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MAGIC VISIONS

Portraying and inventing
South Africa with lantern slides



MAGIC VISIONS

Portraying and inventing South Africa
with lantern slides

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and Margriet van der Waal.

Cover by Leonor Faber-Jonker; photo by Anneke Dekker.

This publication was generously funded
by the Gravin van Bylandt Stichting.

SZAHN Series No. 2

Design by Karina Zavidova

ISBN: 978-90-830385-3-7

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Acknowledgements

The Zuid-Afrikahuis collection of digitised lantern slides consists of 506 images, conveniently ordered into 5 series (A-E). The slides are stored at the Zuid-Afrikahuis in Amsterdam. Another couple of boxes with slides (series X, consisting of 95 slides, numbered in-between 1 and 348) are not digitised, but may be in the foreseeable future.

The boxes of lantern slides were known to live in the attic of the Zuid-Afrikahuis for some decades yet only recently became a topic of interest when Jinna Smit, Bas de Melker and Jeltsje Stobbe checked the conservational state of the collections in preparation for a renovation project (2014-2015). A large part of the slides (series A-E) was cleaned and conserved by restorer Marijke Top (2018) and digitised by photographer Anneke Dekker (2018-2019).

A first grip on the collection was provided by Beatrijs Tilkema-Fokke (2018) and was continued by Philip van der Walt and Gerrit Schutte (2019). Van der Walt searched and found many analogous collections as well as relevant reference material, thereby providing first insights into the manufacturing and distribution trajectories of the slides. Schutte dived into the photographic series and provided first insights on slide collections in the past and their potential distribution hubs (see Schutte, this volume, appendix 1 and 2).

This book would not have been possible without the financial support of the Foundation Gravin van Bylandt. We are also very grateful for the amazing logistical support of the Zuid-Afrikahuis team, and we thank Angelie Sens and Corine de Maijer for proofreading the final versions of this book.



PROLOGUE

Conservation as care: some questions

Jeltsje Stobbe

What is care?

In 2015, the Zuid-Afrikahuis in Amsterdam was intensely renovated. Renovation included not only the 17th century building itself, where it was the object of months of scraping it empty and re-stuffing, but also the archives collection. Renovating is restoring and redecorating in one go; the former attunes to putting things back in the states they supposedly were in, while the latter is putting things just a little differently than before, or painting them in a slightly different style. The renovation of the archives was a re-inventory: in line with ‘good’ archiving practices, order shaped by the contexts was to be respected, yet at the same time, files got new descriptions — a makeover, so to say. In file descriptions, husbands and wives were split in two names, and humans formerly known only as ‘ladies’ were baptised into individual persons with surnames — sometimes even with titles. Renovating archives is as much about how it was as it is about how it should have been. To be more precise, it is about how it was *as well*.

In 2018 there was a meeting on archives. The location doesn’t matter, except for it being in place A — a city famous for its history of protest and colonialism. Faces of good intentions were all around, a meeting of archivists, artists and academics; what could possibly go wrong? A discussion started about the colonial archives – archives of the colonial empires. A young guest researcher of the host institute pointed out a poignant issue: she stated that the archives of the host were presented in

a colonial way in the online catalogue, reinforcing colonialism and not allowing different stories to have a place. The host replied that they could do nothing about these archives being colonial; to write colonialism out of them was simply not feasible. The only alternative he could see was to *not* present them, to keep them out of sight in storerooms or to maybe even throw them away.

The guest researcher responded that the actual archives were not the issue; archives also existed in the country where she was born and raised and provided useful information that she was interested in and wrote about, regardless of or against the person or organisation who formed the archive. The issue was with the *descriptions* of the files in the archive; the descriptions of the archivists, who provide aids to their archival findings for those interested in finding bits and pieces for their stories. The host was clearly surprised about this answer and could not wrap his head around it; descriptions were as they were, this was the way to do it. The issue was not with the descriptions; descriptions were simply objective lines of ... exactly that, 'descriptions of the files'.

It is a common thing in *archives land* to stick to the old descriptions of the archive files in order to stay "true to the catalogue" (Kunst 2018). At the same time, it is also a good practice to make new ones, to make different connections, for re-inventory. This re-inventorying is not the same as revising; it is about bringing out what is easily made absent, as mentioned in the example with the women's names and titles in the Zuid-Afrikahuis archives. It is not about leaving out one thing and writing in another; the absence and the presence may at times even depend on each other. But what happens when the object is not a fuzzy text file, but something which is supposedly more tangible and singular as a photo?

Conservation as care?

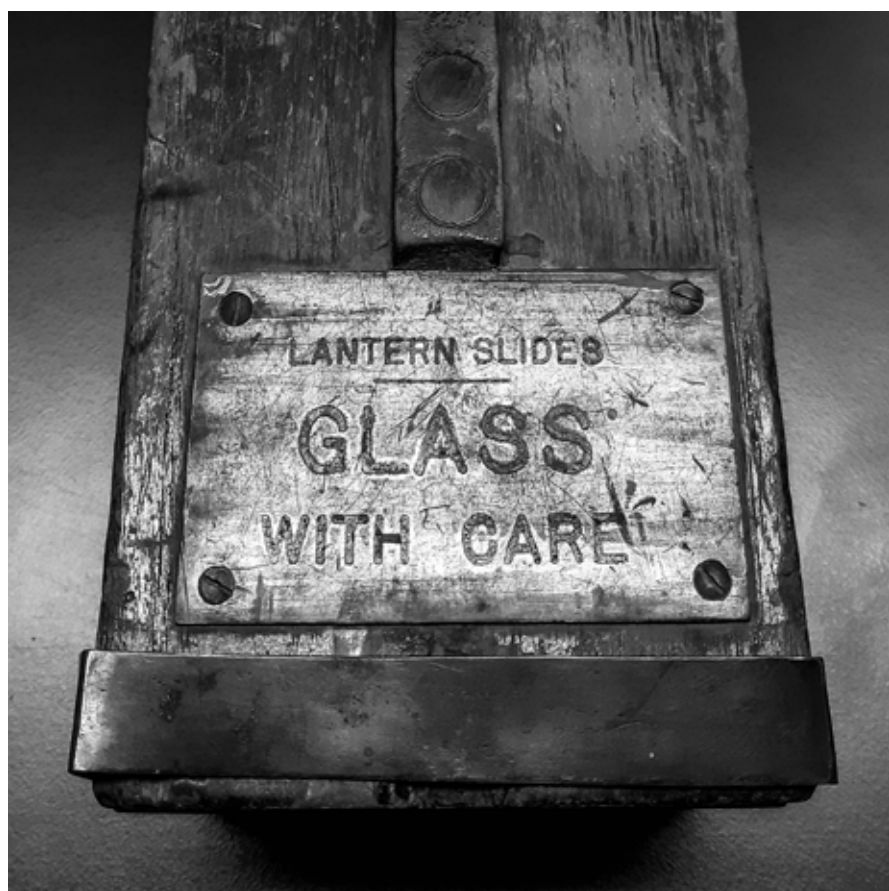
While cleaning out the attic of the Zuid-Afrikahuis for the renovation project, a couple of boxes fell literally in front of our feet. The boxes contained series of lantern slides about South Africa about what seemed the first half of the twentieth century. The first slide we pulled out was one about an army general. The other slides seemed to be about promoting, even branding, South Africa. There were no stories about war, just images to stimulate travellers' imaginations. Almost all the slides had one or more numbers. Most slides had small papers glued to them with text written in one language or multiple languages (Afrikaans, English, Dutch) which explained to the person handling the magic lantern what was to be seen. The numbers and the small papers made it obvious that the slides had some conservation and a history of use. The glued pieces of paper brought up the same issue as the archive example at the beginning of this text: old titles or new titles, what to do?

A good exercise in de-scribing would be to start with the prescriptions; what would the slides allow or forbid? As mentioned, many slides had more than one paper description glued to their surfaces. These papers had short descriptions involving multiple nouns or short statements on what was to be seen. One could argue that the slides and their statements permit the description of what is deemed visible and forbid the description of what is not to be seen. Yet, as will be shown further on (Jansen, this volume), a space is needed to negotiate this description. Instead of de-scription, it seemed better to leave it up to re-inscription, to attune to the complication, to look at the "folding" so to say (Akrich & Latour 1992).

So here they were, in front of our feet, these boxes with dust and slides. The box as such is considered an act of conservational care. Conservators tend to keep lantern slides in their original wooden boxes 'as this is just the best way to keep them', as it often goes. Until it no longer works: caring for the cracks and fractures means bringing the slides to a restorer, caring for the images, to a photographer. The degradation of slides is irreversible while digital photos may outlive the slides. Another aspect in beating degradation is to put the slides in clinically solid and dust-free boxes.

The next step is for the archivists to put the slides out there, online, in such a way that they are openly accessible. The doctrine of open data strongly depends on data being available to everyone. This way anyone can then decide what to do with the data for themselves. Making this possible is in itself usually seen as an act of care. Yet, is putting the slides out in the open really an act of care? Should they be online, for whom is this relevant, who would make it sad or angry, or maybe just indifferent? Just throwing them online *as is*, these slides of South Africa, seems more like *a lack of care*, because what is a historical object for one is an ongoing and painful present-past for another (Aïsha Azoulay 2019; Aïsha Azoulay 2020; Stoler 2013).

The slides as is would include the original descriptions on the glued pieces of paper. As database fields make for short descriptions, de-scriptions as reworkings of the original titles lure: it is easy to make variants of an existing text. A way to engage with the slides *as is* then, is to open up the process of putting titles in fields — to in-scribe, to create space to negotiate, and to open up at least the possibility for an act of care for the slides that go beyond the wooden box.







Kinds of care

What kind of cares are there to be practised in the world of archives? First of all, there is care in the form of critique: the example of how things might have been *as well* otherwise, when one shifts categories — let's say our wives-to-names-for-themselves example for archival titles (also Van Dooren 2014, 293, with references). Then there is the violence-care of conservation of wildlife; in the land of the archives, this would translate into continuously killing the small animals while clinically climatizing the area to care for the archives — continuously; this is because silverfish outlive paper. There is also the affective care as an “ethical obligation” and as “practical labour”, of how to cope with what is at hand to bring out the “specificities of knowing practices” (Puig de la Bellacasa 2012); in *archives land*, this may be more of a “capacious” care, a Humanities Studies kind of care which is capable of coping with the vast amounts of online data as it does with the small things and histories in regular Humanities fashion (Nowviskie 2015). Conservation as care is then not so straightforward as it may seem at first sight.

Let's look at two examples of what is usually seen as good archival care and how this may be opened up further. The first instance is descriptive titles. Although the title description of an archival object is usually seen as a standard and objectifying routine, descriptive titles can also be seen as innately radical; this is because their standardised form makes it possible for everyone to access them (Darms 2015). Making standardised descriptions and metadata in this manner is seen as a practice of good conservational care.

Yet, in practice, things may be slightly different. Although the distribution of the archives over the internet has been, since its inception, visualised as an open and free flow of knowledge

— as in: independent of its original privileged “archontic” space (Lynch 1999), the way its metadata travels along and may change is usually less discussed. Standardised descriptions may change on the go, metadata may no longer cohere as intended by an archivist who put it out in the world. Stories which are made possible through such descriptive titles and metadata change with them as well. Both titles and data may arrive differently, maybe even separately, at newly configured spaces (Law 2002). The idea of a standardised form is then not necessarily related to the open and accessible character of online archives.

The second example is an archival acknowledgement of levels of comfort. Researchers have often asked the question whether we must critique what we love. Yes, “[t]his would be a kind of affectively and ethically engaged scholarship”, to be critically analytic about what one loves as an academic (Van Dooren 2014, 293, with references) or what one loves as a professional, amateur, or any other kind of interested wanderer for that matter. But what is to be done in the case of archives that make one slightly uncomfortable yet are somehow enticing at the same time? Photos are sly actants in recognition processes, in bringing memories about, even if one has ambivalent feelings about the archive (see Faber-Jonker, this volume).

One way to go forward is to warn the archive is enticing. Another way is to use this seduction of archival fragments productively. As Tortorici proposes, “[...] while all archives have the potential to seduce us, the fragments and absences have an even greater potential to seduce than do complete cases, narratives, and testimonies found within the archive” (Tortorici 2015). A seductive archive is then both fragmental presences of “lived experience” and “indexical absences” or “historiographical ghosts” (Tortorici 2015).

To work with fragments and absences is a move away from the usual notion of 'present' and 'absent' records, the conventional search for a 'complete picture', the 'single historical story on all the evidence available'. The archive then may be seen as a productive counterbalance to 'History' as it is often practiced, as an archive "complicates" instead of "sound-bites" (Darms 2015). A care for conservation is then as much about coping with levels of uncomfortableness and seduction as with this complexity.

To crop or not to crop

What to do with the original titles then, the ones which linger in-between the past and a painful story? Do we keep the original titles of the slides somewhere, in a field 'original titles'? Or should they be meta-dated out of an online catalogue all together as it will be difficult to maintain a certain coherence between titles and contextualisation in the open flow through the internet? The titles are visible on the slides themselves as well: to crop or not to crop the digitised version of a slide? Stay close to an object's biography; or write the history out of its future? Or opt for a middle road: to make a distinction between what goes online and what stays in a local database (Kunst 2018)?

Also, in what way do the analogue slides change when modelled into digital images (Dellmann 2019)? What happens when the slides get translated from boxes to data fields and how does that inform their role as actants in knowledge production? Will they be made to act as part of a collection or as separate, singular items? What is a collection of digital images anyway: de-contextualised and fragmented raw data, a scholarly curated collection in need of peer review or a space of possibility for new uses (Muller 2014)?

These questions have led us to not engage on our own, but to invite those who use archives in their daily academic or professional work 'to have a look'. To open up the process of thinking with the slides, a group of authors — drawing on archives, working with archives and archivers themselves — has been invited to browse through the slides digitally, to select one or more slides and to write an essay about it. Some authors have taken up a historical, genealogical or contemporary approach while others focus on the fleshy specificities of the slides themselves; all have browsed through them, examining them from up close, taking a distance, staying with them and experiencing various levels of (dis)comfort.

Slides to think with

The various and varying stories in this volume make it possible to think about the slides. The way the authors have engaged with the slides open up various issues related to conservation as care. Here, two are featured.

One issue that comes up is *findability*. A strong argument for keeping out-dated labels somewhere is that these facilitate findability and therefore need a presence – even if this is only as a searchable term which becomes replaced by an agreeable and inclusive term once the search button is pressed (Kunst 2018). The old titles may be something one does not want to find, but when entered, they can serve as keywords of the past, as entrances to practicing alternate histories with new words.

Another issue is the *design* of online collections. These may be "taken by their users as memorializing, conservative, limited and suggestive of a linear view of history rather than as problem-solving engines, branching, generative and non-te-

leological”, leading to a plea for *speculative* instead of *special* collections (Nowviskie 2019). Worldly uncertainty may condition future archivists’ practices, yet this is all the more reason to create possibilities to “activate imaginations” and to “admit alternate futures” by shifting from archives as “receivable content” to archives as “usable technology” (Nowviskie 2019). This not only involves working with the actual archives, but also with the ‘impossible archival imaginary’, the absent records next to present ones allow for alternate futures with speculative timelines (Gilliland and Caswell 2016; Nowviskie 2019; also, Tortorici 2015).

These matters of concern bring up the labour of the archivists. It has become quite popular to “celebrate the archive and all the things that ‘the archive’ apparently encompasses” (Eichhorn 2015). The celebration of the daily practices of doing archives is less discussed. Nonetheless, the way of coping with this daily mess is exactly what is at stake when thinking about conservation as care. This volume is the first attempt to collectively cope with caring for the collections of the Zuid-Afrikahuis.

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In(ter)vention of an archive

Rosa Deen

Historical archives can be read in multiple ways, such as 'along' and 'against' the grain, both of which unearth different knowledge from the archives. Ann Stoler makes a play for reading along the grain while questioning the making of colonial knowledge and the privileged social categories it produced. Reading along the grain of the lantern slides is about asking questions about the original intent of the makers of the archive. As Stoler puts it, "[r]eading only against the grain of the colonial archives bypasses the power in the production of the archive itself" (Stoler 2002, 101; see also Stuit, this volume).

The magic lantern slides of the collection discussed here were a visual introduction to South Africa for the potential emigrants that gathered for the informative evenings organised by the *Nederlands Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging* (Netherlands–South Africa Association, NZAV), an organisation that tried to strengthen the ties between the Dutch and the Afrikaners. What were the makers of the slides actually trying to convey to the people who saw these slides in dimly lit rooms in the Netherlands? Reading along the grain, how can this be understood within the context of its time?

Yet, at the same time, it is no longer possible to solely look at these pictures from a century ago without our knowledge today of the historical upheaval that followed it. The method of 'reading *against* the grain' is therefore also of relevance here. To visualise reading against the grain, it helps to think literally of holding a grain which you stroke in the opposite direction to which it grows. Reading top-down historical sources 'against the grain'

is a way to uncover different voices that are often not heard. Such a reading is for example done by Ena Jansen in this volume. In this essay a history is uncovered that is at once in the picture and is not, this being the history of the Tana Baru, a burial ground for Muslims in Cape Town. The cemetery was often used as an important vantage point for landscape painters and photographers alike, but no mention was given in the original caption of the slide of the cemetery itself.

The request to reflect on this lantern slide collection resulted in authors exploring different modes of engaging with and knowing the collection: 'along and against the grain' of the archive, but also by deconstructing the grand narratives put forward by the photos, making amends, seeking out the ironies, addressing the *absent referents*, calling out what is hidden in plain sight, questioning what feels familiar or unfamiliar, undoing clichés, laying bare the power dynamics implied in the photos or demonstrating the process of mythologizing of historical events. By doing so, a broader understanding of the lantern slide collection is attained.

Cliché

Photographs sometimes tend to escape the same scrutiny that historical sources in the form of paper trails receive. One reason for photographs being taken for granted is due to their apparent objectivity. However, "no photographs are true to their subjects but instead deploy realism to create this effect" (Hayes and Minkley 2019, 2-3). Analog photographs, similar to the magic lantern slides, are prints of its negative film. A different word for this is 'cliché'. Similar to the word 'stereotype', 'cliché' has found its way from the technology of printing into everyday

vocabulary as a metaphor for repeatedly copied, worn-out and no longer expressive phrases or figures of speech. Uncovering some of the representations as clichés in the lantern slide collection helps us understand the function this collection had in its time. It makes us attentive of normative symbols, signs and representations. As Fredrik Barth described this, such cultural representations have “jobs to do”. They provide people with cognitive means that can be used in order to render the natural world intelligible (Barth 1987, 87). What ‘job’ did these representations of South Africa have in its time?

Another way to question photographs is to imagine which photographs were not taken, by choice of the photographer. Elizabeth Edwards uses the phrase the “negative imprint of the archive” with regard to that which “is not there, not spoken about, not valued” (Hayes 2019, 61). Exploring this is needed in order to ask what relationship with governmentality is “afforded by absence” (Hayes 2019, 61). Another aspect of imagining the ‘untaken photograph’ comes from Ariella Aïsha Azoulay and starts from the acknowledgement that the people who were being photographed had in some way a possibility to deliberately protect aspects of themselves from the invading gaze of the photographer. As she puts it, a non-imperial understanding of photography starts from the acknowledgement that the photograph is only one possible outcome of a complex encounter. By imagining and reconstructing the ‘untaken photographs’, the authority of the archive is challenged (Aïsha Azoulay 2020).

Revisiting the normal

When going through the historical slides, one gets the sense of a certain quietness which permeates the pictures; it feels like normalisation had already occurred when these pictures were taken. Indeed, in the time period in which the lantern slides were shown to overseas audiences, further normalisation of a racial division of labour and every other aspect of living was already on its way. The Natives Land Act (1913) of South Africa solidified territorial segregation by assigning more than 90% of the land to the white population while the African population had to live in reserved land that later became known as the 'Bantustans' or the *thuislanden* in Dutch. This act pushed African farmers from working and living as independent farmers into dependency, as sharecroppers on white-owned farms, or as rent-paying tenants became outlawed. This development is mirrored in the image of the collection: in a way, the photos are a departure from earlier representations (mostly in drawing) of the colonial subject as 'authentic' and 'exotic'. Instead, we see in the collection, a portrayal of racialised labour divisions under the capitalistic system prevalent in farms, factories and mines in the early 20th century.

In studies of modern South African history, most attention has focused on the apartheid regime, as installed by the Nasionale Party lead by the Amsterdam-born Hendrik Verwoerd in 1948. Less attention in scholarly research has focused on the foundations of the apartheid regime which were laid before 1948. It is good to realise that the policies of social engineering along racial lines were started long before it was possible for the apartheid regime to put up the signposts that said *nie blankes* and *slegs blankes*. Likewise, while these signposts have been removed and are now only found in museums (such as the Apartheid

Museum in Johannesburg), the effects of these signposts have not been undone.

This realisation was at the core of the Rhodes Must Fall movement and the Fees Must Fall protest that was part of it. This movement, which spread to different campuses, was led by the 'Rainbow Generation' — those born after 1994 — that called out the socio-economic structural inequalities in higher education, which still mostly affected black students. The movement called for the decolonisation of higher education institutions that were built upon and perpetuated the principles of the regime of the past. This linking of past and present is beautifully grasped by journalist Ra'eesa Pather: "It's misguided to suggest that the examples of protest actions in which past and present mesh are an exact reflection of the past. Although students carry placards with '1976' boldly written on them, Hector Pietersen's limp body can never be cloned. Instead, the protests serve as a portal to the past, showing how forms of apartheid live on and how the goal is to dismantle it" (Pather 2016).

Eventually the statue of Cecil Rhodes at the University of Cape Town was taken down. Nevertheless, whether the statues have been taken down from their pedestal or not, in a way, what these statues once symbolized has already been reinterpreted, even before the eventual decision regarding whether the statue should be taken down or not was considered. The statue was no longer just the statue of one of the "great men of South Africa"; rather, it gained new layers of meaning when it became the site of protest for the post-apartheid generation. The toppling of a statue is as much part of history as the original placement was. Putting things on a pedestal or taking it off again are both parts of defining, in the public realm, what is deemed to be celebrated — or is no longer celebrated — in society. In this volume, Vincent

Kuitenbrouwer, Frans Kamsteeg and Harry Wels further discuss the statues that feature in the lantern slide collection.

Likewise, photographic representations of apartheid are also being reinterpreted. For instance, the curator Okwui Enwezor writes in the booklet of the photography exhibition *Rise and Fall of Apartheid: Photography and the Bureaucracy of Everyday Life* (Enwezor and Bester 2013):

[...] the fact that most previous examinations of apartheid focused on its brutality, especially the petty and violent humiliations it imposed on the lives of black and other non-white communities. In visual terms, the tradition of representing apartheid in this way tended to treat African subjects as victims rather than agents of their own emancipation. While a lot has been learned from these representations through books and exhibitions, the ways in which apartheid as a social system was normalized within institutions, bureaucracy, and everyday life has rarely been properly examined.

Thus, what was 'normalised' in this time in history is of just as much interest as that which was different or 'spectacular' in its extremities.

Words and stories

Uncovering what is put on a pedestal, literally and figuratively, in the lantern slide collection is of importance to understand 'what jobs it had to do'. What did the slides have to do as a specific representation of South Africa presented to audiences in the

Netherlands in the 1920s? We are also faced with another question: how to describe this collection? And more importantly, what terminology do we use to make sure that the descriptions, captions and stories are not an echo of the objects it tries to describe? This is not an easy task, as Esther Peeren explains: “Words have a usage history they carry with them which can change their meaning, with or without our intention. Language is not easily ‘cleaned up’: we also have to lay bare the world views these words express” (Peeren 2018, 42; translated from Dutch). For this, an analysis of our historical sources along the grain is inevitable. The archive was a witness of its time and the used terminology lays bare the absolute strength a certain perspective or certain word came to have.

To illustrate this point, I will take the example of the K* word. This word is also featured in archival sources connected to the NZAV information evenings (see Dellmann, this volume). Today, it is used as an extremely derogatory term to invoke, to call into reality again, earlier racist power dynamics. Part of its absolute hurtful intent is precisely because it refers back to a time when that term was normalised, a time when the power dynamics of colonialism and apartheid prevailed. It is therefore key for curators and archivists to *show* why certain terminology was ‘normal’ in a certain historical context of certain power dynamics and at the same time to *not repeat* that one-sided partial perspective in their descriptions and historical stories. This is why the terminology used by historians also changes over time, as older terms might be a reflection of earlier perspectives which later underwent reinterpretation.

Another notorious example in the Dutch context is the term *Gouden Eeuw* (Golden Age). The term is no longer in use as the main description of the 17th century in the Amsterdam

Museum, the museum which tells the history of its city. Paying attention to *how* something is described in knowledge institutions such as museums or archives is highly relevant. As curator Imara Limon explains, the description is synonymous to only one perspective: that of the white, rich and powerful, a perspective that has long been privileged in our histories. It is our task to unravel and release the terminology, such as *Gouden Eeuw*, that was also part of 'nation-branding', which obscured other aspects of the past, such as the system of slavery it was built upon. Name changes occur not to 'rewrite' history, but rather, to unravel different layers and perspectives of terminology. This creates more breathing space for a multi-vocal history.

In this volume, some terminology is still a grey area of reflection and discussion. There is the Second Anglo-Boer War, as it is usually referred to in Dutch scholarship, or the South African War, which recognises the fact that many Africans also fought in it or were affected by this war. Likewise, while in the Netherlands the period from 1948 till 1994 would be commonly referred to as 'during apartheid'; in South Africa it is more common these days to refer to it as 'during the struggle', which both draw out different perspectives on this time period.

In practice, the use of terminology is often ambivalent and we should be aware to not once again use it as a tool of homogenisation. In this regard, the term 'Coloured' needs some elaboration as it has different usage histories. 'Coloured' is regarded as a derogatory term in the North American and British contexts. In South Africa, it was deployed during apartheid as a term to classify one of the four 'race' groups by the government and was meant to describe people with a 'mixed' heritage of (amongst others) Khoisan, Malay and white descent. The usage of the word 'Coloured' in South Africa has changed over time.

Some people denounce it today as a term that has been imposed by apartheid while others now self-identify as 'Coloured' (Koopman and Summers 2017).

Reading this volume

A legitimate question to be asked about this project is this: "Is this yet another attempt to foreground the experiences of white people over those of black people?" (Van der Watt 2001, 64). Maybe the exercise can even be seen as self-indulgent? (Mongezeleli Joja 2019). For whom does it have to be deconstructed anyway? Does it actually *do* something? Only critiquing the point of view of the white gaze that produced these images does not change anything. Admittedly then, this is a partial project, an attempt, an attempt at uncovering different perspectives latent in an archival collection that was meant in essence to be an (in)formal form of propaganda. It tries to de-naturalise the message that was put forth by the collection, by not taking it at face value.

Hence, while reading this volume it is important to remember the open-endedness of the processes of reflection and reinterpretation. Otherwise, we would be doing the same again: privileging one interpretation over another and installing a new totalising narrative. As Marietta Kesting stresses, "it is important to emphasize that the construction of normative narratives and a re-staging of visual documents is not a closed system; there are possibilities of re-telling past and present events in a reflective way or of imagining the present and future differently." (Kesting 2017, 14). This volume is just one set from the countless different ways in which this retelling can be done. Just as every photograph is framed and is only one slice of reality, the contributions in this volume should be regarded in the same way.

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This volume

Jeltsje Stobbe & Rosa Deen

This volume contains a prologue and an epilogue written by the editors and 12 essays by the authors invited to participate in this volume.

In the first essay, Ida Sabelis walks us through the collection to give us a first glimpse of the South Africa that is portrayed in the lantern slides. This walk through the slides is a play between the familiar and the unfamiliar, both for viewers today and for those a century ago.

In his contribution, Gerrit Schutte analyses the provenance and the use of the lantern slide collection at the Zuid-Afrikahuis. He contextualises the slides by placing them within their history of collection and use by the Nederlands-Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging (NZAV), which ordered and bought various sets of slides between 1912 and the 1920s, and used them for various purposes. Schutte reminds us of the 'reportage style' that most slides convey, and it is no wonder that a singular picture showed up in various genres.

Sarah Dellmann continues on the same topic with her analysis of the NZAV's efforts to inform a Dutch audience about South Africa. On special evenings with carefully selected lantern slide projections and films, the NZAV practised a 'screen strategy', which went far beyond simple entertainment or information. South Africa was presented as a 'legitimate place to be' for those who wished to migrate, although the 'right' slides to sustain this strategy was heavily debated within the NZAV.

Carol Hardijzer shifts our perspective from the Netherlands to South Africa. An avid and knowledgeable collector of historical photography himself, Hardijzer tries to find out about the history of production and distribution of magic lantern slides in South Africa through the remaining collections. He especially pays attention to the 'latent' or 'dormant' state of lantern slides, trying to undo this by placing the slides in the local and international networks they were produced for.

Danelle van Zyl-Hermann engages with the visual fascination for train travel as portrayed in the slides. She explores the usefulness this fascination had to imagine the young Union of South Africa as a modern state and to facilitate a break with an ox-wagon past in rugged landscapes. Instead of hardships, a potential migrant could read the slides as a promise to a 'good living in Africa'; this was meant for the white spectator, as the black inhabitants of South Africa — including the black workers who worked on the railway lines — were kept out of sight.

Rosa Deen takes up another strong visual of South Africa, the *protea* and other wild flowers from the Cape area. As the popular imported species for botanist practices turned out to be extensively invasive, there was a need to protect the Cape area floral — the wild flowers — from these. This naturalising of nature turned out to have various serious consequences, such as practices of appropriation. The visuals of wild flowers may, therefore, have signified more than mere attempts to seduce potential migrants with the 'exotics' of local flowers.

Hanneke Stuit traces how the South African countryside is portrayed in the slides and how this may have worked on the imaginations of prospective migrants. This work may have been about a certain kind of colonial rural idyll — one where a white farmer oversees black land workers. At the same time,

other slides seem to tilt this idyll, especially when one considers changing the descriptive titles. Such an exercise hints at the possibility of a future for those involved and makes the idyll a thinking tool with which to intervene in the contemporary effects of this idyll.

Ena Jansen takes two slides as a medium in between memories and histories. The slides represent a popular point from which to photograph or paint the distant Table Mountain. Jansen, however, focuses on the standpoint of the photographer him/herself, a place in the foreground of the photos that easily is made absent or overlooked in both the slides and histories: the Muslim burial area of Tana Baru. By changing view and foregrounding the Tana Baru, she restores the history of Islam at the Cape and provides food for thought on how to deal with old catalogues of collections.

For Leonor Faber-Jonker, the slides are a box of unfolding historical experiences as well. Faber-Jonker literally drags the slides out of the storeroom for a confrontational making-of tour in a serigraphy lab. Reproducing the slides is about losing patina and gaining rough outlines — tweaking this process into various images is tweaking histories in otherworldly imaginations, abstracted essences and historical futures, as Faber-Jonker points out. Reproducing the slides is also about engaging with the reproduction of colonialist visuals as such, to find one's role as an academically trained observer in literally damaged heritage.

Vincent Kuitenbrouwer engages with the slides that contain statues and memorials of white statesmen. Such monumentalised white men were at the time regarded as important for the making of South Africa as a union. Kuitenbrouwer suggests that an image of these monumentalised men may have been part of a 'cultural diplomacy' effort, aimed at convincing pro-

spective migrants in the Netherlands to go to a country which was 'made by and for white men'. An ideology which was only de-pedestalled with the #RhodesMustFall movement in 2015.

Frans Kamsteeg and Harry Wels continue on the topic of monumentalised men. They focus on the hidden ironies when one takes a closer look at the statues in the slides. For instance, the hostile relationship between British and Afrikaner monumentalised men comes in a new ironic light when one considers the many entanglements between them in their legacies and commemorations. Also, the current de-statueing of statues in South Africa may be seen in an ironic light. The statues of both the past and the present may be unpacked as artifacts where 'South African controversies converge', rendering multiple interpretations. Curating a collection of photos is then a dynamic and ongoing process, leading to a plea of Kamsteeg and Wels to include the recent photos of statues into the collection of lantern slides.

Eep Francken and Olf Praamstra also touch on the history of giving meanings to objects and turning these into icons. Instead of statues of statesmen, they follow the trail of mundane objects which gained relevance through musealisation and re-enactments. Praamstra and Francken retell how these objects and the slides depicting them served within the creation and maintenance of an Afrikaner myth: one of being of European roots, enduring hardships and, as a consequence, entitlement to the land. In their view, this myth made sure to state who was entitled to run an 'exemplary republic', and the visuals simply served to illustrate this message.



COLLECTION

Photos' voices: reflections on choices, framing and photography styling

Ida Sabelis

What a joy! To slowly have those real picture plates going through my fingers, one by one ... the glass plates easily revealing themselves. Neatly wrapped in tailored paper and stacked in little boxes like huge slides to go through a projector. But that was for another time, another place and another audience. These plates represent the beginning of faraway photography to be shown to elsewhere, faraway audiences in a more or less solemn setting — a darkened room with a projector and perhaps somebody telling what the pictures represent — a magical experience in terms of medium and subject matter. The where and how of these pictures is noted in handwriting on some of the slides: Cape Town, Zwartberg Pass the zigzags, Wilderness, and so on. What was their purpose? Or, even more fascinating, what was in the mind of the photographers at that time about a hundred years ago? Yes, others have written about the exact history of the use of lanterns slides and also about those of the NZAV. But what can the pictures tell us about those who took them, about their motives, technique and framing?

As a photographer, I know what it feels like to have nothing electronic at hand. Just a camera, small (Leica Elmar 1923) or big (Hasselblad 1950s) and the ambiguous knowledge of composition, distance, light, aperture and shutter speed — never really knowing what will come of it, in terms of sharpness, light conditions, or black-and-white meaningfulness but gradually developing a feel for 'this is the right angle' or 'now I have it'

(a 'good' picture). And, of course, in terms of time, pictures were 'taken' and developed or printed later. No instant cameras yet. A dark room and a development tank, chemicals in large developing dishes and different techniques to ultimately put the positive image onto a glass slide. What makes a picture right apart from the technical aspects? Pictures were supposed to be meaningful, yes. And, as Schutte also in this volume writes, they were used for entertainment, education and marketing purposes. This becomes observable through these lantern slides via framing, topic selection and other techniques.

What can be helpful to get 'into' the pictures is filing through and noting down first impressions. Thus, let me give you my first impressions for the series and then go deeper into what invites reflection and what seems so taken-for-granted that one hardly wonders about what we see. The series was composed after they were rediscovered. Therefore, the sequence is not necessarily original, however, it does provide a first thematic introduction to the collection. Let us begin with the assumption that the pictures completely represent reality.

Series A. The first series mainly offers landscapes and city views. Of course, the eye lingers on what is familiar, Cape Town panoramas, docks and industrial buildings, and impressive mountain sights, Lion's Head, Seapoint and the vast beaches at Muizenberg and Wilderness, places along the Garden Route and inland towns like Oudtshoorn with the Cango Caves (A0101). At some point, the eye lingers on what is visible in the corner of no. A0032. Indeed, the cables from the cable car going up Table Mountain — just like zillions of pictures from a hundred years later — same mountain, same angle, almost the same scene. What is most striking in these slides is the almost general absence of people. The odd

sup-surfer at the beach and some city views where people are inevitable and cars all the more. The general impression is one of wide views and scarcely any people — with, most of all, no Black people. People change, cities change, but landscapes remain more or less the same.

In terms of how the pictures were taken, many seem to be seized from higher stand points, possibly in order to stress the wideness of views, the greatness of cities and natural scenes. This might express the aspiration to provide overviews, to show as much as possible or simply to convey an impression of immensity in the landscape. It is always hard to capture and express that vastness — a picture never fully conveys the feeling of 'being there'. Yet, the photographers seem to have done their utter best to capture as much as possible — wideness and specific scenes considered representative of the beauty, the value and the character of that land.

And the series continues — cities and landscapes. All of a sudden, animals appear among other things through the snake park in Port Elisabeth (founded in 1919). This could be included because of the 'news' it conveys — snakes in a pit, dangerous creatures tamed to be admired and handled (see also series B later on) by an admiring audience. Also, agricultural animals come in — a big bull (A0057), cows in fields (A0358, Ab0359) and cattle on display (A0360). Obviously, the snake pit is a touristic attraction and added to demonstrate that attractions are present, while the cows represent fertility of the land and food production. Apart from a many fruit industry pictures (posed to show the abundance of the land coupled with the precision in production, e.g. A0387, fruit-packing) the cameras zoom in on (wild) flowers and details of grapes for wine production. No wild-life to be seen in other pictures; the big nature reserves were yet

to catch on and the tourist industry still far away, but the seeds of travelling for joy and leisure were already emerging.

Series B. Starting with “approach to the Hex River Mountains” (B0001), the aim of ‘invitation’ via the pictures gradually becomes more convincing. A closer look demonstrates the then-modern cars in cities but also in the landscape. And there, there appears the track, the train, not just for transport of goods (mining!) but more in particular for people: men in a train before a daunting view from the window and apparently amusing themselves well (B0015) and an inviting overview of a dining room per train (B0039). Industries and harbours are portrayed to demonstrate business and prosperity in detail. And yes, this is also the time of airplanes providing new opportunities to picture landscapes: aerial images from Cape Town, Durban Harbour and East London, enhanced to overview character and capture even more in one frame than possible from a mountain.

Like landscapes contrast to city views, here appears a picture railing (and reveals) what other pictures seem to lack, a construction of a picture, a collage to show “road, rail and air transport in South Africa” (no. B0075). It makes me think about, perhaps, construction in other pictures ... this one is clearly ‘put together’ — perhaps some others are too? Although train (right side of the picture) and car (through the middle) might be possible in a real setting, the airplane to the left-upper side of the picture is clearly not. Three pictures in one to demonstrate modernity, speed, and comfortable (at least optional) transport symbolising the attraction of South Africa, its present-ness and certainly its quality of belonging to the most progressive (industrial, contemporary) countries in the world. No ‘colonial’ scenes, or hardly, e.g. B0097 and B0098 “Zulu Wedding” and “Zulu Girl”

respectively — and when, people were obviously posing, gradually showing the upbeat to excluding Black people altogether or them only appearing at work, in orchards and gardens (fruits, tobacco, grapes), while white people literally overlook the scene. Construction, yes, but of what?

In other words, whose landscapes are these? Through the insertion of city regions, the landscapes gain the quality of demonstrating the surroundings of peoples' habitation. In a sense, they show the tension between cities and country life, but almost omit 'wildlife' as all pictures, especially in their interrelation, show the visitability of South African vistas. This country is a modern one — the cities as lively as any European city, the industries as modern and productive as elsewhere, just the landscapes so much bigger, wider and 'natural' — this is almost a promised land. Were these series partly meant to attract migrants? Or was it — after the Anglo-Boer Wars — also the goal to demonstrate that this is a 'normal country', peaceful (at first sight and neglecting 'racial' divides) prosperous and promising chances for all who desired to expand their horizon? South Africa, member of the British Empire, a Southern counterpoint of civilisation.

With today's knowledge (and how else would we look at pictures and direct our gaze to what is familiar), some striking observations can be made. We gain a look into a historical era quite different from and at the same time strikingly similar to today — a hundred years later. It is the overall image of people colonising people and nature, yet without fully overtaking it (yet), with some awe for natural phenomena like caves and lakes and sea views. Industrial era on the go, also in the agricultural scenes, social exclusion at work and the promise of a radiant future ahead.

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The NZAV and magic lantern slides

G.J. Schutte

The first time I entered the attic of the Zuid-Afrikahuis (ZAH) in Amsterdam more than half a century ago, I walked into an impressive but apparently untouched multitude of collections. Series of magazines, dozens of boxes with archival materials, historical realia and discarded office supplies as well as piles of rolled-up cards, flags, framed photographs with and without glass, and outdated means of communication: stencil sheets, clichés of various materials such as wood, tin, iron; and some boxes of glass negatives and positives: lantern slides. Also, elsewhere in the many rooms and cupboards of the House, there were books, photographs, and paintings were hanging on the walls. Everywhere I looked, there were more boxes of archives and drawers full of scrapbooks and photographs, many photographs. The house was some sort of living museum and the *Nederlands-Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging* (Netherlands-South Africa Association, NZAV) had played an important role in this historical collection.

The NZAV and South Africa

The Zuid-Afrikahuis is located in an early seventeenth-century canal house in which the NZAV held office from 1923. The NZAV was founded in May 1881 shortly after the successful revolt of the Transvaler Boers against the British Empire in 1880-1881. The Association brought together a number of Dutch action committees, formed in a wave of *pro-Boerenliefde* (pro-Boer love) to bring support and relief to the otherwise little known Afrikaner

'cousins' in southern Africa, to make themselves known, to organise support, to consult, to communicate, to inform, to stimulate and to make the Dutch public enthusiastic for this cause.

The means at the time to do so was the organisation of meetings, speeches, articles in newspapers and magazines. Initially, the NZAV printed brochures and distributed prints of articles in magazines and newspapers. For a short time, a weekly magazine called *De Hollandsche Afrikaan* (1882-1884) appeared, but its reach was very limited. It was visually a very boring magazine: long columns of text, four pages long. The initial pro-Boer enthusiasm vanished after 1881 in the Netherlands as did the memory of the visit of the Transvaal Deputation led by Paul Kruger in 1884. However, the Jameson Raid of late 1895 restored sympathy and interest for the cause of the Transvaler Boers.

Around this time lithography and photography were technically developing very fast. New publications appeared with visuals central to the story, and the photograph also conquered the newspaper. In South Africa, there was also a rich photographic scene. South African photographers portrayed clients who wanted to be immortalised and they photographed (also for an overseas market) Boer leaders, colonists, indigenous people, buildings, streets, landscapes.

H.E. Fripp, for instance, made a beautiful series of some 60 photos of the landscapes and villages of the Cape Colony in 1888 and 1897 (ZAH Image repository: portfolio 190). There were also big industry clients such as the *Nederlandsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorwegmaatschappij* (Dutch South African Railway, NZASM) and the Pretoria-Pietersburg Spoorweg (Pretoria-Pietersburg Railway) which were interested in the visual documentation of the construction of their railways, buildings and equipment (ZAH Image repository: Coll. Bruch-

man; ZAH photo collections; *Gezichten Pretoria-Pietersburg Spoorweg*, 1899, photographer J. Van Hoepen of Pretoria).

Some of the officials of these railways and other Dutch immigrants made photographs of their houses, families and surroundings (ZAH Coll. M.E. Breuning (1888-1899); Coll. R.W.A. Voigt (10 photos of Krugersdorp 1894); Coll. Jan Lugten (2 photos of his house in Johannesburg 1896); Coll. Jac.Th. Stom (Johannesburg Station 1899, St. Helena 1899-1902); Coll. J.H. Pameijer (physician, ambulance 1899-1901); Coll. J.H.L.J. de Korte (Johannesburg 1897-1899); Coll. H. Simons de Ruyter (1899-1900) among others). During the South African War, in the transition years of the 19th and 20th centuries, photography and lithography even became a revolutionary medium: they gained a prominent place in the international public media that were founded in the same years as the war.

The South African War (1899-1902) dominated the newspapers in many countries for three years. The NZAV and the Press Office of the *Algemeen Nederlands Verbond* (General Dutch League, ANV) played a major role by spreading news and photos in the Netherlands and elsewhere. Photographs of battle tones and their effects — dead and wounded, vandalism — travelled the world as a postcard or as an illustration in newspapers and magazines and brought anti-Brit and pro-Boer sentiments to a boiling point in at least the Netherlands. Along with other activist groups, the NZAV raised several million guilders (then currency and value!) to support the Boer victims of the war in exile and in concentration camps and prisoners of war camps.

Promoting interest through image

Many reports of the war appeared in newspapers, special weeklies and monthlies, in various languages, all full of recent photographs. For instance, the Amsterdam printing house N.J. Boon in 1899-1900 published monthly a delivery of a survey of the recent developments in South Africa, comprising H.J. Kolstee, *De geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika* (1899), then G.J. Priem, *De oorlog in Zuid-Afrika* (December 1899-June 1900) and Holla, *De Guerilla-Oorlog in Zuid-Afrika* (July-December 1900), richly (black-and-white) illustrated with recent photos and drawings. The same printer N.J. Boon also published a series of red-and-black cartoons 'Greetings from ...' drawn by Engelina H. Schlette.

To support the victims of the war, the NZAV and associated pro-Boer societies sold photographs of President Kruger and other Boer leaders and generals as well as photos of rows of fallen soldiers in the field and of the camp victim Lizzy van Zyl who was made famous by Emily Hobhouse. The Society also published an album with pictures of captured Boers and their foreign comrades on St. Helena "for the benefit of the victims of England in the killing camps" (Amsterdam 1900).

The Zuid-Afrikahuis library and photo collections store hundreds of (illustrated) pamphlets and thousands of photos, postcards and cartoons from the South African War years — some edited and published in various languages (ZAH Image repository: Coll. Cardinaal and Coll. Van Hoogenhuijze). Making and publishing photos and cartoons was an international business. The Leipzig printing house Regel & Krug published a series of cartoons 'Gruss vom Kriegsschauplatz', the French magazine *Le Rire* published the sarcastic cartoons of P.H. Lo-

bel and also in France, a series was edited entitled 'Musée des Souverains' (present in ZAH collections). A very small number of these photos and cartoons from the ZAH collections have been printed in H.J. de Graaf, *De Boerenoorlog in oude postkaarten* (Zaltbommel 1972) and L. Zweers, *De Boerenoorlog* (The Hague 1999). Comparable South African publications are M.C.E. van Schoor, *Spotprente van die Anglo-Boereoorlog* (1981) and Ryno Greenwall, *Artists and Illustrators* (Vlaeberg 1992). Special attention to the French illustrator Alfred le Petit is given in Marieta Harley, *The Anglo-Boer War and French Caricature* (Johannesburg 1999).

After the war ended, the NZAV found a new topic worthwhile to maintain the interest of the Dutch public in South Africa. The Boer Republics had lost their political independence, and the attention shifted to the preservation of language, heritage and education. The NZAV decided to support Dutch-language education and simultaneously Afrikaans and Afrikaans language literature. This was carried out in the form of scholarships for South African students to the Netherlands and emigration support for Dutch teachers who wished to move to South Africa. A modest library was set up in Amsterdam which over time developed into the largest in Europe on Afrikaans language and literature.

The NZAV supported the magazine *Zuid-Afrikaansche Post* (1904) to be replaced by *Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika* in 1909 which in turn changed into the monthly issued *Zuid-Afrika* in 1923. Photographs were an important element in the *Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika* (1909-1923); these were assembled both in the Netherlands and in South Africa. For example, the editors of the magazine *Die Brandwag* (1914) and the representative in Pretoria of the Dutch organisation for emigration support *Voorschotkas* sent photographs of companies set up by Dutch

emigrants which was supported by the *Voorschotkas* to the NZAV (ZAH Archives: NZAV, inv. no. 2494). Another source of visuals were series of slides.

Besides these publications, the NZAV organised meetings and information sessions about South Africa, specifically on emigration. The annual meeting of the NZAV was sometimes accompanied by a modest image gallery: photographs, books and magazines. The NZAV also had local and regional departments in the Netherlands, which held meetings for its members and also for other interested parties such as the *Algemeen Nederlands Verbond* (General Dutch League, ANV) and potential emigrants. These meetings consisted of lectures, singing, the screening of lantern slides and later also films. Those present received various brochures on all kinds of subjects related to South Africa.

The NZAV itself published such publications and received brochures and booklets through the South African High Commissioner in London (ZAH Archives: NZAV, inv. no. 2495, inv. no. 2506). The Zuid-Afrikahuis archives hold the documentation on a series of such meetings according to which until at least 1951, lantern slides were shown. Traditionally, explorers, missionaries and travellers illustrated their lectures with slides and photos, and the same happened at many a meeting of the NZAV. In 1936, for instance, members of the Third Students Visit to South Africa projected slides on the Netherlands (*Neerlandia* 40, 1936: 257).

NZAV as initiator and mediator of visuals

At the end of the 19th century, the projection of glass slides, often rented, was still a popular entertainment at children's parties, fun-fair tents and feature halls. Over time, they assumed a new role of informing and educating the public and spreading knowledge and culture. An interesting example for Japan is given by Thomas Lamarre (2011). In the first half of the 20th century, the projection remained common at parties and in school class and was a popular means for self-study. The slides were clearly easily available, and there was a wide range of choice of slides for entertainment and study. Also, South Africa appeared regularly in catalogues of professional photographers, photography shops or photographic societies. Cross-checking these catalogues with the archives of the Zuid-Afrikahuis leads to the following information on the involvement of the NZAV with the making and use of the lantern slides.

1903

The Amsterdam photographer Merckelbach, known as one of the sellers of 'stereoscopic slides', mentioned in his 1903 catalogue a collection of slides about South Africa. These were mostly, but not exclusively, about the recent war years: a young farmer on sentry, Louis Botha and his staff, an English camp, a prayer by the Boer for the battle in Spionkop, the ambulance and other typical war-topics dear to the Dutch and to be known by photographs. These slides were not a part of the collection of the NZAV.



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A m s t e r d a m .

Mijnheeren.-

In verband met zene mededeeling vanwege de Directie der Witte Bioscoop, Damrak te Costi, waarbij zij mij heeft te kennen gegeven dat haar van Uwentwege is medegedeeld dat de film de VOORTSEKERS door U aan mij soude zijn

1912-1919

The 1912-1913 catalogue of the Amsterdam Lichtbeelden Vereeniging (Lantern Slides Association) contained dozens of pages with hundreds of sets of slides on various subjects including a collection of 87 slides on "South Africa before and during the war of 1901". This series begin with a map of South Africa, the portraits of Kruger, Steyn, Reitz, Leyds and Piet Joubert and subsequently made a geographical tour: Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Kimberley, Cape Colony (an ox wagon, the Kar-roo), Natal (Drakensbergen, Amajuba, Colley's grave, Zulus, the 'landing' of passengers in Durban, dagga smoking), etcetera.

It is very well possible that this series was made in consultation with the NZAV. In 1914, NZAV secretary dr. N. Mansvelt referred to the *Lichtbeelden Vereeniging* in Amsterdam, who "through our mediation made a series of lantern slides about South Africa". Another five years later, Mansvelt reported "that the Lichtbeelden Association in Amsterdam, at the time at our request and of our choice, produced 250 lantern slides relating to South Africa, among which about 60 with images of the main industries gold mines, diamond mines, oven construction, corn construction, wool production, tanning bark culture etc., railways, harbour and dockyards etc." (NZAV inv. no. 2494; author's translation).

Thus, the descriptions of the 1912 catalogue match (partly) the descriptions of Mansvelt and a series of slides within the Zuid-Afrikahuis lantern slide collection (Series A and B).

1920-1927

A search on the internet yields a series of 149 glass plates of the South African landscape, railways, dams and cities and 33 on the ethnography of Swaziland and Pondoland dating around 1920 (Antipodean). These sets seem to be partly found in the C, B and A series of slides within the Zuid-Afrikahuis collections.

One part of the lantern slides was clearly a gift from the South African Trade Service of the High Commissioner in London, received by the NZAV in 1925. It is referred to in the NZAV correspondence as "a nice set of slides' along with films, photographs, clichés and booklets about tourism and agriculture in South Africa" (Annual Report NZAV 1925, 8). Years earlier, in 1919, the NZAV had borrowed roll prints (films) from London, primarily intended to stimulate tourism, and distributed them to cinemas in the Netherlands for screening. In the archives (NZAV, inv. no. 2494), a written letter to the director of the Pathé Theatres appears from 1919 which concerns films on railway trips, tourism, Durban, Fruit Industry, Victoria Falls and Port Elizabeth; these had been presented earlier in Utrecht and Nijmegen. In fact, the mediation was also requested by the Dutch Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg and, for example, by the African Theatres Trust in Johannesburg (NZAV, inv. no. 2495).

Later, the NZAV again fulfilled this mediating role. In 1926, the NZAV correspondence mentions "a large collection of photographs, suitable for projecting with the so-called 'glo-boscope'" and clichés with articles received from various travel and tourist agencies, and in the same year, "a nice collection of lantern slides" about 'tourism and farm, railways and agricultural education" (NZAV, inv. no. 2499). Earlier that year, they had been offered to be presented to the ANV which regularly loaned

plates to be printed in its publication *Neerlandia* (NZAV, inv. no. 2487). In 1927, the NZAV reported that the Emigration Committee which had returned from a recent visit to South Africa was invited to give lectures on agriculture in the Zuid-Afrikahuis “explained by showing lantern slides (some of the pictures taken during the trip) and interspersed with new films about South Africa”.

Another five years later, the NZAV announced that it possessed 30 films on South Africa and activities such as grape culture, farming, beautiful trips by car, ostrich farms etc. which were to be hired out with or without an expert speaker. And of course, after the survey of the 30 films, the announcement mentions the existence of a wide collection of lantern slides as well to be commissioned on the same conditions (*Zuid-Afrika*, 1932, 152-153). From then onwards, the NZAV advertised its slides and films in every pre-war edition of the monthly *Zuid-Afrika*.

The background of the X-series slides is rather unknown; some slides date back to 1935 or 1936 (m.s. Bloemfontein built 1934 and Escom House 1935). They were printed in *Zuid-Afrika* 1938 or 1939, so they must have arrived at the Zuid-Afrikahuis in 1937 or early 1938.

A shift to film

The NZAV was active in showing slides and roll prints (films) in its own meetings and those of others, sometimes even in cinemas. It possessed “three series of 6 films of each” and a “modern film projector with electricity connection in a steel suitcase” (NZAV, inv. no. 2506). Undoubtedly, the most successful relation with the world of the cinema was the propaganda for one of the first South African films, *Die Voortrekkers* (1916), a film with 54 minutes of drama about the history of the Great Trek, culminating in

Blood River. The screenplay was written by the Afrikaner writer and historian Gustav Preller, and the director was an Englishman. The film, shot in South Africa, was available in English and Afrikaans. The First World War impeded the film's accessibility in the Netherlands, but by the end of 1918 and throughout 1919, the NZAV alerted various Dutch cinemas about the *Die Voortrekkers* film (NZAV, inv. no. 2495). In September 1919, for instance, it organised a screening "in the Oscar Carrée building on the Amstel" in Amsterdam (NZAV, inv. no. 2429) which received enthusiastic reviews in the *Nieuwe Courant* on August 14, 1919. A screening on 21 November 1919 in the Witte Bioscoop on the Damrak in Amsterdam reported that in the past two weeks, about 35.000 visitors had watched the movie (NZAV, inv. no. 2496); one may wonder how many zeros have been added unintentionally.

The film *Die Voortrekkers* was presented as a success also in the sense that a special leaflet about the Society and its activities was generously distributed at all screenings. The screenings continued in 1920 and 1921. Contemplating the interest in *Die Voortrekkers*, NZAV chairman Prof. Dr. J.W. Pont, while in Pretoria attending a screening of the film *King Solomon's Mines* and drew attention to this one among Dutch film distributors. The Hague-based importer Willem Mullens brought the film to the attention of the cinema directors yet did not expect the same success as *Die Voortrekkers* (NZAV, inv. no. 2495).

During the years of the Interbellum (1919-1939), the NZAV remained active in supplying slides and motion pictures. The organisation also received several new motion pictures and slides. It must be noted that in the catalogues of several well-known commercial producers and in places where slides could be rented, no slides about South Africa are to be found for this period.

For instance, the 40th edition of the 1925 catalogue of CAPI — the firm of the father of famous Dutch filmmaker Joris Ivens — contained 36 pages, but it did not mention any lantern slides of South Africa. Moreover, the catalogue of the *Lichtbeelden Dienst* in Apeldoorn (founded in 1919) does not refer to any images of South Africa.

The slides as magazine visuals

Several slides of the NZAV are identical to illustrations in books or magazines. Glass photographs appeared in newspapers and magazines to illustrate articles or even featured in commercial advertising. The NZAV used the lantern slides in various ways: they were not only projected during lectures and on information evenings but also used as illustration on a regular basis in its own publications such as *Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika* and *Zuid-Afrika*.

Some of the images had many lives. Take for example the image of a Zulu girl (slide B0098) and of a tower in the ruins of Zimbabwe (B0096): they were apparently photographed and placed in the set of slides of the South African Tourist Office/SA Railways and Harbours in 1924. Years later, both illustrated the Calendar for 1933 that the South Africa Railways and Harbours sent to relations (see ZAH Image repository, nos. 57-23, 111-2 and 185-1).

Another example is the advertisements by the Publicity Agent (High Commissioner London) of “delightful journeys in South Africa” in the monthly magazine *Zuid-Afrika*. Appearing every month since November 1924, these advertisements were illustrated by photographs from the 1924 series of slides: Tulbagh Kloof (A0072), *pootjebaden* near Mosselbaai (B0057) and Eloffstraat in Johannesburg (no slide present; reprinted in *Zuid-Afrika*, 1932, 151).

Epilogue: the magic lantern slides, generic or special?

The photographic quality of most of the slides is obvious; professional photographers were clearly involved. Yet, the slides also provide a strong sense of recognition: many slides show famous places of the time, famous tourist places that have been photographed by visitors since. Beautiful beaches, bays and mountains, historic buildings, snapshots of villages, towns, streets; the castle in Cape Town, the Union building in Pretoria, the Great Hole in Kimberley, the tomb of Rhodes in the Matoppo's, the Church Square in Pretoria, the market and streets of Johannesburg, the harbours of Cape Town and Durban, mountain passes and river drives, ox-drawn carriages and railway bridges, statues. The slides are thematically quite generic; at times, it seems as if the slide was part of a reportage – nothing special, one of the many reportages at the time.

An example is the orange picker, high on his ladder (slide A 1024) which is much similar to the pictures accompanying an article about the citrus fruit on the Johanna Hoeve near Warmbad (*Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika* 15.8.1917; 15.9.1917). The glass plates of a Friesian bull (A0357), herd of Friesian cows (A0362), red cattle (A0360) and an African bull (A1013) are comparable to those in articles about the experimental farm Harlingen and the Dutch settlement at Wonderfontein (*Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika* 15.8.1917; *Zuid-Afrika* 19; ZAH Image repository).

Producer CAPI writes in his 1925 catalogue that the lithographs are no longer to be considered as magic lantern slides. The slides might have become an obsolete means of communication, yet they played, and continued to play for some decades a significant role in the activities of the NZAV.

Acknowledgements

The author expresses his gratitude to Philip van der Walt for his expert research and generous sharing of literature and for the identification of many slides.

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Appendix 1: Comparing collections

A preliminary comparison of the slides with the photographs of the image repository of the Zuid-Afrikahuis and the illustrations in *Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika* (HZA), *Zuid-Afrika* (ZA) and *Neerlandia* shows the following:

A0003 = inventory number Zuid-Afrikahuis collections.

Description = description by author.

51 = page number.

Slides in the Zuid-Afrikahuis collections, digitised

A0003 Railway map of South Africa: ZA 1927, 51.

A0010 The pier in Table Bay, Cape Town: Image repository 176-4 (from a magazine); ZA 1930, 143; ZA 1935, 51.

A0011 Cape Town and Table Mountain from Seinheuwel: ZA 1927, 39.

A0013 Cape Town and Table Mountain from Seinheuwel: ZA 1934, 81.

A0018 Gate Cape Town Castle: Image repository 99-1 (almost identical).

A0020 Adderley Street, Cape Town: Image repository 170-7 (almost identical).

A0021 Flower sellers, Adderley Street, Cape Town: ZA 1934, 158.

A0031 Cableway upper station on Table Mountain: ZA 1934, 49.

A0032 Lion Hill Cape Town: Image repository 147-13 (almost identical).

A0038 Chapman's peak: ZA 1931, 39 and ZA 1935, 5 (called Houtbaai).

A0044 View of Muizenberg: ZA 1934, 51.

A0049 View of Groote Schuur, Cape Town: HZA 15.7.1910, 5 (almost identical).

A0051 Rhodes Memorial, Rondebosch: Image repository 100-11 (almost identical).

A0121 Market East-London: HZA 15.7.1914, 6 (almost identical).

A0412 Merino's, ready for sale: HZA 15.5.1914, 5.

A0419 Maize farm: ZA 1927, 89.

A1012 Merino rams: HZA 15.5.1914, 4.

B0003 President Brand Street with Council Room in Bloemfontein: Image repository 103-8.

B0021 Drakensberg: Devil's Tooth: ZA 1925, 125 (here called *Mont aux Sources*).

B0026 Orient beach East-London: Image repository 101-2.

B0037 Howick Falls, Natal: Image repository 49-9a; 49-9b (partly cropped), HZA 15.2.1912, 7 (almost identical); the photo in ZA 1939, 60 is another one.

B0045 Big Hole at Kimberley: Image repository 64-5a.

B0056 Montagu Pass: Image repository 191-10a (printed in book by KPM, in the Zuid-Afrikahuis library available as A 916.8 Zuiden) and 191-10b (postcard from 1940).

B0060 Port Elizabeth Humewood beach: Image repository 122.6 (and 122-5 almost identical).

B0072 Union building Pretoria: ZA 1927, 84; ZA 1932, 122, 150.

B0073 Union building Pretoria: ZA 1931, 39 (slightly different).

B0076 Raw diamonds: Image repository 64-5b.

B0091 Weighing gold at refinery, Germiston: ZA 1927, 88.

B0096 Zimbabwe ruins: ZA 1927, 169; ZA 1938, 169 (not entirely identical).

C0087 Birth house of S.J.P. Kruger near Bulhoek: Image repository 131-11; *Neerlandia* 1939, 258.

C0089 S.J.P. Kruger in front of his house with the lion: Image repository 131-11.

C0099 Jopie Fourie: Image repository 144-6.

C0098 Headstone Jopie Fourie: Image repository 144-7; *Neerlandia* 1939.

C0103 Pietermaritzburg preparatory church: Image repository 96-3; ZA 1938, 157.

C0106-3 A.W.J. Pretorius: Image repository 153-13.

C0107 Ox wagon: Image repository 83-2; ZA 138, 169.

C0086 Statue of S.J.P. Kruger in front of Station, Pretoria West: ZA 1938, 119.

D0045/1 Koopman-de Wet Huis: Image repository 183-4 (almost identical, bicycle and plants gone).

E0022 Cape Town Parliament building: Image repository 99-12 (almost identical: vegetation is higher).

E1000 Maquette Voortrekker Monument: Image repository 110-13; ZA 1938, 179.

Slides in the Zuid-Afrikahuis collections, non-digitised

2/1 m.s. Bloemfontein in Durban: ZA 1938, 78 or 1939, 37.

2/18 Cape Town with Table Mountain: ZA 1938, 46

2/23 Twelve Apostles seen from Kloofnek: ZA 1938, 48.

2/45 Statue of Jan van Riebeeck, Adderley Street, Cape Town: ZA 1938, 78.

2/80 Rissik Street from Escom House, Johannesburg: ZA 1938, 93.

- 2/99 Statue of Kruger, Station Square Pretoria: ZA 1938, 119.
 2/118 Mine dumps: ZA 1938, 103.
 2/131 Klerksdorp, *stadsaal*: ZA 1940, 45.
 2/134 Klerksdorp, street: ZA 1938, 66.
 2/138 Ox wagons driving through Wonderfontein: ZA 1939, 166.
 2/145 House Van Hoffen, Vereeniging: ZA 1939, 76.
 2/197 Close to station of Sabie: ZA 19938, 109
 1/200 Lions taking a walk, Krugerpark: ZA 1938. 30
 1/203 Lioness in Krugerpark: ZA 1938, 19 en 105
 1/207 Lioness on the road: ZA 1938, 20.
 1/258 Pretoria, building of the NZASM: ZA 1938, 60.
 1/297 Pietersmaritzburg, Voortrekker Museum: ZA 1938, 157.
 1/306 Women's Monument: ZA 1938, 149.

A note on comparison

When comparing the slides with the printed versions, 'not identical' or 'slightly different' indicates a problem. The printed versions were adapted to the size of the magazine concerned as small (and therefore not exactly) or slightly larger or only part of the slide was printed. They are also sometimes less clear depending on the paper. Sometimes, the picture has been subjected to minor corrections deliberately (e.g. D0045/1 and E0004).

Sometimes, apparently there were two versions of the same picture/lantern slide: a picture of an object was taken twice, a few minutes after each other, from a slightly different angle. A good example is the picture "natural bath at Mosselbaai" (B0057) and the print in ZA 1927, 188: the bathers and the spectators on the bank have changed their positions. This is also the difference between slide B0073 and ZA 1931, 39: the person covering the

top of the stairs on B0073 on one of the last steps has come to some distance before the stairs in ZA 1931, 39. Also, A0011 and A0013 are not completely identical, or were the prints taken slightly differently? Every so often, some time had clearly elapsed between two pictures of the same place. Were the two photographs provided together or were they collected from different series?

Appendix 2: The provenance of slides

The catalogue of Merckelbach, *Catalogus Stereoscoopplaten* of 1903 contains 34 slides, of which only the titles are known to me. Identifying these is almost impossible, but it seems that no slide from this particular collection is present in the Zuid-Afrikahuis collections. It may be that the same pictures are present in the image repository of the Zuid-Afrikahuis. For example, see no. 6 "Louis Botha and staff" (Image repository 17-22: Louis Botha with staff at Colenso), no. 10 "A blown-up bridge" (Image repository 23-13?: Norvalspunt? Colenso), no. 12 "Boer position at Colenso" (Image repository 24-4?).

The 1912, *Catalogus of the Lichtbeeldenvereeniging* provides the titles of the 87 magic lantern slides on the series "South Africa before and after the war of 1901". Some of them may belong to the Zuid-Afrikahuis Collections but there is no certainty: no. 1 "Map of South Africa": E 1? No. 25 "Rissik Street, Johannesburg": A0136? No. 33 "Ox wagon in the river": C0113? The series presents many pictures of places and events in the South-African Wars, and the description of the lantern slides looks familiar. Still, is no. 16 "Installation of president Kruger 1898" indeed the same as image repository no. 181-2 or 186-22? No. 23 may be image repository 63-12? No. 57 "English

prisoners of war in Pretoria" image repository 22-5 or 22-12?
 No. 84 "Kruger on the Gelderland" image repository 132-11?

Of the 149 images of the 1920s slides, offered online by Antipodean Books, quite a few can be found in the collections of the Zuid-Afrikahuis. According to Antepodean Books, there were 33 ethnographic plates. The "Pondoland Native Pipe Smoking" must be B0063, "Swazi Mother and child" C8 and "Picanin Natal Makalanga" B1043, "Native bead" B 60 and possibly also C0009 and C0010. Further identifiable images are "Zulu bride and bridesmaids" (B0097), "Zulu girl" (B0098), and three women (C0007, C0009, C0011), "hut building" (C0012) and C0013 "young men". Also recognisable are "Capetown and Table Mountain from Signal Hill" (A0013?), "Brand St, Flower Fountain" (B0003), "Ostrich Farm near Oudtshoorn" (B0061), "Muizenberg near Cape Town" (B0058), "Port Alfred — Kowie River" (B0065), Cape Town street scenes: Adderley St, a double decker bus (A 20); St George St (A0026), "Aerial cable way" (B0010, A0031), "Hex River Valley showing Railway" (B0035), "Johannesburg View of the Mine Dumps" (B0043), "Weighing Gold at Refinery, Germiston" (B0091), "Magoeba's Kloof" (B0052), "Protea" (B0071), "Diamonds" (B0076), "Arum Lillies" (B0002), "Gold Mine electric haulage" (B0014). "The Sentinel — Hout Bay" (B0082, A0038).

“Zij geven niet een denkbeeld van Zuid-Afrika, zooals het in het algemeen is”: NZAV’s screen images of South Africa in lantern slides and film (1900-1920s)

Sarah Dellmann

After World War I and throughout the 1920s, *The Nederlands Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereeniging* (NZAV), one of the forerunners of the Zuid-Afrikahuis, gave numerous lectures illustrated with lantern slides at information evenings on South Africa. These lectures were not simply given to advance human knowledge on the country but, as I will show, often intended to stimulate the emigration of Dutch people to South Africa.

When browsing through the digital slide archive, the lantern slide that first caught my eye is the slide depicting a cauliflower field. Cauliflower is not an indigenous plant of South Africa; it was cultivated in Europe since the sixteenth century and was a common vegetable in the Netherlands around 1900.

Imagine a group of hard-working, relatively poor farmers on a rainy November evening in a remote place somewhere in the Netherlands. Imagine them sitting in the local clubhouse; it is not really warm but damp from the assembled audience’s clothing and body heat. They are looking at images of bright sunshine, empty plains, leisure infrastructure and Black people doing the hard work. The cauliflower projects the familiar into the unfamiliar country. Luxury goods such as fancy clothing and costly leisure activities depicted in other slides of these series that are inaccessible to average farmers in the Netherlands are integrated in the slide set on life in South Africa, evoking a longing for a more prosperous future.

Simultaneously, African history and culture are actively written out of this narrative by not showing indigenous crops, vegetation and architecture, styles of dress or sites with spiritual meaning in an acknowledging fashion. The white farmer among the impressive cauliflowers in South Africa in the slide looks into the camera, and when projected, meets the eyes of the viewers who attend the lecture. 'Hey, you sitting there! You could be here; this could be your life.'. How tempting is it to dream away?

Context: NZAV's media use in contemporary screen practices

A quick search in the Dutch National Library's collection of digitised newspapers for *lezing or voordracht and lichtbeelden* between 1881 — NZAV's year of foundation — to 1940 finds tens of thousands of announcements and reports of lantern lectures. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, when prices for projection apparatus and slides dropped considerably, various social, religious, educational and political organisations could afford a lantern more easily and used illustrated lectures as a medium in their campaigns and activities. The screen became established as a public place where viewpoints were presented and negotiated (Crangle and Vogl-Bienek 2014; Vogl-Bienek 2016; Eifler 2018). The lantern slides are often the only physical remainder of these fleeting events.

While lecturing with lantern slides was generally considered an appropriate means for instruction, the suitability of film for serious educational purposes was highly questioned by teachers between the 1900s and the 1920s. However, NZAV also used film as tool to promote their agenda on the screen. The choice to make use of both media to reach audiences, it seems, was not

subject to big debate. However, the questions of how to apply them, which visuals to use and which ideas to communicate were heavily debated among the members.

In the following, I will sketch NZAV's engagement with lantern slides and film based on three types of sources. The first are the notes of general assemblies and board meetings published in the association's journal *Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika*; the second are reports of lantern lectures organised by NZAV published in newspapers and the third are archival documents — mainly mail correspondence — relating to lantern slides and film activities held at the Zuid-Afrikahuis. The translations from the Dutch originals are mine.



The debate on NZAV's use of lantern slides

An early piece of evidence for the NZAV's engagement in screen practices is a short announcement in the newspaper *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* from 17 December 1896: "On Tuesday, 22 December Mr J. Van Zwieten will give a lecture with lantern slides of South Africa for the Rotterdam department of the Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereeniging at Salon Doele" (*Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 1896). The information provided by this note is limited: it does not inform whether the slides were owned by NZAV, the lecturer or were acquired from a third party, but it does indicate that at least some regional divisions considered a lecture with lantern slides a suitable activity for the society.

In late 1899, during the South African War, several charity evenings featuring musical performances, communal singing, lectures and lantern performances were organised throughout the country to raise funds in support of the Afrikaners/Boers (see, for example, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 1899; *Arnhemsche Courant* 1899; *Provinciale Overijsselsche and Zwolsche Courant* 1899). The NZAV is often credited with being the recipient of the collected money that would be redistributed to the Transvaal. In this case, lantern slides were used to support NZAV's activities, but the NZAV's relation with the lantern slides that were projected remains unclear. In any case, no source explicitly mentions who provided the slides for those evenings.

It seems that NZAV only took up systematic efforts in using the screen as an integral part of its activities in the 1910s and the implementation of a 'screen strategy' did not go smoothly as we shall see. Local divisions had sporadically organised screenings but only in 1911 did the NZAV main board start investigating how a distribution of lantern slides and film could be established

for promoting their image — in both senses of the word, as the idea and its visualisation — of South Africa.

A motion of the Utrecht division of the NZAV is documented in the notes of the General Assembly from 27 May 1911: in order to improve the poor knowledge on South Africa among the Dutch, the motion demands that the NZAV main board plans a series of “popularising lectures, with lantern slides etc.” (HZA 1911). The main board was assigned the task of providing a set of 50 lantern slides that “gives an idea of South Africa” (in Dutch: *een denkbeeld*; HZA 1913a). But this task, as it turned out two years later, was formulated too broadly and the resulting slide set commissioned by the main board was heavily criticised by other NZAV members. For the production of the slide set, the main board of NZAV had turned to the *Lichtbeelden-Vereeniging* (Lantern Slide Association), an organisation that offered educative lantern slides for loan to its private and institutional members. The *Lichtbeelden-Vereeniging* and NZAV asked their respective members to supply photographs of South Africa for the production of this set.

However, the resulting slide set was not to the liking of all members as was criticised at the General Assembly in 1913 for showing “outdated images” that did not sufficiently depict the modern aspects of South Africa. J. V. comments in the society’s newspaper: “Even with the best intentions it is impossible to give an encompassing idea of South Africa in one evening [...] in maximum 50 slides, to each of which one can dedicate roughly one, I repeat one minute of explanation to a public which, in its majority, knows nothing, really nothing about South Africa.” (HZA 1913a). J. V. continues to name several aspects that critics required to be covered: natural beauties, cities, industries, mountains, valleys, animals, plants, agriculture, economy, ports,

railways, bridges, the white settlers and Black inhabitants, their lives and customs, their habitats and monuments of “traditional Dutch energy and art”, of modern entrepreneurship and history. He concludes, “even the main board could not assemble a set of 50 slides that satisfies all these demands”. J. V. then suggests two alternatives: either continue as before and dissatisfy everyone or give lantern lectures on specific aspects, each with a specifically assembled set of lantern slides (HZA 1913b).

Here, I could not find archival evidence to reconstruct the decision-making process. It seems that NZAV had produced a total of 250 slides in cooperation with the *Lichtbeelden-Vereeniging* (not 50 as J. V. mentions in the article) as this number is mentioned in a letter to a professor who had inquired NZAV about lantern slides (NZAV, inv. no. 2495). At some point in 1913 or 1914, the NZAV must have decided to take the production and distribution of slides into their own hands. The board meeting notes from 20 September 1913 document that they had not yet received the required photos for the production of lantern slides and suggested cooperation with Dutch lantern slide manufacturers instead (HZA 1913b). The General Assembly of May 1914 voted to cancel their subscription to the *Lichtbeelden-Vereeniging* “due to lack of interest” (HZA 1914) which would only make sense if an alternative were at hand.

It is likely that some of the early slides preserved today at the Zuid-Afrikahuis are the outcome of this homemade slide production as it would account for the heterogeneity of visual styles. It would also explain that the slides with the same motif are preserved in other collections — some of which are even advertised in catalogues of British manufacturers. Instead of producing images from an a priori defined concept, the slides were produced from what NZAV could get from its members.

The notation on the labels suggests that slides were organised into different sets. Lecturers could then order slide sets composed by NZAV or combine slides from multiple sets for a 'personally composed' lantern lecture.

The relation between the local divisions and the main board seemed to stay complicated; local divisions demanded more activities of the main board and the main board saw the responsibility of organising events "with or without the presentation of films and slides" with the local divisions (HZA 1919).

NZAV's activities to portray South Africa in moving images

NZAV's activities in organising film screenings, film distribution and even film production for projecting their version of South Africa on screen in the Netherlands and, conversely, their version of the Netherlands on screens in South Africa would deserve an essay of its own (NZAV inv. no. 2495). Given the close relation between lantern slide and film exhibition, it may not come as a surprise that similar concerns about the suitability of the visual content was raised with respect to films. In a letter from the *Nederlandsch Zuid-Afrika Press Office* dated 15 March 1919, the author writes the following:

In response to your esteemed writing from 6 March, I am pleased to report that the films were shown at the occasion of my lecture at Wageningen. I regret to have to say that I do not consider these films very suitable. They do not give an image or idea (*denkbeeld*) of South Africa as it is in general, but present how certain, not typical, places in South-Africa look like. (NZAV, 2495).

This statement is telling about the politics and assumption of both associations: seemingly, the author feels capable of judging what 'typical' images of South Africa look like. As becomes clear in the course of the letter, 'typical' in their eyes are images that depict modern aspects and industries and not tourist places or places that matter to indigenous communities.

Significant effort was made to organise films that present the desired images. In cooperation with the Consul of Great Britain and Ireland in Amsterdam, films shot in South Africa were imported to Great Britain and the Netherlands. The films titled *Coaling Appliances at Durban*, *Fruit Industry*, *Victoria Falls* and *Port Elizabeth* were offered to interested parties in theatrical settings (cinemas), educational settings (e.g. school cinemas and science clubs) and other non-theatrical settings (farmers' association meetings or meetings of local NZAV divisions in club houses and community buildings) alike.

One case that particularly deserves further investigation is NZAV's effort in the years 1919-1920 to get the film *Die Voortrekkers* (also *De Voortrekkers*) on screens across the Netherlands, seemingly with big success. As the film copy was pricey, NZAV set up a crowd-funding initiative, contacted important Dutch film entrepreneurs, ensured that a damaged copy was repaired and designed and issued handouts for free distribution. Curiously, the film *Die Voortrekkers* is a historical drama and thus does not meet the demand for images that promote ideas of a 'modern' South Africa or a 'general' image including its industries. The flyer issued by the main board of NZAV reads the following:

‘Die voortrekkers’ is the title of a great historic film that presents the birth of a new Dutch people under unimaginable sufferings and struggle. This film was shot in South Africa with the cooperation of many hundred people, *blanken* as well as *kaffers*, and on top of that the best South-African actors, historians, and other experts. Rarely did a piece of art achieve such a truthful historical image that, at the same time, is fascinating and exciting. (NZAV, inv. no. 2495).

The “truthful historical image” is accompanied by explanatory notes that spell out the ideological aims and intentions of the NZAV visual politics. The backside of the leaflet informs about the activities of NZAV for ‘Transvalers and Freestaters’ in South Africa since 1881.

After the war in 1899-1902, the NZAV did everything in its power to keep awareness in the Netherlands for the *stamverwanten* (kin; Kuitenbrouwer, 2012, 20) in South Africa, to support the Dutch-speaking element in that country, to support the Afrikaners in their struggle for their rights and ‘their’ and ‘our’ language and to expand the economic activities of the Netherlands in South Africa. “The largest part of the Union of South Africa, in spite of the British flag waving there, stayed and even increased to be a Dutch-speaking country; the country, where lies, outside of the Netherlands, the future of the Dutch race. It is therefore the unquestionable duty of all Dutch people to make themselves well aware of the ties that connect the Netherlands and South Africa” (NZAV, inv. no. 2495).

This statement is in line with topoi that became more dominant in late nineteenth-century Dutch discourse on South Africa (cf. Kuitenbrouwer 2012). The South African War was deeply connected to the question whether the British or the Dutch would define the colonial order. Some topoi from the pro-Boer propaganda had already been present in Dutch publications before the outbreak of the war. "To contemporaries", Vincent Kuitenbrouwer writes, "such issues did not only have to do with the 'hard' tools of power such as military force and capital but also with less tangible aspects such as national identity, cultural heritage and, last but not least, language." (Kuitenbrouwer 2012, 67).

The flyer of NZAV almost reads like a textbook example for this discourse. NZAV addresses the Dutch reader through cultural feelings (national identity and language), suggests a shared cause with the Afrikaners/Boers because of the shared language ("their and our language", "ties that connect") and mobilises this concern against the British. Furthermore, the quote suggests that the British flag is not the correct one to wave in South Africa as the land is described to be predominantly Dutch. The combination of a critique of British presence and the reference to "increased" Dutch presence is at least an implicit military threat to the British.

With respect to the indigenous population, little remains to extrapolate about the racial, colonial and competitive programme of the quote from NZAV's leaflet. Although no explicit statement supposes the 'racial' superiority of the Dutch over the local inhabitants, the message indicates that the land is there to be conquered and populated by members of the 'Dutch race' to spread their language and culture. To this end, the immigration of (white) Dutch farmers was needed.

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NEDERLANDSCH ZUID-AFRIKAANSCH VEREENIGING

Keizersgracht 141 — AMSTERDAM.

Telefoon 49318

Kostelooze inlichtingen en adviezen
over Emigratie naar Zuid-Afrika.
Spreekuur: Elken Maandag van 11—1 uur.

BESCHIKBAAR:
Boeken, Brochures enz. (gratis)

Geeft kosteloos in leenbruik:
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Life in South Africa — as bright as in projection?

Film screenings and lantern lectures in the Netherlands were a means to influence the choice for emigration. The lantern slide (see image page 90) advertised NZAV's information services on migration to South Africa. It is unknown where this slide was projected, but it would make sense as paid advertising (e.g. before commercial film screenings) or as background images, projected in the break or as the last slide after a film or lantern lecture organised by NZAV. In the last two cases, the lecture would culminate with addressing the viewers to get further information on emigration to South Africa from NZAV's office ("free of charge"), and they were offered to even organise an event themselves using NZAV's service of "free loan of film and photos".

There was discussion among members whether NZAV's slides and the illustrated lectures gave too optimistic or too dark an image of the country for the prospective immigrant:

Even though Mr Boshof informed us in word and slide about the potentials that South Africa offers in the domains of agriculture and livestock farming, he did not fail to inform that such potentials can only be realised through hard work, specialist knowledge, and capital. Some audience members who know and cherish South Africa thought that Mr Boshof presented the cause as if South Africa had no good chances to offer. This impression was partially corrected afterwards with the presentation and explanation of the lantern slides. (HZA 1923).

Some attendees of these shows chose to chase their dream and migrate with the credit of the organisations facilitated by the NZAV for travel expenses (Cavero & Stobbe 2015) for which they worked long to pay back. Dutch migrants in colonial South Africa may have encountered difficulties, and some were probably disappointed to find out that life in remote valleys was not quite exactly what was suggested in the film and lantern lectures. They could hardly earn enough to return to the Netherlands if, once in South Africa, they thought otherwise.

Conclusion: learning from a slide collection

This first dive into the archives of the Zuid-Afrikahuis shows that written documents are fruitful sources for reconstructing historical uses and meanings of NZAV's films and lantern slides when discussed along with the images displayed in the slides. The film and lantern evenings organised by NZAV in the 1910s and 1920s were not plain entertainment or lessons in geography; a vivid debate among members on how to best transmit NZAV's mission and political views through the screened images accompanied the organisation's development of a screen strategy.

The slides do not exist for themselves; entangled in broader debates in Dutch migration politics and foreign affairs, the (implicit) visual narrative of NZAV's films and lantern slides as well as the more explicitly formulated ideological narrative portrays South Africa as a legitimate place to be for Dutch people and invites migration. The careful image selection and the presumably equally careful choice of words in the comment of the lecturer mobilised the persuasive potential of screen media to address the audience members, at least in parts, as potential migrants. In spite of all the discussion, no consensus could be achieved among the members as to which slides could "give an image/idea [denkbeeld] of South Africa as it is in general."

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Appendix: quotes from the archives and newspapers

Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad. 1896. *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* (December 17, 1896).

“Dinsdag 22 December zal voor de afdeeling Rotterdam der Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereeniging in den Salon Doele optreden de heer J. Van Zwieten met een voordracht met lichtbeelden over Zuid-Afrika”.

Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika. 1913. *Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika* 5, no. 1 (July 15, 1913): 6.

“Met den besten wil van de wereld is het onmogelijk, in één avond (tot nu toe was voor de *lichtbeelden* vertooningen niet meer dan een deel, hoogstens de helft van een avond gereserveerd), dus met ten hoogste 50 lantaarnplaten, aan elk waarvan dus ruim één, zegge één minuut voor toelichting kan worden gegeven, aan het publiek, dat in meerderheid niets, maar dan ook niets van Zuid-Afrika weet, een algemeen denkbeeld te geven van dit werelddeel, d.w.z, van Zuid-Afrika’s natuurschoon, stedenbouw, bedrijven, enz. van zijn bergen, dalen, dieren, planten, cultuur-gewassen; zijn handel en zijn industrie, zijn havens, spoorwegen. Andere middelen van vervoer, bruggen enz.; zijn blanke bewoners en zijn kaffers, hun leven hun gewoonten, hun woningen; de monumenten van oud-Hollandsche energie en kunst, van modernen ondernemingslust enz. enz., gezwegen nog van zijn geschiedenis!”

Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika. 1913. *Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika*, 5, no. 4 (15 October 1913): 4.

"2. Daar tot heden nog niet de gewenschte photo's voor lichtbeelden uit Z-Afrika zijn ontvangen, zullen betrekkingen met een Nederlandsche Firma worden aangeknoopt. Een aanbod van D. te Pretoria om daar voor rekening der Vereeniging de noodige toestellen enz. ter vervaardiging van photo's en lichtbeelden aan te schaffen, wordt niet aanvaard."

Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika. 1919. *Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika*, 10, no. 12 (June 15, 1919): 7.

"Ten slotte worden door verschillende aanwezigen nog voorstellen gedaan om de propaganda voor de Vereeniging beter ter hand te nemen. De Voorzitter verklaart, dat het Hoofdbestuur zeker met al de gegeven wenken rekening zal houden, doch dat het initiatief en de organisatie van voordrachten met of zonder vertooning van rolprenten of lichtbeelden moet uitgaan van de plaatselijke Afdeelingen of van Vertegenwoordigers der Vereeniging."

Zuid-Afrikahuis, *Archief van de Nederlands Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging*, 1881-2015, toegang 049, inv. no. 2495.

"'Die Voortrekkers' is de naam van een groote geschiedkundige rolprent (film), waardoor de geboorte van een nieuw Hollandsch volk, onder onnoemelijk veel leed en strijd, wordt voorgesteld. Deze rolprent is opgenomen in Zuid-Afrika met de medewerking van vele honderden personen, blanken zoowel als kaffers, en bovendien van de beste Zuid-Afrikaansche artisten, geschiedkundigen en andere deskundigen. Zelden is het aan de Kunst gelukt, een zoo trouw geschiedkundig beeld, en tevens zoo boeiend en spannend, voort te brengen."

Zuid-Afrikahuis, *Archief van de Nederlands Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging*, 1881–2015, toegang 049, inv. no. 2495.

Letter to Prof. Dr. H.D.J. Bodenstein from 6 February (no year, but before 1919): “Naar aanleiding van ons onderhoud van gisteren berichten wij U, dat de Lichtbeelden Vereeniging, te Amsterdam, indertijd op ons verzoek en naar onze keuze een 250 lantaarnplaten heeft vervaardigd, betrekking hebbende op Zuid-Afrika waaronder een zestigtal met afbeeldingen van de voornaamste industrieën (Goudmijnen, diamantmijnen, ooftbouw, maïsbouw, wol-productie, looibastcultuur, enz., spoorwegen, haven- en dokwerken enz.)”.

Zuid-Afrikahuis, *Archief van de Nederlands Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging*, 1881–2015, toegang 049, inv. no. 2495.

Comment based on 10 documents within this inventory number. It is noteworthy that the important Dutch cinema entrepreneur Willy Mullens took a film into his dissemination circuit that was either commissioned or bought by NZAV. It cannot be established whether this indicates Mullens’s support for the cause of the NZAV on the basis of the sources consulted in the archives of the Zuid-Afrikahuis. However, it is likely that Mullens saw a business opportunity in cooperation. NZAV planned to (?) order films showing industries in the Netherlands from Mullens’s production to ship them to Pretoria probably to promote a modern image of the Netherlands in South Africa.

Zuid-Afrikahuis, *Archief van de Nederlands Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging*, 1881–2015, toegang 049, inv. no. 2495.

“[...] Sedert dien tijd is deze Vereeniging voorgegaan om alles te doen, wat in haar vermogen is, om de belangstelling in Nederland voor de stamverwanten in Zuid-Afrika gaande te houden, het Hollandsch-sprekende element in dit land te versterken, de Afrikaners te steunen in hun strijd voor de rechten van hunne en onze taal, en de economische belangen van Nederland in Zuid-Afrika voor te staan en uit te breiden. Het grootste gedeelte van de Unie van Zuid-Afrika is thans, ten spijt van de Engelsche vlag, die er waait, gebleven en in steeds sterker mate geworden een Hollandsch-sprekend land, het land, waarin, buiten Nederland, de toekomst van het Nederlandsche ras gelegen is. Daarom is het een onafwijsbare plicht van ieder Nederlander om de betrekkingen tusschen Nederland en Zuid-Afrika te helpen verinnigen. Daarom is het plicht van ieder Nederlander, zich goed bewust te worden van den band, die Nederland en Zuid-Afrika verbindt [...]”, (emphasis in original).

Hollandsch Zuid-Afrika. 1923. *Hollands Zuid-Afrika* 14, no. 10 (15 April 1923).

“Alhoewel de heer Boshof met woord en lichtbeeld ons de mogelijkheden deed hooren en zien, welke Zuid-Afrika op het gebied van landbouw en veeteelt biedt, liet hij niet na er duidelijk op te wijzen, dat deze slechts door energie, vakkennis en kapitaal zijn te veroveren. Zelfs hoorden wij van wie Zuid-Afrika kennen en liefhebben de opmerking, dat zij aanvankelijk onder de impressie hadden verkeerd, dat de heer Boshof de zaak zoo voorstelde, alsof dat land eigenlijk in het geheel geen goede kansen bood, welke indruk eerst later bij het vertonnen en verklaren der lichtbeelden gedeeltelijk weder werd weggenomen.”

Zuid-Afrikahuis, *Archief van de Nederlands Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging*, 1881-2015, toegang 049, inv. no. 2495.

“In antwoord op uw geëerd schrijven do. 6 Maart j.l. heb ik het genoegen, U te kunnen mededeelen, dat ik de bedoelde rolprenten bij gelegenheid van mijn lezing te Wageningen heb zien afdraaien. Het spijt me, te moeten zeggen, dat deze rolprenten me niet zeer geschikt voorkomen. Zij geven niet een denkbeeld an Zuid-Afrika, zooals het in het algemeen is, doch zooals eenige, niet typisch Zuid-Afrikaansche plaasten er uit zien. De indruk blijft bij, dat Zuid-Afrika een land is van water en van spoorwegen, Dit laatste is natuurlijk, omdat de films zijn vervaardigd als propaganda materiaal voor de spoorwegen, ter bevordering van het reizigers- en touristen-verkeer. Alleen de film van de Ooftbouw in de Hexrivier-bergen is, naar ik meen, in staat, een goed denkbeeld te geven van een enkele, zij het ook voorname industrie in Zuid-Afrika. Intusschen moet alles, wat de aandacht op Zuid-Afrika vestigt, worden toegejuicht, dus ook deze rolprenten, en als het levende woord als aanvulling kan dienen, is er zeker geen enkel bezwaar tegen de vertooning.”

Lichtbeeldenvereeniging 1912

Centraal Bureau voor Lantaarnplaten Amsterdam. 1912.

‘Catalogus der Lichtbeeldenvereeniging 1912-13’: <https://archive.org/details/Lichtbeeldenvereeniging1912/page/n25>

Comment. Unfortunately, the only preserved and digitised catalogue of the *Lichtbeelden-Vereeniging* Amsterdam dates back to 1912/13, so I cannot establish whether the slides held in the archives were also distributed in their circuits.

Latent South African visual history: magic lantern slides

Carol Hardijzer

During mid-2019, an exceptional Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) collection of artefacts went up on auction at a Johannesburg-based auction house. Photographic images in this collection fetched high prices. However, images that high-end bidders did not pursue with the same vigour were magic lantern slides in the collection. Why would this be? Often ignored by collectors and researchers or even misidentified in historical photograph collections, magic lantern slides have been described as having a less than authentic reputation. Is this view justified? And is there a small connection to the lantern slides of the South Africa House? In this article, the author briefly reflects on the history of the lantern slide as well as South African-themed magic lantern slides. From the outset, it needs to be stated that more research is required on the many facets of the South African lantern era.

Brief history of the magic lantern

Magic lanterns were in use long before the first photographic image, the daguerreotype, was produced during 1839. The magic lantern was first described during 1659 by the Dutchman Christian Huygens. In a diagram attached to his notes, he showed the arrangement of a concave mirror behind the light source, a biconvex condensing lens, the slide, and a biconvex objective lens which became the standard optical system for magic lanterns (Permutt 1986). A friend of Huygens, Richard

Reeves, introduced the magic lantern to England the following year. Reeves described this unique device as “the lanthorn that shows tricks” (Permut 1986). However, why was the projected image referred to as a magic lantern slide? The projectors of the old magic lantern were so called due to a small image mounted between two glass pieces which when projected created a larger image — Magic! The name stuck — magic lantern — and therefore the magic lantern slide.

The earlier magic lanterns used sunlight or candlelight for illumination. Oil burners gradually replaced candles. The level of illumination was further improved by placing a concave mirror behind the oil burner to reflect and concentrate the light on to the lenses. The introduction of the Argand pot lamp (oil lamp named after a French physicist) during the late 1770s brought in a circular wick to supply oxygen to the centre of the flame, a chimney to provide extra upwards draught and a pre-heated thick oil for fuel which in turn provided far better illumination compared to any preceding lantern types. Before magic lanterns became electrified, kerosene was widely used for illumination. Some magic lanterns were elaborately made. Sizes varied. Some were large units mainly used at public exhibitions (with up to three lenses), while smaller units were produced for children.

The magic lantern remained in use until the mid-20th century when it was superseded by a more compact version that could hold multiple 35 mm photographic slides, namely the contemporary slide projector.

The magic lantern slide

The magic lantern slide (*towerlantern skyfie* in the Afrikaans language) either consisted of a photograph, coloured drawing or a sketch reproduced from newspaper publications. In order to project the fragile finished image, the coated side was covered with a second, same-sized piece of glass (usually 8.2 x 8.2 cm.) with their edges taped together with black paper tape. In some instances, images were placed underneath cut-out paper masks. Slides are frequently found in sets covering a single subject and are housed in stout, wooden-lidded boxes grooved within to accept each transparency separately.

Magic lantern slides are often confused with glass negatives. There are however several important differences between the magic lantern slide and a glass negative. The most obvious being that the lantern slide is a positive and not a negative image. Moreover, glass negatives varied in sizes whereas the lantern slides were uniform in size.

Originally an image painted on glass, lantern slides only became photographic during the 1850s with the use of an albumen or later collodion coating on one side. Either kind of coating contained light-sensitive silver salts which, after being developed, produced a positive transparency. Most of the early handmade slides were mounted in wooden frames with a round or square opening for the picture.

Unlike wet plate photography, dry plates could be prepared in advance and did not require copious amounts of chemicals and equipment or immediate and on-site development in a dark room (photographers had earlier used cumbersome portable tents for this purpose when working in the field). It was the dry plate method that allowed photographic processing to become commercialised in the 1880s.

Commercial production of magic lanterns slides quickly became big business. In the United States of America, the Philadelphia-based Langenheim brothers engaged in full-time production of lantern slides as early as the 1860s. The slides were referred to as stereopticon slides. The similarity of this name with that of the stereograph has resulted in confusing stereopticon slides with the twin opaque prints of a stereograph. From around 1907 onwards, natural colour lantern slides were also made in significant quantity. A short description of the image may also have been applied on the slide.

Lantern slide projection enjoyed a long life as popular entertainment both at home and at larger gatherings where public-illustrated lectures, often edifying nature, were immensely popular. Magic lanterns were the showman's affair, while the slides were very much the concern of audiences on whose approval the showman's fortunes depended. These showmen were also referred to as illuminators. Lantern slides reached their greatest popularity during the 1900s. Sets of slides for both home and professional use were sold covering almost every conceivable field of interest varying from architecture, agriculture, scenic, war, railways, missionary, ethnography, medicine to zoology or simply just faraway places.

Subjects therefore range from the commercially produced narrative series to holiday photographs taken by amateurs. Slides produced by amateurs are less likely to have survived over the years. Inheriting family members might have destroyed such images because they would not have been able to relate to the era as portrayed on the images or due to a lack of the required equipment to project the images.

The types of slides varied. First attempts to produce motion on the screen was with the revolving mechanical mag-

ic lanterns slides. Movement was achieved when a little handle, which formed part of the magic lantern slide, was turned. Another format was in which a second glass with black patches was slipped over the fixed glass which contained the actual painted image. This second glass piece, when manipulated by hand, then covered or uncovered the various stages of the action creating the illusion of movement. No examples of South African themed slides with the special illusionary effects described here have been identified by the author to date. It is therefore very probable that no such slides were ever produced in South Africa.

Lantern slides however did not have the same popularity as stereoview images because of greater expense and the necessity for subdued viewing light required. As for the stereoview images, a lantern slide might be the only photograph of a subject or area that has survived.

Many commercially produced lantern slides have survived in remarkable good condition. Most of them have undergone limited use and have been kept in their grooved wooden storage containers resulting in the avoidance of the usual abrasions of dirt, fingerprints and direct contamination from various sources often seen on negatives. Intense projection light and accompanying heat can be harmful to the life of a slide. The rule of thumb for the illuminator back then was not to expose a slide for longer than 15 seconds under such harsh conditions.

South African magic lantern slides

In true Victorian and Imperial fashion, lantern imagery was widely produced across the empire during the 19th century with themes varying from ethnology, missionary, or wars such as the Anglo-Boer war. Foreign interest in the South African landscape

and broader population was insatiable. This is the primary reason for the bulk of South African themed magic lanterns being found in the United Kingdom, Europe and Northern America. Numerous educational institutions, religious organisations, asylums, and government departments would have bought, commissioned or made their own lantern slides.

However, little is known about the development and history of lantern projection in South Africa itself. Finding South African-themed magic lantern slides in South Africa remains a challenge. The *Hardijzer Photographic Research Collection* houses less than 250 of these images and a large bulk of this magic lantern slide collection consists of missionary photographs (see Hardijzer 2017). Bull and Denfield (1970) and Bensusan (1966), the only two publications providing a detailed overview on South African photographic history, hardly make any reference to lantern slides, illuminators etcetera. The only brief reference is by Bensusan (1966) in which he states:

Late 1880s, Allcock gave a number of talks illustrated by lantern slides, mostly for charitable purposes. This evening entertainment became popular. A presentation presented in the Cape Town hall (in favour of the Children's hospital) was attended by some 450 people (Not captured verbatim).

Several South African photographers would have produced lantern slides. An advertising pamphlet included with some photographic images (converted to slides), showing severe medical skin conditions indicates that a Mr. T. Dunye was an active Johannesburg-based illuminator situated at the Arcade buildings in President street (circa 1910). On this pamphlet, he

advertises that he does the following: produces “artistic lantern slides”; produces lantern slides from black-and-white photographs (at £2.6) and from colour photographs (at £4.0); produces magic lantern slides taken from “living human beings” at £3.3 per day; supplies all necessary machinery for projecting lantern slides in hall at £5.5 a night.

Another South African photographer was Pretoria-based W.H. Anson. It has been recorded that during 1909, Anson offered the agricultural department magic lantern slides for lecturing purposes. Archival records indicate that he also produced multiple lantern slides for a J.J. Nicholson and that he also quoted the company N & H Bricks for producing lantern slides.

In this time period, there was substantial public interest in any images relating to conflict. The Anglo-Boer war was one such topic that was a popular entertainment theme. This is confirmed by the quantity of war news and images produced. The relation between the lantern shows and paper-based illustrated news was closely aligned in that the slide images were sourced from British-illustrated news publications such as *The Sphere* and *The Graphic* and integrated into these lantern performances.

Not all South African-themed magic lantern slides were produced in South Africa. For example, some Anglo-Boer war slide sets were manufactured by British W. Butcher & Sons who traded under the name Primus. This company produced slide sets in a ‘Lecture Series’. Primus slides were sold in chapters consisting of eight slides. There are four chapters on “Our South African Heroes” series, entitled ‘Perils Past’, ‘On to Victory’, ‘An Invisible Enemy’ and ‘Men in Khaki’. Each of these chapters come with a lecture script. The projected images in the original performance would have had the lanternist reading out the script narrating the action of the slides. The lectures would, in all

probability, have been triumphant, patriotic and at times melodramatic in nature. War events of this nature, no doubt, would therefore have been sensationalised during these shows.

Magic lantern slides collections

While the author is of the view that South African-themed magic lantern slides would primarily be found abroad, it was a pleasant surprise to find a vast South African-themed magic lantern slide collection at the Johannesburg-based *Transnet Heritage Library Photo Collection*. This slide collection, among many other artefacts, has been diligently catalogued and scanned by volunteers under the guidance of Johannes Haarhoff (Volunteer Project Leader) and Yolanda Meyer (Information Specialist). The more than 1300 historically important images can be viewed on www.drisa.co.za (Select 'LS' for lantern slides).

What is significant about this slide collection is the unique wooden boxes in which these slides are stored. These boxes each have a thick leather carrying strap. As part of the South African Railway (SAR) publicity campaigns, these boxes were sent to destinations such as USA (New York & Pennsylvania among others) and multiple other European cities. While South African embassies may have been the primary recipients of these boxes, the probability is not excluded that they were also destined to foreign travel agents, photographic distributors and so on. These boxes were returned to South Africa from where they would then be redistributed to the next destination. The probability exists that some of these boxes containing the magic lantern slides never made it back home to South Africa.

The existence of such a large magic lantern collection suggests that the South African Republic Publicity and Trav-

el department would have manufactured these slides in bulk. Interestingly enough, a 1911 SAR annual report refers to the “energetic advertising” by the SAR publicity and travel team in producing these magic lantern slides. This confirms that there was a high production of lantern slides for distribution worldwide. Undoubtedly, multiple duplicate images would have been produced in the process. This raises the question — how many slides were produced by this department and where are the remainder of these images today?

Komnick, administrator at the *South African Parliament’s Artwork Collection* based in Cape Town, confirmed that this collection also houses some 238 South African-themed magic lantern slides (L. Komnick, email communication, November 2019). What is significant about this collection (not seen by the author) is that it contains a number of images from the First Anglo-Boer war (1880-1881). Had these images not been reproduced from photographs for slide shows during the 1900s, this would be the earliest produced South African-themed magic lantern imagery identified in South Africa to date.

The Zuid-Afrikahuis also houses a collection of South African-themed magic lantern slides which happens to have been discovered in the rafters of their building. Although originally partly in possession of local Dutch photographers or distributors, it could not be determined beyond reasonable doubt to date as to where these images originate (P. van der Walt, email communication, July-August 2019). Were they produced by the SAR team or by other South African or even foreign photographers? Some of the slides have Afrikaans descriptions on them which confirms that they were produced in South Africa.

It is very probable that there are many more South African-themed magic lantern slides lying dormant worldwide or even

in South African archives and museums, in their wooden boxes, waiting to be uncovered.

The magic lantern slide collector

Magic lantern slide collectors concentrate on slides of subjects that interest them personally yet any outstanding example or tempting bargain would remain hard to resist for the die-hard collector.

The Magic Lantern Society of Great Britain have identified some 22 different collector categories of different formats of lantern slides. South African production of magic lantern slides would not nearly have been as sophisticated compared to the British/European markets, resulting in a significant lower number of formats that would have been produced in South Africa. Although the most common problems for magic lantern slides are deteriorating tape or cracked glass, maintenance and storage of the magic lantern slides is easier compared to the glass negative, for example, in that storage in their original containers combined with the covering and binding have protected the images from serious physical damage.

Conclusion

The magic lantern slide has played a pivotal role in the history of the projected image. The author concurs with Stobbe's observation: "Due to their less 'authentic' reputation, these types of slides have long been overlooked as an interesting source of information" (J. Stobbe, email communication, August 2019). The title of this article suggests that lantern slide imagery is latent or dormant. Due to the image being difficult to display (without

being held to light or projection), it does not provide for immediacy. This results in this format often being ignored by collectors and researchers worldwide. Hopefully, this will change in the future because many research opportunities exist on the topic of South African magic lantern slides. The magic lantern slides have become a significant relevant source of visually valid information indeed. Multiple research opportunities exist regarding the topic of South African magic lantern slides.

To come back to the auction of the Anglo-Boer war magic lantern slides in Johannesburg during mid-2019, due to a lack of interest in these images, the author acquired the slides at a very reasonable price.

Acknowledgements

Special acknowledgement is due to Johannes Haarhoff and Yolanda Meyer for hosting the author at the *Transnet Heritage Library* to view the Transnet magic lantern collection. The images accompanying this article all form part of the *Hardijzer Photographic Research Collection*. The images were reproduced by photographing the original magic lantern slide, which was placed on an antique wooden touch-up desk with light reflecting on the white glass background.

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LANDSCAPE

Magnificent, modern, mobile: the South African Railways and the imagination of a modern country

Danelle van Zyl-Hermann

The Union of South Africa was founded in 1910 — a new state established at the southern tip of Africa at the height of European imperialism and technological dominance. Globally, this era of industrial capitalism was marked by what Eric Hobsbawm has termed “the greatest migration of peoples in history” both between and within the colonies and areas of imperial influence. A number of slides dedicated to the South African Railways (SAR) vividly testify to the importance of mobility during this period. As part of a collection of visuals intended to represent early twentieth century South Africa to the world and to attract European immigrants to the region, these images reveal the narratives and imaginaries which sought to construct young South Africa as a modern state set in the rugged and romantic African landscape.

Train travel — itself deemed the great innovation of Europe’s industrial revolution — played an important role in this regard. In the collection, depictions of locomotives and railway tracks, of carriages and rail travellers, all set against imposing and often inhospitable South African landscapes, communicated a classic modernist narrative of human progress — mastery of the environment through technology and civilisation, domesticating otherwise desolate and impenetrable parts of the world.

Such ideas had special resonance for South Africa, a region long associated in Europe with the Boer pioneers, the ox wagons of the Great Trek, and the hardships, dangers and

isolation of frontier life. As we will see, rail travel offered an opportunity to reinvent this (im)migration narrative, rendering it one of mobility and modernity in a magnificent and exotic country. However, in the context of settler colonial domination and racial capitalism, the opportunities it offered were not available to everyone.

From abstract aspirations to concrete connections: the birth of South Africa's railways

One of the first slides to greet the viewer is a railway map of Southern Africa showing an impressive and diffuse network of railway lines snaking across the borders of the continent's southernmost states. The network is clearly most dense in the Union of South Africa, where an intricate web of lines connects the country's cities and towns. The future immigrant viewing the lantern slide show can trace a clear route from one of the major port cities where her ship would dock to the economic heartland of Johannesburg's gold fields; the enterprising industrialist with exports in mind can trace the same route back to these major harbours. Beyond the Union's borders, the network becomes less dense but no less impressive. A line runs from Cape Town in the very south, via Kimberley and Mafeking in the interior, northward to the Southern Rhodesian capital of Bulawayo. From here it splits, rushing eastwards to the Beira coast or continuing even further north past Livingstone and the Victoria waterfalls before disappearing off the map with the words 'TO CONGO'.



In the 1910s or 1920s, when these slides were most likely produced, the expanse of this railway network was as young as the country it was promoting to the outside world. Initial attempts to stimulate railway construction in South Africa were not received favourably, and it was only in the 1850s that the first concrete steps towards setting up rail transport were taken. The construction of the first railway began in 1858 by the Cape Town Railway and Dock Company. The line would run from Cape Town to Wellington, a small but important centre in the wine-growing Boland district, lying approximately 70 kilometres northeast of the bay. Before this was completed, however, a short line was established on the east coast along the side of the Durban Bluff in the Colony of Natal for the purposes of supporting construction of a port on the Indian Ocean shore.

These initiatives were local resonances of a global railway boom in the nineteenth century which was instrumental in shaping continents, establishing states and constructing national subjectivities in an age of industrial and colonial expansion. The arch-imperialist Cecil John Rhodes remains infamous for his grand vision of a Cape to Cairo railway stretching across the length of Africa, marking the reach of the British Empire. Although this was never realised, the early development of rail travel in Cape Town did coincide with similar efforts on the other side of the continent as Egypt's first railway was set up in 1856, running between Alexandria and Cairo. Elsewhere, great railroad projects saw the construction of infrastructure and physical connections go hand in hand with the construction of national identities and imaginations.

The Canadian nation, for instance, was forged around a great continental railway. Constructed between 1881 and 1885, it stretched from coast to coast, connecting settlers on either shore

over a vast expanse of then still largely unexplored land. In Tsarist Russia, nineteenth-century railway expansion served to connect the peoples of this polyethnic empire across its vast distances, enhancing the circulation of commodities as well as personal mobility. The construction of the Uganda railway, starting in 1898, reflected both the strategic and economic interests of the British Empire in East Africa — stopping the French from expanding their control over the headwaters of the Nile and connecting the fertile Uganda Protectorate to the export harbours of the coast. The British settler presence in what would become Kenya unfolded in the wake of the railway's completion as an imperial strategy for developing the region and recuperating construction costs.

Trains began running on the first section on the Cape Town-Wellington line up to Eerste Rivier in February 1862, but the full service did not commence until November of the next year. By this time, construction had also begun on another Cape Town line, this time running to the southern suburb of Wynberg. In December 1864, this line was opened to the public. Despite these advances, however, by the mid-1860s, the reach of the region's railways remained very modest. In the Cape, which had seen the most development, the Wellington and Wynberg lines together totalled only around one hundred kilometres, with the former reaching only up to where the first mountain ranges of the plateau stopped it in its tracks.

It was only when the Boers and Griquas of the Northern Cape began to discover diamonds on the banks of the Vaal river in the late 1860s that Cape officials were incited to extend the railway network into the interior. The Cape Government expropriated the two private companies which had been responsible for the construction of the two existing lines and established the Cape Government Railways, which would later become part of the SAR.

One of its most significant projects was the blasting of a gateway through the Hex River Mountains. Looking back on this project in 1947, a publication by the SAR Public Relations Department triumphantly described it as marking “an epoch in African railway construction”, facilitating the “entry of the Iron Horse into the Karroo [sic], the great upland plain of the Cape of Good Hope [...]”.

Now the interior lay accessible, and it was only a matter of time before the first locomotive would enter Kimberley. Indeed, this period witnessed the rapid expansion of the rail network. By 1875, 154 miles of rail line were open for traffic in the Cape Colony. By 1880, this had shot up to 913 miles and by 1885 to 1,654 miles, marking the completion of the route to Kimberley and its diamond mines.

It was around this time that gold was discovered further north on the Witwatersrand. Until that time, efforts to establish a railway network linking the two Boer Republics — the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (ZAR or Transvaal) — to the coast had borne little fruit. But, as with diamonds and the Cape authorities, the discovery of minerals provided new impetus to old efforts. Through links with Germany and the Netherlands, the rather less wealthy Transvaal Republic established the *Nederlandsch-Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappij* (NZASM – Dutch South African railway company). By the mid-1890s, this connected the gold-rich Witwatersrand to the coast at Lorenzo Marques (today Maputo) in southern Mozambique — the shortest route, with the added advantage of running through the coal fields of the western Highveld.

This directed much lucrative potential away from the Cape and Natal ports at a time when Britain was increasingly anxious to reaffirm her hegemony in the region. Indeed, rail transport

figured among the economic and political tensions which would eventually lead to the South African War between 1899 and 1902. After the war, this would be a catalyst for the unification of the Cape, Natal, and the two conquered Boer states into a single political entity. By eliminating customs tariffs and railway rates between the different colonies, political unification would provide a valuable boost to what had, by that time, long been a single economic sphere.

Within a year of unification, a national census was undertaken — itself an act of putting a united South Africa on the map. This young country, it was found, had just under six million inhabitants, some 66 percent of whom were recorded as African, twenty percent as European, under ten percent as 'Coloured' or of mixed descent, and around 2.5 percent Asian.

By this time, the country's total railway line counted over 12,000 kilometres, a figure which would, by 1933, almost double to 21,500, or one kilometre for every 90 square kilometres of ground surface. The census and the railway — both instruments of modernity — demonstrated human mastery over distance through the capacity of statecraft and technology, with the ability to reach even the furthest corners of the new country.

Rugged environs, triumphant technology and the photographer's lens

It was against this historical backdrop and unfolding national imaginary that depictions of the railway and rail travel were included in the collection of magic lantern slides promoting the Union to Europe. Beyond the map of the Southern African rail network, the materiality of mobility and the connections suggested by the lines on the map become visible in subsequent images. A number of slides depict actual railway lines, locomotives and carriages, consistently presented against a background of the natural environment — whether rugged mountains or semidesert plains. In one, the SAR mail train is shown overtaking a horse-drawn cart in the barren surroundings of a Tulbagh *kloof*. The cart, plodding along a dusty road running parallel to the tracks, contrasts sharply with the powerful locomotive rushing into the valley. On either side, slopes of bush and rock mount up to the upper edges of the picture. In another image, an electric train is shown running on the Natal mainline, carving its way through a bushed and forested landscape.





The magic lantern slides capture a narrative of the railway as transforming a wild country. Although the vegetation and landscapes vary, the images are similar in the manner in which they juxtapose the trains and the environment — both powerful and imposing, yet one moving, progressing, connecting and the other seemingly static.

Indeed, the images demonstrate the ingenuity of the photographers who employed different angles and perspectives to variously emphasise the majesty of the natural environment, the mobility offered by the railway, and the latter's mastery over the former. In a second image of the Tulbagh valley, the photographer has traded his position facing the oncoming train where it was juxtaposed with the cart for a desolate spot at the top of the mountain. From here, he offers a view of the tracks below, now clear in the wake of the steam train but still curving through the rugged landscape in a sovereign manner. Even though not a soul is in sight (even the dusty cart driver and his tired horse having moved on) and the landscape lies deserted before the viewer, the presence of the railway track clearly undermines the environment's claim to dominance.

In another deserted image, the viewer is transported to the middle of the track itself as it stretches along a tree-lined Boland lane towards the horizon where it meets the majestic mountains. In yet another shot in the same series, the photographer has dramatically captured the side of a locomotive on the Graaff Reinet line as it steams around a curve. It is unclear whether the photographer had bravely set up his camera directly next to the track, or was in fact himself a passenger on the train and was leaning out the window to capture this shot. Either way, the image is one of exhilaration, the speed and triumph of the train set dramatically against the deserted 'veld' in the foreground and the imposing mountain range behind.





APPROACH TO THE HEX RIVER MOUNTAINS.



As the 1947 SAR publication emphasised, few projects were seen to demonstrate man's mastery over the environment and the triumph of civilisation and progress over the wild as that of the Hex River Pass. This too is thematised in a number of images. One depicts the entrance to the Hex River Valley. A tall jagged cliff, produced by the blasting of the railway engineers,

contrasts sharply with the smooth line of the track, curving elegantly around the first bend in clearly otherwise precipitous terrain. All that is visible in the distance are the high rising Hex River Mountains — the very mountain that was moved to construct this gateway to the interior. As the slide show flicks on, it shows the Union Limited locomotive rushing through the stony pass, black smoke billowing against the mountainous backdrop.





The ingenuity of those producing these images clearly reached beyond the 'veld' to the photographer's studio. One set of slides contain an image of the Union Limited express train at Sandhills, blasting along a rocky and forlorn landscape. In another set of slides, the same train reappears — except here it is joined by an automobile driving along the dirt road parallel to the railway track, as well as an airplane streaking across the sky overhead. This second image is entitled "Rail, road and air transport in South Africa". The viewer is astounded at these feats of modern technology — not only the existence of three sophisticated travelling options in 'the wild', but also the very achievement of capturing all three in the same photographic frame.

It is only upon close viewing that the viewer notices that the train is in precisely the same position and landscape as in the first photograph, its trail of white smoke cutting along the rockface at exactly the same angle. The image is, in fact, identical, the car and airplane having been added subsequently by hand. Such an effort, along with the title given to the doctored image, offers a striking demonstration of the South Africa which the image's creators were seeking to project and the central position they afforded technology and mobility in this imaginary. The product, though artificial, offered a powerful visual narrative of progress and modernity through the juxtaposition of civilisation and wilderness.





ROAD, RAIL AND AIR TRANSPORT IN
SOUTH AFRICA.

The lap of luxury in the heart of Africa: making modern South Africans

Ideas of civilisation also surface in another form in the images. A slide entitled “Compartment comfort” shows four dapperly dressed men lounging in a train compartment, smoking and drinking tea. The wood panelling, leather seats and polished brass of the compartment evokes all the luxuries of a metropolitan gentlemen’s club. In their pinstripes and pocket squares, the men are the picture of modern sophistication and the train in which they are travelling is presented as the perfect complement to this.

The image may be read as an effort to remake frontier narratives as they featured in the history of white settlement in South Africa: gone are the days of the pioneer farmers and their long, dusty treks in the ox wagons of old — now South Africans are modern, city men, travelling in the lap of luxury. Indeed, they are mobile — not only physically, but also in a social sense. Intended to market South Africa to potential European immigrants, these images communicated opportunities for upward social mobility and ‘good living’ in Africa.



COMPARTMENT COMFORT-
SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS.

This is further emphasised in a subsequent slide, depicting the interior of an on-board dining saloon. The windows on either side of the carriage are lined with inviting booths sporting shiny tabletops, flowered upholstery and polished brass fittings, and each table is decorated with a glass-vased bouquet. Outside, it is clearly glorious weather — the windows are flooded with light and the curtains move gently in a breeze, creating an airy atmosphere. Well-travelled men visiting the region on the eve of the South African War testified to the comfort of South African rail travel.

Mark Twain in 1896 described the Cape Colony Railways as “easy-riding”, its “fine cars” having “all the conveniences; thorough cleanliness; comfortable beds furnished for the night trains”. Winston Churchill, around the same time, also attested to the comfort of the system and how it ran “so smoothly indeed, that I found no difficulty in writing”. Two decades later, these images sought to depict South African rail travel as not only comfortable but also luxurious, and to present South Africans as sophisticated and modern urbanites. This stood in a sharp contrast, as in the earlier images, to the rugged environment outside the carriages.



INTERIOR OF DINING SALOON -
SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS

Indeed, a 1936 tourist brochure produced for the Railways' publicity department celebrated South Africa as a country of contrasts: "For all the furbelows of modernity, there is in Southern Africa an ever present nearness to life in the raw." In a revealing extension of "the raw" to apply not simply to the natural environment but also to the country's black inhabitants, it continued: "At one hour of the day the sightseer may be seated in the lounge of a fashionable club or hotel, with around him all the emblems of refined living, and the next he may be intrigued to find himself at a native kraal, face to face with the primitiveness of Bantu life."

Albert Grundlingh has tracked how this "romantic theme" (as a Secretary of Tourism would later identify it in 1963) persisted in the course of the century and was deployed for promotional purposes throughout the apartheid era. Moreover, Grundlingh shows how it continues to resonate in the post-apartheid context in which promoting the country as offering 'Luxury in Africa' has acquired a fresh urgency in the contemporary national economy. Throughout, a key element of this strategy has been to emphasise South Africa's infrastructural superiority compared to its African neighbours and hence its essential alignment with Western countries.

Indeed, while the lantern slide images do not explicitly associate the rough environments through which its trains travel with South Africa's black inhabitants, it is striking that the slides only depict white, male and clearly well-to-do rail travellers. The South Africa imagined through these images was clearly a 'white man's country' — in racial and gender terms — forming part of the greater transnational network of ideas, practices and politics of such countries taking shape from North America to Australasia during this period.

This is not to say that black South Africans did not also travel by train. Charles van Onselen recently exposed one of rail travel's most appalling episodes in the region, namely the transportation of millions of Africans from Portuguese-ruled Mozambique as forced labourers to the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. By the mid-1920s, 200,000 black men were toiling underground. While many were migrant workers from across the region, the majority were drawn from Mozambique. Between 1905 and 1960, an estimated five million African men were transported along the Eastern Main Line — in part constructed by the NZASM — running between Johannesburg and Lorenzo Marques. On these night trains, Van Onselen shows, the last stop was always hell. This human cost of South Africa's industrialisation, and hence its modernity and development, remains largely unacknowledged. The railway was therefore as much a vehicle of modernity and mobility as of misery in the Southern African context.

But the magic lantern slides remain silent on this point. Indeed, in this collection, the railway is most clearly a vehicle for the production of a modernist imaginary, celebrating South Africa as magnificent and South Africans as white, modern and mobile.

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Wild by control: the paradox of wild flowers

Rosa Deen

Besides endless fields of maize ('mealies'), sugar cane, tobacco, tea, sorghum, citrus trees, pineapples and vineyards, it is interesting that the lanternslide series also includes pictures of plant species that are not depicted being farmed, picked or manufactured. This being the wild flowers or *wilde blomme* from the Cape. In the lantern slide collection retrieved from the attics of the South Africa House in Amsterdam, we, for example, see a picture in which three white women stand in a field of arum lilies, leisurely looking at and touching the flowers. Other slides depict proteas ('in the wild' as well as in a bouquet), a picture of Disa orchids, several pictures of wild flowers (Gladioli and Erica flowers) both in a vase in some sort of studio, and photographed from close up in nature. The collection further contains a picture of Coloured and Black South African flower sellers in Cape Town. An interesting question is, why were these depictions of flowers included in the lantern slide series?

Flowers are a treasured object of focus for photographers (and artists in general). The first photographs to have been published in a book were depictions of flowers. Nineteenth century botanist Anna Atkins grew frustrated with the inadequate drawings in botany books and decided to photograph British algae using the cyanotype photogram technique (from which the term 'blueprint' derives). The wild flowers in the lanternslide collection however seem not to have been included for practical reasons but rather for aesthetic ones. The message that comes across is that these flowers are there to enjoy, for recreational purposes. Although

these flowers, such as proteas, are now celebrated as national symbols of South Africa, this took time to be established. At the beginning of the 20th century, the appreciation and celebration of indigenous wild flowers was a relatively new way for the white settlers to identify themselves with the land.

Among the elite in Europe, the Cape flora were deemed very valuable and were part of a longer tradition of Imperial botany, starting with the Dutch East Indian gardens at the Cape of Good Hope. However, while Cape flora bloomed in the greenhouses of Great Britain and the Netherlands, the white (mainly British) population in the Cape had been weary of "African plants" (Van Sittert 2002, 104). Gardeners preferred filling their gardens with species from Europe such as good old primroses, hyacinths and tulips that were simultaneously considered 'exotic' as well as familiar. Not only were the urban gardens in the Cape filled with species from Europe, plants and trees were also imported for commercial use. This had already started during the time of the first Dutch settlers in the 17th century. As South Africa had originally little tree coverage, its landscape of today is filled with introduced fast-growing trees. Pretoria, for example, is now known for its purple flowering jacaranda trees which were imported in the 1880s from Argentina. Another example are the eucalyptus trees imported from Australia which since the 1850s onwards have provided the country with shade, firewood and hardwood.

At the time the lantern slide collection was produced, white farmers were aided by the Agricultural Department and the Forestry Department that gave away millions of free seeds. Tree saplings were distributed to white farmers mostly as a way against drifting sand. In addition, farmers mostly cultivated imported crops from Europe. Writer Dorothea Fairbridge remarked

in the early 1920s that when travelling by train she would pass miles and miles of wattle trees which were destructive to indigenous species, and she criticised the “utilitarians” of the Forestry Department for their ambition of “some day seeing the Cape Flats green with cabbages” (Van Sittert 2002, 105).

However, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, some botanists started appreciating the Cape flora. Botanists in Cape Town as well as European trained scholars of plant geography began to recognise how unique the Fynbos vegetation was. Older ideas (still popular then) of this region’s plants depicted them as living memorials of a sort of vegetation which covered an ancient Southern supercontinent, Gondwanaland. Additionally, new ideas about the ‘natural’ state of nature were translated into the perspective that vegetation should be as undisturbed by humans as possible so it can follow its natural succession.

Therefore, invasive introduced species, now perceived as anthropogenic influences, were deemed a threat because they interfered with the natural succession of vegetation. Similarly, fire burning started being considered an anthropogenic threat even though many Fynbos species, such as proteas, are dependent on cycles of fire burning for seed germination or dispersal. (Pooley 2010, 611). Today, fire management is even an important part of conservation efforts.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the British population of Cape Town prided itself in its involvement with the fate of the vulnerable and therefore precious Cape Floral Kingdom and set itself apart from people who still favoured European plants. Simultaneously, the endangered vegetation also became a convenient cause in which the Afrikaners and the British population could unite, and just at the right time. This was initiated just after the South African Union (1910) when reconciliation

was sought, especially by the middle class and elite of these two factions of the white population. The historian Saul Dubow describes this process of reconciliations as the establishment of a nationalism based on a “broad white South African identity” which stressed the shared ethnicity and culture of Boer and Brit (Dubow, 2006).

As the ravaging War was still fresh in people’s memories, ‘safe’ topics to find common ground on were sought. The science and protection of flora and fauna seemed innocent and apolitical enough for this. In this same time period, a communal cause held by the white population was the preservation of what was rebranded as ‘South African’ wildlife. This led, for instance, to the establishment of the Kruger National Park in 1926 at the expense of the many African residents living in the area who were evicted. Botanical knowledge of the flora of the country was a symbolic way of ‘taming nature’ and acquiring a sense of belonging to the land to the British and Afrikaner population.

Efforts of preservation of wild flowers took the form of legislation against flower picking and veld burning (which was done to induce flowering). However, there was no legislation concerning picking on private land as this would have entailed curtailing the freedom of white farmers. In 1897, flower picking on Table Mountain was fully prohibited by the Forestry Department. The Wild Flowers Protection Act that came into legislation in 1905 also banned people from flower picking in other regions. More and more species of flowers were added to the list of plants prohibited to pick.

Legislation was expanded in 1920 and prohibited wild flowers were confiscated by policemen although recognising which wild flowers were on the list of prohibited ones required sophisticated botanical knowledge which was beyond the knowledge of

the average policeman. Nonetheless, the Act mostly affected the livelihood of the flower pickers, mostly from the Cape Coloured community, who sold wild flowers to white customers in the markets of Cape Town. Not surprisingly, a blind eye was turned to the picking of flowers by the white middle class for the popular wild flowers shows held in the 1920s in Cape Town.

The actual significance of the legislation was that it signalled that Table Mountain and the Cape peninsula were no longer commons. These areas increasingly became an exclusive recreational space for the white population ('to rejuvenate in nature'), for example, through trips organised by the Mountain Club, a club committed to preservation. This club, established in 1881 has as its symbol, the *Disa uniflora* (nicknamed 'the Pride of Table Mountain'). The slide collection contains a picture of a variety of this *Disa* orchid.

Eventually, in the 1920s, pleas for wild flower preservation and the establishment of flower reserves were clothed in an appeal that this would be vital for tourism, as tourists would want to see blooming fields. (Van Sittert 2003, 123–124 and 2002, 102–126). Ironically, the flower markets of Cape Town served as a beloved iconic scene of Cape Town to be photographed by foreign travellers and often featured on postcards. A scene of such a market, a photograph of flower sellers on Adderley Street, is included in the lantern slide series.

Bearing all this history in mind, these factors suggest that the inclusion of the wild flowers in the lantern slide collection seems to be more a reflection of the new appreciation (and appropriation) of wild flowers by the colonial population of the Western Cape rather than an appeal to the already existing popularity of Cape flora in Europe. Today, the Cape Floral Kingdom is recognised

as a true national heritage of South Africa. There is even Fynbos gin to celebrate it.

Nonetheless, the problem that started during the Dutch colonial times poses serious threat today: about 2000 of the 9000 different plant species occurring in this biome are threatened by extinction by invasive introduced species. Only in 1995 were invasive introduced species truly recognised as a national problem that threatened indigenous vegetation. This threat has been addressed by the new post-Apartheid government setting up the successful national program Working for Water which combines job creation with environmental management. The clearing of invasive introduced plants is one of its primary aims.

Recently, the problem of invasive species has become even more pressing in relation to water supplies. From 2015 till 2018, the city of Cape Town dealt with extreme drought most likely due to the effects of El Niño and possibly climate change. The municipality urged its inhabitants to take ever shorter showers and prepared itself for 'Day Zero' when water levels in the dams would be below a certain point that the taps really had to be turned off. While the government explored possibilities for new water desalination facilities, scientists urged instead for more extensive clearing of invasive introduced trees from mountain catchment areas. Water-hungry species such as the giant eucalyptus trees, pines and acacias consume a lot more groundwater than the indigenous Fynbos vegetation.

Although South Africans do not have to fear that the Environmental Department would plant the Cape floristic region full of cabbages anymore, the effort of thousands of South Africans is needed every day to clear invasive introduced species to make sure the wild flowers of the Fynbos and 't veldt still bloom in the future.

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An archive of possible futures: rural idylls and the recrafting of colonial history

Hanneke Stuit

I

In 'On Archival Labor: Recrafting Colonial History', Ann Stoler emphasises the importance of reading along the grain of colonial governance and not only against it. Not taking archival contexts for granted, Stoler is interested in how particular contexts, events and truth claims come into being in the first place. By tracing the assumptions about and affective investments in what was deemed necessary to archive or explain by those who created archives, one can uncover the archive's "colonial common sense" (Stoler 2015, 154). This common sense reflects "what people thought they needed to know and how they imagined they could best know it" (Stoler 2015, 153).

The archive, therefore, does not merely deal with how particular occurrences, ideologies and emotive responses could be best relegated to the past: "[T]hese are documents that were visions of what a colony could be, rehearsals of what was thought to be a dangerous precedent, fears of what it might become, made up of strategies of defense against enemies in the flesh and as yet unrealized dangers in formation" (Stoler 2015, 155). In order to unearth these visions, Stoler argues for a tracing of the "paper trails of epistemological hesitation" and the "affective strains" in the construction of the archive itself.

In an attempt to reflect on how the magic lantern slides uncovered in the attic of the Zuid-Afrikahuis in Amsterdam in

2015 are best placed in the contemporary public sphere, I want to follow Stoler's lead and attend to the slides as "[i]nfused with speculations about [the] possible futures" that could be associated with them (Stoler 2015, 155). I will trace the epistemological hesitation, or lack thereof, in series A, in which the majority of slides deals with the South African countryside either through agriculture, animal husbandry or horticulture. Many of these rural images follow the aesthetic structures of the idyll and the picturesque, categories that are usually organised around the affective registers of nostalgia and comfort (Williams 1975; Coetzee 1988) and involve idealised and unsustainable expectations of and attachments to rural spaces.

In present day South Africa, the "affective strains" of such idylls are still clearly visible in the way different groups envision their attachments to the land. Thus, the rural idyll is, although conservatively organised (Coetzee 1998, 4), as Stoler also suggests about the colonial archive, a "strategy of defense" that is used to imagine what the future might look like. By paying attention to how the images seem to be constructed, I explore the kind of idylls they convey and whether these idylls, besides their conservative connotations, can also be used as a tool to think both present and future with equity.

II

When gauging the epistemological hesitation in these images, it matters that they were circulated as magic lantern slides. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the medium was widespread and used for all sorts of purposes, varying from entertainment and the popularisation of science to more outright political uses. Some of these shows consisted of

numbered sets accompanied by a fixed lecture (Dellmann 2016). However, the “magic lantern slide is a flexible image” (Heard 2005, 180) because the shows largely depended on the framing performance and the ease with which individual slides could be moved around physically.

As Mervyn Heard makes clear in his example of the Victorian hangman James Berry who used the same set of slides to condemn capital punishment with one audience while performing “pro-hanging entertainment” for the next, the content of the lantern show greatly depends on both the performer and the audience (Heard 2005, 181). In light of this flexibility, the contexts in which they were shown are almost impossible to reconstruct. Nonetheless, what seems central to the phenomenon of the magic lantern is that the medium affords a dissemination of knowledge and information that is inherently spectacular.

Most of the slides featuring the rural in the set found in the Zuid-Afrikahuis indeed show a significant bent for spectacularisation, in this case, presenting South Africa as an adventurous forage into the unknown. A single textual slide, currently located in the middle of the series, gives some grounding for this interpretation (see image on page 90). The slide advertises the *Nederlandsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereeniging's* (NZAV) free services in informing and advising interested souls about emigration to South Africa. This suggests that the series, through association with this text, might have been curated with this specific purpose in mind. As I have mentioned above, however, magic lantern slides are extremely context dependent and the gap between the slides and their audiences, both original and contemporary ones, remains substantial. This is not the same as saying, though, that context does not matter. It is crucial to know who commissioned the plates, who took the photographs and when and who performed and viewed them.

At the same time, filling in these missing links only tells part of the story. Looking more closely at what the slides depict and how they do so might unearth equally important interpretations, especially when we realise that no viewer can escape the framing of their own contemporary perceptions. So, what aesthetic structures and strategies are mounted in these images and to what interpretative effects? What kind of responses and imaginations might they trigger? What becomes visible when, to use Stoler's phrase, these images are read along their grain now? What, if any, epistemological hesitation is visible and what are the affective strains present in them? What kind of agency do they hold today?

III

Placed in their historical context, the textual slide on emigration still remains something of a mystery. During the time that the slides found their way to the Netherlands, British and Boer factions in the Union of South Africa were divided over the question of emigration, and Dutch immigrants in particular were not necessarily welcome (Henkes 2013). In the aftermath of the South African War in which the majority of farms in the two Northern provinces were torched, the British sought to bring balance to an economy that overly relied on finite mineral resources like gold and diamonds (Foster 2008, 24). To this end, the Union sought to attract "large numbers of enterprising young English-speaking emigrants to settle in rural areas, where it was hoped they would in time form a substantial farming class of loyalist smallholders" (Foster 2008, 23).

At the basis of this strategy, despite a focus on surplus farming, lay an "overdetermined ruralism", a rural idyll, in fact,

that “romanticized the harmony of peasant life and the natural world” and emphasised an “unchanging, semifeudal, place-bound way of life characterized by custom and repetition rather than rootless, mobile trade” (Foster 2008, 22, see also Bakhtin 1982, 225). Meanwhile, the Boers had their own “wounded attachments” when it came to the rural (Brown 1993) which Coetzee characterises as centred around the “romance of the return to the family farm” (1988, 6). As a result, Boer factions feared that any form of (white) immigration to South Africa might encumber the prospects of impoverished Afrikaner populations after the war (Henkes 2013, 9). Despite these tensions, however, Dutch teachers, domestics and, indeed, farmers were recruited in the Netherlands with the help of the Voorschotkas which provided loans for people in the Netherlands who wanted to move to South Africa (Stobbe and Caverio Cuenca 2016, 19).

When seen from this perspective of agricultural livelihood, the images in series A surrounding the textual slide seem to click into place. Considerable sections of the set depict what looks like visitor’s information: tourist attractions (lakes, towns, villages and ruins), wild plants and an image of a ‘naturelle’ man. It sports some very fetching landscapes, appealingly photographed according to the European eye’s desire for the picturesque (Coetzee 1988, 39). However, the series is also ‘serious’. It contains a portrait of King George V, for instance, to remind the viewer of British dominion. Images of some towns, the railway, the port of Simonstown, various warehouses and a gold and asbestos mine communicate industry and trade. Unlike the other series that were found, however, this ‘rural series’ does not contain images of Cape Town or Johannesburg, pushing an image of the South African countryside as connected, modern and full of potential but untouched by the corruption of the larger cities.

The images related to agriculture, horticulture and animal husbandry depict abundance. When sheep are photographed, the plates are filled with them almost completely. The bulls are show bulls. The crops, varying from pineapple, sugarcane, cotton, sisal, citrus, tea and grapes to kale, melon, sorghum and maize look lush and stretch as far as the eye can see. The stack of peanuts is taller than a full-grown man. The warehouses for tobacco and sugar are full, clean and orderly and the farm and factory labourers are at work. If they are not working, they pose patiently.

In this inflection of the colonial rural idyll, South Africa comes across as a land of milk and honey where others do the work for you. Were one to go there, there would be time besides, over weekends and holidays, to go to town or to do some sight-seeing. In short, these are images that trigger the viewer's fancy and provide a stereotypical and safe realm in which the imagination can indulge and roam about in its own possible futures.

This indulgence suggests a celebratory comfort, a lack of epistemological hesitation at showing off both abundance *and* the black labour that made it possible. This comfort contrasts sharply with the popular genre of the pastoral in South African literature from the same period, which had a "blindness for the colour black" built into it (Coetzee 1988, 5). As Coetzee has argued, white pastorals were incapable of depicting black people's toil because it threatened "to deprive the white man of the labours that he, as Africa's new heir, must not only perform, but, more important, be seen to perform" (Coetzee 1988, 5).

Thus, by unambiguously depicting black people as 'rightful' labourers and serfs to be overseen by emigrated Europeans, the lantern slides altogether forego the question of ownership of the land and working it personally. Instead, the land magically appears, labourers included, ready for the taking. Perhaps, then,

there is epistemological hesitation after all: its absence in these slides seems to 'overcompensate' for the growing disenfranchisement of native populations in South Africa as well as for the uncomfortable ambiguity of locally produced idylls at the time.

IV

The image that arises from the series is an exacerbated rural idyll that embraces the (over)seeing of black labour as a desirable and pleasurable aspect of life in South Africa. This becomes most obvious in an image, placed by whoever handled the plates, among a number of slides depicting female grape pickers (see image on page 174). The woman in the photograph, rendered with great care and exoticised attention, is holding up a bunch of grapes and is presumably checking their size, colour and quality. Unlike the other slides in which women can be seen inspecting grapes, dense foliage and flowers surround her. Because of the banana tree in the background, it seems clear that she is not actually standing in a vineyard as the description suggests but in a garden.

This mismatch between description and depiction gives the image a decisive whiff of Eden, infusing it with paradisiac associations. Yet, the woman is emphatically depicted as a worker, judging by the box she is holding under her arm. The labour, however, is staged, exoticised and aesthetically pleasing. What to make of this racialised and gendered exoticisation of labour? The woman is clearly central to the sunlit mirage and arguably inscribes herself into a hegemonically White Eden. Can this photo then be read as empowering her? Or does the photograph signal a lack of epistemological hesitation at depicting her in an Eden to which she had little to no access? Does the image

make explicit nothing more than a dream, an “affective strain”, to resort to Stoler once more, that seems tailored to convince the white, male gaze to try his luck in the South African garden?

The choice for the garden, both in the photograph and in my own phrasing, is no coincidence here and is meant to point towards how the South African landscape and everyone in it is rendered familiar and visually controllable through the interpretive categories of the idyllic in these plates. In the next image (see image on page 175) which shares Pierneef’s European-inspired emphasis on the vastness and structure of the South African landscape (Foster 2008, 192), such idylls are further supplemented by the picturesque. Like the photograph of the grape picker, this image entangles labour with leisure and emphasises abundance.

Similarly, the landscape is phantasmagoric. This image of fertile Natal is a “dream topography” in which each farm is a separate kingdom “ruled over by a benign patriarch with, beneath him, a pyramid of contended and industrious children, grandchildren, and serfs” (Coetzee 1988, 6). Behind the sugar cane fields, in the far distance, a town is discernible and the mountain slopes on the other side of the plane are dotted with houses and agriculturally divided plots. These other “kingdoms” are, however, far away and the peaceful sense of isolation generally associated with the countryside is maintained.

There is no sign of the rival topography mentioned by Coetzee, namely that of South Africa as a “vast, empty, silent space” (1988, 7). In this other dream, or rather, nightmare, the landscape cannot be brought under control by farming and remains wild and sublime since what “relation is it possible for man to have with rock and sun” (Coetzee 1988, 7)? In contrast, the depicted landscape is tame and picturesque, echoing the latter’s reliance on “a dark *coulisse* [...] shadowing the fore-

ground; a middle plane with a large central figure [...]; a plane of luminous distance" (Coetzee 1988, 39). The distance is indeed luminous with a suggestion of mist or steam. The central feature in the middle plane, in this case, is a person who, because they are viewed on the back in an elevated position, is reminiscent of Friedrich's *The Wanderer above the Sea of Fog*. Could this photograph not have been titled *Blanketed Figure above a Sea of Sugar Cane*?

I am drawn to this new title because it may give rise to a reworking of the series' colonial rural idylls. It shifts attention from the cash crop to the person at the centre of the image as was already the case with the grape picker. It gives rise to the possibility of reading a more generous affective strain into this image that is, not unproblematically, suggested by the sublime isolation and individuation that comes with Friedrich's early 19th century composition. Look how this person seems to be at ease, judged by how the weight is carried on one leg, hips locked, resting. I like how they are positioned above the cane and above the valley in a trope familiar, not just from Romanticism, but also from 19th century travel literature as the "monarch of all I survey" (Pratt 2008, 192).

This trope communicates a position of power and control in a context where the blanket used as a garment seems to suggest that the person was probably not white and could, in the light of the Land Act that was passed in 1913, not have owned the farm. The photograph is intimate and appreciative, centring the blanketed figure, who seems caught up in some sort of private communion with the land. Here, then, more so than in the case of the grape picker, the lack of epistemological hesitation at depicting this person as if they could own the crops becomes potentially productive.

V

Following Stoler, reading archives along the grain, in this case by attending to their visual forms, strategies and genres, is not undertaken so that the rural idylls and their problematic place in these slides can be condoned but because it needs to be noted how the self-evidence of these idylls, in their imbrications with exoticised and picturesque frames, appears to overcompensate for the unease the genre usually calls up in the South African context. In the case of the grape picker, the woman's expression is difficult to discern and the framing takes over; as a woman, she becomes objectified by the evocation of the garden.

In the last image, the framing, by the picturesque this time, is equally strong but works more positively to depict the blanketed figure in a position of ease and control. In both cases, although more ambiguously so with the grape picker, looking along with the forms of the images forces the viewer to hone in on the persons they depict. Both slides trigger a consideration of the intimacy that emanates from the photographs and suggests traces of a connection to and appreciation of the people without whom the photos would not have existed.

By analysing these images now, one is led to wonder about the lives and futures that are already so undeniably present in them. What possibilities existed for the grape picker and the blanketed figure under the yoke of the rural idylls that structured their access to the South African countryside at the time? Returning to the contemporary moment, can a consciousness of the structures of rural idylls also serve to give productive shape to futures yet to come even if the current harmful effects of these idylls can already be discerned in these slides?

Perhaps, by looking closely at the possible futures called up by rural idylls in the past, colonial history can be recrafted in ways that open the idyll up as a tool for thinking contemporary equalities.

Acknowledgements

This publication emerged from the project 'Imagining the Rural in a Globalizing World' (RURALIMAGINATIONS, 2018–2023). The project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement No. 772436).

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A story of memory and looking: the Tana Baru in the Bo-Kaap

Ena Jansen

It is said that more than 250 years ago, a prophecy was made that there would be a 'Circle of Islam' around the Cape. According to local beliefs, the circle is complete, comprising the tombs of many Saints and Auliyah (friends of Allah) who were mostly brought as slaves to the Cape. It starts at the Tana Baru ('New Place'), one of the oldest kramats where two saintly men lie buried. This cemetery is on the slopes of Signal Hill just above the quarry in Strand Street. The circle continues to two graves on the top of Signal Hill and then continues to a much-revered grave situated above Oude Kraal beyond Camps Bay. It then sweeps around Table Mountain to a kramat on the Tokai Road at Constantia and proceeds to the most important and widely known of all holy tombs, the kramat of Sheikh Yusuf at Faure on the farm Zandvliet. The circle is completed by an old kramat on Robben Island.

Muslim religion is part and parcel of the history of Cape Town and has belonged here for centuries since the importation of enslaved people was institutionalised in 1658. In the Bo-Kaap and neighbouring streets, a characteristic area of Cape Town built between 1790 and 1840, a host of mosques have been constructed since 1840. Every morning before dawn, the song of a muezzin calling his community to prayer hauntingly wafts up the foothills of Table Mountain to where I lie in bed listening. The top of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood is capped by the Tana Baru, and it is about this graveyard that I want to write — one of the many important Muslim sites of worship in Cape Town.

I

I can see the Tana Baru from the apartment where I live in Tamboerskloof. Pamela Pattynama and I bought this sunny north-facing apartment in 2009. It has an expansive 180-degree view across the so-called City Bowl and Table Bay. To the east lie, far in the distance where the sun rises, Simonsberg and the Hottentot-Holland Mountains – names which all echo the history of the VOC settlement of the Dutch at the Cape. Right in front of me, slightly to the west, the lowest part of Signal Hill sinks down into the blue of the bay. It is on this empty steep grassy slope that two tall palms mark the position of the Tana Baru kramat. Through my Nikon Sportstar Ex 10x25 binoculars, the picture of its low dome and a fence etched against the bluest of skies is clearly visible. I know that besides the dome-like constructions, many small gravestones lie scattered in the high grass.

During summer holidays — it was actually the winter break for those teaching at Amsterdam universities as we did — Pamela and I would on the 3rd of January, her mother's birthday, drive up through the steep cobble streets of the Bo-Kaap, park close to the Tana Baru and walk higher up the usually deserted slope beyond the crooked tomb stones inscribed in Arabic. Especially in January, one always watches out for snakes, for the venomous Cape cobra and the puff adder.

The view of Table Mountain from the Tana Baru is magnificent and so is that of Table Bay as one looks up and down the expanse of the Atlantic Ocean which rounds Cape Point and becomes the Indian Ocean at Cape Agulhas. The sense of standing at the crossroads of the East and Europe is all-pervasive. Below and to the side of the cemetery, colourful Bo-Kaap cottages crawl up the slope.

Pamela is Dutch, born and mainly bred in the Netherlands, but her family is of mixed Dutch and Indonesian descent, hailing from the archipelago which was for many centuries known as the Dutch East Indies. Her parents had lived in Batavia, the city which became known as Jakarta after the War of Independence which broke out in August 1945 immediately after the end of World War II in the Pacific. The Pattynama family later went to live in New Guinea and then settled in Holland.

Although she was raised in the Roman-Catholic faith, it is on the terrain of the Tana Baru that Pamela chose for some years to commemorate her Dutch-Indonesian mother and father and her two deceased brothers. A personal All Souls ritual. We would look out over Table Bay and the Atlantic Ocean and always then look south again, backwards, towards Table Mountain, the inscrutable mighty backdrop to the most beautiful city in the world. Always we would search for our block of flats, find it close to the red roof of Jan van Riebeeck High School in the highest built-up area and own our spot in the city with our eyes.

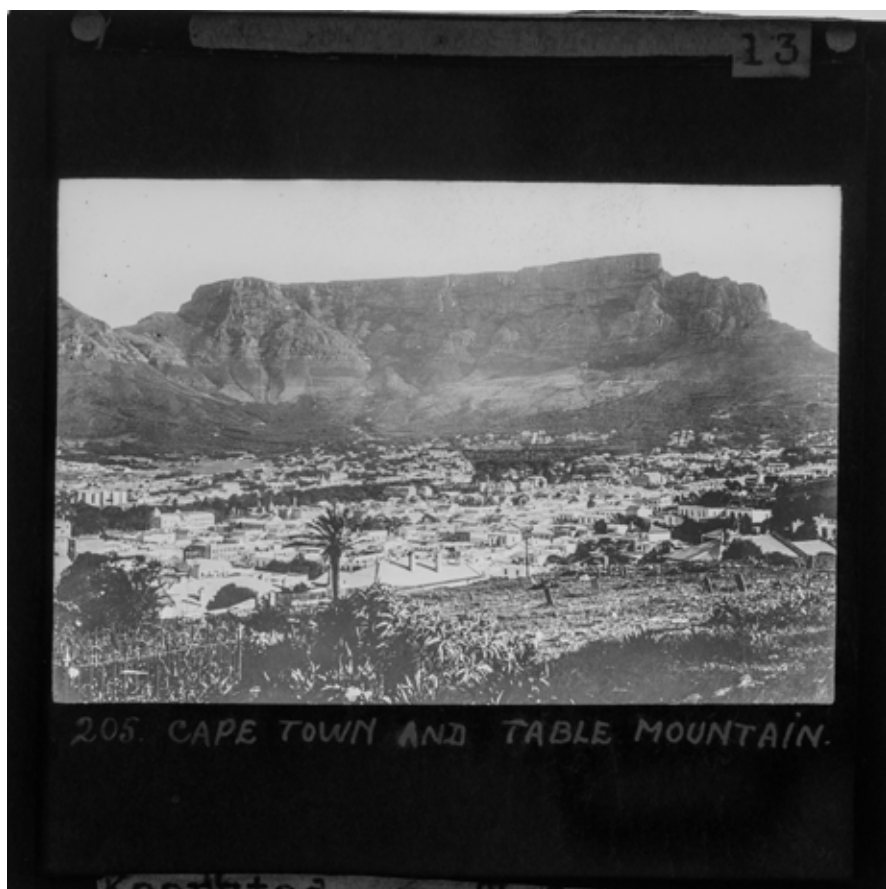
II

When I am asked to participate in the lovely project of introducing the magic lantern collection of the Zuid-Afrikahuis, I am overwhelmed by the variety and possibilities. But then Philip van der Walt shows me two glass slides, at that stage numbered 11 and 13, both entitled 'Cape Town and Table Mountain', and I immediately know that the photographer must have stood on the terrain of the Tanu Baru directly above the graves around which two still small palm trees are to be seen.

I know this foreground (which is not mentioned in the captions at all) and have walked the streets of the then still small



These two photographs must have been taken during the mid-1920s, in any case before the cableway to the top of Table Mountain was opened in 1929. The name of the photographer is unknown. The caption to both of these photographs fail to mention the foreground, the Muslim cemetery Tana Baru.



city which forms the middle ground. My footsteps are all over Table Mountain which forms the majestic background. I notice that on glass plate number 11 — it has a severe scratch — the top of Table Mountain is partially covered by cloud, the 'table-cloth' caused by the South-Eastern. In number 13, the Mountain is clear; this photograph was either taken at a different time on the same day or on another day altogether.

It is the unmentioned foreground, the vantage point of both photographs, that speaks to me. I know the heat of the sun there, know the steepness of the hillside where the photographer must have stood. I remember taking photographs there myself, feelings felt there, discussions had. It is a graveyard of memories. Time past is always time present.

The photographs were, according to the captions provided on the glass plates, presumably taken during the 1920s. Many old buildings have made way for many new ones as the city in the middle ground has expanded. San Bernardo, our six-storey building in De Lorentz Street which connects Kloofnek Road and Kloof Street halfway up the Mountain, was built only in the 1960s. In spite of Cape Town's expansion, the City Bowl will always be contained by its boundaries which stand firm as ever: Signal Hill, Table Mountain and Devil's Peak.

Table Mountain completely dominates the background of both slides, but I won't write about it, during the past two years, I have come to know it intimately and have climbed most of the routes up and down on all sides. On the slides, I can point out the paths up Kloof Corner and Platteklip Gorge. I've walked the entire breadth of the Mountain along the contour path below India Venster and climbed up to the Saddle and around Oppelskop to Devil's Peak many times.

To try and make amends for the total omission of naming the burial ground of Muslim people on captions provided on the glass slides, I will give some of the factual background I have gathered. The history of this place is well documented due to the administration of colonial and religious enterprises. Thanks to Achmat Davids' book *The History of the Tana Baru* (1985) as well as the work of other authors such as Lesley and Stephen Townsend (1977) and Ursula Stevens (2014), many facts are easily accessible; also on Wikipedia.

III

On the 2nd of October 1805, the first piece of land of the Tana Baru burial site (Erf 938 and 962) was granted to Frans of Bengal by the Dutch 'Raad der Gemeente' in an effort to retain Muslim loyalty in the event of another British invasion. There is, however, archival evidence pointing to the fact that the Tana Baru area was already used unofficially for the burial of Muslims, mostly enslaved people, by 1772, decades prior to the land grant of 25 July 1804 when religious freedom was officially granted by the Batavian Administration. This implied that people of the Islamic faith were thereafter allowed to legally build mosques in the city and that the burial site for Muslims was allocated at the top of Longmarket Street. This was directly above Cape Town's District Two, the neighbourhood also known as the Cape-Malay Quarter and the Bo-Kaap.

In 1807, the chief imam or Tuan Guru, Imam Abdullah Kadi Abdus Salaam — he was the pioneer of the Cape Ulema — was buried at the Tana Baru. Among the many other early graves, one finds those of Tuan Nuruman (affectionately known as Paai Schaapie), Achmat van Bengalen, Jan van Boeghies, Saartje and

Samedia van de Kaap. The kramats of both Tuan Guru and Tuan Said Aloewie stand near the entrance gate.

On 26 November 1830, the land grant of 1805 was at last registered via a Deed of Transfer in the name of the 'Mohametan Population of Cape Town'. In 1842, a second piece of land (Erf 682) was granted by the British Governor Thomas Napier and on the 26th of February 1857, four imams purchased extra land on behalf of and for the use of their respective congregations from the insolvent estate of Hendricus Andreas Truter. Though a non-Muslim, Truter had allowed Muslim burials on his land. The four imams were Hadje Ebriem (who bought Erf 678), Hadje Samoudien (Erfs 677 and 681), Imam Hadje (Erf 679) and Hadje Medien (Erf 960). In December 1861, the burial ground was enlarged further when Imam Abdol Wahab purchased Erf 680 from Jan Wagenmaker (alias Ajamoudien) who had also purchased it from the insolvent estate of Truter in 1857. Imam Wahab was the Imam of the Jamia Masjid in Lower Chiappini Street.

One of the people buried at the Tana Baru was Abu Bakr Effendi, the Turkish scholar who was responsible for introducing the Hanafi School of Thought to the Cape as well as the red fezzes worn by men. He passed away in 1880. Effendi was born in Kurdistan and shortly after his arrival married his first wife, a 15-year old Christian English woman. With his flair for languages, he soon mastered the version of Dutch which was spoken at the Cape, Afrikaans. He wrote his book *Bayanuddin* (The Explanation of Religion) in 1869 in Arabic-Afrikaans. The *Bayanuddin* is a valuable reference of the usage of Afrikaans in the Islamic community and testifies to the slave origins of the language (Stevens 2014: 79). One of his wives wrote a textbook in Arabic-Afrikaans which instructed Muslim women on dress, hygiene, cooking practices and other domestic responsibilities.

On 15 January 1886, the Tana Baru, among other insalubrious burial grounds, was officially closed as a cemetery by the authorities primarily as a result of the catastrophic smallpox epidemics of 1807, 1812, 1840 and 1858 (Stevens 2014: 28–29). Mortality rates were mounting in the overcrowded city and mephitic cemeteries were an obvious target. “But death is a rite of passage, deeply embedded in social custom”, as Worden et al (1998: 211) write in *Cape Town. The Making of a City*.

Two days after the official closure of the cemetery, on 17 January 1886, a child of a Muslim fisherman, Amaldien Rhode, died. In defiance of the closure of the cemetery, the usually compliant Muslim population defied the hotly disputed legislation when Abdol Burns led a funeral procession of 3000 Muslims from the grieving family’s home in Woodstock through the city and up the hill to bury the child (Stevens 2014: 30). The authorities hastily dispatched twelve policemen to record the names of offenders. When the crowd pelted them with stones, the policemen beat a hasty retreat after one was stabbed and his jaw broken. Burns and 15 others were arrested on the 20th of January. Worden et al (1998: 211) describe the Tana Baru riot in detail, quoting the magistrate who castigated the police: “It is my opinion that had they not gone there there would not have been any misconduct on the part of the Malays.”

Unlike the Ebenezer cemetery for the poor in Somerset Road and those of the Anglicans and the Dutch Reformed communities close by, the Tana Baru remained in existence until well into the twentieth century, primarily owing to the revolt of 1886.

In 1920, the Muslim Cemetery Board fenced in the Tana Baru area, clearly indicating that they regarded the entire area, including the private plots, as a cemetery. In 1973, the Muslim Judicial Council decreed that all Muslim cemeteries are sacred

and cannot be desecrated in any way. In 1978, the Committee for the Preservation of the Tana Baru was established with a brief to pursue all means to preserve the sacred ground. In 1998, the Tana Baru Trust was registered as a legal entity and Imam Abdurahman Bassier became its first chairperson. He passed away in 2004 whereafter Taliep Sydney took over as chairperson. In 2008, twelve new Trustees were elected at the AGM and Faried Allie became the third chairperson of the Trust. In 2009, two task teams were established, the Strategic Planning Task Team and the Site Management Task Team. Faried Allie passed away in 2012, and Mogamat Shaheed Jacobs became the fourth chairperson of the Trust. The Tana Baru Cemetery is now protected by the National Heritage Resources Act.

The Bo-Kaap is sadly succumbing to an invasion of gentrifying projects, but although many things change, this sacred place, a link with many pasts, is kept intact.

IV

After completing the above, I remembered having Gabeba Baderoon's *Regarding Muslims. From Slavery to Post-Apartheid* (2014) in my bookcase and started rereading it. To my astonishment, I came upon a paragraph in the Introduction (2014: 1–26) which sums up exactly what the glass plates 'Table Mountain and Cape Town' had inspired me to write: very little about the city and the mountain, but all the more about the foreground which is not mentioned in the captions provided.

Although Baderoon does not write specifically about the Tana Baru in her book, she briefly refers to a 19-page publication by Noëleen Murray, *Breaking 'New Ground' — The Case of Cape Town's Tana Baru Burial Ground* (2001). It contains a

remark about the Tana Baru being an important vantage point for landscape painters in Cape Town. That a mention of the view-point itself was usually ignored in this tradition of painting sums up exactly what the caption of the Zuid-Afrikahuis slides had done: the erasure of the Islamic content of the photographed city and landscape.

My personal story of memory and looking has therefore become a small act of restitution by foregrounding the enslavement of Muslim people, the strong presence of the Islam at the Cape and the history of this holy burial ground.

To sum up, in the words of Baderoon (2014: 2):

Since the colonial period, the vantage point on Signal Hill above Cape Town has been a site from which many landscape paintings of Cape Town were painted (Murray: 2001). It is also the location of the oldest slave graveyard in South Africa, named Tana Baru, the term for 'New Place' in Bahasa Melayu, a lingua franca among enslaved people in the Cape Colony.

The urbane and aesthetically pleasing city represented in colonial-era paintings was therefore literally founded in slave bodies and their labour, but the picturesque landscape rendered the violence of enslavement invisible. This shows not simply how Muslims are represented in visual art, but that they are present in the making of South African visibility.

The very conception of landscape and related notions of nativeness and belonging, have been shaped by the presence of enslaved Muslim bodies.

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When memories become dreams: the patina of a photographic collection

Leonor Faber-Jonker

I

The first time I set foot in the Zuid-Afrikahuis, a monumental canal house in Amsterdam, I remember the feeling of stepping back in time into a world long gone. It must have been just before the 2014/2015 renovation. Back then, the house let in little light — as if it were shrouded. I remember the smell of crumbling pages, dust-tinged air. Zulu shields on the walls, a miniature ox wagon near the entrance. It was the feeling of entering a tomb, a vision of South Africa carefully embalmed, left undisturbed for decades. The house itself was a piece of history. Part of a visiting group of students, we were shown around, explained and directed up creaking steps to see the archives. The overflowing shelves with ribbon-tied stacks of yellowed pages felt like uncharted lands. What treasures were stored here?

Eyes half-closed, it was easy to imagine the Zuid-Afrikahuis some hundred years earlier in the heyday of European migration. The papers upstairs were relics of a bustling past. *Every Monday: free information and advice on emigration to South Africa.* How many young Dutch citizens entered this building, seeking information on a distant, promising land? I can picture them grouped around a screen, the bulky magic lantern behind them projecting vistas of unknown landscapes, plants, people; a tobacco farm, a Zulu girl, a bulbous flower. What were they thinking? What did they see? Photographic lantern slides were a novel way of sharing visions of other worlds, tempting

the travel-hungry and satisfying the curious. The images they saw were idealised — depictions of a South Africa that may have existed at some point if only in the eyes of wealthy whites. Soon, the seeds of apartheid would sprout in the ornamental debris of Union Day celebrations.

Fast-forward to a century or so and the aspiring emigrants have long gone, their presence lingering in the Zuid-Afrikahuis even if their lives ended overseas. And the lantern slides? They are still there, fragile treasures in neatly folded envelopes, biding their time.

II

The photographic lantern slides in the collection of the Zuid-Afrikahuis were once embraced as a mass medium yet they turn out to be wonderfully singular. On close inspection, each slide is unique: a handmade assemblage of a glass plate with emulsion, a black paper mask and a cover glass bound tightly together by black paper pasted along the edges. Also encased are handwritten captions, white block letters penned by someone used to writing in cursive, copied many times as the South African government aimed to advertise the country far beyond its borders.

When you have two or more duplicates, you can see small shifts of meaning creeping into the copied captions: a '*South African* fruit orchard' becomes 'South Africa fruit orchard', punctuation changes. But the collection of lantern slides is more than a unique historical source. Each slide also bears traces of its past in the shape of cracks, dents, wildly flowering patterns of mould and leopard-like spots of oxidation. Without a magic lantern, it is enough to hold the slides up against the light, tracing the splintered glass, the curling paper, the curious distortions, to

make the photographs come alive, to bring back distant lands, distant dreams. It is patina working its magic.

III

P-a-t-i-n-a. The word sounds appropriately tasty. *Patina, singular noun: an attractive soft shine*. Patina can make an ordinary, mass-produced object unique, tactile. Think of an old leather jacket, its sharp black shine faded to a matte bluish hue. Or of that Penguin pocket from the early seventies, an unfamiliar name scribbled in the corner of the title page, a dedication maybe. Its tangerine back broken, its pages tanned. By reading it, cherishing it, you become part of its history, sharing an experience with predecessors, bridging time. A book like that has a more implicit, stronger seduction than the new edition no matter how attractively designed.

Browsing through the collection of lantern slides from the Zuid-Afrikahuis, newly cleaned, scanned, appreciated, waiting to be kissed to life, some stand out. Not the enchanting slides of a steam locomotive snaking through vast Karoo plains or the Victorian street life in cosmopolitan Cape Town but those featuring white blotches, lightning-strike-lines, amorphous shapes dominating, altering, eating away the postcard-perfect scenes. A tobacco farm framed by a haze of tiny specks; a fruit-packing barn filled with marble snakes. Once businesslike, informative images, the photographs have now become dreamlike, abstract even. They have an irresistible appeal. You see the image and another, that of years gone by, of a man-made object succumbing to natural erosion.

Seemingly beyond salvation, these damaged images tempt me to hold them, cherish them, explore them, to find out

what these blotches and lightning strikes have to tell. What do they obscure? What do they reveal?

IV

Invited to write a contribution to this volume, I selected a set of these lantern slides to work with, study, touch, explore. One summer afternoon, I sat down on the archive's floor in the Zuid-Afrikahuis and picked out images that spoke to me — the damaged ones, the elusive ones — carefully packing them in a small cardboard box (*lantaarnplaatjes*, ZAH) that I was to open a few weeks later in the darkroom of the Graphic Workshop in The Hague. There, surrounded by the scent of chemicals, I set to work unfolding envelopes in dim light, selecting and experimenting. It would take me four long sessions to explore the riches of fourteen lantern slides, a rollercoaster ride of delight and frustration.

In the Graphic Workshop, I normally develop and print my own black-and-white films. Then, if all goes well, it is a process in which an abstract negative image is turned into a real, lifelike picture, perfectly capturing shade, tones, structure and depth. The moment the enlarger first projects the positive image always brings back the moment of taking the photograph, the sunny winter's day or hazy afternoon light. With lantern slides, this process is reversed. When the glass slide with its crystal-clear image is placed in the enlarger, the image reflected below in negative is softened, blurred. A focus finder is useless: the image contains no grain — only the vague streaks of emulsion applied directly to the glass. When printed, this estranging image can be used to make a contact print, a positive, but in the process, even more details are lost. Nuances in grayscale drown in stark black-and-

white; textures become sketches. In the process of reproducing the lantern slide, it has become something else. A graphic image.

V

At first, the graphic black-and-white images floating in my developing tray seemed to taunt me. In these new images, the physical character of the lantern slides — the patina — was lost. Yellow tones disappeared and intricately patterned patches of mould turned into starry skies or psychedelic clichés. Of course, I was also limited to reproducing only the photograph itself, the encasing and mask with its tiny typed numbers ('356') and handwritten ('APRICOTS') or typed ('Appelkos') descriptions out of light's reach. But I wasn't aiming to make perfect copies. Only the physical object itself can have that seductive patina, a quality impossible to replicate. Instead, I was trying to uncover what happens with an image when it is transformed by time by visualising the thin film of unique meaning deposited on generic images.

But how to do that? I began by focusing on the most evident damage, the patches of photograph eaten away by mould, jagged windows in the lantern slides that appeared on my prints as thick black blotches. My first experiments centred on the image of the South Africa(n) fruit orchard of which I had two versions at my disposal. One pristine, showing seven black workers orchestrated around a white overseer, picking fruit in the sizzling African sun, their eyes shaded by broad-brimmed hats. The other severely damaged, the entire bottom-half eaten away: with the men gone, your attention is drawn to the distant fields, and the trees and mountain range beyond. In place of the men crawls a yellow, striped snake that looks as if it's been drawn by Joan Miró — a tantalising effect of the laws of nature.

I first made prints of the two images together so that the snake crawled around the men on the ground, wrapping its lumpy body around a seated worker and looming over the fruit picker in the foreground (Figures 2 and 3). The idealised scene of African farm life became otherworldly, anticipating the fall from Paradise that history would have in store for the overseer, the only man looking confidently into the camera. So far so good. Then, I tried a collage technique to amplify the estranging effect of the mould, cutting up two negative prints to create one new positive in which the snake below was mirrored in one slithering down from the sky. The resulting image was thick-lined, overstated — not what I was looking for. At this point, I was becoming tired, cold, impatient. Rushing through a final print for the day, I accidentally put the photographic paper upside down. The result: a geometric canvas torn in half by the jagged line of the horizon (Figure 4). By chance, I now had an image that was a mere suggestion of the original lantern slide. An image stripped to its basic form. An essence.

VI

I quickly realised that the century-old photographs did not require much manipulation to create an enticing new image. For most of the images, the first print, the basic negative of the original positive slide was already startlingly effective in suggesting an alternative reality, a dreamscape in which black becomes white, day becomes night.

Take the prosaically titled 'Tobacco going to sheds' (Figure 6). In negative, the centre of the scene is obscured by a large ink blot, roughly the shape of a car back when they still looked like horse-drawn carriages. Any tobacco is conspicuously ab-

sent. What is happening here, what is seen by the one preserved onlooker in the scene, we can only guess. In twenty-first century eyes, the image has a strangely modern feel. Like a Rorschach test, the image tells us more about us than about the long-gone scene. Thin lines in the sky — the shadows of hair cracks — resemble electricity wires and the mould that has bitten into the brick walls of the sheds creates a pattern that looks like a graffiti *piece*, balloon letters that can even be read: W E E D Y. In the background, a 1980s car seems to face us, headlights seen through a haze of mist. Past and present collapse into each other. Of course, a hundred years ago there were no such cars, no graffiti, no wires. The print suggests the rundown state the sheds are likely to be in if they still stand, somewhere in modern-day South Africa. A rural shack or a hipster hub.

With the benefit of hindsight, the single-print negative images seem to foreshadow the troubled future of the country. The dark lines echo the cracks in the perfect image of South Africa that the lantern slides were intended to convey, ideals given flesh by a photographer to share with the aspiring emigrants in the Netherlands. Black shadows are a disquieting presence in the photographs, looming over the shoulders of the anonymous workers of a fruit farm, a solitary man in a maize field — their skin a mocking white. For them and their children, the worst was yet to come. The hopes and dreams that orchestrated these images would make possible a world of unspeakable cruelty, *casspirs*, isolation cells. But eventually, the system would break, turning the confident glances of white overseers into defensive stares.

VII

Because mould and decay had affected the lantern slides randomly, my selection included images of farms and factories, crops and flowers, landscapes and people. A cross-section of a collection representing South Africa as a land of promise and possibilities. Some images in this encyclopaedic presentation are seemingly neutral, dull even. A close-up of apricots, clustered on a tree branch; a still life of the succulent protea ('S. African flora'), South Africa's future national flower. But it is in these photographs that the transformative effect of both patina and darkroom experiments is most impressive. The apricots are consumed by a mould that seems to pull at the fruits, stretching them into a dark void, turning abundant fruits into inexplicable forms. Images once meant to inform now pose questions. What is their history? Who am I to take these photographs and analyse them, interpret them, alter them?

The protea and apricots are willing subjects, but when individuals are portrayed the questions become deafening. Who am I to reproduce the image of a bare-chested "Zulu girl" kneeling down by a river, the curves of her body reflected in the water? The lantern slide has turned her into an example, a stereotype, stripped of her name and her place in time and history. Eyes downcast. A *girl*. There are countless images like this in South African archives made by, and for, Westerners visualising the 'typical traits' of Africans. To reproduce such an image is to reproduce the colonial gaze. Although the first print turned black into white, white into black, I find the result too pleasing, too close to the original (Figure 13). I'm more at ease with a second image of the same scene, the result of layering a damaged and intact version of the slide (Figure 14). Now, the young woman's

features are faded, her body blending into the background. This 'motion blur' shakes up the frozen moment, the manipulated memory of a girl, and suggests a passing of time, a dismissal of obsolete ideas. Beyond the confines of the lantern slide, the "Zulu girl" leaps out of a history written by whites, inevitably — thankfully — escaping from my grasp.

VIII

It must be clear by now: in my exploration of the lantern slides, interpretation is key. Where an archivist might lament the loss of details and a photo technician might see possibilities to restore, I see history itself in these objects and the state they are in. As this volume testifies, there are a thousand stories, a thousand meanings hidden in these glass slides. Making prints of the slides, I not only rely on my knowledge as a historian but also on personal memories and fleeting associations to interpret the black-and-white dreamscapes drifting in the sink, hanging to dry. Memories of scents, sounds, light and touch breathe life into the images. *Freshly picked currybush, the clean, crisp morning air on the veld, the tune of a song sung by my grandmother, a migrant to Southern Africa: Suikerbossie ek wil jou hê.* Working in the darkroom, I write myself in the lantern slides' history and the lantern slides into mine. I'm not just unfolding stories — I'm making them.

One of the slides, suddenly, unexpectedly, startles me. I *recognise* it. I'm looking at the banks of the Vaal river and I see myself standing there in front of that tree right next to the dug-out canoe with fishermen. And yes, the photograph was made in Parys, a small town in the Orange Free State where I stayed for a few days during a study trip, one I saw advertised in the

Zuid-Afrikahuis during that first visit years ago. I was photographed with a friend on the exact same spot. But hold on — I look closer. The canoe shifts into focus, becomes a jetty with a white family in old-fashioned bathing costumes. A trick of the mind. But the scene makes sense. The river here is wide, smooth and picturesque — a perfect picnic spot. I remember how we drove there in *bakkies* and drank luminous green Sparletta, taking in the view. Little did I know I was making memories that would one day spill into a dizzying project, an attempt to understand *what remains*.

IX

It is the last print of what I decide is the final session. The lantern slides tempted me to undertake a journey of exploration that for now I can take no further. I have tried to isolate the magic of patina, a layer of meaning that is coloured by history and by deeply personal interpretations. My experiments have added a new chapter to the story of the lantern slides, adding a detour to their path of use, archival storage and study. By printing them, I explored the workings of memory and interpretation and the boundaries of tactile knowledge. But now, the red light and fumes in the darkroom have given me a headache. I need some fresh air and a bite to eat. Tipping the developing tray for two long minutes — up down up down tick tick tick — the sloshing sound melts into the watery scene unfolding before my eyes. A kaleidoscopic scene of a mirrored riverside where I once saw mossy greens reflected in the water, confusing past and present, real and unreal (Figure 16). What remains of the scene, of the moment a photographer captured a family's day out, the shimmering sun on the Vaal river, is no longer a physical trace but a tentative suggestion. It is when memories become dreams.

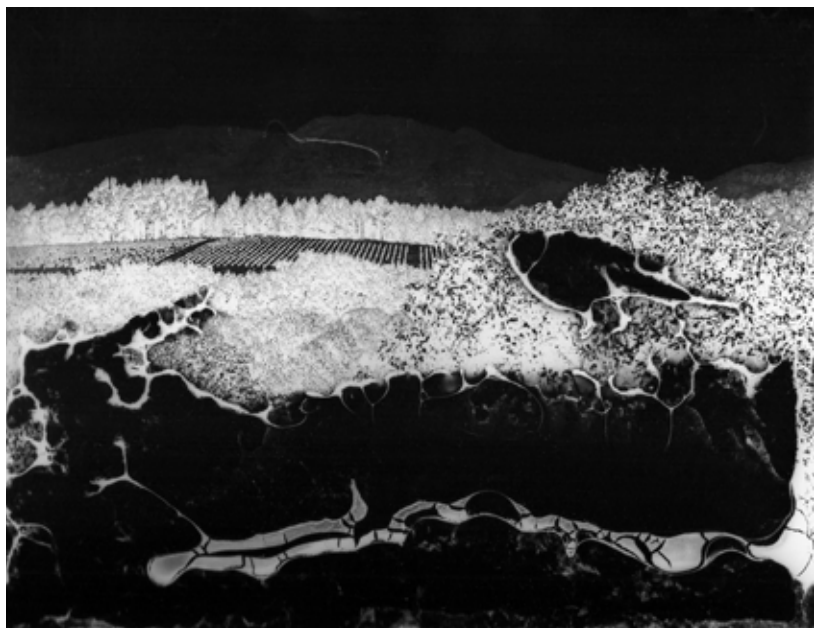


Fig. 1. South African fruit orchard I.



Fig. 2. South African fruit orchard II.



Fig. 3. South African fruit orchard III.

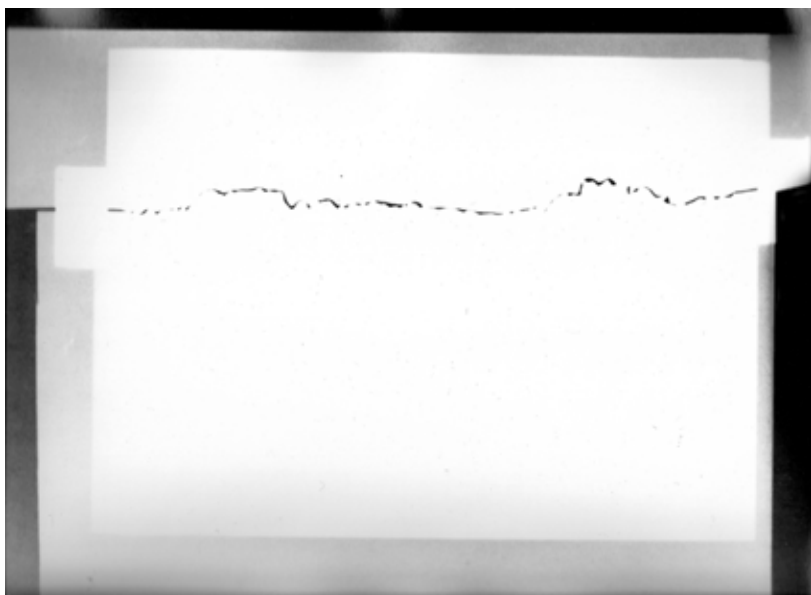


Fig. 4. South African fruit orchard IV.



Fig. 5. Packing fruit.



Fig. 6. Tobacco going to sheds.



Fig. 7. Maize farm.



Fig. 8. The edge of the berg.



Fig. 9. Apricots - Appelkose I.



Fig. 10. Apricots - Appelkose II.

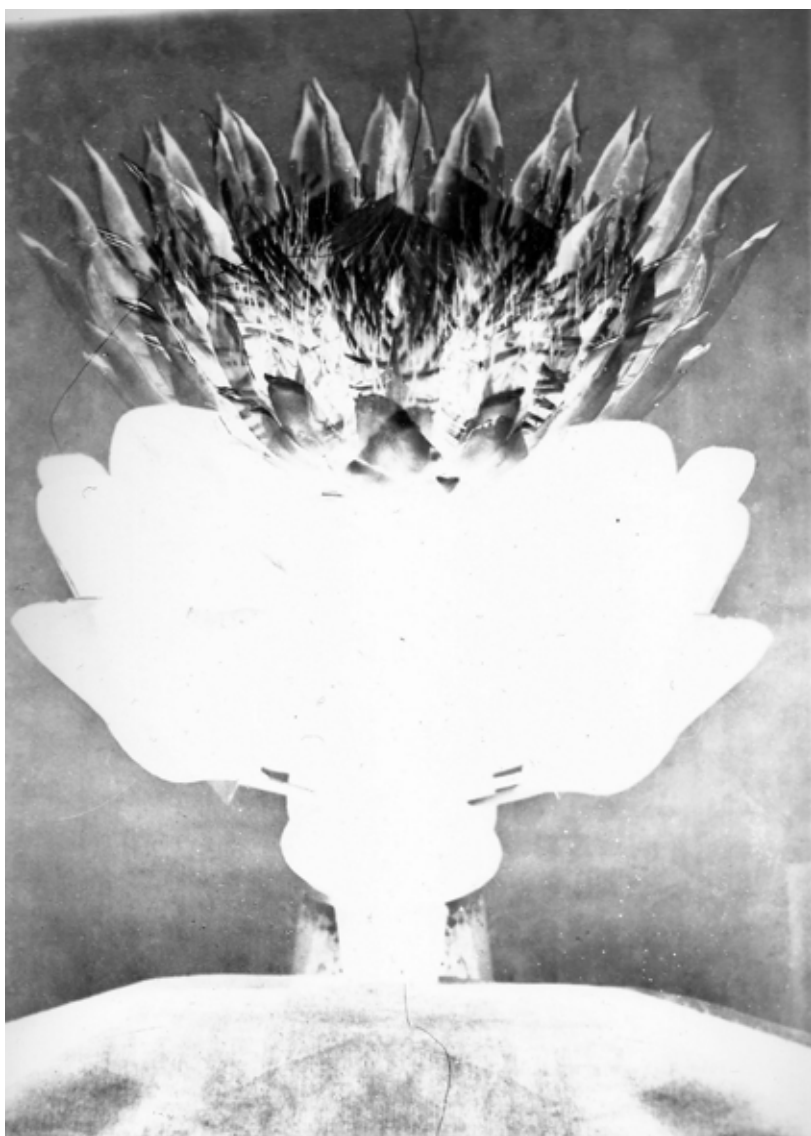


Fig. 11. Protea - S. African flora I.



Fig. 12. Zulu girl I.



Fig. 13. Zulu girl II.



Fig. 14. Vaal river — Parys — O.F.S. I.



Fig. 15. Vaal river — Parys — O.F.S. II.

PEDESTAL

Statutes of white men: how the Union of South Africa presented itself to the world, 1920s

Vincent Kuitenbrouwer

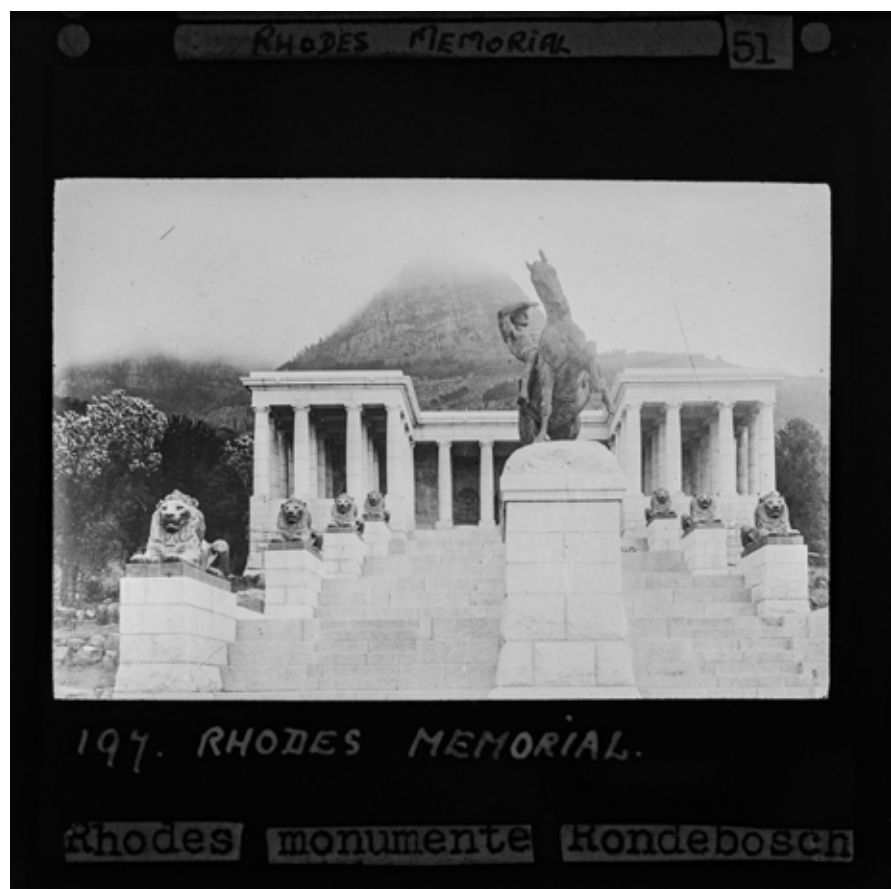
#RhodesMustFall was a trending topic in 2015. The twitter feed showed images of protesting students tearing down the statute of the famous empire builder Cecil Rhodes on the campus of the University of Cape Town (UCT). The crowd, which mainly consisted of black students of the 'born free generation' (i.e. born after 1994), demanded the removal of this object as it for them represented a continuation of white colonial ideological dominance at their institution. In the wake of this famous action, people all across South Africa started protesting against statues from the colonial age, demanding their removal. Although the UCT campus statute of Rhodes was one of the few to be actually taken down from its pedestal, the nation-wide protests did affect a number of other public spaces in a significant manner. After the Kruger statue in Tshwane was sprayed with green paint, for example, it was ringed by a fence.

The historical lantern slides discussed in this volume show quite a different picture of the South African public sphere a century earlier. On various slides, we see statues of white men standing firmly on their pedestals in the middle of cities. Others show memorials at special places of memory accompanied by portraits. In contrast with black bodies, which are represented in the amorphous groups, at work or in romantic landscapes, the pictures of these prominent white South Africans highlight the individual, giving them a heroic aura: they were depicted as the people who had made South Africa great.

In the early twentieth century, lantern slides were a popular medium to inform people about a topic, in this case a specific country. Judging from the boxes, these sets of lantern slides were made in South Africa, presumably with the goal to promote the country to people abroad. As such, the set can be perceived as a form of nation branding or cultural diplomacy. Although such terms are usually reserved for late-twentieth and early twenty-first century international relations, historians like Jessica Gienow-Hecht have argued that these practices go back at least to the end of the nineteenth century. As noted here, the main message from the slides reflected the contemporary power relations within the Union of South Africa that was since 1902 part of the British Empire ruled by a small white minority.

The British political dominance was visualised through the slides that referred to the famous late nineteenth-century empire builder Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902). He was known for the fabulous wealth that he acquired as a diamond-mining magnate in Kimberley, his sponsorship of the chartered British company that conquered large parts of Southern Africa that were then known as Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe and Zambia) and his career as a politician in the Cape Colony.

In those powerful positions, he had been one of the driving factors behind the South African War (1899-1902) in which the British conquered the Boer Republics and unified South Africa as a whole. The British elites in South Africa considered this to be a great feat and they immortalised Rhodes in a grand memorial in Rondebosch on the flanks of Table Mountain. Also, the slide depicting Rhodes's burial place, in between an impressive rock formation on an upland plain in 'his' land Rhodesia, was highly symbolic. Here rested the man that had cemented a fundament for British rule in South Africa.











Noticeably, the lantern slide collection also features pictures referring to Afrikaner leaders — the rivals of Cecil Rhodes. Initially, this might seem a paradox, but it can be explained if we think about the context in which these slides were collected and shown in the Netherlands. They form part of the historic collection of the Dutch South Africa Society NZAV which was an organisation that aimed to strengthen the 'kinship' ties between the Dutch and the Afrikaners. During the South African War, the NZAV passionately supported the Boers in their struggle against the British Empire as they hoped that the independent republics in South Africa could become a Dutch sphere of influence. Although that dream evaporated after the British victory of 1902, the NZAV still wanted to promote the ideal of closer ties with South Africa among the Dutch population.

Throughout the twentieth century, the NZAV promoted emigration from the Netherlands to South Africa as one of the most effective means to strengthen the ties between the Dutch and the Afrikaners. One of the slides in the collection suggests that the organisation used the lantern slides during showings to get people interested in emigration. The slide, that only contains text, announces that people can get free information in the form of booklets and pamphlets of the NZAV. The society apparently even ran a weekly consultation hour on Mondays at its offices located at the Keizersgracht 141 in Amsterdam.

Considering these goals, the NZAV members who organised the lantern slide evenings probably wanted to include some faces that would lure potential emigrants. The most familiar South African face for the Dutch public at the time was that of the former president of Transvaal, Paul Kruger (1825-1904). During the South African War, he left his land and came to Europe where he was offered asylum by the Dutch government.

As such, Kruger became a powerful symbol of Boer heroism: the David who had resisted Goliath. For decades after his death in 1904, this image persisted in Dutch media and popular culture. The images of the statues devoted to Kruger on Church Square in Pretoria and Rustenburg resounded well with the popularity of the former Transvaal president in the Netherlands: the former depicted him in a martial way, defending the fatherland, the latter as a pious and devoted father to his people.

Despite the past antagonisms between Rhodes and Kruger and the British and Afrikaners, the portraits of both these men are included in the collection of lantern slides informing the world about the Union in South Africa. They both were depicted as people who had made the country — their deeds were immortalised in stone with impressive statues, graves and memorials. Therefore, the main message of the cultural diplomacy effort that was supported by the lantern slides was that South Africa was a country made by and for white men. And this was a story that the Dutch public in the early twentieth century wanted to hear, especially if they had plans of moving to the country. It would take many more decades before this narrative was pulled from its pedestal.

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'Double barrelled' ironies in history: a coincidental discovery of Cecil John Rhodes at the Zuid-Afrikahuis in Amsterdam

Frans Kamsteeg & Harry Wels

The lanternslide collection that surfaced during the renovation from 2014 to 2016 of the Zuid-Afrikahuis at the Keizersgracht 141 in Amsterdam contained three slides with material commemorations of what by many is considered the biggest imperialist that the United Kingdom brought forth during its colonial expansion—Cecil John Rhodes. One slide pictures his grave in the Matopos Hills (now Matobo National Park), south of Bulawayo, current day Zimbabwe. A second slide pictures Rhodes Memorial on the slopes around Cape Town, South Africa, and the third shows Groote Schuur ('Great Barn'), the residence Rhodes acquired in Cape Town in early 1891 after his installation as premier of the Cape Colony the year before. All photographs, given their old age, are still in black and white.

In this essay, we contrast them with a few full-colour pictures showing what happened to some of Rhodes' statues during the Rhodes Must Fall movement that swept over South Africa in 2015. Looking at these old glorifying pictures of Rhodes next to the photographs of his demise almost unescapably produces a strong sense of irony, 'double barrelled' as we call it in this essay. It is such ironies that make visible how times can change public convictions and contextualise who is considered a hero or a villain. History never repeats itself but 2020 will not only be remembered for the Corona pandemic that hit the world but also for the protests of Black Lives Matter in June that 'went

viral' around the world after the violent death of George Floyd in the US. In the wake of these protests, many statues of colonialists and imperialists that survived the 2015 Rhodes Must Fall protests were torn from their pedestals among which was the Cecil John Rhodes sculpture in Oxford.

What kind of 'double barrelled' ironies are we thinking of? To start with, Cecil John Rhodes was arguably the biggest adversary of Paul Kruger. Kruger wanted to avoid dependency on British ports at all costs and asked Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands to help him build a railway connecting the Boer Republics and Pretoria with Lourenço Marques in Portuguese East Africa, current day Maputo in Mozambique (and with that connection avoiding British ports like Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban). The NZASM (*Nederlandsch-Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorwegmaatschappij*; Netherlands-South African Railway Company) was established for this purpose in 1887 and during the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), it took sides with the Boer cause and actively fought against the British led by Cecil John Rhodes who went 'all out' fighting the Boers (let's leave it at that). The Boers lost the war to the British which also meant the end of the NZASM.

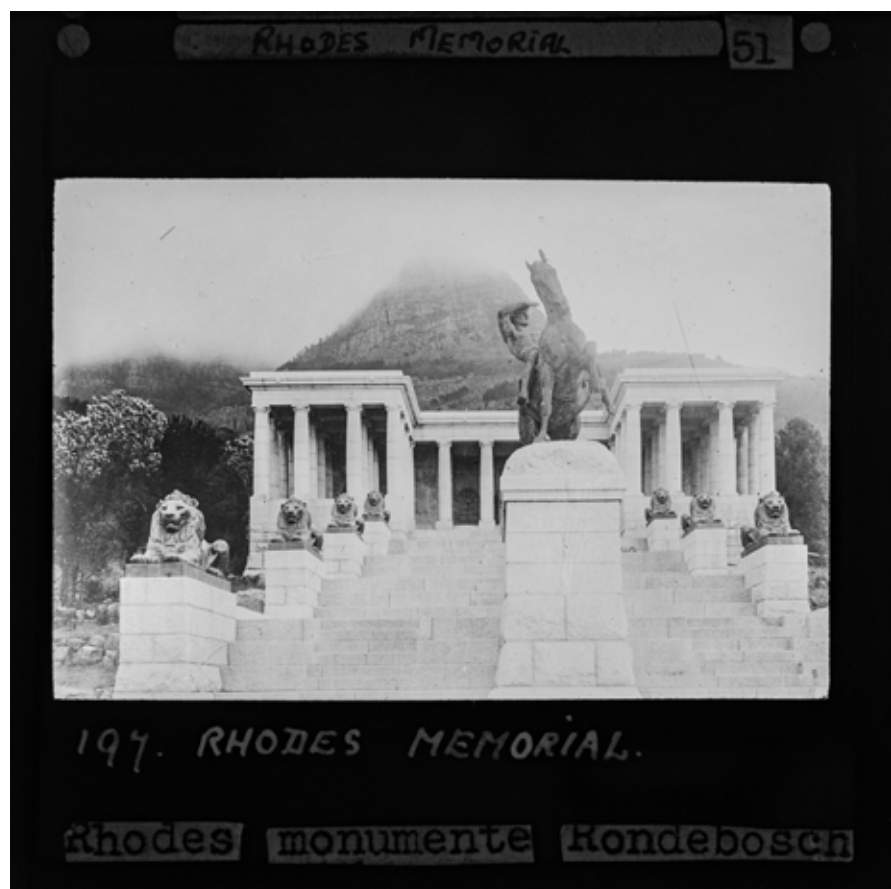
The great grandfather of one of the authors, being employed by the NZASM at the time, lost all his possessions as a result of it and was expelled from South Africa and repatriated to the Netherlands from, oh irony, the British port of East London in 1900. NZASM properties were appropriated by the British after the war for which the shareholders of the NZASM were compensated. After compensation of the shareholders, there was still some money left which was used to start the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Stichting Moederland* (ZASM, almost the same as NZASM) in 1908.

With the British money, the ZASM, after renting it since 1921, bought the Zuid-Afrikahuis at the Keizersgracht 141 in Amsterdam in 1923 (in English 'South Africa House' like the British one on Trafalgar Square, London, although not as big). So, in an ironic twist of history, Cecil John Rhodes actually financed the Dutch Zuid-Afrikahuis where Paul Kruger 'rules' to this day in a major presence. The building has a huge painting of him by portrait painter Thérèse Schwartze and the library has numerous (old) books devoted to his persona and his role in South African history.

By keeping the lantern slide of his grave in the archives, the Zuid-Afrikahuis actually and ironically contributes to Rhodes' immortality which he himself choreographed so carefully by taking care of being buried four times. Rhodes passed away in 1902 at the rather young age of 49 years. The first time he was buried at his residence Groote Schuur on 2 April 1902, the second time at the Cape Town Parliament on 3 April, from which the coffin of Rhodesian teak with Rhodes body was taken on an epic train journey to the site Rhodes himself had chosen for his grave in one of the countries that at the time was still named after him, Southern Rhodesia, calling the particular spot in the Matopos Hills, 'World's View'. The third burial service was held on 10 April 1902 after the coffin had been transported to the burial site by a gun carriage drawn by oxen (like during the Pioneer Column). At the same time, the fourth service took place in St. Paul's Cathedral in London. Are the archives at the Zuid-Afrikahuis Rhodes's fifth burial site?

An ironic twist in contemporary history regarding the lantern slide of Rhodes Memorial in Cape Town completed in 1912 and containing a massive staircase of 49 steps, every step signifying a year of Rhodes's life, came more than a century







later. While on 9 April 2015 Rhodes's statue was removed from the campus of the University of Cape Town (UCT), Rhodes's massive memorial, ironically located on the slopes of a mountain called *Devil's Peak* (our emphasis), overlooking Cape Town was vandalised in September in the wake of the protests at UCT. At that occasion, the nose of his statue in bronze was cut off and graffiti accusing Rhodes of being a "racist, thief and murderer" was sprayed on the bust. The statue was restored afterwards, but was again vandalised in July 2020, when the statue was decapitated. The head was recovered nearby and put in place again on National Heritage Day in September of that same year. It is still in place and accessible for people and tourists today.

Rhodes's own wooden bench is still situated below the memorial and the view facing the north-east easily permits imagining the place as the start of the Cape to Cairo road, the imperial dream Rhodes held of a British colonial Africa as if nothing has changed since the demise of the apartheid regime. The irony of one version of Rhodes being removed from one place but another one restored and revamped just around the corner is striking. There are many versions of history possible, and sometimes history even does repeat itself.

Finally, there is an irony around the lantern slide of *Groote Schuur*. The first irony that could be argued for is its very name, which is in Afrikaans, meaning 'Great Barn' in English. While British colonialism 'Rhodes's style' may have ended, the empire of the English language reigns rather strongly around the globe these days. Rhodes may have been rather content with that while simultaneously living in a residence as premier of a British colony that has no English name but actually a name that comes from the language spoken by one of his fiercest opponents, the Afrikaner Boers. Even Paul Kruger, not well known for

his great sense of humour, might have smiled contently about the historical irony that Rhodes's name and home will forever be remembered by an Afrikaner and not an English name.

However, there are even more ironies to be detected which might not even be as sardonic as some of the others. Groote Schuur now functions as an academic hospital for UCT at a place where the British and the Boers once fought each other to death and wreaked havoc among the local populations of what is now known as South Africa resulting in many deaths and suffering. Groote Schuur hospital now serves as a place to save lives instead of being a place where people plotted and strategised about taking lives in the interest of settler colonialism. Groote Schuur was originally owned by the Dutch East India Company (in Dutch VOC, *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*), the company which so violently appropriated the Cape as a refreshment station on its trade route to the spices of the East Indies in 1652 and used Groote Schuur initially as a granary.

When the power balances at the Cape shifted to the British towards the end of the 18th century, Rhodes's occupation of Groote Schuur can be read symbolically as a takeover of the power of the VOC. Challenges to this new centre of power by its former occupants, the Boers, and the local population were mercilessly suppressed and retaliated. Groote Schuur during that part of history can be symbolically interpreted as synonymous with white privilege, power and violence towards the colonised both under the Boers and the Brits. Nowadays, Groote Schuur is an academic hospital with an oath to saving lives and restoring health; so, in a sense one could say 'all's well that ends well'.

Yet here comes the final irony: Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) started off as a movement for equal access to higher education in South Africa. However, equal access to what kind of higher

education? In the wake of RMF and what has remained of the movement came the struggle against 'colonial science'. Groote Schuur and its medical orientation and teachings are literally and symbolically built on 'Western science' and therefore basically on 'colonial knowledge'. Does RMF really want equal access to that type of knowledge in higher education?

This is why we have included some iconic pictures of the removal of Rhodes's statue from UCT and the subsequent iconoclasm spreading over South Africa's academic centres. Thus, we complement the lantern slide collection as a symbolic notification that history and collections never stop with the final slide. Clearly "the past is never dead. It's not even past" as William Faulkner wrote. No matter our fascinations for the past, we must keep a close eye on the ongoing ironic twists of that very history. And irony goes on. The ironic present-day twist is that more than a century later, the removal of a bronze statue of the English Rhodes overlooking the Cape Flats from the heights of the University of Cape Town's central campus, just downhill Jameson Memorial Hall, started a protest movement against the heritage of apartheid that had been institutionalised by the heirs of the Boers, Rhodes's principal adversaries.

The news that a black UCT student, Chumani Maxwele, had thrown human faeces over the statue rocked the university and South Africa. The month between this act and the factual removal of the statue on 9 April 2015 was the main achievement of the Rhodes Must Fall movement that subsequently ignited a widespread student movement demanding radical change for the complete South African Higher education system with 'decolonisation' and the dismantling of institutional racism as the root metaphors of this commanded change. It also meant the start of a nation-wide debate in the media, in politics, but particularly at

the universities on the importance of statues and other signs of an oppressive and discriminatory past and on the experience of the protesters' 'decolonisation' that had never been fundamentally addressed.

Similar protests swept across South African universities, particularly the University of the Free State, University of Witwatersrand, University of Pretoria, Rhodes University and the University of KwaZulu-Natal, developing in a nation-wide but loosely organised set of student actions that soon became known as the Fees Must Fall movement. Rhodes's removal from UCT led to similar demands to remove a Rhodes statue from the Oxford University campus but this did not come through although the debates were fierce and prolonged.

The argument for not removing it was the same as the one used against the removal of colonial symbols in UCT in the South Africa debate on this issue: once rewriting history would be done on that scale, no statue or a historic building standing would be standing safely. Many officeholders at the South African universities feared that the genie would be out of the bottle if the past would be reverted by doing away with its iconic representatives.

In 2015, the physical view of UCT's campus changed forever with the removal of Rhodes's ominous statue. In 2018, the scene witnessed yet another radical and significantly symbolic change. The Jameson Memorial Hall building still stands but its name has fallen. It was re-baptised as the Sarah Baartman Hall, changing the name of one of Rhodes's political allies for the name of a Khoi woman who was taken from her community and nakedly 'displayed' (indeed, almost as a statue, the 'Hottentot Venus') in London in the early 19th century and whose body had served as an important 'instrument' to support scientific racism in academia. Her remains were reburied in South Africa in 2002,

192 years after her death, an event that stood out as yet another important moment in the transformation process of the country. It is another ironic yet serious historical twist that her name as a virtual statue, has now replaced Rhodes as the icon of the university.

Yet, South Africa's debate on 'de-statueing', decolonisation and transformation remains inconclusive and is ongoing. Cecil Rhodes may no longer be physically present at UCT but just next to where he once overlooked the Cape Flats at the bottom of the staircase leading to what is now Sarah Baartman Hall, the other Rhodes Memorial still shines on the slopes of Devil's Peak on the terrain he gave to the nation on his death. At other university campuses in South Africa, the removal of Rhodes's statue from the UCT campus awoke a similar 'must fall' movement. For example, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, the King George V statue on Howard College campus was splashed with white paint soon after with the accompanying text 'End White Privilege'. Like at the UCT, this sparked a hot debate on campus in which the vandalism was both praised as 'revolutionary' and 'embarrassing'.

At Rhodes University, what's in a name, the Black Students Movement soon started pleading for the very name of Rhodes University to be changed (interestingly the university does not have a statue of its name giver). The university leadership promised a thorough reflection on a possible name change, but in 2017, a University Council majority voted against such a change, referring to the financial risks (sic) of rebranding its well established and positive academic identity and international reputation. Ironically, the university, which was established in 1904 with a financial injection from the Rhodes Trust, decided not to release any money to rid itself of its donor and wealthy namesake.



Top left: Removal of Rhodes' statue at the University of Cape Town in April 2015 (photo courtesy: Sandra Voskuilen) Top right: Statue of King George V at Howard College, University of KwaZulu-Natal (photo courtesy: Hugh Bland) At the bottom: Statue of Marthinus Theunis Steyn, the last president of the Orange Free State, in front of the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein.

At the former white Afrikaner University of the Free State, a different approach was taken. Here students too demanded the removal of statues commemorating the University's Afrikaner past. In April 2015, the university, under the leadership of UFS Rector and Vice-Chancellor Jonathan Jansen, led a three-day discussion session about the role and place of statues, symbols and signs at the university. The provisional outcome was that no statues would be removed. However, in 2018, the university decided to move the statue of President Marthinus Theunis Steyn, the last president of the then independent Orange Free State standing proudly in front of UFS's central administrative building, to the National Museum in Bloemfontein. Jansen's successor as Rector and Vice-Chancellor, Francis Petersen, argued that a large portion of the student body felt unwelcome near the statue and that a 'Special Task Team' — set up following the Steyn's family request and led by an independent heritage consultant — concluded that "there could be no historical reinterpretation of the statue".

To summarise, names, statues, monuments and other historical memorabilia are icons of pride for some and stumbling blocks for others. The years following Rhodes's removal from UCT have shown how much of South Africa's controversies over race, inequality and injustice converge in these concrete artefacts. Although the lanternslide collection only indirectly refers to the university context we described, the accidental but iconic Rhodes pictures we selected truly allowed us to retell the delicate intertwinement of past and present. Its contested interpretations reveal the importance of visuals for historical sense and nonsense-making. Perhaps the final picture we added, from Rhodes's empty pedestal, taken by a Dutch student present at the removal of the statue (and whose thesis on the

topic was supervised by one of the authors), symbolises the hunger today's South Africans have for new meanings.

Although the decision to remove Rhodes's statue in Oxford has been taken by the governors of Oxford University, they added, according to BBC News, that "(t)he removal is not expected to be immediate" as the college says there will need to be consultations over planning regulations. The Rhodes Must Fall campaigners said the announcement was "hopeful" but warned that they would remain cautious until the college had actually carried out the removal. That is why we cannot yet end this essay with a picture of an empty pedestal in Oxford.



After the removal of Rhodes' statue at the University of Cape Town.
(photo courtesy: Sandra Voskuilen)

The Great Trek: a national myth

Eep Francken & Olf Praamstra

In a collection of slides that is intended to give an impression of South Africa and was to generate interest in the country in the 1900–1930s, the Great Trek is not to be missed. The problem is that the Trek took place when photography hardly existed and there are no pictures of it. Nevertheless, the Great Trek was given a place in the lantern slides collection as it was at the time considered one of the most important events in South African history.

The migration was the beginning of the spread of the European population over almost the entire territory of the present South African republic. In addition to the later Boer War, the Great Trek dominated historical consciousness for especially the ‘free Boer Republics’ of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In the course of time, it became a national myth for all Afrikaners. Stories about these two historical events played and continue to play an important role in Afrikaner nationalism and in the formation of Afrikaner identities also in the Cape Province.

The commemoration of the Great Trek in 1938, a hundred years after it had taken place, was celebrated exuberantly throughout South Africa. Wagon trains drove through the streets, people dressed up as *Voortrekkers* (the so-called ‘pioneers’), food was prepared on open fires — the beginning of the tradition of the African *braai* — streets were given new names and monuments were erected everywhere.

The Great Trek was remembered as an extremely daring venture which had exposed the Voortrekkers and their servants to great dangers. The Voortrekkers entered a territory they knew

little to nothing about and their equipment was poor. One of the lantern slides depicts, by means of two objects, how the Voortrekkers held on to their European roots with simple means (or at least how it was imagined in the period 1900–1930) — a primitive calendar and a chair. It is no wonder that many travellers died on the way due to illness, exhaustion or violence. However, this was precisely what emphasised the heroic nature of this journey for later generations.

As the story goes, the Voortrekkers were tired of the British administration and left the Cape Colony. Slavery was abolished but without the enslaved people, they had difficulty in conducting their business as they hardly received any compensation for labour loss after the abolishment of slavery. A thorn in the eye was also the imposed anglicisation and the fact that in the border regions they were hardly protected against looting. Furthermore, they were not allowed to take the law into their own hands as they did in the Dutch era. This is why they were said to want self-government: their own government in an independent state. They knew they had to travel to desolate and dangerous areas to achieve this, but they went, confident that they could count on the support and help of God. They loaded all their possessions on the ox wagon and moved into Africa, on their way to the promised land, as history handbooks tell us.

In the period between 1900 and 1920, there were still enough ox wagons in use to portray this journey afterwards. One of the slides shows packed wagons pulled by a huge number of cattle that travelled through the wild land, over mountains and through rivers. This is how the Afrikaner myth of the endless land came into being that the intrepid Voortrekkers with their 'brave wives' entered and where, with danger, they formed a

circle with their ox wagons in which everyone was safe. An image to re-enact this is included in the collection.

Although 1838 was a decisive year, the Great Trek had begun several years earlier. In the early 1830s, farmers who were dissatisfied with the British administration went to areas outside the Cape Colony. Initially, they remained close to the border but when British domination was felt there too, they moved further inland. In 1840, 6.000 farmers, ten percent of the white population, were said to leave the colony and this percentage would still rise. The political outcome of the Great Trek was that farmers in the interior founded their own republics with Dutch as the national language. They formed the main core of the Afrikaners who would dominate the republic of South Africa in the twentieth century. This is why the Great Trek was lavishly commemorated in 1938 throughout the country. The commemoration came too late for the compilers of the lantern slide collections, but one particular image gives an impression of what the entry of the ox wagons into a village must have looked like.

On the way to the North, the Voortrekkers were regularly attacked by hostile groups such as the Ndebele (Matabele) in the later Orange Free State. In November 1837, the Voortrekkers managed to drive them over the Limpopo to what is nowadays Zimbabwe. The fiercest battles the Voortrekkers fought were with the Zulus in Natal. They were defeated twice until in December 1838 when they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Zulus on the banks of the Ncome River, also known as the Battle of Blood River. Although the Zulus surpassed the Voortrekkers well in number, they were no match for the Voortrekkers who were armed with guns and two cannons. A drawn image to refer to this in hindsight is included in the collection of lantern slides as well. The purpose of these slides in the collection is clear.

The slides were meant to show the public that South Africa and the Afrikaners were a country and people to be proud of; to show that Voortrekkers loved their freedom above everything and feared no danger; that they had brought civilisation to the barbaric regions in Africa; that with great personal sacrifices, they had made a primitive country into an exemplary republic. This is the message that these lantern slides tried to convey to the public in order to keep the myth of the Great Trek alive in the young South African nation.

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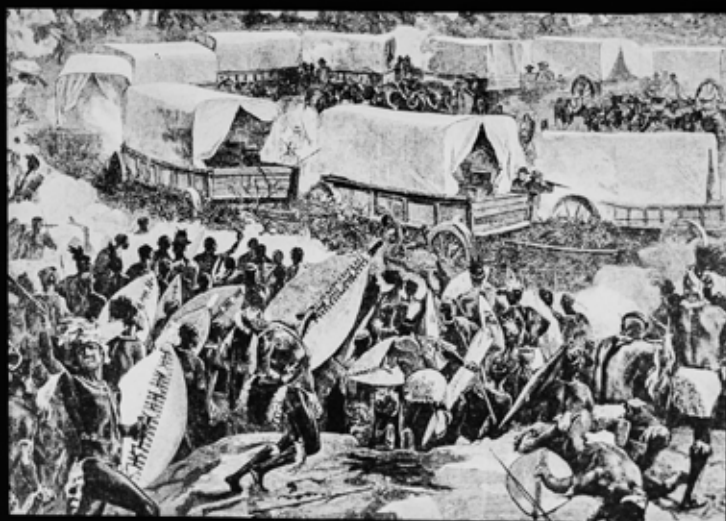








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EPILOGUE

Enticed by the colonies?

Margriet van der Waal

Can one recreate a historical moment? If we were to draw the heavy black velvet curtains in the back room of the renovated Amsterdam mansion Zuid-Afrikahuis, extinguish the LED lighting, and switch on the projection device to see the enlarged photographic imagery on a screen, would we be able to sense something of the thrill? Can we relive the excitement that made audiences applaud in enthusiasm after having listened to spirited lantern lectures about South Africa, accompanied by these projected pictures of a good life, characterised by sun-filled, wide-expanse natural landscapes, modern, built cityscapes, and agricultural plenteousness?

I doubt if the magic of this early mass medium would entice us — visual mass-media consumers, saturated with evermore sophisticated and available images — in the same way as it did those early consumers of new screen technologies. But it is undeniable that even today, the fragile glass slides hold a puzzling and ambivalent allure. This allure comes not only from the materiality of the object itself but also from the need to comprehend the colonial and imperial mindset about South Africa that was constructed and represented by this medium for far-away audiences in Europe and America many decades ago.

The digitised slides showing colonial images in a colonial archive offer us the possibility to examine not only the 20th-century colonial and imperial relations between the Netherlands and South Africa, but also to see the social practices for which these material objects were used as part of wider European imperial projects of the 20th century.

Since the late 19th century, European countries competed in (former) colonial areas for access not only to the hearts and minds of the locals through education and missionary work but also to natural resources, as well as space to settle parts of their own population and to create markets for their manufactured goods such as cast iron products, cacao, starch, cotton fabric and so forth (Ryan 2016, 5. See also Short 2012, 8).

Importantly, as the NZAV archives show, it was not only states that participated as monoliths in these colonial and imperial programmes, but also private, commercial and civil organisations, such as the NZAV. Furthermore, these slides, and the contexts of their viewings, provide good evidence for understanding colonialism as closely entangled with modernity (Mignolo and Walsh 2018) and shaping, with lasting implications and legacies, both the colonised and coloniser. In fact, colonialism did not only happen 'over there', but also, as Elizabeth Edwards (2016, 53) argues, "over here" (in this case: Amsterdam) as was the case, for example, when colonial administrative and biopolitical practises were exported to Europe. This resulted in the so-called 'boomerang effect' of colonialism.

Many questions remain about the origin and production of the images: Who took the photographs? Who commissioned their taking? And so forth. We also know little about the lectures and talks for which these slides functioned as illustration and accompaniment. The archive contains mostly factual information about the context of their showing, lacking more detailed descriptions about how these events were experienced or what they effectuated among members of the audience.

Despite these questions still lacking answers, we are starting to understand now that while these glass plate images were used by various associations and institutions to educate

viewers about the colonies and their black and white inhabitants, it also created and reproduced a complex social imaginary of Dutchness, Europeaness, and whiteness. In fact, in the case of the NZAV slides and similar ones in other ‘South African’ series elsewhere, the images portrayed less a given South African reality than a produced and reproduced colonial social imaginary about self, the other, modernity and technology, tribality, culture and nature: rural, primitive idylls on the one hand and the bustling tech-driven modernity of the metropolis on the other; white economic progress (and leisure!) through black labour (Stuit, this volume; Van Zyl-Hermann, this volume).

In fact, these slides constructed and normalised ideas and understandings of life in South Africa, particularly from a white, European perspective (compare Freschi, Schmahmann and Van Robbroeck 2020); ideas which in turn were granted the status of knowledge about South Africa. From this perspective, South Africa had to be understood — because that was the purpose of showing these slides — as an economic and cultural opportunity for Europeans. In the case of the NZAV slides, South Africa was promoted as a market for Dutch goods, as a corner of the world where Dutch culture could grow (until Afrikaner nationalism overtook elements of Dutch language and culture) and as a country where potential emigrants could foresee a new, prosperous life for themselves and by resettling over there, bolster the country’s white (Afrikaner) population (De Graaff 1993; Henkes 2016; also Hardijzer, this volume, who discusses the use of lantern slides as part of a South African effort to promote European immigration to the country).

This particular collection of slides confronts us with colonial *denkbeelden* — a Dutch word for ‘images’, but literally “images to think” with (Dellmann, this volume). It also invites us

though to examine how a particular epistemology about South Africa and South Africans created a range of social categories. This happened both through the formal and poetic qualities of the images themselves (Praamstra and Francken, this volume, discussing Afrikaner ‘myth making’ by means of the slides; Deen, this volume, on the categorisation of flora and conservation practices) and through a diverse range of social practices such as the lantern slide feestavonden (festive evenings) of institutions such as the NZAV.

These images of South Africa are clearly selective and there is certainly much of (early) 20th-century South African life — as is the case with colonial photography in general — not shown by the slides (both Sabelis, this volume and Schutte, this volume, provide descriptions of the content of the NZAV slides). In fact, its presence as an archive of a privileged, institutional stakeholder in the colonial process — the NZAV — prompts questions about histories of members of other social categories and questions about where these histories and stories are stored and archived, especially of those reigned by colonial and settler power.

The archive itself, therefore, presents us with the opportunity to consider how such a collection might function (read: be decolonised) in our own context. It might, as Jansen’s contribution to this volume shows, be used contrapuntally — as Edward Said has suggested — to make absent histories present, or as Kuitenbrouwer, and Kamsteeg and Wels do in this volume, use the slide images as tools to challenge and expand existing (master) narratives.

The archive’s digitisation also prompts questions concerning contemporary curatorial and archival practices (Stobbe, this volume; also Jeurgens and Karabinos 2020, 4, and Risam 2019), and how sources are described (the labels used) and recorded

(Deen, this volume, on nomenclature). But the slides in the archive also invite us to reflect on the possibility of new narratives and images and seek how new aesthetic engagements may come forth from the archive (Nimis 2014), as Faber-Jonker's discussion in this volume of her own aesthetic engagement with some of the images makes evident.

Despite rescuing, restoring and digitising the lantern slide collection of the NZAV, there is much more work to be done. As Sarah Dellmann, who also contributed to this volume, commented elsewhere: there is an abundance of material, but not an abundance of access and furthermore, poor understanding, generally, of lantern slides in museum collections (Dellmann 2016, 341; see also the dire lack of research on South African slides, as noted by Hardijzer, this volume). Although the slides of the NZAV collection have now been restored and digitised, we hardly have access to the context of their functioning as a live performance-based medium (Van Dooren 2014).

It is hoped that further postcolonial research in digitised archives — i.e., in theory at least, archives that are more easily accessible from various locations — will enable us to utilise our understanding of these sources in wider discussions on colonial history that avoid methodological nationalism by seeking to understand these practices not as unique but as part of complex transnational colonial practices and strategies that represented Europe's empires to European citizens.

We, the editors of this collection, trust that the digitisation of the slides will provide easier public access, and that their restoration and the acknowledgement of their existence in the archives of the Zuid-Afrikahuis will give impetus to new and further (interdisciplinary) research from many different angles: media history, socio-economic and global history, migration studies,

postcolonial studies, cultural analysis — to mention only some of the most obvious fields. We, therefore, extend an open invitation to (young) researchers: come and make use of this archive! We sincerely hope that new research will yield a greater understanding of the transnational links and circuits of meaning in which both the objects and the events of their display functioned. And we also hope that the digital access to these slides will itself offer further and critical considerations and exploration of the 'archive' itself: not simply as the location of knowledge, but in fact, as co-creator of that knowledge.



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Images

PROLOGUE

Jeltsje Stobbe

1. Metal plate on top of box containing lantern slides (photo courtesy: Jeltsje Stobbe)
2. Slides during the conservation process (photo courtesy: Jeltsje Stobbe)
3. Wooden box containing lantern slides (photo courtesy: Jeltsje Stobbe)

COLLECTION

Gerrit Schutte

1. ZAH A_1040 Nederlandsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereeniging - Merckelbach & Co. Amsterdam
2. A slide of the non-digitised batch with Merckelbach reference, no. ZAH B_0449 (photo courtesy: Bas de Melker)
3. Letters in the archives about the acquisition of films and slides (photo courtesy: Jeltsje Stobbe)

Sarah Dellmann

1. ZAH A_0365 Fields with Cauliflower, South African farm
2. ZAH A_1040 Nederlandsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereeniging - Merckelbach & Co. Amsterdam

Carol Hardijzer

- 21 photos from the Hardijzer Photographic Research Collection (photo courtesy: Carol Hardijzer)

LANDSCAPE

Danelle van Zyl-Hermann

1. ZAH A_0003-2 Railway Map of Southern-Africa Rhodesia included
2. ZAH A_0072 Postal train through Tulbach Gorge
3. ZAH B_0031b Electric train-Natal main lane
4. ZAH A_0071 Tulbagh, Cape: Michell's Pass
5. ZAH B_0001 Railway approach to the Hex River Mountains
6. ZAH A_0104 Train enters Graaff-Reinet
7. ZAH A_0073-2 Hex River Valley, entrance
8. ZAH A_0077 'Union limited' Express in Hex river pass
9. ZAH A_0076 'Union limited' Express Sandhills
10. ZAH B_0075 Road, rail and air transport in South Africa
11. ZAH B_0015 Compartment Comfort, South African Railways
12. ZAH B_0039 Interior of dining saloon, South African Railways

Rosa Deen

1. ZAH B_0002a South African Flora Arum Lilies, Table Mountain in the background
2. ZAH A_0021 Flower Vendors, Adderley Street, Cape Town
3. ZAH A_1015 Wild Flowers
4. ZAH A_1016 Wild Flowers Cape

Hanneke Stuit

1. ZAH A_1040 Nederlandsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereeniging - Merckelbach & Co. Amsterdam
2. ZAH A_0395 Grape Harvest, Constantia Vinyard
3. ZAH B_0078 Sugar cane fields, Natal

Ena Jansen

1. ZAH A_0011 View of Cape Town, Table Mountain and 'Tana Baru' Muslim Cemetery on Signal Hill in the foreground
2. ZAH A_0013 View of Cape Town, Table Mountain and 'Tana Baru' Muslim Cemetery on Signal Hill in the foreground

Leonor Faber-Jonker

The essay of Leonor Faber-Jonker contains reworked images of the following inventory numbers: all images courtesy Leonor Faber-Jonker

1. ZAH B_0081c South African fruit orchard
2. ZAH B_0081c South African fruit orchard
3. ZAH B_0081c South African fruit orchard
4. ZAH B_0081c South African fruit orchard
5. ZAH A_0387 Fruit packing
6. ZAH A_0483 Tobacco going to shed
7. ZAH A_0414 Maize farm
8. ZAH A_0171 Edge of the mountain
9. ZAH A_0356 Apricots
10. ZAH A_0356 Apricots
11. ZAH B_0071a Protea - South African flora
12. ZAH B_0098 Zulu girl
13. ZAH B_0098 Zulu girl
14. ZAH B_0085b Vaalriver, Parys, Orange Free State
15. ZAH B_0085b Vaalriver, Parys, Orange Free State

PEDESTAL

Vincent Kuitenbrouwer

1. ZAH A_0051 Rhodes Memorial, Rondebosch, Cape Town
2. ZAH A_0337 Rhodes's grave, Matopo's
3. ZAH A_1040 Nederlandsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereeniging - Merckelbach & Co. Amsterdam
4. ZAH C_0089 Photo of Paul Kruger (Amstel Hotel?)
5. ZAH C_0086 Statue of Paul Kruger, Pretoria
6. ZAH A_0157 Paul Kruger's Statue, Rustenburg

Frans Kamsteeg and Harry Wels

1. ZAH A_0049 Back View of Groote Schuur, Rondebosch, Cape Town
2. ZAH A_0051 Rhodes Memorial, Rondebosch, Cape Town
3. ZAH A_0337 Rhodes's grave, Matopo's
4. ZAH Photo of Rhodes removed (photo courtesy: Sandra Voskuilen)
5. ZAH Photo of UKZN 'He must fall' (photo courtesy: Hugh Bland)
6. ZAH Photo of statue of President Steyn (photo courtesy: authors)
7. ZAH Photo of pedestal after Rhodes's removal (photo courtesy: Sandra Voskuilen)

Eep Francken and Olf Praamstra

1. ZAH C_0110 Calendar and chair used by the Voortrekkers
2. ZAH C_0113 Ox wagon crossing a drift
3. ZAH C_0115 Ox wagons
4. ZAH C_0112 Ox wagons in Pelgrimsrust (late 1800s)
5. ZAH C_0116 Drawing of the Battle of Blood River

Epilogue

Margriet Van der Waal

1. A slide of the non-digitised batch with Merkelbach reference, no. ZAH X_0738 (photo courtesy: Jeltsje Stobbe)

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Editors

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CAROL HARDIJZER is passionate about South African Photographica. He has published some 50 articles on the history of South African photography (see: theheritageportal.co.za/articles) and has been heard on national radio talking on this topic. Carol established the vast Hardijzer Photographic Research Collection containing original South African photographs from before 1915. A revised catalogue of all South African photographers active in South Africa, which has not been updated since 1963, will be published by Carol in future. Carol is a first generation South African from Pretoria with a Dutch father and a German mother.

ENA JANSEN is the author of *Like Family. Domestic Workers in South African History and Literature* (2019), a literary biography of South African domestic workers and their historically unacknowledged mediating role in the country's complex societal fabric. It was also published in Afrikaans (2015) and Dutch (2016). Besides other books and articles Ena authored a monograph on her life-long research interest, the poet Elisabeth Eybers (1996; 1998). Ena lectured at the University of the Witwatersrand (1984-2000) and at the Vrije Universiteit

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