of its foreignness and exclusiveness. It is not different from the theme park, where you visit a colonial past through guided tours around the house. This kind of museum setting is relevant to Rhodes’ dream of empire building. His collection includes Dutch items, Zimbabwean, Chinese items and books about Africa and other countries. Groote Schuur

³⁰ National Monuments Act, No. 28 of 1969, November 21, 1997.

³¹ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, (California: University of California Press 1998) p. 150.

was his main home in South Africa, which connected him with Van Riebeeck, the founder of the Cape and a colonist. It is how Rhodes' contemporaries reproduced his legacy following the genealogy of its political association with the history of South Africa from 1657 until now. The estate is not generally open to the public unless by appointment.

The house, which he bequeathed to the nation as a residence for the Prime Minister of a federated government, is still decorated with the furniture that Rhodes collected himself. Over and above this, the current use of the house, guided tours and functions are paired with historical productions of Cecil John Rhodes. Visitors also learn about Rhodes and how his home was in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The house has no other history except Rhodes. The guided tours bring one back to those centuries when Rhodes monumentalised his colonial legacy. Rhodes left his legacy to the nation and the value of his colonial treasure he collected in the house is now a national. With these plans, Rhodes regarded himself as a statesman and his property as a national asset and as official residence. Groote Schuur can be associated with what Ndebele called "colonial leisure."³² The post-apartheid government utilises the services of the estate without critiquing its origin. The physical marks of colonial, post-union and apartheid are now inseminated to the post-apartheid South Africa, and Groote Schuur is presented as a venue for the birth of the new South Africa. In contrast the manor house inside presents a colonial museum displaying a colonial collection and colonial Cape Dutch architecture.

Conclusion

In conclusion the use of Groote Schuur earns Rhodes a position in post-apartheid South Africa. Rhodes whom I still believe owes a lot to the people of this country for stealing their land and their resources for the benefit of England has found a way of becoming an iconic figure for both white South Africans and post-apartheid politicians. His association with Mandela had furthered his vision of civilising Africa. There is no doubt that Rhodes had no interest in black South Africans besides grabbing their land and their resources for

³² N. Ndebele "Game Lodges and Leisure Colonists", In H. Judin et al (eds). *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and after*, (Rotterdam: David Phillip NAi 1998) p. 120.

his country. However, in the then Rhodesia Rhodes's name claimed two identities, as a so-called friend of the Ndebele people and the ownership of the country. Contrary to that Africans in South Africa had no relationship of what so ever with Rhodes as echoed earlier in the chapter by Wilson. Africans have no historical association with Groote Schuur estate except enjoying an already made colonial leisure waiting to be occupied.

It was not surprising when I discovered that the majority of South Africans know nothing about Groote Schuur estate. Some visitors exclaimed that they did not know about the house. Amazing is that even the students at the University of Cape Town knew very little about Rhodes, but this will be explored further in the next chapter which deals with his memorials. However, the place has a huge international market with European and American tourists being drawn to witness the success of an Englishman in South Africa. This publicity seems to say Rhodes is yet to be produced as an icon of imperialism and its brutal consequences in Africa. And yet his legacy is frozen in the production of South African history.





Chapter Four

Producing a History of Rhodes

New regimes and their policies come and go, opening and transforming and shaping histories and memories of the past. City Councils and the department of interior on the other hand are mandated by government to recognise important events and heroes of the past and the present. This public history in the making leaves behind traces of monumental histories of heroes and events. Post-apartheid Cape Town is “archiving” these colonial traces. It is a venue for the colonial past, a store of colonial history. Besides old buildings, which are the result of this colonial history, the city alone is full of statues of colonial and post-union leaders of the then Cape Colony and the Union of South Africa from 1910 onwards. Cecil John Rhodes is among these leaders. He was the prime minister of the Cape Colony in the 1890s. Most significant in his career is that he was a colonist and empire-builder, showing his “pioneers” their land to the north. After his death, “Rhodes’s friends and admirers entered into a competitive glorification of Cecil John Rhodes, campaigning to memorialise *their* statesman for what he did for the country.”¹ The memorialisation of Cecil John Rhodes has been associated with his idea of British imperialism. The Southern African landscape bears the monuments of Cecil John Rhodes from Cape Town in the south to the then Rhodesia beyond the Limpopo River.

This chapter attempts to bring together the significances drawn in producing Cecil John Rhodes in his memorial on Devils Peak and the statues at the University of Cape Town and the Company Gardens in the city centre. The chapter will engage a critical debate on the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes in post-apartheid South Africa that straddles his life and the colonial monuments built in his honour. I will examine the inscriptions written on statues and memorials and its importance to his friends. I will also critically contest racism in the memorialisation of Rhodes by examining the meaning of the presence of Africans at the opening of Rhodes Memorial on Devils Peak. This idea will be juxtaposed with his funeral service in the Matopos. I will engage the work of various scholars such as Herman Wittenberg, Anthony Holiday, Goodman Gwasira, and

¹ D.P. Seymour *Historical Buildings in South Africa*, (Cape Town: Struik 1989) p. 35.

Tanya Barben. The most vital point in this argument will be based on the meaning of these memorials to the South African people at present in reading them as part of South African past.

The meaning of Rhodes' memorials has gradually transformed in an academic discourse, especially since scholars have now turned to the discussion of the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes. Their arguments criticise the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes after his death. The negative responses to Rhodes have in common the idea that Rhodes was an imperialist, a colonist with an idea of colonial expansion for Britain to those who demonised him. If anything, I am struck by Barry Ronge's article in the *Sunday Times* of 24th August 2002. In his article he cited Vin Leroux, a creator of Rhodes's website. Ronge states that

Rhodes's passion for lions, his almost atavistic response to mountains, like Table Mountain, and the Matopos in Zimbabwe in which he is buried, become, in Leroux's vision, a set of integrated symbols through which he gives us another view of Rhodes. He's not blind to the jingoism. He reminds that Rhodes once said, 'to be born an Englishman is to win first prize in God's lottery'. But I found myself asking, how different is that kind of nationalist fervour from an unshakable belief in ubuntu?²

This article echoes the recent views contained in Lunderstedt *The King of Diamonds* (2002). He claims that "like Mandela, Rhodes is among the great heroes of South Africa."³ In the post-apartheid era, Rhodes's name still has a great influence in South Africa. Desmond Colborne is Rhodes Scholar. He continues the fluidity in the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes in the 21st century. Colborne in his video called, "in the footsteps of Rhodes," associates Rhodes with Mandela. In honouring the memory of Rhodes centenary birth, he has challenged the producers of history by noting that "whether you idolized or demonized him, no other coloniser matches the extent of his continuing legacy towards world education and the heritage of a country."⁴

² Barry Ronge "Great Minds Think Alike," *Sunday Times* 24 August 2002.

³ S.Lunderstedt *The King of Diamonds* (Kimberley: Kimberley Marketing and Promotions 2002).

⁴ "In the Footsteps of Rhodes", A Videocassette Written and Narrated by Desmond Colborne, filmed and edited by Michael Van Rayneveld, (A Ryno Production, Cape Town, 2003).

The question to ask is: if Rhodes does qualify to be a South African, then why is he accused of being a racist? Holiday in his paper published on the *Cape Times* of the 14th of March 2005 challenges the City Council in its delay of transforming the public history at the city centre of Cape Town. His criticism is central to the colonial past kept in the Company Gardens. Holiday is of the opinion that the statue of Cecil John Rhodes in the Company Gardens needs to be destroyed. He is attempting to put pressure in the City Council following the mayor's speech, Mrs. Noma-India Mfeketho about transforming the city. Amongst the statues in the city centre, Holiday chose Rhodes statue to be destroyed. He claims that the statue represents racism. This chapter will attempt to explore those allegations by reviewing histories represented by these monuments.

The literature covering the analysis of Rhodes commemorations in various periods that contributes to the production of Rhodes history is still very limited. There is however, some critical analysis of Rhodes memorialisation that has engaged the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes in post-apartheid South Africa. In thinking about this history it is important to reflect on Peter Merrington's article "A Staggered Orientalism: The Cape-to-Cairo Imaginary" (2001) in helping us to understand the role of commemoration in nation building. According to Merrington,

this cultural matrix constitutes a kind of colonial and imperial imaginary, which generated a particular founding myth for the colonial state of the Union of South Africa in 1910 and which also lent to foreign visitors, tourists, and immigrants a readily understood interpretation of South Africa and the Cape as 'Mediterranean' rather than as 'African.'⁵

He begins by saying that "the sign – the monument-of-life-in-death, the sepulcher of a soul or of an embalmed proper body, the height conserving in its depths the hegemony of the soul, resisting time, the hard text of stones covered with inscription – is the pyramid."⁶ This imagined identity was constructed to seek a vision for the future of the

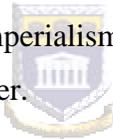
⁵ Peter Merrington "A Staggered Orientalism: The Cape-to-Cairo Imaginary", *Poetic Today* 22, No. 2 (2001) p. 323.

⁶ Peter Merrington "A Staggered Orientalism: The Cape-to-Cairo Imaginary", *Poetic Today* 22, no2 (2001) p. 323.

union. The notion of Rhodes's vision was regarded as imagery of reconciliation between Dutch and Britons after the South African war in 1902. Merrington notes that,

when South African union was achieved, it was celebrated as a 'consummation,' an image for the marriage of four colonies, and repeatedly in the dominions the concept of 'birth' was employed for the founding new polities. Cape Town was described as the 'cradle' from which the nation was born.⁷

Thus the identity of South Africa within the British Empire was established and its greatness celebrated by citing the architectural forms of older past empires, such as Rome and Egypt. The aims of the union were to incorporate South Africa with other British dominions, such as Canada and Australia. A Dutch ancestry was also now part of this unity. Merrington shows us how modern South Africa was carved out of the story of imperialism through commemoration. The Doric temple on Devils Peak signifies a gift attributed to Cecil John Rhodes as a founder of South Africa, a British colony joining the above colonies. Not only did Rhodes Memorial on Devils Peak carry this iconic figure of Rhodes as an imaginative figure of imperialism, but the statues of Cecil John Rhodes were also constructed in the same manner.



Rhodes statue in the Company Gardens

A character of Rhodes is implicated in the ideology invented in designing his sculptures. The words inserted can be associated with the power presented in his memorials. Most popular in these sculptures are the words of the famous English poet and a friend to Rhodes, Rudyard Kipling. The statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town sculptured by Marion Walgate in 1934 has the following inspirational words from Kipling's verses; 'I dream a dream/ by rock and heath and pine/ of empire northwards/ ay one land/ from the lion's head to the line'. Rhodes is contemplating his dreams seated, holding a map with the left hand in an act of contemplation. In the company gardens his statue sculptured by Henry Pegram in 1908, stands on the pedestal constructed by rocks bear the following words; 'Your hinterland is there.'

⁷ Peter Merrington "A Staggered Orientalism: The Cape-to-Cairo Imaginary", *Poetics Today* 22, No. 2 (2001) p. 332.

The first thought about the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes in Cape Town emerged from the meeting held in the town house, Greenmarket Square on the 16th April 1902. According to Earl Albert Grey, governor at the then Cape Colony, “as the capital of the Cape Colony, Cape Town should inaugurate a fund towards the erection of a National South African Memorial in honour of the late Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes, to consist of a colossal statue, to be erected in the city or its immediate neighbourhood.”⁸ Rhodes statue in the Company Gardens was controversial from the beginning. In Cape Town, it was the first statue erected in the memory of Cecil John Rhodes in the city centre for its citizens. There was a problem about choosing the site appropriate for the statue. Grey noted that,

the site, however, of this statue must be regarded as temporary, as it was really designed for a position at the foot of the historic Oak Avenue at the junction of Adderley Street near the house parliament as soon as the government is able to set back the old Supreme Court buildings.⁹

The temporary site of Rhodes statue substituted the suggested site by Kipling and other committee members. The Company Gardens instead of Oak Avenue remained a permanent site for the statue since 1908.



There were three elements in the monumentalisation of Rhodes in the Company Gardens namely; the location of the statue, the words corresponds with the sculpture and the contemporary interpretation of the statue. The statue stands on a pedestal constructed in a way that should elevate it from the invisible position held in the Company Gardens as this seemed to be obstructive from the public viewing. The words that accompany the statue are the sources for their interpretation. Rhodes statue developed an ambiguity among the members of the committee. Some members believed that the image represented by the sculpture contrast with the suggested venue that was opposite the cathedral. Holiday uses these ambiguities to attack the idea of keeping these colonial monuments in the present. He criticises the delay of government on the transformation of

⁸ Earl Albert Grey, et al “Souvenir Programme Dedication of the Rhodes Memorial,” (Cape Town, Grootte Schuur, July 1912) p. 5.

⁹ Earl Albert Grey, et al “Souvenir Programme Dedication of the Rhodes Memorial,” (Cape Town, Grootte Schuur, July 1912) p. 6.

the city centre. The main theme of his argument is that Rhodes statue insults the new order and that Rhodes was an icon of racial imperialism. His criticism can be explored in a broader context of the gardens as a theme park keeping white imperial heritage. It maintains a timeless history of imperialism. The critique of this history is that it does not reflect an ethos of post-apartheid South Africa.

Of these, Holiday's critique is the most important. His critique of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes is not limited to its symbolism of colonial history. In his assessment, the city centre is a monument of colonial past. The garden itself is very central to this history. The colonial history in the gardens emerged as an exclusive heritage of the white minority of South Africa and it does not reflect to the history of the majority people of this country. This critique extends to the main project in figuring the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes in 20th century Cape Town. Rhodes statue in the Company Gardens extends his reputation from his legacy in colonial history and as national asset.



Holiday also stresses the controversy surrounding the statue when it was first erected. Baker and Massey who were friends of Rhodes and involved in the erection of Rhodes memorials, condemned the pairing of the statue with the cathedral. In their view, the statue was going to dwarf the image of the church. The statue was temporarily erected in the Company Gardens instead. It was hoped that the statue would be moved to its permanent site as soon as its place was cleared. Kipling was frustrated by a delay of erecting Rhodes statue on the Government Avenue. Barben argues that, "he objected to the sitting of Rhodes's north-facing statue ('your hinterland is there') which had been placed temporarily in Cape Town's Public Gardens, rather than at the bottom of the more impressive Government Avenue."¹⁰ Kipling was still contemplating his fantasies about imperialism. The admiration of Rhodes vision was driven by his obsession with Rhodes idea of imperialism. Holiday argues,

the statue has been the cause of embarrassment and a controversy ever since Pegram completed it in 1908, not least to the architects Herbert Baker and Francis

¹⁰ Tanya Barben "By Rock and Heath and Pine: Rudyard Kipling and the University of Cape Town", *A Quarterly Bulletin of National Library of South Africa*, vol. 57, No. 4, (2003) p. 167.

Massey, whose firm had been charged with finding a place to put it. The proposal that it be site at St George's Cathedral so alarm Massey that, he wrote to his eminent partner. The statue will dwarf and destroy the proportions of the Cathedral and indeed anything else in its vicinity. I am convinced it would be such a fatal mistake to place it where it is now proposed that I would prefer that we should disassociate ourselves entirely from any responsibility in connection with the proceedings.¹¹

Kipling was not informed about the changing of the site of the statue. He wanted it placed opposite the cathedral. Baker and Massey decided against the idea of placing the statue at St George's Cathedral. The statue was temporarily placed in the Gardens. Kipling as a result, was angry about the decision as the gardens hid the statue from Rhodes admirers. In thinking about Kipling's fantasy, I am reminded of Kirk Savage, a scholar of public history who gives us a description about memorialisation. He observes that "memorials to heroes and events were not meant to revive old struggles and debates but to put them to rest, to show how great men and their deeds had made the people better and stronger."¹² This idea is in keeping with Kipling's desire and his accompanying verse. His verses were meant to give hope that Rhodes legacy would be carried on after his death.



The impact of the words in Kipling's poems resonates with the memory inserted on the monument and also describes the deceased person. David Bunn, a literary critic, interprets the inscription as follows:

'Your hinterland lies yonder,' proclaims the motto on the statue of Rhodes in Cape Town's Gardens. With that possessive pronoun the voice of the statue challenges passers-by to defy the Liberal laggards caution in London. The future of Empire, it says, rests on a return to unmediated mastery. It is a vision of heroic boldness and manorial authority, closely associated with feudal nostalgia for a time before class, and made possible by the violent context of the colonies.¹³

¹¹ Anthony Holiday, "Rhodes Statue Insults the New Order," *Cape Times*, 14 March 2005.

¹² <http://www.gsd.harvard.edu/research/publications/hdm/back/9savage.html> 1999

¹³ D. Bunn *Whited Sepulchres: On the Reluctance of Monuments*, In H. Judin et al (Eds). *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After*, (Rotterdam: David Phillip NAI 1998) p. 98.

This interpretation contrasts with writings about class and the “rise of capitalism in Europe in Hobsbawm’s, *The Age of Empire*.”¹⁴ Bunn is emphasising two main themes that have been ignored in the histories of imperialism. The first relates to the tensions of empire. The second tells us about the cultural attitude of imperialists such as Rhodes. However, Bunn’s interpretation does not help us in critiquing the imperial ideology presented on the sculpture because he is dwelling on the hermeneutics of the statue. Therefore, his interpretation does not make us follow post-apartheid debates and criticism of the history of imperialism.

Holiday’s critique about the statue emerged in relation to the concept of democracy and his provocative argument condemned the hesitant reaction in the transformation of the city. It is however clear that the present government is faced with the question of how to transform the history of the city. The issue here is that if democracy brings the sense of unity by demolishing a “white colonial legacy” will it still be a democratic step? South Africa’s democracy promotes equality and non-racialism in a form of a “rainbow nation and culture.” Holiday’s article challenges the government policy of transformation for its silence in changing the history of the city. He calls upon the demolition of white heritage in the gardens since the mayor, Noma-India Mfeketho, promised to transform the history of the city. He demands the removal of all statues that are foreign to democracy.

Holiday’s critique helps us to think about the historical production of the Company Gardens. Rhodes statue emerged in a wider historical representation of the Gardens as white heritage. The history produced in the gardens honour colonial icons with racial ideology and power presented on the statues of Rhodes and George Grey. Rhodes and Grey represent an idea of imperialism and civilisation as part of western culture and racial superiority. Holiday argues, “If Cape Town mayor, Nomaindia Mfeketho, is serious about transforming the legislative capital’s racist image, let her begin by demolishing the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, which dominates the Company’s Garden and insults by its presence the very idea of non-racial South Africa.”¹⁵ The Company

¹⁴ E.J. Hobsbawm *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, (Great Britain: Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1987).

¹⁵ Anthony Holiday “Rhodes Statue Insults the New Order,” *Cape Times*, 14 March 2005.

Gardens is a reminder of colonial past with its “white heritage” in post-apartheid South Africa.

The Company Gardens represent a colonial heritage. It presents itself as a theme park by memorialising the history of imperialism. The city of Cape Town maintains the legacy of colonial past by failing to intervene in the debate about statues. Similar recent debates about exhuming Rhodes body and returning it to England were held in Zimbabwe. The city of Cape Town was challenged for maintaining colonial past in post-apartheid South Africa.¹⁶ The Company Gardens is now a national heritage site and a part of tourist routes. Under this commercial production of Rhodes, tourists are also taught mainly positive stories about Rhodes. During my fieldwork I visited the gardens to observe how tour guides produce the history of Rhodes. It reminded me of my earlier township tour when a tour guide told us that “after union of 1910 the land below the Table Mountain was nationalized at the request of Rhodes who was its original owner.”¹⁷ I have learnt how tour guides produce the story of Rhodes as well. This also suggests that nothing changed in the story of Rhodes as he still features as a national icon.



Rhodes Memorial on Devils Peak

A group of friends and business associates took the memorialisation of Rhodes very seriously in Cape Town. The committee made of members (shareholders) from De Beers Company, the Chartered Company, and the Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, considered a scheme for the erection of a memorial at Groote Schuur to the meeting held on Saturday, 18th February 1905. When Rhodes was still alive he was a director of the above companies. They were actively involved in his memorialisation. Grey argued that

notwithstanding the distance of Rhodesia, Table Mountain was the centre of the political creations of his dreams. It seemed therefore to the committee that here only should the National Monument to him be erected.¹⁸

¹⁶ Y350? Public Debates on Statues in Cape Town, POPP Research Project, Castle of Good Hope, 2002.

¹⁷ Interview with Dan, a Tour-guide, Cape Town, August 17, 2004. See also, Rhodes’ Will (Groote Schuur Devotion) Act, No. 9 of 1910, p. 15.

¹⁸ Earl Albert Grey, et al, “Souvenir Programme Dedication of the Rhodes Memorial,” (Cape Town: Groote Schuur, July 1912) p. 7.

Ironically, the selection of the monumental site corresponded to Rhodes dream of empire building. Rhodes contemplated his dream of Cape to Cairo on the slopes of Table Mountain. He had a passion for landscape that can be observed in his passion for Table Mountain in Cape Town, the sphinx in Egypt, and his burial place in the Matopos. Rhodes had a bench on the mountain where he retreated to think his empire. When he died the committee decided to dedicate the bench to his memory as a national monument. Rhodes also had an idea of a Doric temple before he died. He sent Baker to Europe and Egypt to learn about the sphinx and Greek temples. The committee viewed as another historical site of imperialism. Table Mountain and Egypt were part and parcel of the same ambition. According to Bunn:

Rhodes was fierce proponent of the thesis that the Cape was a 'Mediterranean' environment, and in 1900 he packed Baker off to Europe on an all-expenses-paid grand tour to see Athens, Delphi, Olympia, Palermo, Agrigentum and Paestum, amongst others, stopping in Cairo on the way. But both patron and architect believed that raising African civilization to a higher order also required the retaining of local craftsmen in pre-industrial guild skills.¹⁹



The idea of civilisation and colonisation of Africa was brought together by a thought of recruiting local people. The vision he had for Table Mountain was that of Egypt. The idea of Cape as Mediterranean has been discussed both by Bunn and Merrington as a way of bringing together British colonies. The erecting of Rhodes Memorial on the mountain was about honouring Rhodes plan of constructing a Doric temple on the mountain.

Before the erection of the memorial, the supporters of Rhodes had different suggestions about the memorial site and the kind of monument needed to honour the memory of the deceased statesman. Some people considered a statue on Signal Hill, while others wished for a larger than life equestrian statue of Rhodes.²⁰ Baker, Rhodes's architect, and Rudyard Kipling came up with the final decision. D.P. Seymour stated that:

¹⁹ D. Bunn *Whited Sepulchres: On the Reluctance of Monuments*, In H. Judin et al (Eds). *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After*, (Rotterdam: David Phillip NAI 1998) p. 96.

²⁰ D.P. Seymour *Historical Buildings in South Africa*, (Cape Town: Struik 1989) p. 35.

it had been long been one of Rhodes' desires to see classical temples adorning Table Mountain, but it was not until after his death that such a building was constructed. From a seat placed high on Devils Peak, Rhodes would contemplate his favorite view of the far mountains and of the ocean. This was a site Rudyard Kipling and Herbert Baker, both close friends of Rhodes, finally chose for the memorial.²¹

On the contrary, it is not clear whether Baker and Kipling were part of the decision taken at the meeting held on the 18th February 1905. The construction of Rhodes Memorial was told in these fragmented stories that lack a record. Seymour notes that Baker and Kipling handled Rhodes memorialisation. There is no doubt that in architecture Herbert Baker was in charge since the reconstruction of De Groote Schuur, Rhodes' house.

A good analysis of Rhodes Memorial can be found also in Hermann Wittenberg's paper, "Imperialism and prospect: a study of colonial spatial practices." He interprets "monuments as textual system, as an assemblage of signs involved in some way with power and ideology"²² and dissociates himself from those who wrote in ways that glorified Rhodes. Wittenberg instead offers his critical analysis by theorising Rhodes Memorial. He suggests that:



if we want to develop a critical reading of monuments, we have to consider not so much what they mean, but rather how they function. I want to suggest that monuments attempt to manipulate time by asserting themselves in space.²³

Wittenberg's argument is very important in understanding the impact of monument on the African landscape. His study helps us to engage issues debated about transforming Public spaces in post-apartheid South Africa. The ghost of a colonial past haunts the post-apartheid present. It is echoing its presence in South African history. Wittenberg helps us to understand that monuments are not just representing memory of the historical past, but also function as a supposedly timeless history of imperialism. My argument that relies on

²¹ D.P. Seymour *Historical Buildings in South Africa*, (Cape Town: Struik 1989) p. 35.

²² Hermann Wittenberg, "Imperialism and Prospect: A Study of Colonial Spatial Practices," p 31 in "The Mechanisms of Power," eleventh annual conference of the South African association of art historians held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg July 1995.

²³ Hermann Wittenberg, "Imperialism and Prospect: A Study of Colonial Spatial Practices," p 31 in "The Mechanisms of Power," eleventh annual conference of the South African association of art historians held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg July 1995.

Wittenberg is that colonial landmarks construct dualism in the production of history as they present themselves as a fixture of history. Now we have monuments that simultaneously recall the colonial past and the post-apartheid present.

Wittenberg's paper analyses colonial monuments as textual system. He invites us to think about their function not meaning. Table Mountain with its Rhodes Memorial in post-apartheid present still represents a colonial past. The memorial documents Rhodes name on the slopes of Table Mountain. The City Council is yet to envisage the transformation of the city of Cape Town that straddled colonial, post-union, apartheid and post-apartheid history. The public space is filled with colonial monuments. Wittenberg cites Althusser's book *Ideology and Ideological Apparatuses* (1971). He argues, "Attempting to explain the reproduction of a society, he makes the useful distinction between state apparatuses such as the police, the government, the courts and the army, and ideological state apparatuses such as the church, schools, media and the family."²⁴ He further argues, "whereas the state apparatuses are more concerned with the overt exercise of maintaining power, the ideological state apparatuses function primarily in the sphere of culture by disseminating and perpetuating ideology."²⁵ Public history in this regard is about monumentalizing specific events or heroes of certain regimes. The government is very influential in shaping public culture. The then Cape Colony embraced its colonial history by erecting monuments of their heroes who continue to inhabit the city.

Bunn's critique of white monuments' suggests that these monuments are at risk in post-apartheid South Africa. He saw them as lonely on African landscape. The colonial identity monumentalised on African landscape is challenged for its colonial past. The critique of the colonial past is based on racial representation and western traditionalism. To understand the epistemology of these colonial monuments I have followed his argument in unpacking the crisis at hand. The first argument he makes is that:

²⁴ Hermann Wittenberg, "Imperialism and Prospect: A Study of Colonial Spatial Practices," p 33 in "The Mechanisms of Power," eleventh annual conference of the South African association of art historians held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg July 1995.

²⁵ Hermann Wittenberg, "Imperialism and Prospect: A Study of Colonial Spatial Practices," p 33 in "The Mechanisms of Power," eleventh annual conference of the South African association of art historians held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg July 1995.

in Africa, as much as in other colonial contexts, monumental architecture bears the burden of several racially specific contradictions. Imagined as a white tradition, it is thought to surpass the ethical understanding of native communities, for which it is an obscure promise of future independence; at the same time, white monuments run the risk of becoming invisible or being neglected, because they rely on the memorial practices of an embattled minority group of settlers and their children.²⁶

Bunn in his argument analyse the representation of race as exclusiveness, the cultural claim of monuments as a western tradition, and colonial monuments as a heritage of the minority. I want to add that monuments in post-apartheid South Africa are used as tourists gaze and should be evaluated on these terms as well. The second argument he makes relates to naturalisation of monuments. Bunn argues,

all architectural memorials try to naturalize themselves as ‘geological outcroppings in a national landscape’. However, South African monuments, to put it bluntly, find it impossible to be the bearers of collective meaning; instead, they are inhabited by contradiction, because of their reluctance to imagine the idea of citizenship outside the boundaries of race.²⁷



The white minority practice of monumentalisation is bound in the parameter of race as a white heritage. Baker invented the naturalising of monuments when memorialising Rhodes after his death. Bunn saw white monuments as a symbol of racism. White South Africans regarded South Africa as their own land. They had no intentions of collaborating with black majority of South Africa. Baker invented the Victorian colonial monuments in his monumentalisation of Rhodes. Finally, in describing Baker’s architectural style Bunn argues that,

his projects for Rhodes reveal that white imperial monumentality is stylistically and politically regressive, always longing for an older mode of administration in which paternal authority is invested with wide, unmediated political powers. Victorian colonial monuments are able to make the connection between force and

²⁶ D. Bunn *Whited Sepulchres: On the Reluctance of Monuments*, In H. Judin et al (Eds). *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After*, (Rotterdam: David Phillip NAI 1998) p. 93.

²⁷ D. Bunn *Whited Sepulchres: On the Reluctance of Monuments*, In H. Judin et al (Eds). *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After*, (Rotterdam: David Phillip NAI 1998) p. 94.

paternal care because of the special conditions they imagine are required for 'native' administration.²⁸

Bunn's analysis of Baker's work helps us to understand the production of colonial history. Rhodes' memory resonates with the Victorian period and a desired political power reinvented in Baker's work. The reconstruction of this heritage marks a specific period in the history of British imperialism. The imagined past was invented in memory of a European middle class. This group formed the core of imperialists that shared African territories during the scramble of Africa. The middle class effectively controlled the European system of empire. The white minority of South Africa used the local resources to further construct their identity on African soil. A number of Africans, for example, were invited to witness the opening of Rhodes Memorial on the landscape of the Table Mountain.

In the reconstruction of the estate in 1896, Rhodes encouraged the local talent to fit his notion of monumentalising his legacy. The Doric temple on the mountain reflected his obsession with landscape. It was also linked with his imperial vision that connects him with Table Mountain, the Matopos and Egypt. Rhodes big dreams emerged in his idea of sending Baker to study the sphinxes and his vision of the Cape as Mediterranean. Rhodes' idea of imperialism extends his fantasies to paint the African map red and construct a railway line from Cape to Cairo linking all British colonies. The idea of using local material and talent was initially implemented by Rhodes and put into practice during the rebuilding of Groote Schuur and the Rhodes Memorial on Devils Peak. Bunn suggests that we consider Rhodes' wish that Baker resurrect the technique of the monumental use of stone. He tells us that for Baker, "structures crafted from roughly dressed stone, as he put it, are proof of the fact that 'good architecture must be indigenous [and] must take its origins from the natural resources of the country.'²⁹ He further argues,

²⁸ D. Bunn *Whited Sepulchres: On the Reluctance of Monuments*, In H. Judin et al (Eds). *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After*, (Rotterdam: David Phillip NAI 1998) p. 99.

²⁹ D. Bunn *Whited Sepulchres: On the Reluctance of Monuments*, In H. Judin et al (Eds). *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After*, (Rotterdam: David Phillip NAI 1998) p. 95.

such statements lead architects to say that Baker was the first to imagine a locally appropriate form of building. Put slightly differently, stone, for Baker, enables a metonymic association between settler identity and natural landscape; it suggests that a new national presence is being built out of the local, and the stone itself is evidence of the necessarily rough care with which that identity is forced to fashion its new traditions.³⁰

Baker used local stone to develop an idea of localizing white monuments. He constructed Rhodes Memorial by granite quarried on the slope of Table Mountain. It was the same rock that was used for Rhodes bath at Grootte Schuur. Bunn used two concept “force and care” to analyse the localizing of white monuments. Rhodes relied on local materials, hew drawing granite from Table Mountain for his house and stone from a kopje in the Matopos for his grave. Both give meaning to the idea of monumentalisation. They suggest the idea that Rhodes was a hero of white South Africa because he tamed as African landscape and utilised its resources for “civilisation”. Colonial monuments haunt the post-apartheid present.



Accompanying the memorial, Rhodes also set up a scholarship fund. The scholarship celebrates Rhodes idea of imperialism as a living legacy, symbolically conveyed by the sculpture of “*physical energy*”. The sculpture of “*physical energy*” consists of an imagery of horsemanship. The scholarship emerged from his idea of imperialism. Rhodes planned a scholarship before he died to continue his imperial vision. The horse and the rider depict the character of young men that should be selected for the scholarship according to Grey’s early interpretation of the memorial.³¹

Barben in her critique is trying to figure out whether Rhodes is still remembered in post-apartheid South Africa. Her observation as suggested above indicates that the visitors’ interest is in the restaurant rather than the memorial. The fact that Rhodes Memorial was once a signifier of the vista of imperialism has no implication anymore. She points out that this has eroded the meaning inscribed on the memorial. She states that

³⁰ D. Bunn Whited Sepulchres: On the Reluctance of Monuments, In H. Judin et al (Eds). *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid And After*, (Rotterdam: David Phillip NAI 1998) p. 95.

³¹ Earl Albert Grey, et al, “Souvenir Programme Dedication of the Rhodes Memorial,” (Cape Town: Grootte Schuur, July 1912)

on the walls of the temple itself, below the bust of Rhodes fashioned in the likeness of Titus, the Roman emperor whom he believed he most resembled, are fixed the following:

*The immense and brooding spirit;
Shall quicken and control;
Living he was the land and dead;
His soul shall be her soul.*³²

The lines of the poem link Rhodes with the landscape. This marriage can be associated with his naming of present day Zambia and Zimbabwe Rhodesia. By naming these countries after his name, he wanted to monumentalize his name. The verse was taken from a poem of his friend Rudyard Kipling. Kipling was a colonial writer and an admirer of Rhodes, but at present he is not acknowledged. Barben argues that with his words, “he hoped that those who go up the memorial shall come down from the mountain with perhaps more strength and belief.”³³ Not that Kipling was an important figure in the imperial history. In South Africa, his identity emerged in the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes in the twentieth century.



Rhodes memorials are accompanied by Kipling’s verses. Barben further observes that “few would know who wrote those words, or really comprehend in whose honour they were written.”³⁴ Colonial monuments are not important in post-apartheid South Africa. The vanishing of Kipling is because his memory was attached to Rhodes memory in the South African history. Barben states that Rhodes Memorial is not important to the visitors as history. However she does not address the problem represented by the memorial for the colonised subject and their descendents of this country. Rhodes Memorial symbolises the oppression of the black majority of South Africa. In other words, Barben ignores the historical significance of memorial for those who never visit the memorial but live in its shadow.

³² Tanya. Barben “By Rock and Heath and Pine: Rudyard Kipling and the University of Cape Town”, *A Quarterly Bulletin of National Library of South Africa*, vol. 57, No 4, (2003) p. 167.

³³ *The Kipling Journal* NOS. 25-35, 1933-35, p. 104.

³⁴ Tanya. Barben “By Rock and Heath and Pine: Rudyard Kipling and the University of Cape Town”, *A Quarterly Bulletin of National Library of South Africa*, vol. 57, No 4, (2003) p. 167.

Barben in her study of Rhodes has examined various meanings associated with the memorials of Rhodes. She maintains that the dedication to Rhodes is more about the vista than the memorial. Barben states that “Rhodes Memorial, the Doric temple dedicated to him on the Devils Peak, at his favourite ‘seat’, from which he would gaze northwards, and dream his dreams, draws thousands of visitors”³⁵. She further argues “the visitors do not come to honour Rhodes, but rather to visit the monument’s lovely restaurant and see its magnificent views, since it is the only spot on the mountain from which both False Bay and Table Bay can be seen.”³⁶ But this view does not necessarily help us to understand the place of Rhodes in nationalist memory. The intention of tourists visiting the vista of the memorial was now shifted to the restaurant. Barben’s view is too dismissive of the function of the monuments.

Africans at the Opening Ceremony

Africans have been involved in Rhodes Memorial ever since they were first invited to its opening in 1912. In juxtaposing these monumental events, Africans were represented as “Other.” They were invited all the way from the then Rhodesia to Cape Town, while there are no records of local Africans or Capetonians invited at the opening ceremony. The invitation of Ndebele people was regarded as honouring Rhodes’s friendship with them. Africans were invited to the funeral in the Matopos and to the opening ceremony of Rhodes Memorial on Devils Peak. The invitation of Africans all the way from the then Rhodesia was to reinvent the honour given to Rhodes in the funeral. This is a point that I will take up to criticise the patronizing shame addressed in the media by a *Cape Times* journalist.

Rhodes Memorial was opened on 5 July 1912 on Devils Peak. Africans were also invited to the opening of the Rhodes Memorial that was publicised as the most significant multiracial Southern African ceremony. The number of Africans invited to the ceremony

³⁵ Tanya. Barben “By Rock and Heath and Pine: Rudyard Kipling and the University of Cape Town”, *Quarterly Bulletin of National Library of South Africa*, vol. 57, No 4, (2003) p. 167.

³⁶ Tanya. Barben “By Rock and Heath and Pine: Rudyard Kipling and the University of Cape Town”, *Quarterly Bulletin of National Library of South Africa*, vol. 57, No 4, (2003) p. 167.

was limited. The newspaper report shows the number of Africans invited while whites were not counted. According to Wittenberg

if the monument is about a glorious, heroic representation of the 'own', an apparatus for the harnessing of imperial power, it is surprising to find 'Other' present. An interesting feature of the ceremony is thus the presence of '300 representative natives' from as far as the then Rhodesia. Already this phrase hints at the politics at play: the black presence is counted, ordered according to tribe, and thus contained to manageable proportions. There is not huge black mass, only a token presence.'³⁷

The presence of Africans was largely propagandistic. Their presence was meant to show that Ndebele people were Rhodes subjects. The *Cape Times* article merely reproduced the stereotype of Africans as tribal subjects.

A *Cape Times* journalist spoke of a number of Africans at the ceremony as a tribe and of Africans as real children of the soil. Whites on the other hand, were described as people not children. This was a copy of the funeral in the Matopos. At the funeral a token number of Ndebele people were also invited and a similar report was given. It had been reported that:

while the band played the dead march, the natives lined the hills. Sikombo, Faku, Umgula and over two thousand natives were present, all of them being deeply impressed. A thousand whites congregated round the windswept hill. The grave was encircled by six boulders, the whole space left being fifteen yards. The procession was led up by volunteers, and the dead march echoed through the hills while the natives stood like statues.³⁸

The idea of inviting "natives" to the funeral service was to construct a cultural identity. This again can be associated with Rhodes idea of adopting Dutch heritage at the Grootte Schuur estate and the commissioning of Van Riebeeck's statue in the city centre. Rhodes inserted his memory on existing monuments and cultures. Van Riebeeck was a founder of the Cape and builder of Grootte Schuur while Matopo hills were known as a cemetery for

³⁷ Tanya. Barben "By Rock and Heath and Pine: Rudyard Kipling and the University of Cape Town", *A Quarterly Bulletin of National Library of South Africa*, vol. 57, No 4, (2003) p. 167.

³⁸ *Cape Times*, 12 April 1902.

African kings. Rhodes erected his name in all these three sites as a contradiction between culture and imperialism. The idea of buying the estate, adopting and collecting Dutch culture, and commissioning of Van Riebeeck's statue relates to his vision of cultural production of colonial identity. The invitation of Africans at the opening of Rhodes Memorial was to continue Rhodes's project of monumentalism as a way paying a tribute to his friendship with Ndebele people. Rhodes installed a colonial identity in Africa by selecting his burial place in the Matopos.

Moreover, nothing was said about local Africans at the ceremony. Instead the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes honoured his relationship with Ndebele people specifically. The white liberal newspapers of that time such as the *Cape Times*, implicated the notions of racism in their writings. Wittenberg argues,

the patronizing attitude of the *Cape Times* is undisguised: 'and it was good that these real children of the soil should be there to join with the white people in commemorating the life work of one who loved them and who never forgot them.' By referring to the colonized as 'children', it is denying them equal standing. They are minor participants, not able to be admitted to the category of people.³⁹

Wittenberg in his paper problematised the invitation of Africans at the ceremony. His subheading for the conclusion is 'instead of a conclusion' which recalls an unchallenged stereotype by a *Cape Times* journalist about Africans. This sub heading suggests that in the writing of colonial history, 'natives' were always regarded as passive subjects whose histories were written through the eyes of the colonisers.

In this regard, the figures of Africans given by the *Cape Times* for their presence at the opening ceremony suggest that Africans were treated as colonial subjects. However, Wittenberg's last sentences sums up his argument with two ideas emerging as the purpose of the ceremony, uniting English and Dutch, while on the other hand promoting imperial power and ideology. He argues quoting Grey's words "later he exhorts his white

³⁹ Hermann Wittenberg "Imperialism and Prospect: A Study of Colonial Spatial Practices," p 36 in "The Mechanisms of Power," eleventh annual conference of the South African association of art historians held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg July 1995.

audience to solidarity between British and Dutch, as ‘a real and not nominal fusion of the white races is absolutely vital to its continued existence as a civilised state.’⁴⁰ The main purpose of the ceremony was to strengthen the unity between Britons and Afrikaners. It was a joint collaboration of what Grey called a construction of white civilised nation. Africans in this triangle can be seen as spectators and witnesses of the unity between Dutch and Britons.

However, Grey’s words did not mend the rift between Dutch and English. There were always cultural clashes and cultural distinctions between them. In these cultural clashes, Rhodes Memorial represented British identity. Although Rhodes Memorial was meant to unite these two groups, ironically it retained a heritage of English speaking South Africans. Peter Blum wrote a poem in “Cape Flats Afrikaans” about the monuments. The poem was written as a “satirical response to the opening of the Voortrekker Monument on the 16 December 1949.”⁴¹ Another historical production of Cecil John Rhodes can be found on a play about Rhodes produced by Anthony Delius and titled *The Fall: A Play about Rhodes* (1960). The play is an example of the widespread interest in Rhodes’ life.⁴² It is about a continuation of the production of Rhodes in the twentieth century. The play was first performed in Bloemfontein on the 27th of May 1960. Rhodes featured in the apartheid era as cultural icon.

Rhodes Statue at the University of Cape Town

Another episode in the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes took its form in 1934 when the University of Cape Town advocated the idea of erecting Rhodes statue on the campus. The production of Rhodes history has been sourced in collaboration with Goodman Gwasira’s archaeological work at the university. His paper, “Reading between the lines: monuments as metaphors,” deals with reading monuments as silent texts. Gwasira’s work on monuments around UCT campus helps us to understand the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes on the campus. The University of Cape Town is situated

⁴⁰ Hermann Wittenberg “Imperialism and Prospect: A Study of Colonial Spatial Practices,” p 36 in “The Mechanisms of Power,” eleventh annual conference of the South African association of art historians held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg July 1995.

⁴¹ P. Blum “Speak of Monument”: Loose Translation by Stanley Ridge, 23 September 2004.

⁴² A. Delius *The Fall: A Play about Rhodes*, (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau 1960).

at Rhodes's Groote Schuur estate which makes it part of his estate. Rhodes had an idea of building the university before he died in 1902. Barben similarly reminds us that 'he wanted to build the university out of the profit from the kafir compounds system of De Beers Diamond Mines, 'out of the kafir's stomach.'"⁴³

The University of Cape Town is also part of Rhodes legacy. One of the clauses in Rhodes' will (Groote Schuur Devolution) Act No.9 of 1910, clause number six states that the concessions contained in the second schedule to this act and to the conditions in clause 13 of the will of the testator, the union government may, dedicate a site on the Groote Schuur estates for the purpose of university buildings. The Union government had many things to settle before starting their programme. It should be borne in mind that a leader of a Boer Republic led the Union Government. The idea of building the university was about integrating the English and Afrikaans. The union itself took eight years after the end of South African War in 1902. Barben argues that in 1918 the university came into being. She says, "another war and considerable obstacles intervened, but finally (following negotiations with the colleges in the other provinces) the University of Cape Town (in which is incorporated the South African college) came into being."⁴⁴ The delays caused by ethnic differences between Afrikaners and British South Africans resulted to the completion of the university in the 1930s.

This memorialisation and honouring of Rhodes wish of building the university on the estate resulted in the erection of a statue made by Marion Walgate in 1934. Rhodes statue has a very interesting history on the campus. Gwasira helps us to unpack these fragmented stories about this "work of art." He make two points, firstly, monuments are patterned through time in particular political, social and economic circumstances, and secondly, he argues that the dialectics of power, domination and resistance that characterised the period in which the artifacts were fashioned can be understood by reading the artifacts as silent texts. He argues that,

⁴³ Tanya. Barben "By Rock and Heath and Pine: Rudyard Kipling and the University of Cape Town", *A Quarterly Bulletin of National Library of South Africa*, vol. 57, No 3, (2003) p. 123.

⁴⁴ Tanya. Barben "By Rock and Heath and Pine: Rudyard Kipling and the University of Cape Town", *A Quarterly Bulletin of National Library of South Africa*, vol. 57, No 3, (2003) p. 123.

if we decipher the grammar, metaphors and the symbolism that is embedded in the large artefacts then we can understand their meaning. By developing tools that can enable us to understand the spatial setting, time and social contexts of monuments, it becomes possible to unravel the puzzle of their extralinguistic character.⁴⁵

Wittenberg, we recall, helped to allocate historical arguments frozen in monuments by placing these in time and space. He emphasises the functioning of monuments as textual system. His interpretation of monuments as textual system helps us extend this discourse by pairing the argument he makes with Gwasira's work. In linking these arguments about monuments together, we may begin to interrupt the production of history of imperialism iconography.

Both Wittenberg and Gwasira argue the significance of time in reading these monuments. Their arguments gives me an opportunity to interpret the histories emerged in the analysis of monuments to some extent different from them as it relates to the historical production of Cecil John Rhodes in the twentieth century. Gwasira's argument is very interesting on Rhodes although he engages histories of all statues at UCT as his archaeological interest. But his work is very important to understand the histories and critiques around the erection of Rhodes statue at the university and the debates about the production of Rhodes statue. These debates are about the movement of the statue from the bottom of the steps where now there is subway. The Statue was then placed where it is now located above the rugby field at the University of Cape Town. It was moved above the rugby field with its Rhodesia veranda removed. The Cape Argus reported that

Cecil John Rhodes has a jaundiced – and begrimed – look as he contemplates a brick wall instead of the spacious view he commanded his pedestal in front of the University of Cape Town. The statue is in Maitland, where it will stay during the reconstruction of Rhodes Drive. Late it will be sited just below the university rugby road.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Goodman Gwasira "Reading Between the Lines: Monuments as Metaphors", South African Field Archaeology 10, (2001) 88

⁴⁶ Cape Argus 07 March 1962

The “physical mobility” of the statue brought it into synch with the debates earlier between Baker, Massey and Kipling.

This was an initial production of Rhodes history as the site was yet to be decided. The Rhodes committee at the university was in charge of these arrangements. Gwasira saw the move as the emancipation of the statue. He argues,

A survey of photographs dating to pre-1962 reveals that this is not the statue’s original position. It used to stand below the rugby field where the current subway is. It was moved during the construction of the subway. During the pre-1962 period an iron fence to the south and wooden fence to the north enclosed the statue. The iron fence resembles what has been suggested to be a typical feature of the Rhodesian house veranda in Zimbabwe. The fence that used to enclose the statue created a sacred atmosphere. As people opened the gates on their way to and from the upper campus, they emerged in a process of paying tribute to the individual on whose land their University built. That the statue remains ‘unprotected’ can be interpreted as expressing a new value. The piece of art can be consumed by all and is thus open to different interpretation.⁴⁷

Gwasira research helps us to learn more about the erection of Rhodes statue on the grounds of the university. He begins his paper by introducing us to the sites of the statue. His argument can be figured in the historical production of Rhodes at the university. Gwasira argues that the production of Rhodes on the campus resulted on the politics, domination and resistance of the university management by students. Students figured Rhodes as an imperialist, an ambassador of the university administration and part of the bureaucratic system of the campus. Students blamed Rhodes for the exploitation of the majority of people of South Africa.

In thinking about Rhodes statue at UCT, a student claimed in 1979 that the monument represented the administration of the university. A critique of Rhodes statue emerged in the mediation of political disputes between management and students at the university. Students used Rhodes statue to protest against the university management. The statue was the main target for their protests. In 1979 the University of Cape Town was supposed to

⁴⁷ Goodman Gwasira, “Reading Between the Lines: Monuments as Metaphors”, South African Field Archaeology 10, (2001) 89

hold 150 celebrations that turned out to a disaster. Students boycotted the celebrations. According to Cape Argus' report, "the statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town was painted pink by students in the early hours today 'as an active protest against the UCT-150 celebrations which begin today.'"⁴⁸ Students regarded the celebrations as a waste of money and that they saw no reason for them to be held.

A UCT student who telephoned them and explained the reason for their boycott informed the Cape Argus. It was reported that,

instead of celebrating they should rather spend their time looking in the future to see what can be done to improve the university. He said the statue of Cecil John Rhodes was chosen as a target for their protest 'because he is representative of what UCT has done and still doing, namely facilitating the exploitation of the majority of South African.'⁴⁹

It should be remembered that in the 70s students were active in politics. Rhodes was figured as a father of apartheid. Unlike other statues Gwasira mentioned that Rhodes statue was a popular one in the 70s.



The incident of 1979 was not the last episode of the historical production of Cecil Rhodes on the campus. Rhodes statue was also used as a mannequin for advertising clothes. Students continued to resent Rhodes statue from a pink paint to a mannequin. The statue was accessible to different interpretations. Towards the end of the century an advertising agent had dressed the statue with jeans. According to Gwasira, "in 1996 an advertising agent dressed the statue in jeans and included a placard reading "ANYONE CAN LOOK COOL IN JEANS." Thus the statue is seen as communicating a different message. It can therefore be safely concluded that the Rhodes statue is full of symbolism and its spatial setting is strategic."⁵⁰ This shift in historical representation of Rhodes suggests a demised historical figure in the memory of Rhodes in post-apartheid era. Students' ridicule and the demonising of the statue in 1996 suggest that the memory of Rhodes was no longer a

⁴⁸ Cape Argus, 14 September 1979

⁴⁹ Cape Argus, 14 September 1979

⁵⁰ Goodman Gwasira, "Reading Between the Lines: Monuments as Metaphors", South African Field Archaeology 10, (2001) 90

matter of importance. Rhodes statue in the 90s was not the only monument around the campus there were other statues as well. Rhodes committee at the university had never responded on these political activities.

However, all these political activities faded as South Africa entered the new millennium. The arrival of new students in the university changed the politics of the campus. In the process of writing this chapter I coincidentally encountered a survey conducted by the official UCT student newspaper, 'Varsity,' of the 3rd of August 2005. The survey helped to figure students' understanding of a colonial public past around the campus. Clare Anderson conducted a study to survey how clued up UCT students were about historical memorials around the campus. Rhodes statue was amongst those memorials. It turned out that much has changed in the production of public history at UCT. Out of five interviewees, their responses show that they are clueless. They were asked 'who was Cecil John Rhodes.' To select randomly from the five responses, Natalie a second year B.Com student responded as follows, "the guy who gave money for UCT to be built, while Alexia Smith, an honours student in film Theory and Practice's response was that Rhodes was the diamond guy, someone who must have given UCT a lot of money."⁵¹ The study shows how little students know about Cecil John Rhodes. Ironically, the university was built within the estate, where his house still kept his name as a colonial symbol. Although Rhodes is not well known by UCT students, his imperial legacy is deeply embedded in the foundation of the institution. Students do not see the danger of Rhodes' lasting legacy. Ben Turok, an ANC parliamentarian, when I wrote to him in 2005 responded that Rhodes will always be known as an imperialist. The question is to whom?

Conclusion:

In conclusion the memory of Cecil John Rhodes remains a matter for scholarly debate as the government has not finished transforming colonial heritage. The post-apartheid history of South Africa is now harnessed and contradicted by the colonial public past. The burying of the colonial past in public spaces is long overdue. Post-apartheid

⁵¹ *Varsity*, UCT, 03 August 2005

producers of history need to write in ways that place these monuments in difficulty. Moreover, the transformation of public spaces especially those maintaining colonial monuments need to be demolished. It depends on the government's initiative whether we keep the colonial monuments or destroy them. But there seems to be little reason for keeping them.



Chapter Five

General Conclusion

The historical productions of Cecil John Rhodes in 20th century Cape Town is divided into two groups: his biography and monumental memory. The memory of Rhodes is overwhelmingly documented on literature and he was monumentalised on the landscape after his death. In this project I have evaluated his biographic collection and memorial sites to introduce a critical debate about the historical production of Rhodes in the twentieth century. His legacy is very controversial in historical debates and rewriting of South African history. The controversy surrounding Rhodes is about maintaining his legacy as positive control or as a negative inheritance.

His will controls and defines these debates. Rhodes legacy sounds like a generous offer when he bequeathed his property to the nation. Wilson, a critic, saw him as not really generous.¹ Wilson's own view was very aggressive and provocative for its time. In reviewing his letter I learn that Rhodes was self-centered. His business success was derived on notions of self-gain. There was a conspiracy in his idea of bequeathing the land to the nation. Wilson depicted Rhodes as an individual who corrupted the state for his own selfish needs. He saw Rhodes's bequeathing of his land wealth to the nation as nothing more than an exercise of self-gratification. It was a strategy he plotted to monumentalise his name in the history of South Africa. According to the *Cape Argus* newspaper of 1902, "Rhodes once said he wanted to be remembered for four thousand years."²

This has brought to me a different thought on how a ruthless man like Rhodes can be associated with the post-apartheid South Africa. As I dig deeper, I have discovered that monuments were easy targets for critical writings. However, nationalised properties like the Groote Schuur estate, the manor house, and his scholarship were easily incorporated for the benefit of the nation. After the Union of 1910 "the land below Table Mountain

¹ A.L. Wilson *An open letter to Mr. W.T. Stead on his friendship for Cecil J. Rhodes* London 1902.

² *Cape Argus*, 27 March 1902.

was nationalised at the request of Rhodes who was its original owner.”³ The University of Cape Town planned a statue of Rhodes on the estate. Rhodes Memorial on Devils Peak and his statue in the Botanical Gardens were also constructed as an honour to his “great work for the colony”. Rhodes emerged as a public figure and an icon for a united South Africa in 1910. Furthermore Rhodes’ Cottage Museum was “declared as national monument in 1938.”⁴ Both resonate with the production of Cecil John Rhodes as a public figure in the period after 1910.

In post-apartheid South Africa, Rhodes’ remains a central figure. His legacy, including the manor house and the Rhodes Cottage Museum in Muizenberg is still state property. The South African government uses the Groote Schuur estate as a residential place for the president. As a national asset Rhodes’ house however carries the legacy of colonial past. The association of Rhodes with imperialism and nation building has engaged an interesting debate on the representation of Rhodes in post-apartheid South Africa. The future about the heritage that Cecil Rhodes bequeathed to South Africa in 1902 is addressed as he is increasingly associated with the figure of Nelson Mandela. Rhodes represents a colonial figure that assembled the notion of British imperialism and Groote Schuur estate was bequeathed to the nation to continue this vision. I have argued that Rhodes memory must be removed from the national history as his memory recalls the exploitation of the black majority of this country.

Ciraj Rassool engages “the biographical complex in the orders of statesmen and memorialising.”⁵ His study contributes to an understanding of the dangers of maintaining Rhodes legacy. The Groote Schuur estate is more central in the production of state history and the production of Cecil John Rhodes in the new South Africa. The negotiations held at Groote Schuur manor house and the signing of Groote Schuur minutes in 1990, an agreement that emancipated all political prisoners and the people of

³ Interview with Dan a tour guide in our township tour, Cape Town, August 17, 2004, see also Act, No. 9 of 1910, Rhodes’ Will (Groote Schuur Devotion) p. 15.

⁴ F. Sonnenerg, “Rhodes Cottage Museum,” (Cape Town: Muizenberg, July 1953) p. 2.

⁵ C. Rassool, “The Biographic Order: Further Notes on Biography in South African Public Culture after Apartheid,” unpublished paper.

South Africa from white rule to the democracy of 1994 reinforces this idea. The first democratic elections of 1994 and the elected president, Nelson Mandela, were faced with the question of how to handle the monuments of the past. The De Klerk's government left Rhodes legacy in the hands of the new government. The contrast between the two regimes was that Rhodes' legacy was a colonial heritage and the government of national unity represented "rainbow nation." A colonial heritage was incorporated into a "rainbow nation." Rhodes' Trustees invited Mandela to join Rhodes with Nelson Mandela to advance education and other important needs of the country. The combining of Rhodes and Mandela in a biographic complex emerged in refiguring Rhodes in post-apartheid South Africa.

Moreover, the collaboration of these histories enhanced both Groote Schuur estate and Rhodes to be utilised as national heritage. The critiques remain that colonial landmarks present a timeless history of imperialism. Although the question of the legacy was resolved after 1994, it helps in making a post-apartheid production history. This leaves the question on what to do about colonial monuments if colonial legacy is now the heritage of the post-apartheid present. Rhodes Cottage Museum in Muizenberg is among colonial assets that do not meet the standard of history appropriate to the demands of the post-apartheid rewriting of history. This again returns us to the power and ideology at play. There is nothing important in this cottage hence it should be closed. It produced a banal, timeless and nostalgic history of imperialism. The cottage is now collecting rejected furniture from the main house in Groote Schuur. The cottage and the manor house at Groote Schuur both represent a fixture of history. They keep a timeless history of imperialism.

Finally are the Rhodes statues and his memorial on Devils Peak. These landmarks are unfamiliar to the South African public as they represent the colonial past. Among the critics that emerged, I agree with Holiday that Rhodes statues insult the new order. Rhodes was an icon of racial imperialism. He does not deserve a respect from the post-apartheid government. The history we should write now is the history about the demise of

imperialism. This includes the transformation of the colonial heritage kept by Cape Town and other cities that still maintain this legacy. This will enhance the production of post-apartheid history that alters our conceptions of violence of the past. There is no reason for keeping a colonial past.



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7. Oral Interviews

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8. Audio Visual Sources

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