GONE AND FORGOTTEN: PUBLIC MEMORY, HERITAGE, AND MISSING BLACK CEMETERIES IN GQEBERHA

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History at Rhodes University

LARI HALLOWES-WELMAN

Supervised by Dr Janeke Thumbran

January 2025

Abstract

Cemeteries, more than simply spaces to bury the dead, are landscapes that function as sites of memory, reflecting a community's values through the ways they have chosen to commemorate their dead. This thesis engages with the question of how certain cemeteries become forgotten from public memory and heritage in South Africa. It explores how certain burial spaces are commemorated by the state for political purposes in the present, and how, inversely, the burial spaces that do not serve the goals of the state may become forgotten through their exclusion from commemoration. Using three case studies of historically significant but forgotten black cemeteries from Gqeberha (formerly Port Elizabeth) in the Eastern Cape, this thesis analyses how state-sponsored public memory and heritage projects which prioritise particular categories of the dead or burial sites, may lead to the exclusion or forgetting of others. This is relevant as being represented in public memory signifies recognition and legitimacy, while being forgotten suggests that some lives and histories are regarded as less significant than others.

Keywords: Gqeberha, public memory, heritage, cemeteries.

Acknowledgements

I would like thank Rhodes University, and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for funding my research. The opinions expressed within this thesis are my own, and not necessarily those of either institution.

To write a full acknowledgement section would result in a document longer than the actual thesis. To my supervisor, Dr Janeke Thumbran, thank you for your support, and mentorship. I am eternally indebted. To the History Department, particularly Dr Craig Paterson, and my postgraduate cohort, Talitha Padayachy, Loren Delponte, Meghan Vetch, Lavita Nuvunga, and Sinoxolo Cossie, I am grateful for your kindness and support. To my son Bjorn, husband Brian, and my many cats, I love you. To my parents, brothers, their lovely partners, and newly found sisters, thank you.

Thank you to Carol Victor at the Port Elizabeth Main Library for helping me with archival work and granting access to fragile materials. To the Mandela Bay Heritage Trust, Richmond Hill SRA, and Historical Society of Port Elizabeth, thank you for your time and knowledge. Thank you to the Rhodes University librarians who have been a beacon of light when I could not find the sources I needed.

Finally, I dedicate the hard work that went into this thesis to the late A.J Chistopher, and Sabine Marschall, whom without, this body of work could not exist. Rest in peace.

Table of Contents

Abstract i

Acronyms vi

List of Figures vii

Terminology xi

Chapter 1 - Introduction and Overview of Research 1

Background and Context of Research 2

The Cemetery Case Studies 9

Research Questions 13

Theoretical Framework 16

Historiography 18

Methodology 25

Chapter 2 - Public Memory and Cemeteries in the Colonial, Apartheid and Post-Apartheid Periods, 1652 – Present 28

How Does the State Authorise What We Remember? The History of Heritage Legislation in South Africa 31

The Start of Organised Heritage and Memory in South Africa 40

The National Party Comes to Power and Apartheid Begins, 1948 46

Afrikaner Nationalist Public Memory: Victimhood and Suffering 49

"The Wind of Change" - Sharpeville, the Referendum, and International Condemnation, 1960 - 1990 55

The End of Apartheid and the New Nation, 1990 – 1994 61

A New Era: Post-Apartheid, 1994 64

The National Heritage Resources Act, the TRC, and SAHRA 67

SAHRA: Burial Grounds and Graves 69

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: The Commemoration of Struggle Heroes 71

The Missing Person's Task Team, 2005 - Present 75

Skeletons of Empire – The Collection of Indigenous Skeletons for Display 77

Post-apartheid Commemoration in the second decade of the Twenty-First Century 90

Conclusion 95

Chapter 3 - 'Hottentots and Other Coloured People': The Union Congregation Cemetery, 1838 – 1897 98

Historical Context 99

Closure of the Cemetery, 1897: Infectious Disease, Public Health, and Burial Reform ... 108

Public Health Reform in England: Cemeteries and Miasma 111

Neglect of the Russell Road Burial Grounds 117

A 'Settler Cemetery', but not *the* 'Settler Cemetery' 119

Conclusion 121

Chapter 4 - "Rattle his bones over the stones, he's only a pauper whom nobody owns": The North End Gaol Cemetery, c. 1855 – 1885 126

Historical Context 128

Closure and Erasure, 1886-1905 130

Conclusion 133

Chapter 5 – The *Native* Strangers' Location Burial Ground, Richmond Hill, c. 1855 - 1881 135

Historical Context 137

The Growth of Residential Locations in Port Elizabeth, 1857 139

The Bubonic Plague and Forced Removals, 1901-1903 146

The Cemetery: Creation, Closure, and Commemoration Attempts 149

The Status of the Cemetery in the Twenty-First Century: 2008 - Present 150

Failed Commemoration Attempts: 2022 and 2023 153

Conclusion 156

Chapter 6 - Conclusion 158

Bibliography 168

Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
BGG	Burial Grounds and Graves Unit
CDT	Cape Daily Times
CHS	Critical Heritage Studies
DSRAC	Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture
ECPHRA	Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority
EIC	British East India Company
EPH	*Eastern Province Herald*
GSSA	Genealogical Society of South Africa
HMC	Historical Monuments Commission
HSPE	Historical Society of Port Elizbeth
LMS	London Missionary Society
MBHT	Mandela Bay Heritage Trust
MPTT	Missing Persons Task Team
NHC	National Heritage Council
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act
NMC	National Monuments Council
NP	National Party
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PET	*Port Elizabeth Telegraph*
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VOC	Dutch East India Company

List of Figures

Figure 1 Map of present-day Gqeberha showing cemeteries (including ‘forgotten’ cemeteries) relative to their locations. Made using Google Earth, 2025. 13

Figure 2 Baartman's grave, a 'National Heritage Site' is permanently closed to the public. (Google Maps. "Sarah Baartman Grave". Accessed 23 September 2023, from https://www.google.com/maps/place/Sarah+Baartman+Grave/@-33.8372841,24.8808043,546m/data=!3m1!1e3!4ml. 88

Figure 3 Sara Baartman's grave site, and the unfinished Khoi Cultural Centre inaccessible behind a fence and locked gate. (Photographs by author, Hankey, Eastern Cape, September 2023). 89

Figure 4 Russell Road Cemetery in Gqeberha, Eastern Cape. From Google Earth, 2025. 99

Figure 5 Russell Road Cemetery showing the three historic burial grounds with boundaries added. From Google Earth, 2025. 99

Figure 6 The earliest known photograph of Russell Road Cemetery, circa 1870. The Wesleyan Cemetery is on the right of the photograph, the LMS to the left, and the Roman Catholic section obscured by the boundary fence made of aloes. Russell Road is shown below. On the left are residents of Strangers' Location. From Port Elizabeth Main Library, Photograph 11-52(b), 'View of Russell Road showing Settlers Cemetery, c. 1870’. 104

Figure 7 Death Certificate of Elsie Michaels, a 'mixed' woman buried in Russell Road Cemetery in 1896. From National Archives of Pretoria “South Africa, Cape Province, Civil Records, 1840-1972”, online database at Family Search, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939Z-5C9T-DX?cc=1779109&wc=Q81G-HBY%3A139966501%2C141806301...106

Figure 8 Portion of a map showing the three burial grounds: 'RC' - Roman Catholic; Wesleyan; and 'native' - LMS. Russell Road is above the cemeteries. From ‘Plan of the Town of Port Elizabeth, Map (Port Elizabeth, 1895’) Port Elizabeth Main Library. 107

Figure 9 Municipal Notice that the six months’ notice has expired. From *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* 22 June 1897. 117

Figure 10 A photograph printed in the *Eastern Province Herald* showing the LMs portion of Russell Road Cemetery. The Town Council had the cemetery cleaned. The debris contains pieces of broken gravestones, and old wooden crosses. From the *Eastern Province Herald*, 9 July 1964. 118

Figure 11 A Tourist guide to Port Elizabeth. On the right, under 'Places of Interest' number 16 (C2) is St Mary’s Cemetery and is listed as “Settlers’ Cemetery”. Russell Road Cemetery does not feature as a point of interest on this map. 120

Figure 12 Russell Road Cemetery behind a locked gate. Access to the cemetery was granted by the Richmond Hill SRA. Photograph by author, 21 June 2024. 122

Figure 13 Looking up at the Roman Catholic burial ground from the LMS ground. Very few visible graves remain in this section. Photography by author, 21 June 2024. 123

Figure 14 Looking down at the LMS section from the Roman Catholic section. Photograph by author, 21 June 2024. 123

Figure 15 The Roman Catholic section of Russell Road Cemetery is the most well-maintained. Photograph by author, 21 June 2024... 124

Figure 16 The remaining gravestones in the LMS section bear European names. They have been cemented down to prevent further destruction. Photograph by author, 21 June 2024. . 124

Figure 17 Dalton's grave. The small stones are from visitors paying their respects. Visitors must request access to the cemetery from the SRA. Photograph by author, 21 June 2024. 125

Figure 18 Approximate location of the old Gaol and Pauper Cemetery in North End. From Google Earth, 2025. 129
Figure 19 A photograph of the Mount Road Power Station. (Port Elizabeth Main Library, '19 Business Premises 9'). 131
Figure 20 The only existing photograph of the Pauper Cemetery. A visitor from Ireland stands beside James Carey's grave. The pen marks on the photograph show where the grave is found. The stones in the background of the photograph mark other graves. 1883. Port Elizabeth Main Library, Photograph 39-8. 132
Figure 21 The site of the old burial ground is inaccessible to the public. Photograph by author, 15 October 2024. 133
Figure 22 Present-day Richmond Hill Park in Richmond Hill, Gqeberha. The Old African Burial Ground was converted into a public park after its closure. From Google Earth, 2025. 136
Figure 23 – The 1849 map showing 'Fingo City' on the area of what would become the Native Strangers' Location in 1855. The so-called 'Hottentot Location' is adjacent, as well as the three burial grounds that would become present-day Russell Road Cemetery. From Harradine, 'A Social Chronicle to 1945', 2002. 138
Figure 24 Portion of a map showing the 'native burial ground'. From 'Plan of the Town of Port Elizabeth, Map (Port Elizabeth, 1895') Port Elizabeth Main Library. 139
Figure 25: Photographs taken by Ward Councillor Jeremy Davis in 2009 of the excavation trial pits (left), a portion of a human skull unearthed (centre), and human leg bones (right). From Wiki Loves Monuments South Africa, 'Richmond Park', 2013. 153
Figure 26 The unauthorised work being done in the Old African Burial Ground/Richmond Hill Park. Photograph by author, 19 November 2023. 155

Terminology

This research thesis is situated in the field of History, and in dealing with South Africa's past, there are certain terms that carry the weight of colonial and apartheid power imbalances. Where these terms are used in this thesis are to be understood in their original context as a reflection of the language and ideologies of the time, and not as a reflection of the beliefs of the author. The use of these terms is necessary to accurately represent historical discourses, even though many are now recognised as offensive, or inappropriate in post-apartheid South Africa. The term *hottentot* was used by white colonial society to refer to the indigenous pastoralist (cattle owning) Khoi people of South Africa.[1] It is suggested to have originated from Dutch settlers attempting to mimic the click sounds present in Khoi language.[2] At present, the Khoi are referred to by different terms, with *Khoi*, *Khoe*, and *Khoekhoe* all describing the same group.[3] For consistency, this thesis will use *Khoi*, while recognising the variations of the group's name. The term *bushman* was historically used to refer to the indigenous hunter-forager San people.[4] The term is considered outdated, and disrespectful due to its colonial connotations, and an oversimplification of the complex identities of the San people.[5] The term *kaffir* is a racial slur in post-apartheid South Africa and its use in public is considered a criminal offence. The term was used during the colonial period specifically to refer to the Xhosa people, but during apartheid, it was applied to all African people in South Africa.[6]

---

[1] Cape of Good Hope Census Office, 'Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope as on the Night of Sunday the 5th April 1891' (Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons, Government Printers, Castle and Burg Streets, 1892), xvi.
[2] M. D. W. Jeffreys, 'The Origin of the Name Hottentot', *African Affairs* 46, no. 184 (1947): 163.
[3] Sheila Onkaetse Mmusi, 'Ethnic Labels in South African English', *World Englishes* 12, no. 1 (1993): 49.
[4] The South African Native Races Committee, 'The Natives of South Africa: Their Economic and Social Condition' (London, 1901), 2.
[5] Mmusi, 'Ethnic Labels in South African English', 50.
[6] *Ibid*., 51. It is suggested to have arisen from missionaries to describe people that had not been converted to Christianity, and stems from the Arabic word for 'non-believer', *kāfir*.

Coloured is a term that was formalised during the colonial period to refer broadly to Khoi, Malay people, Africans, people of mixed race, 'foreigners', and any person who was not white.[7] It was also used during the apartheid period as a distinct racial category to refer to someone that was not white and not black, that furthered apartheid's policies of segregation.[8] The term is still used as an identity marker in post-apartheid South Africa, although it remains a complex, and sometimes controversial term.[9] In this thesis, where *coloured* is used, it is to be understood in its historical colonial context. The term *native* was historically used by colonial and apartheid authorities to refer to African people in a paternalistic, and derogatory way.[10] The term is considered outdated, and offensive due to its association with colonialism.[11] *Native* is used in this thesis when quoting from original colonial documentation, or in official place names from the time. The term *boer* originates from the Dutch word for farmer and was used to refer to the descendants of the Dutch, German, and French Huguenot settlers who became independent farmers at the Cape. This term became associated with Afrikaans-speaking people who participated in the *Great Trek* from the 1830s and in contemporary times, is often used interchangeably with *Afrikaner* to refer to white, Afrikaans speaking people.[12] The use of the term may range from neutral, to politically charged, as it is linked to the legacy of white, Afrikaner's roles in the creation and enforcement of apartheid. Where *boer* is used in this thesis, it is meant to refer to white, Afrikaans speaking people. In the South African post-apartheid period, *black* is a category conceptualised by the *Employment Equity Act* (1998), which includes people previously categorised as African, Indian, and Coloured.[13] The apartheid era *Population Registration Act* (1950) defined a 'coloured person' as anyone who "is not a white

[7] Cape of Good Hope Census Office, 'Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope', xvi.
[8] Union of South Africa, 'No. 30 Population Registration Act' (1950).
[9] Mmusi, 'Ethnic Labels in South African English', 53.
[10] *Ibid*., 51.
[11] *Ibid*., 51.
[12] Yves Vanderhaeghen, *Afrikaner Identity: Dysfunction and Grief* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2018), 44.
[13] Republic of South Africa, 'No. 55 Employment Equity Act' (1998).

person or a native", whereas a 'native' was defined as a "person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa".[14] A white person was categorised as any person who looks white and is accepted as white but does not include a white person who is "generally accepted as a coloured person".[15] The definitions of these categories had to be officialised and bounded by the apartheid government to implement segregationist policies. Although apartheid era classifications, these terms have continued to be used in the present. For the purpose of this thesis, *black* will be used in its post-apartheid context to refer broadly to 'non-white' communities.

The city of Gqeberha in the Eastern Cape received its official name change from 'Port Elizabeth' on 23 February 2021.[16] The name change was contentious as the process occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic which limited public participation in the decision.[17] Gqeberha is derived from the isiXhosa word for the Baakens River that flows through the city.[18] As a result of the rapid name change, many institutions, such as the Port Elizabeth Main Library, still retain the old name. This can be seen as the case in Makhanda (formerly Grahamstown) where institutions such as the Grahamstown Cathedral still retain the former city name, as well. The exception here is the Historical Society of Port Elizabeth who have retained their name and whose aim it is to challenge name changes in the city.[19] Where these institutions are

[14] Union of South Africa, 'No. 30 Population Registration Act' (1950).
[15] *Ibid*.
[16] Republic of South Africa Department of Sports, Art and Culture, 'Media Statement: The Transformation of South Africa's Naming Landscape', Government, Department of Sports, Art and Culture, 8 November 2023, https://www.dsac.gov.za/ThetransformationofSouth%20Africa%E2%80%99snaminglandscape.
[17] BusinessTech, 'Port Elizabeth Objects to Gqeberha Name Change – Considers Nelson Mandela City Instead', BusinessTech, 23 March 2021, https://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/477630/port-elizabeth-objects-to-gqeberha-name-change-considers-nelson-mandela-city-instead/.
[18] Sihle Mlambo, 'Gqeberha, The New Name for Port Elizabeth...', University of the Western Cape, 26 February 2021, https://www.uwc.ac.za/news-and-announcements/news/gqeberha-the-new-name-for-port-elizabeth.
[19] HSPE, 'Looking Back: The Journal of the Historical Society of Port Elizabeth' 62, no. 1 (December 2023), https://historicalsocietype.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/2023_62_LOOKING_BACK_MAGAZINE_Published_lr.pdf, 4-5.

referred to by name in this thesis is thus not to be seen as contesting the official name changes of the city.

Chapter 1 - Introduction and Overview of Research

This thesis engages with the question of how certain cemeteries become forgotten from public memory and heritage in South Africa. It investigates how burial spaces that are commemorated by the state serve political objectives in the present, and leads to the exclusion/'missingness' of those that do not align with these objectives. More than merely places for burying the dead, cemeteries are imbued with cultural, historical, spiritual, and emotional significance. They are also landscapes of memory that reflect a community's values through the ways in which the dead have been commemorated. Cemeteries thus function as a microcosm, symbolising the social realities of the living.[20] As a result, being excluded from commemoration becomes a metaphor for neglected histories, marginalised identities, and the selective nature of public memory and heritage. The purpose of this thesis is to analyse how state-authorised public memory and heritage projects in South Africa prioritise certain categories of the dead, which contributes to the exclusion or forgetting of others. This will be explored through three case studies of historically significant but forgotten cemeteries from colonial-era Gqeberha (formerly Port Elizabeth) in the Eastern Cape. This thesis argues that these cemeteries have been forgotten because the individuals, or communities they served do not fit the dominant narrative of public memory and heritage promoted by the state. This research situates itself within the broader discourse on history, memory, and heritage in South Africa, engaging specifically with debates concerning how the post-apartheid state's public commemorative practices have come to replicate patterns established during the colonial and apartheid periods. The thesis is guided by critical questions of power, who has the authority to decide how the past is remembered, and who is excluded from these processes.

---

[20] Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61, no. 3 (1971): 5; Lily Kong, "Cemeteries and Columbaria, Memorials and Mausoleums: Narrative and Interpretation in the Study of Deathscapes in Geography," *Australian Geographical Studies* 37, no. 1 (1999), 5.

Background and Context of Research

A cemetery's function and significance are not universal, and are adapted to a society's needs over time.[21] At its most essential level, a cemetery is a place for the safe disposal of the dead.[22] Beyond the functional, cemeteries provide spaces where the bereaved can mourn and confront their own mortality.[23] For some, they are sacred spaces that provide connection with ancestors,[24] while for others, they function as public spaces that support recreational activities, and community engagement.[25] Historically, cemeteries offer valuable insights into demographics, settlement patterns, and land dispossession.[26] Cemeteries are also sites of memory.[27] Michel Foucault refers to cemeteries as *heterotopias*.[28] Derived from the Greek words *heteros* [other] and *topia* [place], they are spaces with multiple meanings.[29] They are both physical places on the landscape, as well as symbolic spaces with the capacity to have

[21] Julie Rugg, 'Defining the Place of Burial: What Makes a Cemetery a Cemetery?', *Mortality* 5, no. 3 (2000): 259.
[22] Francaviglia, 'The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape', 501.
[23] *Ibid*., 501.
[24] Dineo Skosana. 'Grave Matters: Dispossession and the Desecration of Ancestral Graves by Mining Corporations in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 40, no. 1 (2022): 47; Mbuso Nkosi, *These Potatoes Look Like Humans: The Contested Future of Land, Home and Death in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2023), 18.
[25] DeMond Shondell Miller and Jason David Rivera, 'Hallowed Ground, Place, and Culture: The Cemetery and the Creation of Place', *Space and Culture* 9, no. 4 (2006): 344; Helena Nordh et al., 'Disrespectful or Socially Acceptable? – A Nordic Case Study of Cemeteries as Recreational Landscapes', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 231, no. 1 (2023): 5.
[26] Skosana. 'Grave Matters', 47; Faeeza Ballim, 'Land Dispossession and the Ghosts of the Medupi Power Station', in *Falling Monuments, Reluctant Ruins: The Persistence of the Past in the Architecture of Apartheid*, ed. Hilton Judin (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2021), 13; Eric Itzkin, 'A Community Journey: Return to Juliwe Cemetery in Roodepoort, Gauteng', in *Falling Monuments, Reluctant Ruins: The Persistence of the Past in the Architecture of Apartheid*, ed. Hilton Judin (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2021), 29; 16; Nkosi, *These Potatoes Look Like Humans*, 19.
[27] Francaviglia, 'The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape', 5; Kong, 'Cemeteries and Columbaria', 5; Noel Solani and Bongani C. Ndhlovu, 'From Graves to Official Memorials: Re-Presentation and Re-Negotiating Memorials and Monuments in Twenty-First Century South Africa', in *Public History, Heritage and Culture in South Africa*, ed. Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu and Ali Khangela Hlongwane (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishing, 2021), 267.
[28] Michel Foucault, 'Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias (Translated from "Des Espace Autres", March 1967)', *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité*, October 1984, 5.
[29] *Ibid*., 3.

memories ascribed to them.[30] This means that cemeteries can be understood as a reflection of the society where they are located.[31]

Not all cemeteries are remembered or even present on the historical landscape. Some are built over by urban or industrial development,[32] while others have been purposefully erased from history.[33] This suggests that certain cemeteries are considered more 'valuable' than others, either through their continued presence on the landscape, or through featuring in public memory and heritage.[34] This thesis focuses specifically on how cemeteries become forgotten from public memory and heritage in South Africa by examining the selective nature of state-authorised commemoration. This thesis argues that public memory (also referred to as collective or popular memory) is inherently exclusionary, as only certain elements of the past are selected for commemoration in the present. Maurice Halbwachs was a prominent French sociologist who conceptualised the idea of 'collective memory' in relation to social frameworks.[35] Halbwachs argued that an individual's memory is shaped by the social group that they belong to, and that group's shared memories contribute to the creation of a collective, public memory.[36] Social frameworks refer to the various groups an individual may belong to, such as family, community, a religion, or nation. These frameworks provide shared symbols, objects, sites, and narratives that influence how the past is interpreted in the present. As a result, the collective memory of a group may provide a sense of identity through enforcing the idea

---

[30] Elizabethada A. Wright, 'Rhetorical Spaces in Memorial Places: The Cemetery as a Rhetorical Memory Place/Space', *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (2005): 51.
[31] Foucault, 'Other Spaces', 3-4.
[32] Mark E. Mack and Michael L Blakey, 'The New York African Burial Ground Project: Past Biases, Current Dilemmas, and Future Research Opportunities', *Historical Archaeology* 38, no. 1 (2004): 10; Nomalanga Mkhize, 'Bones of Contention: Contestation over Human Remains in the Eastern Cape' (Master of Arts Thesis, Grahamstown, Rhodes University, 2007), 15; Skosana. 'Grave Matters', 47; Ballim, 'Land Dispossession and the Ghosts of the Medupi Power Station', 13.
[33] Tamara Venit Shelton, 'Unmaking Historic Spaces: Urban Progress and the San Francisco Cemetery Debate, 1895-1937', *California History* 85, no. 3 (2008): 26.
[34] Francaviglia, 'The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape'; Jo Guldi, 'Landscape and Place', in Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (eds.), *Research Methods for History,* (Edinburgh, 2012).
[35] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 40.
[36] *Ibid*., 40.

of a shared, unifying history.[37] This arose from the notion that collective memory does not occur naturally, but must continually be reproduced and instilled through repeated acts of commemoration".[38] Public, or collective memory is thus something that is socially constructed and must be disseminated to the public, and the past, as Halbwachs writes, "is not preserved", but rather "reconstructed on the basis of the present".[39] Memory, as Nora notes, "remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting… [and] vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation".[40] Public memory can thus broadly be conceptualised as the official, 'authorised' understanding of the past.[41] Unlike an individual's lived memory, public memory is not naturally-occurring, but rather a process of construction whereby certain sites, symbols, people, events, or other artefacts are selected for commemoration to convey a specific narrative/understanding of the past, in the present.[42] This narrative is often shaped to achieve state objectives, which may include goals such as nation-building, reconciliation, economic advancement, or even the oppression of others.[43]

Heritage is a complex (and often contested) concept. Its definition depends on the context within which it is used.[44] At its most fundamental, heritage can be understood as the tangible and intangible elements of the past that are chosen to embody memory. While heritage and public memory are sometimes treated as discrete concepts, this thesis argues for their intersection: heritage functions as the repository of public memory, while public memory gives

[37] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*', 40.
[38] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7.
[39] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 40.
[40] Nora, 'Between Memory and History', 8.
[41] Naomi Roux, *Remaking the Urban: Heritage and Transformation in Nelson Mandela Bay* (Manchester: Manchester University press, 2021), 13.
[42] Aleida Assmann, 'Transformations Between History and Memory', *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2008): 55.
[43] Assmann, 'Transformations Between History and Memory', 55; Amanda Esterhuysen, 'Heritage and Politics in South Africa', *The Digging Stick*, Doing Heritage In South Africa: Doubts and Dilemmas, 30, no. 2 (2013): 3.
[44] Nick Shepherd, 'Heritage', in *New South African Keywords*, ed. Nick Shepherd and Steven Robins (Johannesburg: Jacana Press, 2008), 117.

meaning, or context to heritage.[45] Heritage sites often serve as focal points for public memory, providing spaces where the past can be remembered, interpreted, and contested. Before the post-apartheid period, the term 'heritage' was used in South Africa to refer broadly to as something that was inherited. However, it gained new political significance after the end of apartheid.[46] The *South African Heritage Resources Agency* (SAHRA), the national heritage body of the country, conceptualises 'heritage' as defined by the *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation* (UNESCO) in the *World Heritage Convention* (1972).[47] This convention- officially titled *The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*- arose from the need to address two global issues: the preservation of cultural sites, and the conservation of nature.[48] In response, South Africa enacted the *World Heritage Convention Act* (1999) to incorporate the Convention's principles into domestic law.[49]

Laurajane Smith, who introduced the concept of 'authorised heritage discourse' to examine the inequality and exclusivity in cultural heritage preservation, argues that UNESCO has provided the "dominant intellectual and policy framework for international understandings and debates about the nature and value of heritage" since the 1950s.[50] According to Smith, UNESCO's framework operates as a "project of legitimisation", an institution that authorises, and validates certain expressions of culture and heritage".[51] These expressions are rooted in

[45] Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton, 'Constrained by Commonsense: The Authorized Heritage Discourse in Contemporary Debates', in *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*, ed. Robin Skeates, Carol McDavid, and John Carman, 1st ed. (Oxford University Press, 2012), 167.
[46] Shepherd, 'Heritage', 117; Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley, and Ciraj Rassool, *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts*, African Perspectives (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 22; Thabo Manetsi, 'Heritage Denunciation and Heritage Enunciation? A Postcolonial Discourse on State Prioritisation of Heritage in South Africa', in *Exchanging Symbols: Monuments and Memorials in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, ed. Anitra Nettleton and Mathias Alubafi Fubah, 1st ed. (African Sun Media, 2020), 123.
[47] *Ibid*., 35.
[48] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 'The World Heritage Convention', UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed 6 September 2024, https://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/.
[49] Republic of South Africa, 'No. 49 World Heritage Convention Act' (1999).
[50] Laurajane Smith, 'Intangible Heritage: A Challenge to the Authorised Heritage Discourse', *Revista d'Etnologia de Catalunya*, 2014, 133.
[51] Smith, 'Intangible Heritage', 139.

European values, privileging material culture that is aesthetically pleasing and assumed to carry so-called universal, and 'innate' value.[52] Furthermore, UNESCO's limited collaboration, opting to deal only with state parties, excluding engaging with affected communities, or non-governmental organisations (NGOs).[53] This decision limited the state as the sole authoriser to define what is, and is not considered 'heritage'.[54]

Consequently, heritage has become a political resource, with the heritage landscape effectively functioning as the 'receptacle' of the nation's dominant ideology.[55] Moreover, the state holds the greatest degree of power and resources in shaping public memory and heritage, which leads to conflict and a limited ability for other groups to make their history legible in society.[56] This means that power imbalances are embedded in the creation of public memory and heritage.[57] Heritage, then, can be seen as a site of struggle over power: the power to be remembered, and represented in society.[58] Smith and Waterton explain that within heritage practices, 'authorised heritage' represents the dominant, state-sanctioned approach to defining and managing heritage.[59] This approach obscures political conflicts and theoretical debates, including the discourse surrounding the meaning of heritage itself.[60] State-authorised heritage highlights histories of only a select few. Leslie Witz highlights that heritage in South Africa is a selective engagement with the past that privileges the collective memory of certain groups

[52] Smith, 'Intangible Heritage', 135.
[53] *Ibid*., 134.
[54] Rodney Harrison, ed., *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, Understanding Global Heritage (Manchester: Manchester University Press in association with the Open University, 2010), 1; Jeremy Wells, 'What Is Critical Heritage Studies and How Does It Incorporate the Discipline of History?', *Lived Heritage Studies* (blog), 28 June 2017, https://heritagestudies.org/index.php/2017/06/28/what-is-critical-heritage-studies-and-how-does-it-incorporate-the-discipline-of-history/, 1.
[55] Shanade Barnabas, 'Engagement with Colonial and Apartheid Narratives in Contemporary South Africa: A Monumental Debate', *Journal of Literary Studies* 32, no. 3 (2016): 109.
[56] Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton, 'Constrained by Commonsense: The Authorized Heritage Discourse in Contemporary Debates', in *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*, ed. Robin Skeates, Carol McDavid, and John Carman, 1st ed. (Oxford University Press, 2012), 153.
[57] Sabine Marschall, 'Pointing to the Dead: Victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 60, no. 1 (2008): 103-104.
[58] Wells, 'What Is Critical Heritage Studies'.
[59] Smith and Waterton, 'Constrained by Commonsense', 167.
[60] *Ibid*., 167.

while excluding others.[61] This limits the ability for formerly marginalised communities to make their histories legible in public memory.[62] This also restricts the official construction of public memory and heritage to state agencies and elite groups of experts, while excluding community-based initiatives.[63] This can be seen in the present with South African state heritage bodies. Although public memory and heritage in South Africa is predominantly influenced by policies legislated by the state (driven by its political, ideological, or economic objectives),[64] only a small number of individuals affiliated with state heritage bodies are authorised to shape how the past is remembered. These individuals bring their own values, prejudices, and ideologies to their decision-making processes, which inevitably influences what is commemorated.[65]

It is important to note, however, that community-led initiatives do find ways to engage with public memory and heritage in ways that exist outside of state-authorised practices. For example, the Juliwe Cemetery in the old Roodepoort West location (Gauteng) has been used as evidence for belonging and land restitution claims by the community who had been forcibly removed by the apartheid government between 1958 and 1967.[66] Similarly, the old German cemeteries associated with the Phillipi Lutheran Church (Western Cape) provide the Philippi community with opportunities to connect with their historical religious beliefs.[67] This thesis, however, will focus specifically on state-authorised narratives and cemeteries, and not the ways in which ordinary individuals or communities make meaning of them.

---

[61] Smith and Waterton, 'Constrained by Commonsense', 166.
[62] *Ibid*., 156.
[63] *Ibid*., 156.
[64] Manetsi, 'Heritage Denunciation and Heritage Enunciation?', 124.
[65] The exclusion of certain sites or individuals is not necessarily intentional or malicious, as it can occur simply through oversight, or neglect.
[66] Michelle Hay, '"The Last Thing That Tells Our Story": The Roodepoort West Cemetery, 1958–2008', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37, no. 2 (2011): 299; Eric Itzkin, 'A Community Journey: Return to Juliwe Cemetery in Roodepoort, Gauteng', in *Falling Monuments, Reluctant Ruins: The Persistence of the Past in the Architecture of Apartheid*, ed. Hilton Judin (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2021), 32.
[67] Lizette Rabe, 'Grave Matters: Cemeteries as Cultural Landscapes - the German Cemetery in Philippi', *South African Journal of Cultural History* 30, no. 1 (2016): 38.

Forgotten Cemeteries in Public Memory and Heritage in South Africa: Gqeberha Case Studies

Throughout the colonial (1652-1961), apartheid (1948-1994), and post-apartheid (1994-present) periods, cemeteries have played a significant role in the construction of state-authorised public memory and heritage. For example, the concentration camp cemeteries of the South African War (1899-1902), such as the Irene Concentration Camp Cemetery and Memorial in present-day Gauteng, were appropriated by the apartheid state to authorise a narrative of Afrikaner suffering and martyrdom. This narrative was strategically invoked to counter criticism of the apartheid state's oppressive racial policies.[68] Conceptualising the cemetery as a heterotopia, the multiple meanings these spaces are open to make them useful in the construction of public memory as different interpretations can be ascribed to them.[69] The bodies buried in these cemeteries are similarly open appropriation into different narratives, as the dead cannot 'speak' for themselves. This ambiguity makes burial sites particularly useful in shaping selective narratives of the past.[70] As Elizabethada A. Wright argues, cemeteries are a 'critical tool' for understanding memory.[71] She writes:

> [the cemetery] not only shows us what and how we remember, but it is also a place to look to see what is *forgotten*. While it is difficult to see what is not there, what is not written, cemeteries can do just that if we learn to read the cemetery, not looking at merely words written on stones […] but rather reading the stones that are illegible, looking at the boundaries and seeing how they have changed, seeing what is restored and what is not, *recognising who is not there* [emphasis added].[72]

[68] Jenny De Reuck, 'Social Suffering and the Politics of Pain: Observations on the Concentration Camps in the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902', *English in Africa* 26, no. 2 (1999): 81.
[69] Wright, 'Reading the Cemetery, 32.
[70] Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead*, 28.
[71] Wright, 'Reading the Cemetery', 29.
[72] *Ibid*., 29.

Cemeteries, then, are as much about what is present as they are about what is missing. They provide a representation of who/what a particular society valued during a specific period of time, but also who/what was not valued through their exclusion from commemoration.[73] By way of illustration, Louise Green and Noëleen Murray writing on the discovery of a forgotten enslaved community's cemetery in Cape Town during commercial development explain that the "unnamed and unmarked dead [become] tangible signs of the [South African] city's displacement of so many others, both living and dead".[74] Francaviglia demonstrates that this is not a phenomenon unique to South Africa. Writing on cemeteries in the United States, he observes that "the cemetery reflects a dominant […] pattern: the exclusion of [marginalised people] from the more attractive or expensive areas [of a city]".[75] This highlights how cemeteries belonging to underrepresented, or marginalised groups are more likely to be erased from the landscape, either through neglect, or urban development.[76] While cemeteries belonging to white, or affluent communities are also susceptible to being built over or forgotten, evidence suggests that the issue is more acute with marginalised groups.[77]

The Cemetery Case Studies

This thesis makes use of three case studies of forgotten colonial-era cemeteries in Gqeberha to argue that the selective nature of state-authorised public memory and heritage contributes to the erasure of burial spaces belonging to politically marginalised communities. The city of Gqeberha, formerly known as Port Elizabeth, is situated in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. A number of white settler farms were scattered across the landscape during the late eighteenth

---

[73] Wright, 'Reading the Cemetery, 38.
[74] Louise Green and Noëleen Murray, 'Notes for a Guide to the Ossuary', *African Studies* 68, no. 3 (2009): 372.
[75] Francaviglia, "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape", 506.
[76] Lynn Rainville, 'Protecting Our Shared Heritage in African American Cemeteries', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2009): 197.
[77] 60 Minutes, "Uncovering Black Cemeteries Paved Over in Florida | 60 Minutes," November 28, 2022, YouTube Video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sT9TaQcWcFs.

century,[78] while archaeological evidence suggests that the original inhabitants of Gqeberha- San hunter-foragers, and Khoi pastoralists- occupied the area near the coastline as far back as the Later Stone Age (approximately ten thousand years ago).[79] The first 'official' white settlement in Gqeberha was Fort Frederick, a British military garrison established in 1799 in order to monitor French movements along the coast.[80] The military settlement expanded over the next decade, and was informally designated as a town in 1815. With the arrival of the 1820 Settlers, the small settlement received the name 'Port Elizabeth' by Sir Rufane Donkin in honour of his late wife, Elizabeth.[81]

The first cemetery to be established in the city was established by the military garrison, but with the arrival of British settlers, it was transferred to *St Mary's Collegiate Church* and designated for civilian use.[82] Adjacent to St Mary's Cemetery, a separate burial ground was established in 1855 for the growing Muslim Cape Malay community.[83] It has also been suggested that a pauper cemetery was established nearby, and subsequently built over by the Tramways Building.[84] Over time, a number of cemeteries emerged in the city, but the three cemeteries analysed in this thesis have largely been forgotten. The first case study is the London Missionary Society's (LMS) Union Congregational Burial Ground. This burial ground forms part of what is today known as Russell Road Cemetery in Richmond Hill, Gqeberha. The Union Burial Ground was originally established in 1838 for the burial of the LMS's Khoi congregation residing in the developing town of Port Elizabeth. This cemetery is historically significant, not only as the first black burial ground in Gqeberha, but also as the first multi-

[78] Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days*, 1.
[79] Christopher, 'Race and Residence in Colonial Port Elizabeth', 5. The absence of in-depth archaeological studies of the urban area has left much of this history undocumented.
[80] 'A Phase 1 Archaeological Impact Assessment: South African Police Services (SAPS) 10111 Call Centre, Erven 530 AND 4162, Central Hill, Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape Province', 2009, 6.
[81] The name 'Port Elizabeth' is sometimes erroneously attributed to the British Queen Elizabeth II.
[82] Christopher, 'Segregation and Cemeteries in Port Elizabeth', 40.
[83] Usman Siyab, *Reading Ancient Tombstones: Tracing the Cape Malayu Heritage in South Africa and Its Link with Indonesia* (Cape Town: The Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Cape Town, 2014), 42.
[84] *The Herald* 31/07/2008 'Permit row over Tramways building',

ethnic/multi-racial burial space. The Union Burial Ground was closed by the Town Council in 1897 due to fears of infectious disease. Over time, the cemetery was neglected, and the wooden crosses belonging to the 'poorer' black congregants from the church disappeared. This resulted in only burial markers belonging to the white residents who could afford them remaining, perpetuating the myth that only European communities were present, and contributed to the city's history and development. This lack of material evidence of the Khoi, and other non-white presence in the cemetery, in addition to the taken-for-granted practices of racial segregation in burial spaces, has led to the representation of Russell Road Cemetery as an 1820s 'Settler Cemetery'. This specific designation is based on nostalgia for the colonial past, and effectively serves as a "monument to the colonial era" through the material link the graves of the 'original settlers' provides.[85] The representation of this cemetery as a Settler Cemetery in public memory effectively erases the presence of the Khoi community and their significant contribution to the city's history from both the physical and the heritage landscape[86]. The missingness of the graves of the original Khoi community and their commemoration also symbolises their marginal status during that period of time. In the present, their ongoing missingness represents their marginal status in society, unless they can be appropriated into the dominant narratives of state public memory and heritage.

The second case study is the Old Gaol and Pauper Cemetery in North End. Established around 1855 as a burial space for paupers, and people from the adjacent prison, its use evolved over time to include other marginalised residents of the city such as sex workers. The Pauper cemetery was closed in 1885 and subsequently built over by a power station in 1905. The power

[85] Christopher, 'Segregation and Cemeteries', 45.

[86] As will be explored in Chapter 2 in the subsection 'Skeletons of Empire – The Collection of Indigenous Skeletons for Display' from pages 77 to 88, the Khoi do appear in public memory and heritage discourse when they can serve the dominant narrative. The example of Sara Baartman is used to show how the repatriation and ceremonial reburial of her remains served the state goals of nation-building, a collective identity of shared suffering, and the restoration of dignity, but once the spectacle of political reburial was passed, and she was no longer useful, her grave fell into disrepair, and is no longer accessible to the public.

station would be replaced with municipal buildings, which remain in use today. The status of the land as a former burial ground for 'outcast' communities in the colonial period has been forgotten, and these people erased from the memory of the city, reflecting the value the Town Council placed on development over the remains of these communities, and attempts to sanitise the past. The missingness of this cemetery represents the priority of urban development over respect for the dead during that period of time, and the disregard for the remains of the marginalised. Its missingness in the present is indicative of the perpetuation of the sanitisation of history, and the current emphasis of local heritage bodies on struggle history, and the nostalgic Settler past.

The third case study differs from the other two in that there have been attempts to commemorate this cemetery, however, none have thus far been successful. The Old African Burial Ground in Richmond Hill, Gqeberha was established as early as 1845 to bury members of the Mfengu community who had settled on the town commons on the periphery of the city. Over time, the community grew to include a number of different cultures, however, in the sparse discourse that does exist over this burial ground, it is remembered solely as the 'Mfengu Cemetery'. The cemetery was closed by the Town Council in 1881, and subsequently converted into a public park as the neighbourhood became a white, suburban residential area. The old burial ground remains in use as a public park today. Residents of the black residential location that the cemetery served were forcibly removed in 1903 to New Brighton, the 'native reserve' created outside of the city. The cemetery is the only remaining site of memory of the diverse thriving multi-cultural community that resided there in the 1800s. Its removal from the landscape during the colonial period represents the lack of value this community held to the state, and its missingness in the present despite community appeals for commemoration are

representative of conflicts between the various levels of state heritage bodies, and the perceived inability to make this site appropriately ‘useful’ in the present.

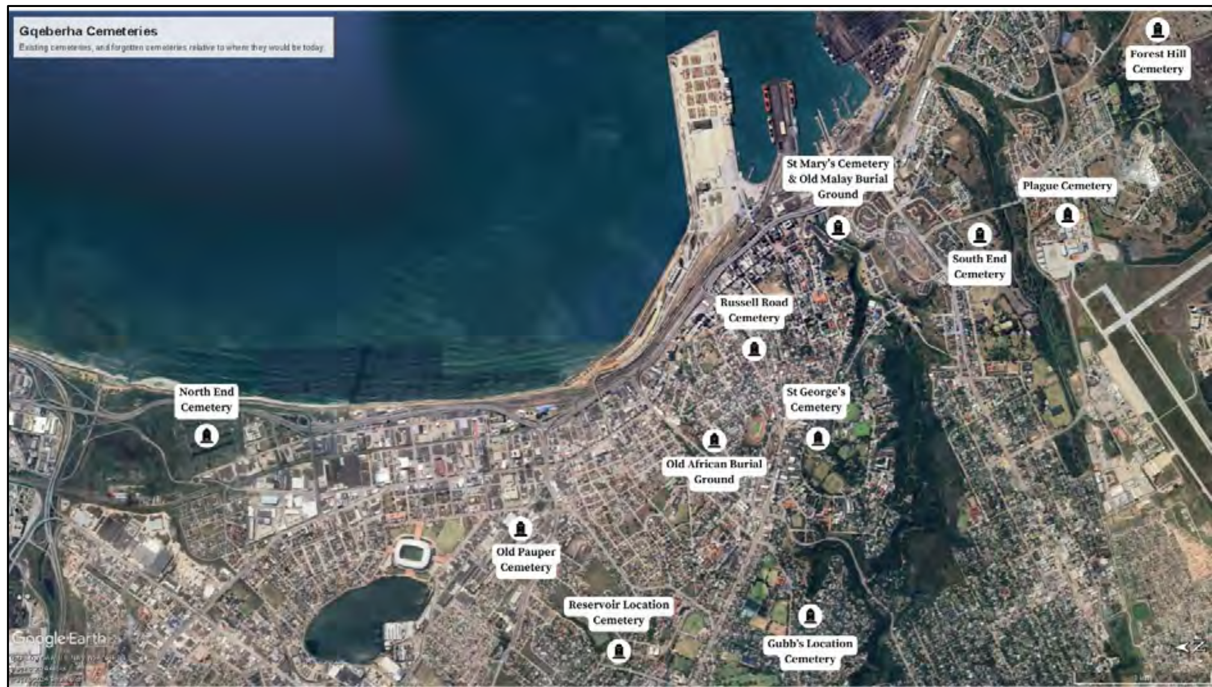


Figure 1 Map of present-day Gqeberha showing cemeteries (including ‘forgotten’ cemeteries) relative to their locations. Made using Google Earth, 2025.

Research Questions

State-authorised public memory and heritage in the post-apartheid period is legislated at the national level. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, the sites chosen for commemoration at the national level differ from those at the provincial, or local/municipal level. However, all levels are informed by the priorities outlined in legislation enacted by the state.[87] Even in cases where politically relevant memorials are conceived of privately or communally, the state often appropriates these projects as their own through providing the resources to establish or declare them as heritage sites.[88] Although the case studies in this thesis fall under the local/provincial heritage, they are subject to the same values and agendas at the national level. Accepting the

[87] Marschall, ‘Commemorating “Struggle Heroes”: Constructing a Genealogy for the New South Africa’, 181.
[88] *Ibid*., 181.

selective nature of public memory and heritage practices in South Africa, this thesis is guided by three main questions:

1. How did the colonial government create the missingness of these cemeteries?
2. How has public memory and heritage in South Africa made use of the dead, their graves, or cemeteries in the colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid periods?
3. How does state-authorised public memory in the post-apartheid period reproduce the missingness of gravesites or cemeteries that do not conform to official narratives of public memory and heritage?

Question 1 engages with how these three chosen cemeteries from the colonial period were made missing from the physical landscape, and public memory and heritage. This will be explored in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, with each chapter relating to a particular case study. Chapter 3 will focus on the LMS Union Congregational Burial Ground; Chapter 4 on the Old Gaol and Pauper Cemetery; and Chapter 5 on the Old African Burial Ground. The colonial regime made these cemeteries missing first by closure of the spaces themselves, and later through the erasure of two from the landscape, the Pauper Cemetery and the African Burial Ground, by flattening the terrain and removing physical evidence of graves, creating the illusion that no burial space had existed there; and the Union Burial Ground through neglect of the cemetery whereby the grave markers of black and indigenous people were destroyed, leaving no memory of the people buried there.

Question 2 will be discussed in Chapter 2 and relates to how human remains, graves, and cemeteries have been appropriated into public memory and heritage in the colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid periods. During the early colonial period in South Africa, few

resources went towards the construction of public memory, however, with the post-South African War period, the British constructed a particular memory of triumph over the formerly independent Afrikaner republics that sanitised the violence, destruction, and death. Certain war graves, such as those from the First World War and the Frontier Wars were also commemorated in an attempt to create a foundational memory of greatness and triumph over the landscape. During the apartheid period, the concentration camp cemeteries figure again in public memory, but this time to further an Afrikaner nationalist narrative of suffering and victimhood that justified their position of power (and oppression of others). Certain battles are also appropriated to provide legitimacy of their authority as divinely ordained, such as the 1838 Battle of Blood River. The post-apartheid period has been thoroughly investigated by scholars from the UWC's Forensic History Project who found that there was an emphasis on the commemoration of graves of victims of apartheid political violence such as those who died during mass protests, as well as the political exhumation and reburial of remains belonging to 'struggle heroes' in specially designated graves or cemeteries. In addition, the repatriation and reburial of 'skeletons of empire'- the remains of Indigenous people whose bodies had been stolen from their graves for the purpose of colonial racial science- has been co-opted into public memory as a symbol of the overcoming of the violence of colonialism, as well as the restoration of dignity.

Question 3 engages with how these remains, graves and cemeteries that have been co-opted by the state into the officially authorised narrative of public memory reproduce the missingness of people and spaces that do not serve the dominant understanding of the past. This will be discussed in respect to each case study in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, and engages with the concept of missingness to show how by virtue of these remains, graves and cemeteries not serving the official narrative, they are rendered missing or forgotten from memory.

Theoretical Framework

The framework for this research draws on critical heritage studies, and the theory of 'missingness' adapted from political theorist Jenny Edkins, as lenses through which to engage with the research questions of this thesis. These concepts both explore the relationship between power and the process of who is remembered/forgotten in society and are thus useful to the analysis of these forgotten cemeteries. Critical Heritage Studies (CHS) is considered a response to authorised heritage discourse, and poses 'critical' questions such as how history becomes appropriated into public memory and heritage, the politics surrounding commemoration and how this may align with commercial and political goals, and how marginalised communities resist official, state-authorised heritage.[89] CHS examines the implications that arise from the erasure or neglect of heritage and memory of communities that are marginalised or do not have the power to make their histories legible in society. This way of thinking about memory, heritage, power, and representation provides a structured lens through which to read and engage with cemeteries that have been forgotten.

The theory of 'missingness' as conceptualised by the political theorist Jenny Edkins explores the absence or omission of certain elements from political discourse, memory, or representation, particularly in the context of dominant narratives of politics and history.[90] Edkins argues that these absences, or 'missingness' is often the result of deliberate acts of forgetting, marginalisation, or suppression. 'Missingness' can thus be seen as a process by which people become absent (missing) from a particular discourse of history. Edkin's work encourages critical reflection on whose experiences are included or excluded from these dominant discourses. This concept is especially relevant in the South African context, where

[89] Leslie Witz, 'Museums, Histories and the Dilemmas of Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *University of Michigan: Working Papers in Museum Studies* 3 (2010): 5.
[90] Jenny Edkins, *Missing: Persons and Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

the selective commemoration of ‘struggle heroes’ often overshadows individuals that may not serve the constructed narrative of the past. This can be seen in research such as the University of the Western Cape’s (UWC) *Forensic History Project* which was informed by Edkin’s concept of ‘missingness’, and examines apartheid-era political disappearances and how the dead are selectively remembered by the state.[91] The project was contextualised within work done by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and Missing Persons Task Team (MPTT), and engaged with how human remains feature in post-apartheid South Africa, and what it means to be ‘politically missing’.[92] Riedwaan Moosage explains that by drawing the dead into larger memory or myths through selective commemoration, it suggests that to those authorising these narratives, that people are valued not for who they are, but for the purpose they serve.[93] Robin-Lea Karating writes that these people “lose their significance as they cannot be commemorated beyond their service to the nation”, which perpetuates the same social and political ‘missingness’ these communities faced during the apartheid period.[94]

The theory of ‘missingness’ is adapted for the use in this thesis as it aligns with the broader discourse surrounding the dead and the selective nature of public commemoration. For the cemeteries being explored in this thesis, their exclusion from memory, first through the racially aligned colonial and apartheid-era policies, and at present, through post-apartheid heritage practices, renders the individuals buried in these cemeteries ‘missing’ from memory. The black and marginalised communities that these cemeteries served, long since removed from the urban landscape of the Gqeberha city centre, no longer feature in the early history of the city, rendering them politically and socially ‘missing’, reflecting the broader patterns of

[91] Riedwaan Moosage, ‘Missing-Ness, History and Apartheid-Era Disappearances: The Figuring of Siphiwo Mthimkulu, Tobekile “Topsy” Madaka and Sizwe Kondile as Missing Dead Persons’ (PhD Thesis, Cape Town, University of the Western Cape, 2018), 34.
[92] University of the Western Cape. ‘Forensic History’. Department of History Projects. Accessed 24 June 2023. https://www.uwc.ac.za/study/all-areas-of-study/departments/department-of-history/projects
[93] Riedwaan Moosage, ‘Missing-Ness, History and Apartheid-Era Disappearances’, 34.
[94] Robin-lea Karating, ‘Exhumations, Reburials and History-Making in Post-Apartheid South Africa’’ (Master’s Thesis, Cape Town, University of the Western Cape, 2018), 20.

racial and political exclusion of the colonial and apartheid periods, serving also as a reflection of the priorities of the post-apartheid state.

These frameworks are useful because CHS examines how communities that lack the power to shape official memory are often erased, neglected, or marginalised in heritage practices. This perspective is crucial for understanding how cemeteries and the individuals buried within them become excluded from public memory. The concept of 'missingness' in this thesis applies to forgotten cemeteries, particularly those serving the formerly marginalised and black communities in the city, showing how the individuals buried there are rendered invisible by not aligning with the political priorities of the present. This exclusion from public memory and heritage has implications for those whose histories have been erased, as being represented in public memory shapes not only how communities view themselves, but also how they are perceived by society. Public memory shapes how a society remembers its past and, in turn, influences present-day identities and power dynamics. When the history of a community is excluded in the post-apartheid period, it perpetuates their past erasure, reinforcing social hierarchies, and silencing contesting voices that may challenge the exclusion of dominant narratives. Thus, inserting these forgotten cemeteries into public memory challenges the politics of exclusion and potentially redresses this erasure.

Historiography

This thesis draws on and contributes to the historiography of the city of Gqeberha in the Eastern Cape, Public Memory/Heritage, and Death Studies.

Gqeberha, Eastern Cape

The case studies selected for this thesis are geographically situated in the city of Gqeberha in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. The city is historically significant, not only as the second oldest city in the country after Cape Town, but also as the first place that Xhosa people

encountered European settlers. The majority of the city's historiography centres on urban residential segregation- specifically work done by historians Gary Baines and Joyce Kirk, and cultural geographer A.J. Christopher.[95] The other focus is on labour and economics in the city.[96] This thesis draws on the scholarship of Baines, Christopher, and Kirk for the history of Gqeberha, and the political context of the establishment of African residential areas in the 1800s. This is crucial to this thesis, as the cemetery case studies being examined were all associated with early black communities in the city during the colonial period. Baines' work has been particularly useful for challenging the notion that black residential location closures in the city were motivated purely by public health concerns as he argues that land value and commercial development were major driving forces for the removal of locations from the urban city space. This adds a layer of complexity to the motivation for the closure of the residential locations in the city centre, and the forced removals that occurred in the Strangers' Location in 1903 which were justified by the Town Council as a public health concern.[97]

[95] A.J. Christopher, 'Race and Residence in Colonial Port Elizabeth', *South African Geographical Journal* 69, no. 1 (1987): 3–20; A.J. Christopher, 'Formal Segregation and Population Distribution in Port Elizabeth', *Contree* 24 (1988); Gary Baines, 'The Control and Administration of Port Elizabeth's African Population c. 1834-1923', *Contree*, 1989; Gary Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation: Local Government and the Residence of Africans in Port Elizabeth, c.1835–1865', *South African Historical Journal* 22, no. 1 (1990): 61–81; Joyce F. Kirk, 'A "Native" Free State at Korsten: Challenge to Segregation in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, 1901-1905', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 17, no. 2 (1991): 309–36; Joyce F. Kirk, 'Race, Class, Liberalism, and Segregation: The 1883 Native Strangers' Location Bill in Port Elizabeth, South Africa', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 24, no. 2 (1991): 293–321; Andrê Appel, 'Housing in Late 19th and Early 20th Century Port Elizabeth', *New Contree* 37 (1995): 11; Joyce F. Kirk, *Making a Voice: African Resistance to Segregation in South Africa*, African Modernization and Development Series (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 2000); Gary Baines, 'A Progressive South African City?: Port Elizabeth and Influx Control, ca. 1923-1953', *Journal of Urban History* 31, no. 1 (2004): 75–100;

[96] L. Beavon, 'Factors Affecting the Growth and Form of Port Elizabeth, 1820-1863: A Study in Historical Urban Geography', in *Focus on Cities*, ed. H.L. Watts, Proceedings of a Conference Held in July 1968 at the University of Natal, Durban (Durban: University of Natal Institute for Social Research, 1970); Andre Appel, 'Port Elizabeth, c.1855–1875: Enkele Sosio-Ekonomiese Aspekte', *South African Historical Journal* 16, no. 1 (1984): 101–17; E.J. Inggs, 'Mfengu Beach Labour and Port Elizabeth Harbour Development', *Contree* 21 (1987); André Appel, 'Demografiese En Sosiale Tendense in Vroeg Industriële Port Elizabeth, ca. 1870–1914', *South African Historical Journal* 23, no. 1 (1990): 74–99; André Appel, 'Exploring Some Aspects of Labour and Labourers in Port Elizabeth 1870–1914', *South African Journal of Economic History* 6, no. 2 (1991): 1–17;

[97] In 1998, Baines published his 'Port Elizabeth History: A Select Annotated Bibliography' which provides an in-depth overview of all works, both published and unpublished, primary and secondary, relating to the history of Gqeberha until 1998. This source is invaluable for any historian working on the history of Gqeberha, as there is a lack of a critical, scholarly body of work. This work provided the initial foundation of literature search for the history of the city.

Kirk's work 'A "Native" Free State at Korsten: Challenge to Segregation in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, 1901-1905' (1991), 'Race, Class, Liberalism, and Segregation: The 1883 Native Strangers' Location Bill in Port Elizabeth, South Africa' (1991) and *Making a Voice: African Resistance to Segregation in South Africa* (2000) demonstrates the Town Council's changing attitudes towards black and marginal communities in the city, particularly towards residents of Strangers' Location. These attitudes carried over to the individuals buried in these communities' cemeteries and shaped public perceptions and sentiments of these spaces. Kirk also demonstrates that African residents of the municipal locations resisted the attempts at removal by the Council. She argues that the Cape liberal tradition and the existence of a black Christian middle class with property and voting rights led to political organisation in Gqeberha. This challenges the perception that black residents were passive victims during the colonial period, which contributes to the discussion on Chapter 5's case study on the Strangers' Location burial ground.

The motivation for this project came from cultural geographer A. J. Christopher's 'Segregation and Cemeteries in Port Elizabeth, South Africa' (1995) which outlines the scarcity of scholarly work on the deathscapes (mortuary landscapes) of Gqeberha.[98] Christopher writes that "cemeteries occupy significant areas in many cities and closely reflect the historical experience of the population".[99] This reinforces the notion of cemeteries as a symbolic microcosm of the living's realities. Christopher argues that racial segregation was practiced in burial grounds before the institutionalisation of residential segregation during apartheid, demonstrating that these patterns of racial division associated with the apartheid period were already present in the colonial city.[100] This thesis draws on Christopher's work for context of the political and social issues surrounding burial grounds in the city during the colonial period.

[98] Christopher, 'Segregation and Cemeteries', 38–46.
[99] *Ibid*., 38.
[100] *Ibid*., 38.

However, this thesis also challenges Christopher's understanding of colonial cemeteries in the city as inherently racially segregated, as the case studies in this thesis, were discovered to be multi-cultural/multi-racial in reality (after extensive primary source work). This adds nuance to the assertion that all cemeteries in colonial Gqeberha were racially separate. The proposal for this thesis drew on Christopher's understanding of the case studies as belonging solely to 'black' communities, which is where the title of this thesis 'Gone and Forgotten: Missing *Black* Cemeteries in Port Elizabeth' comes from.

Public Memory/Heritage

Recent work dealing specifically with public memory and heritage in Gqeberha is Naomi Roux's *Remaking the Urban: Heritage and Transformation in Nelson Mandela Bay* (2021).[101] Roux's work engages with the complex nature of memory, heritage, and urban development in the post-apartheid period. This thesis draws on Roux's work to understand the issues surrounding land, development, heritage, and resistance histories in Gqeberha, and the competing interests of modernisation and historical preservation. This work is relevant to the thesis as in Chapter 5 the discussion on the Strangers' Location cemetery in the present centres around these competing interests.

In Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley, and Ciraj Rassool's, *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts* (2017), they argue that there are a variety of 'historical genres' and 'producers of history' outside of academic History, and there needs to be an engagement with these other forms of historical knowledge that does not sustain the "assumed hierarchies of historical knowledge".[102]. This text has been immensely helpful in providing the contextual

[101] Naomi Roux, *Remaking the Urban: Heritage and Transformation in Nelson Mandela Bay* (Manchester: Manchester University press, 2021).
[102] Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley, and Ciraj Rassool, *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts*, African Perspectives (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 6-7.

understanding of recent debates surrounding the politics of public memory in post-apartheid South Africa.

For public memory and heritage projects surrounding the dead, graves, and cemeteries in the post-apartheid period, this works draws substantially on the work of Sabine Marschall. Marschall's work centres on South Africa's efforts to reclaim and reinterpret sites of memory after the end of apartheid. A key text is her article, 'Pointing to the Dead: Victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa' (2008), in which Marschall engages with commemoration of the dead as inherently political.[103] She argues that the post-apartheid period has seen the rise in monuments dedicated to victims and 'martyrs' of apartheid. and how these sites are used to emphasise themes of sacrifice, heroism, and the moral righteousness of the resistance movement.[104] She highlights the contentious nature of public memory, as different communities may have conflicting ideas on who should be remembered, drawing on the conflict between the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in their post-apartheid commemoration of their respective fallen cadres.[105] Marschall, in conclusion, argues that the selective nature of memory, and the privileging of certain narratives can lead to the exclusion of others' experiences, potentially exacerbating existing divisions in society.[106] For this thesis, Marschall's article provides the conceptual understanding of the political nature of commemoration of the dead in the post-apartheid period, and how memory is sometimes contested, even at national levels.

Death Studies

Death Studies is an interdisciplinary field drawing on History, Law, Anthropology, Psychology, and End-of-Life Studies that examines the social, cultural, psychological, and

[103] Marschall, 'Pointing to the Dead', 103.
[104] *Ibid*., 103.
[105] *Ibid*., 104.
[106] *Ibid*., 104.

philosophical aspects of death, and dying. It explores how societies process, deal with, manage, and commemorate death. Death Studies is useful to this thesis, as the selective remembrance of certain cemeteries or dead people can reinforce social hierarchies and perpetuate historical injustices. This thesis draws on, and contributes to the discussions on power, representation, and memory in Death Studies, particularly as it relates to formerly marginalised communities.

Globally, there has been a growing body of scholarly work on cemeteries, particularly in the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Britain, and the former Soviet Union.[107] A key text this thesis engages with is Katherine Verdery's *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (1999).[108] Verdery's work centres on political burials and reburials in Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union after the collapse of the Communist Party rule in 1989.[109] She is concerned with the question of "how and why the bones and corpses of [particular] dead people had become political symbols".[110] She argues that a dead body is useful to political processes as they cannot 'speak' for themselves, allowing

---

[107] Francaviglia, 'The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape'; Deborah Elaine Wiggins, 'The Burial Acts: Cemetery Reform in Great Britain, 1815-1914' (PhD Thesis, United States of America, Texas Tech University, 1991); Jeffrey P. Brown, 'The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History: Sloane, David Charles: Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press', *History: Reviews of New Books* 20, no. 4 (1992); Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*, The Harriman Lectures (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Lily Kong, 'Cemetaries and Columbaria, Memorials and Mausoleums: Narrative and Interpretation in the Study of Deathscapes in Geography', *Australian Geographical Studies* 37, no. 1 (1999): 1–10; Julie Rugg, 'Defining the Place of Burial: What Makes a Cemetery a Cemetery?', *Mortality* 5, no. 3 (2000); Leif Arffmann, 'Whose Cemetery?', *Mortality* 5, no. 2 (2000): 125–26; Elizabeth Buettner, 'Cemeteries, Public Memory and Raj Nostalgia in Postcolonial Britain and India', *History & Memory* 18, no. 1 (2006): 5–42; Tamara Venit Shelton, 'Unmaking Historic Spaces: Urban Progress and the San Francisco Cemetery Debate, 1895-1937', *California History* 85, no. 3 (2008): 26–70; Peter Thorsheim, 'The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century London', *Environmental History* 16, no. 1 (2011): 38–68; Lynn Rainville, *Hidden History: African American Cemeteries in Central Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014); McElya, Micki. *The Politics of Mourning: Death and Honor in Arlington National Cemetery*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2016; Leyla Vural, 'Potter's Field as Heterotopia: Death and Mourning at New York City's Edge', *Oral History* 47, no. 2 (2019): 106–16; Julie Rugg, 'Nineteenth-Century Burial Reform in England: A Reappraisal', *Histoire, Médecine et Santé*, no. 16 (2021): 79–95; Olivia Ladner, 'Problematic Advocacy and Victorian Public Health in Gatherings From Graveyards by Dr. George A. Walker' (Honours Thesis, Long Beach, University of Southern Mississippi, 2022); Carol S. Lilly, *Death and Burial in Socialist Yugoslavia: The Politicization of Cemeteries and Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2024).

[108] Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, xii.

[109] *Ibid*., xii.

[110] *Ibid*., xii.

different meanings and interpretations to be ascribed to them.[111] Verdery writes that "dead-body manipulations" is not a new phenomenon, and can be traced back to Ancient Greece with the competition between Athens and Thebes on where Oedipus would be buried, which, according to a prophecy, would make the winner a 'great city-state'.[112] In medieval Europe, *furta sacra* [holy theft] of Saint's relics (bones, or fragments of the body) was a common phenomenon whereby churches would steal remains of saints from each other to mark and legitimise their sites as 'holy'.[113] In addition, 'cultural saints' such as the corpses of Napoleon Bonaparte and Jean-Jacques Rousseau were reburied to mark political change in a society, which Verdery draws parallels with post-apartheid South Africa's reburial of national 'struggle heroes', and Guatemala's reburials of *desaparecidos* [disappeared] as part of 'democratising politics'.[114] Verdery distinguishes between two categories of the dead: the "named and famous dead", and the "anonymous or nameless dead".[115] She further categorises the 'named and famous' as statues- "dead people cast in bronze or carved in stone… that symbolise a specific famous person while in a sense also *being* the body of that person [emphasis original]"[116] "famous people returned from abroad", and "famous locals being reburied".[117]

Garrey Michael Dennie's PhD thesis, 'The Cultural Politics of Burial in South Africa, 1884-1990' (1997) was useful to this thesis for the contextual understanding of how funerals and burials during the apartheid period became sites of political suppression and resistance, thus shaping the political nature of commemoration of the dead in the post-apartheid period.[118] Although not dealing directly with cemeteries, Dennie's work shows how funerals as a form

[111] Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, 28.
[112] *Ibid*., 1.
[113] *Ibid*., 1.
[114] *Ibid*., 2.
[115] *Ibid*., 4.
[116] *Ibid*., 5.
[117] *Ibid*., 4.
[118] Garrey Michael Dennie, 'The Cultural Politics of Burial in South Africa, 1884-1990' (PhD, Baltimore, Maryland, Johns Hopkins University, 1997).

of political protest during the later apartheid period has influenced the political reburial of members of liberation groups who died during apartheid, as 'struggle heroes' in the post-apartheid present. Dennie's other work, '"Sacred Places, Racial Homilies": The Genesis of the Segregated Cemetery in Johannesburg, 1886-1909' (2010) explores the origins of racial segregation in cemeteries in Johannesburg during the colonial period, and argues that this provided the foundation for apartheid later in the 20th century.[119] This argument mirrors that of Christopher in 'Segregation and Cemeteries in Port Elizabeth, South Africa', and also shows how cemeteries impact public memory by fixing racial divisions into the landscape, and marginalising certain burial spaces.

Methodology

There is a notable lack of primary sources relating to historic cemeteries and burial records in Gqeberha. Christopher, the only published scholarly work on Gqeberha's colonial cemeteries, writes that there has been a "widespread destruction of written records", which, along with the erasure of old cemeteries from the landscape, has made studying the city's cemeteries a challenge.[120] The lack of cemetery and burial records have been attributed to a fire in 1913 that destroyed a large number of these records.[121] In lieu of municipal records, newspaper archives from the *Eastern Province Herald* (1845-1922), the *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* (1881-1897), and the *Cape Daily Telegraph* (replacing the *Port Elizabeth Telegraph*, 1898-1908) were consulted as they provide relevant information in letters to the editor, public opinion pieces, and minutes from Town Council meetings. There is a limitation to what can be learned from

[119] Garrey Dennie, '"Sacred Places, Racial Homilies" The Genesis of the Segregated Cemetery in Johannesburg, 1886-1909', *Lagos Historical Review* 10 (2010): 28–49.
[120] Christopher, 'Segregation and Cemeteries', 43. An understatement if there ever was one.
[121] Genealogical Society of South Africa, *Index of Monumental Inscriptions: Old South End Cemetery, Port Elizabeth* (Port Elizabeth: Genealogical Society of Port Elizabeth, 1988), 1.

these sources, however, as the authors and audience of these newspapers were predominantly white, the themes of these articles are biased towards their interests.

Additional sources were consulted, such as Genealogical Society of South Africa's (GSSA) publications on the inscriptions of different gravestones from some of the city cemeteries, however these relied on surviving burial architecture, and readability of inscriptions. One source from the GSSA has proved useful, albeit based on the limited information available at the time of writing: *Monumental Inscriptions, Coastal Cemeteries: Nanaga to Kareedouw* (1999) provides a brief introduction to the three cemetery case studies used in this thesis, as well as a number of other smaller, lesser-known cemeteries.[122] Sources such as maps, land grants, and council letters from the Africana Archive at Port Elizabeth Main Library were analysed and interpreted to determine how these three cemeteries were made missing from the physical landscape through destruction, redevelopment and reuse of the land, as well as omission from the grounds former use from later maps. This is in line with historian Jo Guldi's assertion in *Research Methods for History* (2012) that maps have historically been used as a form of social engineering, showing how spatial stories are represented through inclusion and omission from maps.[123] A major source this thesis draws on for the official representation of African residential locations and black burial grounds during the colonial period is J.J. Redgrave's 1947 book, *Port Elizabeth in Bygone* Days.[124] The book was intended as the first 'authoritative' history of the city, but in reality, served more as a form of nostalgic reflection by Redgrave on Port Elizabeth's early days as a British 1820 settlement. Redgrave's work is useful, however, as a reflection of the values of its time, showing how the author's

[122] Genealogical Society of South Africa. East Cape Branch, *Monumental Inscriptions, Coastal Cemeteries: Nanaga to Kareedouw* (Port Elizabeth: Genealogical Society of South Africa, 1999).
[123] Guldi, 'Landscape and Place', 93.
[124] Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days*.

perspective was shaped by his colonial mindset, and the selective nature of public memory in narratives of the past.

Chapter 2 - Public Memory and Cemeteries in the Colonial, Apartheid and Post-Apartheid Periods, 1652 – Present

In the heart of Tshwane stands the imposing granite structure of the *Voortrekker* Monument.[125] Built to commemorate the white Afrikaans people who left the Cape for the South African interior during the Great Trek (1835-1854), the monument tells their story in the 'Hall of Heroes', and honours those who died through a symbolic tomb referred to as 'the Cenotaph'.[126] This monument epitomises how the memory of the dead has been appropriated into public memory for political purposes throughout South Africa's history. Initially a symbol of Afrikaner nationalism during apartheid, today it stands as a controversial site reflecting the complexities of public memory and heritage. This chapter explores the role of heritage legislation as a key mechanism through which the state codifies and authorises constructed narratives of the past. Throughout the colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid periods, state-driven heritage practices have revealed a consistent pattern: the prioritisation of narratives that serve political objectives over those that challenge dominant power structures. By framing cemeteries as microcosms of societal values, this chapter demonstrates how their neglect, or commemoration reflects broader socio-political dynamics. The chapter also highlights how individual practitioners within state heritage agencies influence these processes. Their decisions- shaped by personal biases, values, state policies, and institutional priorities- determine which narratives are preserved, and which are silenced. This underscores the deeply political nature of public memory and heritage in South Africa.

[125] Formerly known as Pretoria.

[126] A cenotaph is a monument erected to honour a person/people who are buried somewhere else, or whose remains are missing. The word 'cenotaph' comes from the Greek *kenotaphion*, where 'kenos' means 'empty', and 'taphos' means 'tomb'. They monuments are predominantly established as a focus for public mourning, and remembrance, particularly in the context of military or national history.

A common thread throughout South Africa's past is the emphasis placed on memorialising the war dead and those who died in the various conflicts across South Africa's history, particularly in serving nationalist objectives.[127] During the colonial period, public memory was primarily concerned with legitimising British authority. Cemeteries and memorials commemorated white settlers, glorified British conquest, and erased the presence and historical significance of black and other marginalised communities. These cemeteries and memorials differed from "ordinary" cemeteries in that they included materials such as plaques, signs, or epitaphs that frame the deaths in such a way as to be interpreted by the public in certain moral, historical, or political terms. These sites often memorialise groups of people conceptualised as "suffering together," and serves as a symbolic representation of a shared past. These cemeteries/memorials are also more likely to be mobilised in nationalist, or political narratives.

The colonial state's selective memory practices laid the foundation for the missingness of black cemeteries, both physically and symbolically.[128] Under the National Party (NP) in the apartheid period, public memory became driven by ideology with the institutionalisation of Afrikaner nationalism. Cemeteries and memorials surrounding the Great Trek (1835-1854), and the South African War (1899-1902) were appropriated by the state to construct and inculcate a narrative of Afrikaner suffering and martyrdom feeding into the idea of Afrikaners as 'God's Chosen People'. This served to further the ideology of the racial superiority of white Afrikaners. This emphasis on sites of Afrikaner suffering further erased the presence and contributions of black communities from public commemoration. The post-apartheid state sought to redefine public memory to reflect the country's diverse histories, aiming for reconciliation and nation-building. The introduction of the *National Heritage Resources Act*

[127] Susan-Mary Grant, 'Raising the Dead: War, Memory and American National Identity', *Nations and Nationalism* 11, no. 4 (2005): 509.
[128] Sabine Marschall, *Landscape of Memory. Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South-Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 21; Simone Kerseboom, 'Grandmother-Martyr-Heroine: Placing Sara Baartman in South African Post-Apartheid Foundational Mythology', *Historia* 56, no. 1 (2011): 67.

(1999) was intended to foster a more inclusive memory landscape and include previously marginalised voices. However, as seen in political reburial initiatives after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), commemoration remained selective, and centre on high-profile 'struggle heroes', leaving many others missing from the landscape of public memory and heritage.

A major issue in the post-apartheid period was that in order to foster reconciliation and nation-building (and not exacerbate the already fraught tension of South Africa's early democratic period), the diversification of the commemorative landscape was to be achieved not by eradication of former memorials to the past, but through the addition of more 'inclusive' monuments.[129] The tension between eradicating the legacy of apartheid, and maintaining reconciliation is evident in the #RhodesMustFall movement which started at the University of Cape Town in 2015, and surrounded the dismantling of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes. In South Africa (and elsewhere), Rhodes is seen as the "quintessential colonialist".[130] Frank A. Abumere writes that the demand to remove colonial and apartheid era monuments is a representation of what young South Africans truly want: "the eradication of the enduring legacy of colonialism and apartheid as represented by social, economic, and political inequality".[131] However, the state's response to these demands often reinforced existing patterns of selective memory, maintaining a complex and contested commemorative landscape. In the post-apartheid present, public memory and heritage projects have largely served as a form of maintaining power and legitimacy as the inheritors of the 'new nation', which has arose as a

[129] Freschi, Schmahmann, and Van Robbroeck, *Troubling Images,* 4.
[130] Frank A. Abumere, 'Colonial and Apartheid Legacy', in *Monuments and Memory in Africa*, by John Sodiq Sanni and Madalitso Zililo Phiri, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2024), 127.
[131] Abumere, 'Colonial and Apartheid Legacy'. 127.

result of the nation's loss of confidence in the ANC government owing to mismanagement, unemployment, rising poverty, service delivery failure, and corruption at the state level.[132]

How Does the State Authorise What We Remember? The History of Heritage Legislation in South Africa

Official heritage legislation and bodies have functioned as tools for codifying and institutionalising the selective commemoration of certain sites, events, and individuals whilst excluding others. The majority of public memory and heritage projects are post-memory- meaning they were not commemorated during the time of the events themselves but were instead established long 'after the fact'.[133] For example, monuments related to the South African Dutch East India (VOC) period, such as the Castle of Good Hope and the Company Gardens in present-day Cape Town, were predominantly commemorated during the apartheid period, over three centuries later.[134] The main emphasis of commemoration in this period was on certain works of architecture, specifically Dutch-inspired buildings, which were symbols worth 'preserving'.[135] Burial grounds and graves from this period also became sites of commemoration, primarily from the 1940s onward. For instance, the Peter Woutersen Burial Vault in Green Point, Cape Town which served as a burial space for the Woutersen family from the 1820s was recognised as a historical landmark and proclaimed as a national monument in 1961.[136] Similarly, the La Motte Cemetery in Franschhoek is believed to have been established in 1760 for the early French Huguenot settlers, and received a bronze plaque from the Historical

[132] Daniel M Mlambo, 'The Tragedy of the African National Congress (ANC) and Its Cadre Deployment Policy: Ramifications for Municipal Stability, Corruption and Service Delivery', *PanAfrican Journal of Governance and Development (PJGD,* 4, no. 1 (2023): 14.
[133] Stanley, *Mourning Becomes…*, 4. Post/memory is not necessarily concerned with 'facts' of the past, but rather with the way the past is reinterpreted, reframed, or reworked, sometimes generations later.[133] Post/memory deals with the complexity of inherited memories, and how they may influence identity, and how the past is understood and set to work in the present.
[134] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, 5.
[135] *Ibid*., 5.
[136] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa,* 57.

Monuments Commission (HMC) in 1951.[137] The Huguenot cemetery in Dal Josafat, Paarl received a bronze plaque from the HMC in 1942 for being the final resting place of three of the founding members of the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* [Society of True Afrikaners] and the *Eerste Afrikaanse Taalbeweging* [First Afrikaans Language Movement], Stephanus Jacobus du Toit, Daniël Francois du Toit, and P.J. Malherbe.[138] As will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter, these cemeteries were commemorated in the context of growing Afrikaner nationalism in the mid-20th century.

In the early years of colonial occupation, the majority of English-speaking settlers in what would someday become South Africa identified as British citizens, even if they had never set foot in Britain.[139] This shared identity was reinforced through the commemoration of what was perceived as a 'shared British past' and maintained through the ongoing influx of British settlers. The construction of a collective British memory in South Africa centred on the number of conflicts that the English-speaking people had been involved in, particularly the memory of those who had died in defence of 'Empire'.[140] For example, the arrival of the 1820 British Settlers in the Eastern Cape was partly intended to bolster the Cape Colony's defence against the Xhosa. Between 1834 and 1879, these groups were involved in a series of land wars.[141] Although English casualties in these conflicts were relatively small, the commemoration of these deaths became a significant expression of colonial English memory and identity.[142] These memorials, which commemorated English settlers as the "the defenders of a civilised British order against the savagery of the frontier", served both personal and political purposes.[143]

[137] *Ibid*, 85.
[138] *Ibid*., 91. Piet Retief's sister, Martha is also buried here.
[139] John Lambert, '"Tell England, Ye Who Pass This Monument": English-Speaking South Africans, Memory and War Remembrance until the Eve of the Second World War', *South African Historical Journal* 66, no. 4 (2014): 678.
[140] *Ibid*., 679-680.
[141] *Ibid*., 682.
[142] Lambert, '"Tell England, Ye Who Pass This Monument"', 682.
[143] *Ibid*., 682.

On one hand, they provided spaces for mourning, ensuring that those who died would not be forgotten. On the other, they reinforced a particular version of history be elevating specific groups and events while erasing others. These memorials are often found in churches, battlefields, cemeteries, and schools, where traditional religious imagery symbolises the so-called 'glorious dead'.[144] The most prominent of Eastern Cape settler memorial locations is the Grahamstown Cathedral (the Cathedral of St Michael and St George) in Makhanda, Eastern Cape which houses memorial plaques dedicated to English settlers.[145] In the post-apartheid period, these plaques have been covered as part of the Anglican Church of South Africa's efforts to foster inclusivity and address the exclusions embedded in colonial commemorations.[146]

The South African War, 1899-1902

Official commemoration projects expanded significantly after the South African War (1899-1902) to support nation-building efforts, and create a foundational, collective history and mythology that would unite the middle- and upper-classes of Afrikaans- and English-speaking communities.[147] Stower Kessler notes that "[a]ll nations engage in myth making to explain how they came to be who they are",[148] and such mythmaking often relies on public commemoration to transform, and reconstruct historical events into a specific narrative.[149] The war, which lasted three years, was fought between the former British Empire, and the independent Boer

[144] *Ibid*., 682.
[145] *Ibid*., 682.
[146] SA Venues, 'The Grahamstown Cathedral in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape', *SA-V: South Africa. Explore. Experience. Stay.*, accessed 22 September 2024.
[147] Amanda Esterhuysen, 'Heritage and Politics in South Africa', *The Digging Stick*, Doing Heritage in South Africa: Doubts and Dilemmas, 30, no. 2 (2013): 3; The war is referred to by a variety of different names: The Anglo-Boer War; the Second Anglo-Boer War; the Three-Year War; The English War; The Second Freedom War; The Gold War, etc. The 'South African War' became popularised after the 2002 post-apartheid Centenary Commemoration as "it is the most inclusive", as Professor Johan Wassermann writes, including all "the combatants involved" such as the black and African people who were originally excluded from the historical narrative, as well as the "geo-political region covered".
[148] Stowell V. Kessler, 'The Black Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 : Shifting the Paradigm from Sole Martyrdom to Mutual Suffering', *Historia* 44, no. 1 (1999): 110-111.
[149] Martin J. Murray, *Commemorating and Forgetting: Challenges for the New South Africa* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), ix.

Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State over issues of economic control, power, and sovereignty.[150] Historically, the term 'boer' refers to the descendants of Dutch and French Huguenot settlers in the Cape Colony during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who evolved into the modern Afrikaans people.

Derived from the Dutch word for 'peasant farmer', the term described the predominant subsistence practice of these settlers. The independent Boer Republics arose as a result of the *Voortrekkers* [pioneers; pathfinders; early migrants] migration from the Cape Colony in the mid-1800s, as they sought to escape British control, and freely practice their culture and religion.[151] The British Empire, meanwhile, sought control over the mineral-rich areas of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, especially to consolidate their power over the lucrative gold and diamond industries. This pursuit of economic dominance exacerbated already fraught political tensions as the Boer Republics resisted encroachment on their sovereignty. Additionally, both British and Boer settler communities sought to expand their territories, often at the expense of African communities, whose existing borders and claims were disregarded.[152] This conflict led to the British declaring war on the Afrikaner Republics on 11 October, 1899 which ultimately resulted in the deaths of approximately 4,500 Afrikaner men in battle, 29,000 Afrikaner women and children in the concentration camps, and a recorded 14,000 black people in similar camps.[153] Witz, Minkley, and Rassool, however, put this number closer to 20,000.[154]

---

[150] Johan Wassermann, 'Spirituality and the Memorialisation of the Dead of the Durban Concentration Camps during the South African War (1899-1902) – a Micro History', *Pharos Journal of Theology*, no. 102 (1) (2021): 1.

[151] The term 'Boer' may carry negative connotations in post-apartheid South Africa due to the involvement of Afrikaners in the legacies of colonialism and apartheid. The popular anti-apartheid struggle song, *Dubul' ibhunu* sung in either Xhosa or Zulu, translates to a variation of 'kill the Boer', and has led some such as Afrikaner interest group AfriForum to claim the song has led to a prevalence of white farm murders in South Africa. ANC Minister, Gwede Mantashe claims that the song has been misinterpreted, and is meant as resistance against the former NP government, or state police, who were referred to as 'Boers'.

[152] Esterhuysen, 'Heritage and Politics in South Africa', 3.

[153] De Reuck, 'Social Suffering and the Politics of Pain', 79.

[154] Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley, and Ciraj Rassool, 'No End of a [History] Lesson: Preparations for the Anglo-Boer War Centenary Commemoration', 383.

The 'racialised record keeping' practices of British camp administrators, combined with the perception of black people as 'irrelevant' to the postwar peace processes, meant that reliable records of black deaths do not exist.[155] Black suffering was purposefully excluded from official narratives of the war, as its inclusion would have undermined reconciliation efforts between the English and Afrikaner populations due to the racist attitudes of the latter.[156] As such, the existence of black camps and the number of deaths resulting from them, was purposefully excluded from the later construction of memory as it did not serve the necessary political processes in either the colonial, or apartheid periods.[157] Only in the post-apartheid period has the suffering of black people during the South African War been integrated into public memory, often framed within the broader narrative of South Africa's 'liberation struggles'.[158]

Although separate camps were established for black people during the South African War, some black 'servants' accompanied their 'employers' into the white camps. Emily Hobhouse, in her *Report of a Visit to the Camps of Women and Children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies* to the Committee of the South African Distress Fund, describes a 'Mrs. B' in the Bloemfontein camp who shared a tent with her five children, and "a little Kaffir servant girl".[159] This account complicates the nationalist narrative of exclusive white, Afrikaner victimhood, revealing the presence of black individuals in spaces historically represented as sites of white suffering alone. The concentration camp system-so named for its purpose of 'concentrating' displaced populations in one place- was implemented by the British in order to

[155] Wassermann, 'Spirituality and the Memorialisation of the Dead', 1.
[156] *Ibid*., 6.
[157] Van Heyningen, 'Costly Mythologies', 496; Wassermann, 'Spirituality and the Memorialisation of the Dead', 5.
[158] Witz, Minkley, and Rassool, 'No End of a [History] Lesson', 383; de Reuck, 'Social Suffering and the Politics of Pain', 71; Van Heyningen, 'Costly Mythologies', 496.
[159] Emily Hobhouse, 'To the Committee of the South African Distress Fund: Report of a Visit to the Camps of Women and Children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies'. London: Friars Printing Association Limited, 1901, 4. Emily Hobhouse did much to bring light to the suffering of women and children in the camps.

house women, children, the elderly, and the infirm as a result of scorched earth. These tactics involved the systematic destruction of Afrikaner homesteads to prevent civilian support for men in battle.[160] Conditions in many of the camps were described by Hobson as 'appalling', with poor sanitation, malnutrition, and disease epidemics like measles resulting in high mortality rates.[161]

After the end of the war and the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902, the British government sought to foster reconciliation between British and Boer communities. Central to this effort was the creation of a unifying national mythology grounded in notions of European *patrimoine* [inheritance], that would promote a shared white, European settler identity, while masking deep divisions between the two groups.[162] This tactic would later be replicated by the National Party in 1952, during their celebration of the three-hundredth year anniversary of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape, to consolidate Afrikaner support, and foster a sense of collective settler identity.[163] The construction of this collective identity relied on repeated acts of commemoration that sought to make the past "familiar and authentic".[164] The transformation of the physical and cultural landscape- through monuments, place names, cemeteries, and architecture- reinforced a shared white settler identity.[165] Museums, curated exhibitions, books, and films celebrated the sacrifices of European 'forefathers' in 'civilising' the African landscape, fostering middle-class pride in this mythologised heritage.[166] However, in practice,

[160] De Reuck, 'Social Suffering and the Politics of Pain', 71.
[161] *Ibid*, 71.
[162] Esterhuysen, 'Heritage and Politics in South Africa', 3. Reflecting on my position as a white Afrikaans woman whose ancestors fought in the South African War, and as a mother to a young child, it has been a challenge to not allow my emotions to affect my critical reasoning while writing about the commemoration of the camps.
[163] John Wright, 'Heritage as Feel-Good History', *The Digging Stick*, Doing Heritage In South Africa: Doubts and Dilemmas, 30, no. 2 (2013): 2. This binding of people together, of course, led to this unified group becoming the oppressors of others, as Wright describes this is wont to do.
[164] Esterhuysen, 'Heritage and Politics in South Africa', 3.
[165] Esterhuysen, 'Heritage and Politics in South Africa', 3.
[166] *Ibid*., 3. The question of class in British colonies is a complex matter and will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

early commemoration projects largely commemorated the perceived greatness of the British Empire, and excluded Afrikaner, African, and indigenous contributions and experiences from official narratives.

Concentration Camp Cemeteries

The concentration camp cemeteries of the South African War have remained enduring sites of public memory across the colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid periods. As Lizette Rabe observes, much of the scholarship on cemeteries as cultural landscapes in South Africa have focused on these camps due their symbolic significance as spaces of suffering.[167] During the colonial period, the British government used these cemeteries to promote a narrative of shared sacrifice, deflecting responsibility for the immense suffering and death of Boer women and children. The British War Office attributed the high mortality rates to the victims themselves.[168] Afrikaner mothers, for instance, were blamed for their children's deaths for avoiding the substandard camp hospitals, or for using folk remedies, a reflection of the administration's ignorance of Afrikaner cultural values, and fears.[169]

The Merebank camp in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal was the largest concentration camp during the war. Established in 1901, the rapidly growing camp had to be supplemented by the opening of two additional camps: the Jacobs Camp in February 1902, and the Wentworth Camp in March 1902.[170] Together, these camps housed 14,404 people, with a combined recorded death toll of 519 .[171] The majority of these deaths were those of young children.[172] Victims were buried in multiple cemeteries, with simple mounds of earth and small crosses marking their graves. Official commemoration of the Durban camps began in 1910, after the creation of

---

167 Rabe, 'Grave Matters', 24.
168 De Reuck, 'Social Suffering and the Politics of Pain', 80.
169 *Ibid*., 76
170 Wassermann, 'Spirituality and the Memorialisation of the Dead', 2.
171 *Ibid*., 2.
172 *Ibid*., 2. These deaths were substantially lower than those recorded in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, likely as a result of the availability of supplies from being near the port.

the Union of South Africa, when the British Public Works Department in the newly formed 'Province of Natal' assumed responsibility for the burial sites.[173] This marked a shift in how concentration camp cemeteries were treated as space of public memory. Prior to 1910, public works in South Africa were organised independently in the different settler colonies. However. following the establishment of the Union, all public works, including government buildings and public monuments, were centralised under a single Public Works Department, overseen by the Governor-General-in-Council.[174] This centralisation facilitated the adoption of symbols from the Egyptian Revival Architecture Movement, which had gained popularity during the Victorian-era in Britain (1837-1901).[175] Drawing on Egyptian motifs such as stonework, obelisks, and hieroglyphics, the Public Works Department incorporated these elements into monuments as a means of reinforcing colonial authority and identity·.[176] The obelisk, in particular, became the preferred form of memorial architecture for the British. Its supposed neutrality made it a powerful symbol, representing "victory without revealing the carnage involved".[177] Furthermore, the obelisk's association with ancient empires such as Egypt, Greece, and Byzantium allowed the British to position themselves as inheritors of a grand imperial.[178] This invocation of ancient empires is also visible in the erection of the Rand Regiments Memorial in Johannesburg, a two metre tall 'triumphal' arch commemorating the South African War,[179] and the bronze sculpture of the Greek demigod brothers Castor and

[173] *Ibid*., 3.
[174] Artefacts, 'Public Works Department', accessed 22 May 2024, https://artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=1952.
[175] The Victorian era corresponds to the reign of Queen Victoria from 1837 to 1901. During this period, a fascination with Egyptian aesthetics was sparked after the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, and the excavation of the tomb of King Tutankhamun.
[176] Wassermann, 'Spirituality and the Memorialisation of the Dead', 3
[177] *Ibid*., 3.
[178] Wassermann, 'Spirituality and the Memorialisation of the Dead', 3.
[179] Lambert, "Tell England, Ye Who Pass This Monument", 684.

Pollux at Dellville Wood, France, which honours South Africans who died during the First World War. [180]

Obelisks were continually used to memorialise suffering and death, including the *Vrouemonument* [Women's Monument] in Bloemfontein, which commemorates the women and children who died in British concentration camps during the South African War. However, the use of such monuments has been criticised for sanitising the more painful aspects of the war in service of British nation-building. This process of sanitisation was later contested by Afrikaner nationalists, who saw it as erasing Afrikaner experiences of victimhood. In Durban's concentration camp cemeteries, grey obelisks with white bases were erected to commemorate the dead, each bearing a panel with abbreviated names, ages, and death dates.[181] Notably, the victims buried at the camps themselves only received a memorial obelisk in 1936, at the behest of the South African Dutch Reformed Church (*Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*).[182] However, significant omissions remain in these commemorative efforts. At the Merebank Camp memorial, for instance, the names of the recorded black victims such as Kakejan, Klaas, Kleinbooi, Nip and Marie are excluded, as is any mention of the supposedly-nameless Indian baby who also died there.[183] While the apartheid state later emphasised the sacredness of concentration camp cemeteries as symbols of Afrikaner suffering, its actions often contradicted these claims. Under the Group Areas Act (1950), Wentworth and Merebank were reclassified as coloured, and Indian areas, respectively.[184] Although the National Party's (NP) public commemoration of these spaces was initially central to achieving specific political objectives, their significance diminished when confronted with the state's racial policies. This

[180] *Ibid*., 695.
[181] Wassermann, 'Spirituality and the Memorialisation of the Dead', 5.
[182] *Ibid*., 5.
[183] *Ibid*., 5.
[184] Sharad Chari. 'Photographing Dispossession, Forgetting Solidarity: Waiting for Social Justice in Wentworth, South Africa'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 34, no. 4 (2009): 529.

contradiction suggests that the symbolic importance of these sites was secondary to the government's broader political priorities.

Scholars such as Johan Wassermann have criticised the use of obelisk in concentration camp memorialisation, arguing that they impose a 'new imperial identity' on the dead as post-mortem citizens of the Empire, reducing individuals to symbols of British imperial triumph.[185] This process of inscription into state-authorized public memory transforms victims into instruments of a constructed narrative, stripping them of their individual significance. Wassermann also critiques the use of "male-oriented funerary architecture" to commemorate the deaths of women and children, highlighting how such choices reflect, and perpetuate the patriarchal priorities of the colonial state.[186]

The Start of Organised Heritage and Memory in South Africa

During the early 1900s, the South African National Society (SANS), and the Public Works Department undertook much of the heritage and memory work in South Africa. SANS was founded in 1905 in response to the threatened demolition of the Castle of Good Hope.[187] The *Kasteel de Goede Hoop* as it was referred to in Dutch, was originally built as a defensive 'bastion' fort by the VOC from 1666 to 1679 to replace the old, crumbling, clay *Fort de Goede Hoop*.[188] By the early twentieth century, the Castle was regarded as the "oldest monument of European settlement in South Africa",[189] and "historically the most interesting building in the country".[190] SANS founding members included influential Cape figures such as John de

[185] Wassermann, 'Spirituality and the Memorialisation of the Dead', 5.
[186] Wassermann, 'Spirituality and the Memorialisation of the Dead', 5.
[187] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, xix.
[188] Caltex Africa (Ltd), *South African Heritage: From Van Riebeeck to Nineteenth Century Times*, 1st ed. (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau Publishers, 1965), 9.
[189] *Ibid*., 9.
[190] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, 5.

Villiers, Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, and Maria Koopmans-de Wet.[191] The organisation's goals were to "foster an appreciation of the country's heritage", and to spread awareness around the need to preserve 'certain' monuments.[192] Its activities ranged from preserving "natural beauties of the country", and "specimens of old Colonial architecture", to collecting "archives of historic interest", and cultivating a "conservative spirit towards the remains and traditions of old Colonial life".[193]

As a British colony, South Africa's heritage preservation framework was heavily influenced by England's *National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty* (1895), which sought to ensure the "permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation of lands and tenements (including buildings) of beauty and historic interest".[194] This drive for the preservation of the past mirrored the rise of museums in Britain, which Tony Bennett describes as "institutions of exhibition" that produce "particular articulations of power and knowledge".[195] By curating objects and presenting them to the public, museums shaped narratives that positioned these articulations as "common sense".[196]

The first official heritage legislation in South Africa was the *Bushman-Relics Protection Act* in 1911.[197] In 1910, SANS successfully petitioned the Union Parliament to pass the Act in order to protect South Africa's "geological, anthropological, palaeontological, ethnological and archaeological… scientific treasure".[198] This was amid growing concerns over European "scientists" collecting cultural artifacts, and human remains of the indigenous

---

[191] South African National Society, 'History of The South African National Society', accessed 13 November 2023, https://sanationalsociety.co.za/history/.
[192] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, xix.
[193] Department of Arts and Culture, *Review of Heritage Legislation*, (n.d) Volume 1, 133.
[194] Department of Arts and Culture, *Review of Heritage Legislation*, 132.
[195] Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, ed. Donald Preziosi and Claire J. Farago (London: Routledge, 2018), 414.
[196] *Ibid*., 414.
[197] Union of South Africa, 'No. 2 Bushman-Relics Protection Act' (1911). As discussed in the 'Notes on Terms' at the start of this thesis, the term 'Bushman' was used to refer to the indigenous hunter-forager San people of South Africa.
[198] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, xix.

Khoi and San peoples, who were falsely imagined as "living fossils" and a "primitive species".[199] The Act defined "Bushman-relics" as any "drawing or painting on stone or petroglyph" believed to have been created by indigenous South Africans, and included any of "anthropological contents of the graves, caves, rock shelters, middens or shell mounds".[200]

From 1910 to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, the majority of public memory and heritage projects served to link English-speaking South Africans to the broader British Empire.[201] A major issue was that there was no single cohesive "British identity" within South Africa.[202] English-speaking communities varied significantly: the Western Cape followed a more "liberal" tradition, while the Eastern Cape was rooted in the values of the 1820s Settlers; Kwa-Zulu Natal's English-speaking population was regarded as "aggressively […] separatist", and the Orange Free State's British settlers identified as a so-called "Model Republic".[203] English-speaking mine owners in Gauteng held markedly different from working-class English mine labourers.[204] The only common thread linking these communities was their roots as colonial settlers, and citizens of the British Empire. This also linked South Africa to other British colonies/dominions, as English-speaking settlers in, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand felt a sense of collective belonging to an extended British community.[205]

The *Natural and Historical Monuments Act* (1923) marked the establishment of the *Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments of the Union*, commonly referred to as the *Historical Monuments Commission* (HMC) which aimed to preserve the "natural and historical monuments of the Union and of objects of aesthetic,

---

[199] Morris, 'Searching for "Real" Hottentots', 222.
[200] 'Bushman-Relics Protection Act' (1911). Emphasis my own. Although contravention of this Act was made a punishable offence, SANS did not have the power to enforce this policy.
[201] Lambert, '"Tell England, Ye Who Pass This Monument", 677.
[202] Lambert, '"Tell England, Ye Who Pass This Monument", 677.
[203] *Ibid*., 679.
[204] *Ibid*., 679.
[205] *Ibid*., 679.

historical or scientific significance”.[206] Passed during a period of increasing industrialisation following the First World War (1914-1918), the Act may have served to mitigate the impact of infrastructure developments such as the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa (ISCOR, 1922), and the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM, 1923).[207] The HMC was to consist of no less than seven members who would be responsible for deciding which monuments should be preserved.[208] From these seven individuals, a chairperson and deputy chairperson would be elected who had the deciding vote in what would be commemorated.[209] The Commission was overseen by the Governor-General of the Union, who had the authority to establish by-laws to regulate public access to monuments.[210] Although the HMC had limited power and depended on the “goodwill” of monument owners, it managed to restore a number of old buildings with assistance from the Department of Public Works, and cultivated the white public’s interest in their preservation work through the installation of bronze plaques on significant sites.[211]

In 1934 the *Status of the Union Act* was passed which effectively made the Union of South Africa a sovereign state independent of Britain.[212] As South Africa gained greater autonomy and the ability to exert control over the passing of laws without British oversight, a growing sense of (white) cultural nationalism was spreading. Heritage legislation became a tool for fostering a sense of collective national identity by asserting control over what elements of the past were remembered. That same year, the *Bushman-Relics Protection Act* and the *Natural and Historical Monuments Act* were repealed, and replaced with the *Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act* (1934).[213] This Act broadened the scope of

[206] Union of South Africa. No. 6 The Natural and Historical Monuments Act (1923)
[207] Grundlingh, ‘A New South Africa in the Making’, 237; Grietjie Verhoef, ‘South in Africa, Metropolitan in Culture: Industrial Development Trajectory of South Africa’, *Revue Française d’histoire Économique* 1, no. 11–12 (2019): 250.
[208] Union of South Africa, ‘No. 6 Natural and Historical Monuments Act’ (1923).
[209] *Ibid*.
[210] ‘Natural and Historical Monuments Act’ (1923).
[211] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, xix.
[212] Union of South Africa, ‘No. 69 Status of the Union Act’ (1934).
[213] Union of South Africa, ‘No. 4 The Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act’ (1934).

conservation to include “relics” (paleontological, archaeological, and anthropological objects), “monuments” (natural or historical sites), and “antiques” (moveable objects over a hundred years old).[214] The Act also updated the regulations for the HMC, now updated to the *Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques*, still referred to as the *Historical Monuments Commission* (HMC) as before.[215] The Commission would continue to operate as before, with the minimum of seven individuals, and the chairperson now having greater power to act.[216]

The *Status of the Union Act* (1934) followed the *Statute of Westminster* (1931) in the United Kingdom which had granted self-governance to dominions such as Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Ireland, and New Zealand”.[217] Section 4 of the Statute made provision the decisions made by the British Parliament would not apply to dominions without their consent.[218] This subsequently led to a rift in the South African United Party (UP) with Germany invading Poland on 1 September, 1939 marking the start of the Second World War. In a session of Parliament on 4 September 1939, Prime Minister of the Union, J.B.M Hertzog proposed that South Africa remain neutral, arguing that Britain and France had brought the war upon themselves through the treaty of Versailles in 1919 which had humiliated Germany, much like the Treaty of Vereeniging had humiliated the Afrikaners in 1902.[219] His deputy, Jan Smuts opposed neutrality and argued that as a member of the Commonwealth, South Africa should stand with Britain and the Allies.[220] Hertzog correctly argued that entering the war on a split vote would damage the trust that had been built between the Afrikaans and English speaking white communities of South Africa with the merging of Hertzog’s National Party and Smut’s

[214] DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation,* 135.
[215] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, xx.
[216] ‘No. 4 The Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act’ (1934).
[217] United Kingdom, ‘Statute of Westminster’ (1931).
[218] *Ibid*.
[219] Grundlingh and Giliomee, ‘The Great Depression and War’, 294
[220] *Ibid*., 294.

South African Party in 1934.[221] The cabinet's vote to enter the war- 80 to 67- resulted in Hertzog's resignation, and Smuts declaration of war on Germany.[222]

In the same year, the Minister of Interior established the *South African War Graves Board* with the "responsibility for the preservation, care and maintenance of war graves and gardens of remembrance".[223] This included two committees: the *Civil Graves Committee*, and the *British Forces Committee*.[224] Initially, black South Africans were excluded from British commemoration of the Frontier Wars, but this policy began to shift by 1940. For example, the grave of Chief Ngqika (Gaika) ka Mlawu in the Amathole Mountains of the Eastern Cape was commemorated with a bronze plaque by the HMC in 1940, 111 years after his death in 1829.[225] The inscription on the plaque is in Xhosa, English, and Afrikaans, respectively. It reads:

> U Ngqika / Inkosi nomseki wesizwe sama Ngqika / Gaika / Chief and Founder of the Gaika Tribe / Opperhoof en stigter can die Gaika Stam / 1776 – 1829.[226]

This shift may reflect changing imperial attitudes to race and empire, influenced by the participation of black South Africans in the First World War (1914-1918). The recognition of Chief Ngqika as a key contributor in shaping Xhosa/British relations as a paramount chief, founder of the Ngqika tribe, and occasional ally to the British in South Africa's imperial past aligned with efforts to create a shared historical narrative.[227] However, this recognition was often selective, focusing on so-called "compliant chiefs" who could be co-opted into state narratives.[228]

---

[221] *Ibid*., 294.
[222] *Ibid*., 294.
[223] DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation*, 42.
[224] *Ibid*., 42.
[225] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, 160.
[226] Inscribed from a photograph taken by author of the bronze plaque.
[227] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, 160.
[228] David Bunn, 'Whited Sepulchres', in *Blank--: Architecture, Apartheid and After*, ed. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić (Rotterdam: New York; Distributor, D.A.P./Distributed Art Publishers, 1998), 102.

The National Party Comes to Power and Apartheid Begins, 1948

After the National Party (NP) under D.F Malan came to power in 1948, there was renewed interest in Afrikaner history, particularly the South African War and British concentration camps.[229] The NP started the process of minimising the presence of British history from the physical and heritage landscape by changing names of streets and landmarks to align with the narrative of a "pre-ordained" Afrikaner destiny. In addition, the NP commissioned new memorials to commemorate significant figures and events in Afrikaner history.[230] In the 1950s, the *Sentrale Burgergrafte Komitee* [Central Citizens Grave Committee, SBK] was established by the NP to maintain the graves and burial grounds of *burgers* [Afrikaans citizens] who had died in conflicts throughout South Africa's past.[231] The SBK later merged with the *War Graves Board*, which had been responsible for maintaining military graves, to create the *Gedenktuine* Programme.[232] *Gedenktuine*, or "Gardens of Remembrance", are commemorative spaces designed to make implicit moral and political statements. They provided a physical space where white South Africans could come together to honour key figures of the past, particularly the 'heroes', and victims of the South African War.[233] The majority of these *gedenktuine* were located in the Free State and the former Transvaal (parts of the present-day provinces of Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, and North West) which were considered the "epicentres" of the Afrikaner nationalism.[234]

Federico Freschi, Brenda Schmahmann, and Lize Van Robbroeck argue that Afrikaner nationalism was rooted in "the experience of a people who were denied social and economic

---

[229] Liz Stanley, *Mourning Becomes...: Post/Memory, Commemoration and the Concentration Camps of the South African War* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008), 221.
[230] Darke, 'Afrikaner Nationalism and the Production of a White Cultural Heritage', 17.
[231] Stanley, *Mourning Becomes*, 221.
[232] *Ibid*., 221.
[233] *Ibid*, 221.
[234] *Ibid*., 224.

power, and whose political and cultural agency was marginalised by the imperialist agenda".[235] This historical experience of dispossession and marginalisation informed the NP's ideology. In 1914, the National Party was formed with the aim of winning a majority seat in parliament in order to petition the British government for South Africa's independence.[236] The NP was preceded by the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* [Association of True Afrikaners] in 1875 with the goal of having Afrikaans recognised as an official language, raising political awareness amongst Afrikaners, and the establishment of a political party that would ultimately lead to the creation of an independent Boer republic.[237] Additionally, the *Afrikanerbond* was established in 1879, and is considered the foundation of the Afrikaner nationalist movement in South Africa, which later led to the creation of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Taalbond* [South African Language League] in 1890 which linked nationalism to the Afrikaans language campaigns.[238]

When the NP came to power in 1948 after winning the general elections, their victory was not one of overwhelming majority, and thus many of their nationalist values had to be "diluted" in order to appeal to the English-language population of the country.[239] This compromise was evident in 1952 with the state-sponsored tercentenary celebrations of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape.[240] The government officially proclaimed Jan van Riebeeck as the 'founder' of white South Africa.[241] South African history was said to have started in April 1652 with the arrival of the Dutch ships *Dromedaris, Goede Hoop*, and *Reiger* led by Jan van Riebeeck. According to official brochure *South Africa*'s *Heritage (1652-1952)* published by the apartheid State Information Office. the then-Minister of the Interior wrote that,

---

[235] Federico Freschi, Brenda Schmahmann, and Lize Van Robbroeck, eds., *Troubling Images: Visual Culture and the Politics of Afrikaner Nationalism* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2020), 2.
[236] *Ibid*., 15.
[237] Darke, 'Afrikaner Nationalism and the Production of a White Cultural Heritage', 14.
[238] Darke, 'Afrikaner Nationalism and the Production of a White Cultural Heritage', 14.
[239] *Ibid*., 1.
[240] *Ibid*., 2.
[241] Leslie Witz, 'Commemorations and Conflicts in the Production of South Africa's National Pasts: The 1952 Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival' (PhD Thesis, Cape Town, University of Cape Town, 1997), 1.

> […] April 6, 1952, is more than merely a historical day for South Africa. It is in truth, the birthday of the South African nation and state, As early as April 28, 1655, Van Riebeeck wrote to the Council of Seventeen of the Dutch-East India Company, saying that if colonists and their families were obliged to stay at the Cape for some time, they might "...in due course break altogether with Holland and one day make this place their fatherland". Van Riebeeck's prediction has come to pass, and the South African nation has risen, a nation with a way of life and a destiny of its own, a nation whose task it is to maintain and develop Western civilisation in Africa.[242]

The brochure was issued specifically with the international community as the intended audience. The Minister of the Interior clarified that "I trust that this publication will help in further strengthening ties between South Africa and the European founder nations whose interest in the festival is deeply appreciated".[243]

This commemoration revealed deeper political intentions as the apartheid government sought to align itself with European powers at a time when global decolonisation movements were taking hold after the Second World War. By appealing to a shared European heritage, the apartheid government attempted to strengthen ties with European nations, mitigate international criticism of apartheid, and position its policies within a broader colonial framework. This selective memory, as expressed in the tercentenary celebrations, sought to authorise a nationalist narrative that excluded the experiences of the majority of black South Africans, framing history as beginning with the arrival of Europeans in 1652. The apartheid government, through the State Information Office, centralised control over the production and dissemination of knowledge, domestically and internationally.[244] This ensured that narratives

[242] State Information Office of the Union of South Africa, *South Africa's Heritage* (Pretoria: State Information Office, 1952), 2.
[243] State Information Office, *South Africa's Heritage,* 2.
[244] Vernon McKay, 'South African Propaganda', *SAIS Review (1956-1989)* 10, no. 3 (1966): 7.

presented in publications like *South Africa's Heritage* aligned with its ideological goals. The language chosen for this brochure further reveals the agenda behind this commemoration. The Minister's reference to Van Riebeeck's quote that the Dutch colonists would "one day make [South Africa] their fatherland" reinforced the notion of European dominance in South Africa. Furthermore, the celebration of South Africa as a guardian of "Western civilisation in Africa" echoed colonial justifications for apartheid, portraying it not as a system of oppression, but as a civilising mission. At the same time, as Witz, Minkley, and Rassool note, the NP downplayed other key historical events, such as the South African War and the concentration camps, in an effort to construct a cohesive 'white settler nation'.[245] However, this selective amnesia was temporary. The ideological framing of Afrikaners as a 'wounded nation' shaped by their experiences of victimhood in the concentration camps, was later mobilised to garner moral, and political sympathies that would preclude the NP and its policies from criticism, by portraying Afrikaners as a nation that had endured historical injustice and oppression.[246]

Afrikaner Nationalist Public Memory: Victimhood and Suffering

Elizabeth van Heyningen explains that the mythology chosen in service of Afrikaner nationalism was one of betrayal, suffering, and victimhood.[247] This narrative was rooted in the Calvinist notion of martyrdom, where suffering was seen as a sign of being 'called to a mission by God', thereby positioning Afrikaners as "God's Chosen People".[248] Jenny de Reuck writes that "[a]s the 'wounded nation' of their own construction, [Afrikaners] believed they had special rights which precluded them from being assessed under the accepted categories of moral judgement.[249] The apartheid-era narrative of victimhood and betrayal wove together two

---

[245] Witz, Minkley, and Rassool, *Unsettled History*, 165.
[246] De Reuck, 'Social Suffering and the Politics of Pain', 79.
[247] Elizabeth Van Heyningen, 'Costly Mythologies: The Concentration Camps of the South African War in Afrikaner Historiography', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34, no. 3 (2008), 495.
[248] Kessler, 'The Black Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War', 110-111.
[249] *Ibid*., 81.

key threads: the betrayal by the 'black hordes' exemplified by the Zulu massacre of Voortrekker Piet Retief and his group, and the betrayal by the British, symbolised by the deaths in the concentration camps.[250] Concentration camps, as mentioned earlier, form a significant part of public memory in South Africa, but they became particularly useful for Afrikaner nationalism because the emotions evoked by the image of innocent women and children suffering could be harnessed to serve a political agenda.[251]

Given the large number of Afrikaner deaths resulting from the concentration camps, it is plausible that most Afrikaner families suffered the loss of loved ones.[252] These private tragedies were later co-opted into state commemoration, transforming grief into a public narrative of collection suffering.[253] Liz Stanley writes that "mourning involves grief for the deaths of people known, loved and remembered- children, parents, grandchildren, friends, nieces and nephews- and is intensely bound up with remembering them, making sure they are not forgotten".[254] However, as Afrikaner nationalism grew, these personal memories were selectively appropriated and reshaped by Afrikaner nationalist cultural organisations, particularly women's groups, to tell a specific story of suffering under the British.[255] In the process, the victims' agency and the ownership of their experiences were subsumed within a larger, constructed public memory of suffering.[256] This phenomenon is echoed in the post-apartheid period where the funerals of struggle heroes sometimes over-ride the wishes of

[250] *Ibid*., 116.
[251] Elizabeth Van Heyningen, 'The Voices of Women in the South African War', *South African Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1999): 27.
[252] Stanley*, Mourning Becomes…*', 47.
[253] *Ibid*., 47. I would like to take a moment to reflect on my position as a white women descended from an Afrikaans mother, and being a mother to a young child myself. In writing this chapter, it became increasingly difficult to separate my emotions with my critical reasoning. There is a cognitive dissonance between feeling sympathetic to the loss and suffering experienced by Afrikaans women and children during this period of time, with the acknowledgment that the way these memories were appropriated by the NP into a justification for oppressive apartheid policies, and the resulting suffering and loss experienced by others.
[254] *Ibid*., 47.
[255] Stanley and Dampier, 'Aftermaths', 98.
[256] De Reuck, 'Social Suffering and the Politics of Pain', 82,

families, demonstrating how personal grief can again be subordinated to broader political narratives.

It is also important to note that, despite public memory and heritage serving as a political tool, state heritage bodies are not always in agreement with each other. The appropriation of certain personal memories into memory narratives is sometimes challenged by the individuals within these agencies. This contestation within state heritage agencies is evident in a Gqeberha example from the 1980s. In 1985, a community organisation, the Summerstrand branch of the *Dames Aktueel* [Ladies Current] published *Afrikanerbakens in Port Elizabeth* [Afrikaner Beacons in Port Elizabeth] aimed at asserting Afrikaner contributions to the city's history.[257] Established in 1977 as a "*suiwer*" [pure] Afrikaans, Christian, women's cultural organisation, the *Dames Aktueel* identified themselves as the 'mouthpiece' of Afrikaner women.[258] They served as the public arm of the *Dameskring* [Ladies Circle], the women's equivalent of the *Broederbond*.[259] With support from *Moeder-Rapportyrerskorps* (the women's branch of the Afrikaner nationalist group, *Rapportryers*), the *Dames Aktueel* unveiled a memorial on the site of the Gqeberha concentration camp on 29 October, 1983.[260] Altogether, fourteen people died in the camp between November 1900, and April 1902, the majority of whom were buried in the white pauper section of North End Cemetery.[261] The memorial was contested by the English-speaking members of the Town Council, and its establishment at a time when the Afrikaans community of Gqeberha were fighting for recognition as part of the city's history is representative of this. In the introduction of *Afrikanerbakens*, they write that:

---

[257] Marius Swart et al., *Afrikanerbakens* (Port Elizabeth: Dames Aktueel Somerstrandse Tak, 1985).
[258] Willemien Strydom, 'Die Politieke Betrokkenheid Van Kontak En Vroue Vir Vrede, 1976-1990' (M.A, Johannesburg, Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, 1997), 76.
[259] Lorraine Maritz, '"In Die Vyand Se Kraal." Die Rol En Ervaring van Afrikanervroue in Die Women's National Coalition', *Litnet Akademies* 7, no. 3 (2010): 263.
[260] Swart et al., *Afrikanerbakens*, 3.
[261] *Ibid*., 4.

> [*d*]*ie nederige bakens van Afrikaners in* [*Port Elizabeth*] *is… sonder uitsondering mertekens van sy geloof, sy worsteling, ey eie volharding, sy vertroue in homself, sybeskeie geleenthede wat hom gegun en wat benut is, en sy moeisame afskud van neertrekkende mater ëile - en geestesarmoede* [the humble beacons of the Afrikaner in this city are therefore, without exception, signs of his faith, his struggle, his own perseverance, his confidence in himself, his modest opportunities that have been granted to him and that have been taken advantage of, and his laborious shedding of depressing material and mental poverty.[262]

The memorial, although conceived of as a way of paying respect to the memory of the eighty-five white women, and two-hundred-and-thirty children who lived in the camps, seemed more as a physical marker of Afrikaner presence on the historical landscape, claiming legitimacy in the so-called 'English city'. The *Dames Aktueel* speak of the barbed-wire fences and the 'huts' made of zinc and iron and the 'financial misery' experienced by the women, who 'dutifully' undertook bible studies and 'maintained order' in the camp.[263] Despite the claim of commemorating these individuals, however, none of them are listed by name.[264]

Through this process, private testimonies shared years after the event were mythologised as general 'facts' and incorporated into state histories of the South African War and the concentration camps.[265] This goes back to Stanley's conceptual understanding of post/memory as an "account of the past… founded on referential memory but actually orchestrated and shaped to serve present-time political purposes".[266] Van Heyningen writes that the "lack of a serious historiography" on the concentration camps of the South African War was "the failure of Afrikaners to write any critical account of the war before the 1950s".[267]

---

[262] *Ibid*., 1.
[263] Swart et al., *Afrikanerbakens*, 1. The same corrugated iron later used to construct the barracks at Red Location in New Brighton.
[264] *Ibid*., 3.
[265] Stanley and Dampier, 'Aftermaths', 98.
[266] *Ibid*., 98.
[267] Stanley*, Mourning Becomes*, 47.

Instead, she writes, “history was replaced by a ‘haze’ of poetry, memorials and ceremonies, testimonies and photographs, which offered an apparently authentic account, while inhibiting any critical examination, of the camp experience”.[268] For example, J.D. du Toit’s (son of the founder of the *Afrikaans Taalbeweging,* S.J. du Toit) collection of poetry, *By Die Monument* [At The Monument] was written in 1908, six years after the end of the South African War, and centred on the experiences of Boer women and children who died in the white concentration camps.[269] These poems, and the sales from this collection contributed to the inspiration for, and funding of the *Vrouemonument* in Bloemfontein that was dedicated in 1913.[270] Du Toit, who went by the pen name ‘Totius’, published his second poetry collection, *Potgieter's Trek* in 1909, which centred around the Great Trek.[271] This set of poems inspired what would eventually become the *Voortrekker* Monument.[272] Kessler explains that poetry played a crucial role in Afrikaner nationalism in the post-South African War period: he writes, “[p]oetry is an excellent medium for the expression of intense religious or patriotic feelings”, and that “in all nations, we find poetic expression of national myth and history”.[273]

The *Nasionale Vrouemonument* [National Women’s Monument] in Bloemfontein, Free State was unveiled in December 1913 to commemorate the deaths of women and children in the concentration camps of the South African War.[274] It was conceived of by then president of the Orange Free State, Martinus Steyn, and his wife Rachel Isabella Steyn, who had both lost family members during the war. The monument was privately funded by the Afrikaans speaking community as the English-speaking members of the Bloemfontein Town Council thought the monument would reflect poorly on the British Empire.[275] A conference was held

[268] Van Heyningen, ‘Costly Mythologies’, 495.
[269] Kessler, ‘The Black Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War’, 115.
[270] Kessler, ‘The Black Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War’, 115.
[271] *Ibid*., 114.
[272] *Ibid*., 115.
[273] *Ibid*., 115.
[274] Freschi, Schmahmann, and Van Robbroeck, *Troubling Images*, 4.
[275] Kessler, ‘The Black Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War’, 115.

which included representatives from the Dutch Churches around South Africa, as well as Afrikaner cultural organisations *Het Volk* [The People] from the former Transvaal Republic, *Oranje Unie* [Orange Union] from the former Orange River Colony, and *Afrikanerbond* from Cape Town to discuss the design for the monument.[276] The design selected for the *Vrouemonument* was from architect Frans Soff, and sculptor Anton van Wouw, and was based on a scene that Emily Hobhouse had allegedly witnessed at the Springfontein camp. The description taken from the *Vrouemonument* website describes the monument as:

> [a] group of sculptures of a woman standing and viewing the dawn of a new day with, in front of her, a dying child on the lap of a grieving woman with a determined look ahead, comes from Emily Hobhouse who saw this event at the Springfontein Station. The wording on the Monument: "*Aan onze heldinnen en lieve kinderen*" [To our heroines and dear children], "Uw wil geschiede" [Your will be done], "*Ik zal u niet begeven en u niet verlaten*" [I shall neither forsake nor leave you], and "*Voor vryheid, volk en vaderland*" [For freedom, nation and fatherland] comes from President Steyn.[277]

In the post-apartheid period, the *Vrouemonument* has been reframed from Afrikaner nationalist roots: the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) has designated the monument as a provincial heritage site, and a point of 'international interest' for tourists, writing that the memorial is a "stark reminder of the thousands of women and children who perished in concentration camps established during the Anglo-Boer War".[278]

[276] Artefacts, 'Vrouemonument - National Women's Monument', Artefacts.co.za, accessed 20 September 2024, https://artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/all_images.php; The National Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein, 'Vrouemonument History', Vrouemonument, accessed 20 September 2024, https://vrouemonument.co.za/index.php/en/history.
[277] The National Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein, 'Vrouemonument History'.
[278] South African Heritage Resources Agency, 'Burial Grounds and Graves'.

"The Wind of Change" - Sharpeville, the Referendum, and International Condemnation, 1960 - 1990

On 21 March 1960, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) campaigned for a protest in defiance of the discriminatory pass laws instituted by the apartheid government.[279] The protestors from Sharpeville township in Witwatersrand arrived at the police station in accordance with the PAC's motion for peaceful protestors to be arrested without a pass.[280] An earlier protest in Durban had turned violent and resulted in the deaths of 9 police officers, which had left the SAP feeling nervous.[281] The apartheid police shot at the protesters, killing 67 Africans, and wounding 186,[282] ten of those were children that were shot in the back while running from police.[283] This event would become known as the Sharpeville Massacre, and also marks the beginning date of the Truth and Reconciliation's mandate. This set off a series of events. For ten days after the massacre, residents of Sharpeville stayed home to mourn their dead in protest of the senseless killing against peaceful protesters.[284] On March 30, a mass funeral was held for the victims of the massacre, but this event also provided the space for the public to voice their anger.[285] Later, ANC leader, Albert Luthuli burned his pass book, and organised an effective stay-away from work, affecting many white businesses dependent on black labour.[286] This led the stock exchange to plummet, and the apartheid government to call for a state of emergency where they detained approximately 18,000 people.[287] On 7 April 1960, the *Unlawful Organizations Act* commenced, banning the PAC, the ANC, and "certain other…

[279] Hermann Buhr Giliomee and Bernard Mbenga, eds., 'The Afrikaner Nationalists in Power', in *New History of South Africa*, 1st ed (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2007), 334.
[280] Giliomee and Mbenga, 'The Afrikaner Nationalists in Power', 334.
[281] Giliomee and Mbenga, 'The Afrikaner Nationalists in Power', 334.
[282] Vernon McKay, 'South African Propaganda', *SAIS Review (1956-1989)* 10, no. 3 (1966): 4.
[283] Dennie, 'The Cultural Politics of Burial in South Africa, 1884-1990', 231.
[284] *Ibid*., 231-232.
[285] *Ibid*., 232.
[286] Giliomee and Mbenga, 'The Afrikaner Nationalists in Power', 335.
[287] *Ibid*., 335.

organizations".[288] This led to widespread condemnation by the international community, and also spurred on a younger generation of black people to turn towards a more militant form of protest in 1961.[289]

Prior to this, in October 1959, the United Nations (UN) had officially condemned the system of apartheid and passed 'Resolution 1375 (XIV*) Question of Race Conflict in South Africa Resulting from the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa*'.[290] In their 14th General Assembly on 17 October, 1959, the UN called for its member states (of which South Africa was still a part of) to uphold the values of human rights and freedom, and hold the Union of South Africa accountable for its actions.[291] On 3 February, 1960 in his famous 'Wind of Change' speech, British prime minister addressed the parliament in Cape Town:

> [i]n the twentieth century, and especially since the end of the [Second World] war, the processes which gave birth to the nation states of Europe have been repeated all over the world. We have seen the awakening of national consciousness in peoples who have for centuries lived in dependence upon some other power… The most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the strength of this African national consciousness. In different places it takes different forms, but it is happening everywhere. The wind of change is blowing through this continent, and, whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it… As a fellow member of the Commonwealth it is our earnest desire to give South Africa our support and encouragement, but I hope you won't mind my saying frankly that there are some aspects of your policies which make it impossible for us to do this without being false to our own deep convictions

[288] Union of South Africa, 'No. 34 Unlawful Organizations Act' (1960).
[289] Giliomee and Mbenga, 'The Afrikaner Nationalists in Power', 336.
[290] General Assembly of the United Nations, 'Resolution 1375 (XIV) Question of Race Conflict in South Africa Resulting from the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa', Resolutions Adopted On the Reports of the Special Political Committee (United Nations, 17 November 1959).
[291] United Nations, 'Resolution 1375 (XIV)'.

about the political destinies of free men to which in our own territories we are trying to give effect. [292]

This speech by MacMillan on the inevitability of African nationalism, and the reference to South Africa's discriminatory policies was received by many white South Africans as criticism, and contributed to the growing support of the NP, even from members of the English-speaking community who had felt ostracised by the British prime minister's sentiments.[293] As a result, in October of 1960, the Union of South Africa held a national referendum whereby white voters over the age of 18 years from South Africa, and South West Africa (present-day Namibia) voted whether they supported the NP's plans to become a republic.[294]

This would allow the recognition of an elected (white) president, rather than the British monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, as the main authority of the country. The referendum passed by a thin margin but resulted in the approval of the transition of South Africa to a republic to be enacted on 31 May 1961.[295] In March 1961, two months before South Africa was to become a republic, the NP applied to remain in the Commonwealth of Nations (former dominions of the British Empire) but were denied. It was not South Africa's transition to a republic that was criticised, as many surrounding African countries were also transitioning to republic status, however, the events of the Sharpeville Massacre carried major criticism from the international community, and after days of discussions of apartheid policies at the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference in March 1961, Verwoerd rescinded South Africa's application, and withdrew from the Commonwealth.[296] Despite its withdrawal, the Republic of South Africa

[292] Harold Macmillan, 'The Wind of Change Speech' (Speech, Address by Harold Macmillan to Members of both Houses of the Parliament of the Union Of South Africa, Cape Town, 3 February 1960).
[293] Eleanor Janet Bron-Swart, '"With Divided Mind and Unsure Steps": South Africa from Referendum to Republic, August 1960 May 1961' (PhD, Bloemfontein, University of the Free State, 2021, 12.
[294] Bron-Swart, '"With Divided Mind and Unsure Steps"', 1.
[295] Bron-Swart, '"With Divided Mind and Unsure Steps"', 1.
[296] *Ibid*., 16.

passed the *War Graves Act* in 1967 to provide for continued maintenance and care of Commonwealth war graves, and to establish the *War Graves Trust* to oversee it.[297] Notwithstanding the increasing international isolation and ostracisation, South Africa's involvement in the First and Second World Wars meant that the preservation of soldiers' graves remained a legal and moral responsibility.

In 1969, the 1934 *Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act* was repealed with the passing of the *National Monuments Act*.[298] This Act decommissioned the HMC, which was subsequently replaced with the *National Monuments Council* (NMC), whose jurisdiction was extended to include Namibia (occupied by South Africa from 1915 to 1990), with increased funding and resources from the national government and, and greater power to act.[299] This was also the first official heritage legislation enacted during the apartheid period.[300] As in the past, this Act was primarily motivated by public concern for the preservation of the built environment,[301] likely as a result of the continuing destruction, or transformation of many historical buildings as a result of urbanisation and industrialisation in the 1950s and 1960s. There was a concern that significant sites belonging to the white population, particularly those associated with Afrikaner identity, could be lost or damaged. Additionally, the *National Monuments Act* also provided for:

> […] the repair, maintenance and general care of *certain* burial grounds and graves, the establishment of gardens of remembrance in respect of *certain* persons, [and] the erection of memorials for *certain* persons [emphasis added].[302]

[297] Republic of South Africa, 'No. 34 War Graves Act', (1967).
[298] Republic of South Africa, 'No. 28 National Monuments Act' (1969).
[299] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, xx.
[300] Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd, and Martin Hall, eds., *Desire Lines* (London: Routledge, 2007), 4.
[301] Marschall, *Landscape of Memory,* 21.
[302] Republic of South Africa, 'No. 28 National Monuments Act' (1969).

The emphasis to be noted here is on *certain* burial grounds and graves, or *certain* persons, the entrustment of who is, and is not, historically relevant enough to be publicly commemorated being assigned to the state-established NMC.[303] The NMC, as the HMC before it, was to consist of no less than seven members who were appointed by the Minister of National Education.[304] The role of the Department of National Education under apartheid was to legitimise, consolidate, and promote white Afrikaner dominance and supremacy through teaching and learning.[305] Thus, it was useful to place the NMC under the Department's authority in order that the government could ensure that the selection of monuments and heritage supported the ideological goals of apartheid in promoting Afrikaner nationalism, and excluding the history, or heritage of black people in the country.[306] The NMC was to be informed by two committees. The Act provided for the establishment of: the *Burgergraftekomitee* [Citizen Graves Committee], and the *British War Graves Committee*.[307] These two new committees replaced the former SBK and War Graves Board, respectively. The responsibilities of the committees were to identify culturally and historically relevant burial grounds and graves for commemoration and report it to the NMC.[308] Quoted from the 1969 Act, the focus of the two committees were:

- burial grounds and graves of persons who died in any area now included in the Republic in wars, other than the wars known as the First and Second World Wars, or rebellions which occurred therein.
- burial grounds and graves in the Republic of members of garrison troops who died up to 3 August 1914.
- Voortrekker graves and burial grounds

303 Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, xx.
304 No. 28 National Monuments Act' (1969).
305 Nazir Hoosain Carrim, 'Human Rights and the Construction of Identities in South African Education' (PhD Thesis, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand, 2007), 174.
306 *Ibid*., 174.
307 'National Monuments Act' (1969).
308 *Ibid*.

- burial grounds and graves of exiles.[309]

The Act refers to 'Voortrekker graves' as those of people who died during the period between 1835 to 1854 and participated in the 'Great Trek'; 'graves of exiles' refers to any person who was exiled and died outside of South Africa as a prisoner-of-war during the South African War (1899-1902); and 'garrison troops' refers to "permanent forces of the former republics and colonies in South Africa and the forces of the United Kingdom of Great Britain stationed in South Africa prior to 1910".[310] Missing here is any commemoration of black or enslaved people. Each committee was to consist of a maximum of five members, and to be chaired by a member of the NMC who had been personally selected by the Minister of National Education.[311] Committee members held office for a period of five years, with the ability to be reappointed.[312] These ten men making up the two committees over different periods were thus responsible for the declaration of all 'culturally' relevant burial grounds and graves, and as representatives of the state, effectively became the main authorisers of public memory surrounding cemeteries and graves during the apartheid period.

There were several amendments to the 1969 Act in the years leading up to the end of apartheid, predominantly the inclusion of clarifying definitions. In 1986, the Act was amended and retroactively renamed the *War Graves and National Monuments Act,* specifically to consolidate the *Burgergraftekomitee* and the British War Graves Committee under the NMC, rather than as separate institutions to it.[313] In 1988, the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek took place with the theme of 'Forward South Africa'.[314] The Voortrekker Monument and its

[309] *Ibid*.
[310] 'National Monuments Act' (1969).
[311] *Ibid*.
[312] *Ibid*.
[313] South African Government. 'No. 11 War Graves and National Monuments Amendment Act 11', 1986.
[314] Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*, 31.

early ideology of the divine right of Afrikaners as a chosen people, and ordained racial segregation was overlooked, and instead, the aim of fostering a sense of self-sacrifice and compromise was emphasised.[315] This was during the period of negotiations between the NP and ANC, and the concept of 'power-sharing', as Coombes refers to it, was politically important.[316] Part of the celebration speeches by the NP centred on acknowledging the role of black people in these historic events as a way to rewrite the past as more inclusive.[317] This did not go over well with certain members of the white Afrikaans-speaking citizens in Pretoria. The radical right-wing *Afrikaner-Volkswag* [Afrikaner National Guard, AV] held an alternative celebration of the anniversary of the event, and by 1990, there was an increase in conservative and right-wing Afrikaner groups.[318] A major issue throughout this period was the challenging of the 'naturalised' narrative of historical events that right-wing Afrikaners had identified with.[319]

The End of Apartheid and the New Nation, 1990 – 1994

Coombes explains that there had been earlier discussions around cultural and memorial representation outside of the country in Gaborone, Botswana in 1982, and in Amsterdam in the Netherlands in 1987.[320] In 1986, the City of Cape Town had planned the *Towards a People's Culture Arts Festival* from 2 December to 22 December, but was subsequently banned by the NP, and physically prevented from happening by the state police.[321] This did, however, lead to greater mobilisation and activism around how the past should be remembered. There were a

[315] *Ibid*., 31.
[316] *Ibid*., 31.
[317] Coombes, *History after Apartheid* , 31.
[318] *Ibid*., 31.
[319] *Ibid*., 31.
[320] *Ibid*., 15.
[321] Africa South Art Initiative, 'Towards a Peoples Culture Festival (1986)', ASAI, 2024, https://asai.co.za/peoplesculture/towards-a-peoples-culture-festival-1986/.

number of issues concerning the transformation of the memory landscape in South Africa. The NP attempted to block a number of changes by the ANC in what Coombes refers to as maintaining the "status quo".[322] The *Voortrekker Monument* was one of these challenges that posed a difficult question for the government. As the embodiment of Afrikaner nationalism and all it stood for, many critics called for its demolishment.[323] A proposal that was rejected was that a symbolic counter-monument be erected on the hill opposite the monument of Nelson Mandela's arm rising over the *Voortrekker Monument*.[324] Others suggested leaving the monument on the landscape as a "reminder of the oppression of the apartheid era", and that the actions of the past should not happen again,[325] an argument still featuring in current debates, post-#RhodesMustFall. The ANC cultural policy makers decided that most Afrikaner monuments, including the Voortrekker Monument, and the Afrikaans Language Monument, should remain on the landscape.[326] The potential threat of the Voortrekker Monument's demolishment led to the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigingе* [Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations, FAK] to establish a non-profit organisation in 1993, and bought the rights to own and manage the Voortrekker Monument, removing it from the control of the NP, but more importantly, any future government.[327]

In 1994, without consulting the ANC, the NP quietly passed the *Castle Management Act* (1994) in order to establish the *Castle Control Board*, and authorise it to buy the Castle of Good Hope, and move control of it out of the hands of the government.[328] In April of the same year, the NP also attempted to reappoint its own members of the NMC.[329] The ANC objected strongly to this, and in a speech on museum legislation and cultural heritage management given

[322] Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*, 16.
[323] *Ibid*., 20.
[324] Coombes, *History after Apartheid*, 22.
[325] *Ibid*, 20.
[326] *Ibid*., 22.
[327] *Ibid*., 33.
[328] Republic of South Africa. No. 207 'Castle Management Act (1994)'.
[329] Coombes, *History after Apartheid*, 16.

by the spokesperson of the ANC's *Commission for Reconstruction and Transformation of the Arts and Culture* (CREATE), André Odendaal, he stated that the NP's actions could

> […] only be seen as an attempt by the old state bureaucracy […] to […] preserve the status quo and pre-empt democratic processes and changes.[330]

The ANC viewed these actions by the NP as an obstacle to effectively transforming and diversifying the cultural and heritage landscape in South Africa.[331] Coombes explains that cultural heritage sites in South Africa, as elsewhere in the world, provide a form of 'ideological leverage', and that the ANC recognised this.[332] She writes, "it is [...] important to recognise that the ANC was [...] invested in museums and other public institutions and monuments as purveyors of heritage and history and was aware of the potential of such institutions and sites for the new dispensation well before the [1994] elections".[333]

The former *War Graves and National Monuments Act* was criticised by the newly established *Arts and Culture Task Group* (ACTAG) for the NMC's bias towards the conservation of what they described as a European and colonial past, and that the work undertaken by the *War Graves Committee* should be extended to include the burial places of "all victims of conflict in South Africa", including graves of African people who had died during struggles in land wars and against apartheid.[334] In 1992, the *Commonwealth War Graves Act* was passed, which made provision for the protection of graves of those who had died fighting in the First World War, and Second World War, linking South Africa to the

[330] Andre Odendaal, Director of the Mayibuye Center for History and Culture in South Africa in his address "'Give Life to Learning': The Way Ahead for Museums in a Democratic South Africa', quoted in Coombes, *History after Apartheid,* 15.
[331] Coombes, *History after Apartheid,* 16.
[332] *Ibid.,* 17.
[333] *Ibid.*, 17.
[334] Arts and Culture Task Group, Second Draft Report, (May 1995), 81.

Commonwealth War Graves Commission that had been established in the United Kingdom in 1917.[335]

A New Era: Post-Apartheid, 1994

With the end of apartheid in South Africa, the newly elected democratic government had the monumental task of uniting a deeply fragmented country. The emphasis was on working towards reconciliation, healing, and nation-building.[336] A major aspect of this nation-building project was the need for a shared, foundational history that would not ostracise the white population that had previously benefitted under the apartheid regime, but also allow for the construction of an appropriate history for the black populations of the country that had been denied the ability to represent themselves in the official discourse of state history. This was no easy task. The ANC led by then-president, Nelson Mandela sought to create a foundational mythology for the country that would emphasize reconciliation between the different racial groups, as well as serve to legitimise the new post-apartheid government.[337] Simone Kerseboom writes that the building of the new nation had to be based on more than overcoming trauma,[338] which ultimately resulted in the fight for freedom as the foundation of South Africans' collective memory.[339] This memory also had to serve to undo the colonial, and apartheid modes of remembering, which Kerseboom writes "had its foundational mythology firmly situated in the arrival and the diaspora of white settlers in South Africa".[340]

---

335 DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation*, 42.
336 John Wright, 'Heritage as Feel-Good History', *The Digging Stick*, Doing Heritage In South Africa: Doubts and Dilemmas, 30, no. 2 (2013): 1.
337 Gary Baines, 'The Master Narrative of South Africa's Liberation Struggle: Remembering and Forgetting June 16, 1976', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 40, no. 2 (2007): 301; Sabine Marschall, *Landscape of Memory. Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South-Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Sabine Marschall, *Landscape of Memory. Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South-Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 25.
338 Simone Kerseboom, 'Grandmother-Martyr-Heroine: Placing Sara Baartman in South African Post-Apartheid Foundational Mythology', *Historia* 56, no. 1 (2011): 67.
339 Manetsi, 'Heritage Denunciation and Heritage Enunciation?', 127.
340 Kerseboom, 'Grandmother-Martyr-Heroine', 67.

The seminal *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage* from 1996 outlined the new government policy for the "creation, promotion and protection of South African arts, culture, heritage and the associated practitioners".[341] The *White Paper* noted that the 1969 *National Monuments Act*'s use of 'cultural treasure' and 'monument' was deemed to be too narrow, and the Paper opted instead to adopt the term 'heritage resource'.[342] Heritage, as the White Paper defined it, was considered the

> […] sum total of wildlife and scenic parks, sites of scientific and historical importance, national monuments, historic buildings, works of art, literature and music, oral traditions, and museum collections and their documentation, which provides the basis for a shared culture and creativity in the arts.[343]

The emphasis on graves and cemeteries as a form of heritage carried over from the apartheid period but was not the only way that these memorial spaces became part of heritage in post-apartheid South Africa. During the youth protests of the 1980s, apartheid police murdered a large number of young people whose graves became a symbolic driving force that the senseless violence, and oppression of the apartheid regime had to end.[344] Noel Solani and Bongani C. Ndhlovu write that "[t]he graveyard took a biographical posture and gave rise to the narratives of the oppressed", and that "[c]emeteries of the oppressed […] helped produce a rebellious kind of remembering and recalling which stood in stark contrast to the objective of the apartheid machinery".[345] As anger rose from the killing of children, and restrictions were placed on the political activities in townships, funerals also became a protest against the apartheid state. Garey Dennie explains that "mourners wove their pain of bereavement into a

---

[341] South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 'White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage', 1996, 4.
[342] SADACST, 'White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage', 28.
[343] *Ibid*., 6.
[344] Noel Solani and Bongani C. Ndhlovu, 'From Graves to Official Memorials: Re-Presentation and Re-Negotiating Memorials and Monuments in 21st Century South Africa', in *Public History, Heritage and Culture in South Africa*, ed. Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu and Ali Khangela Hlongwane (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishing, 2021), 16.
[345] *Ibid*., 16.

fabric of political resistance to apartheid", where thousands of people would attend the funerals of strangers in mass protest.[346] Dennie further explains that the burial of the dead as political became key to black mourning rites, and resistance in South Africa.[347] This political nature of funerals and graves would become a key component of the commemoration of struggle heroes in the later post-apartheid period.

The majority of post-apartheid South Africa's early national identity revolved around the discourse of a so-called 'rainbow nation', prioritising notions of diversity, reconciliation, and the end of apartheid.[348] Kate Ronan writes that "any comment on nation building in the 'new' South Africa must take into account the power of metaphors", particularly the metaphor of the 'rainbow nation'.[349] Popularised by the late Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the idea of the rainbow nation surrounds the notion of a society where discrimination based on race and ethnicity no longer exists.[350] It symbolised the vision of a multicultural, diverse society living in harmony after years of racial segregation and conflict. Although conceptualised in an attempt to unite South Africans, the idea of multiculturalism is rooted in difference, rather than similarity.[351] This has seen a kind of cultural essentialism taking root, where South Africans are characterised by bound ethnic identities constructed during apartheid.[352] Rassool explains that "culture is framed largely in primordial terms", essentialising stereotypes that have "partially been constructed in the colonial gaze".[353] In the second decade of the 2000s, many young South Africans had grown disillusioned with the idea of a 'rainbow nation', as well as

---

[346] Dennie, 'The Cultural Politics of Burial in South Africa, 240.
[347] *Ibid*., 243.
[348] Kate Ronan, 'Memory, Place and Nation-Building: Remembering in the "New" South Africa', *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*, 2007, 14.
[349] *Ibid*., 14.
[350] *Ibid*., 14.
[351] Gary Baines, 'The Rainbow Nation? Identity and Nation Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Mots Pluriels* 7 (1998): 5.
[352] Rassool, 'The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa', 1.
[353] *Ibid*., 6.

any hope of reconciliation of the past.[354] So, while the concept of the 'rainbow nation' was a hopeful vision for a unified South Africa in the early post-apartheid period, in the present, persistent economic and social disparities, ongoing racial tensions, criticism of superficial reconciliation efforts that focused on symbolic acts, corruption, and mismanagement within the government have left many with a negative view of rainbow nationalism.

The National Heritage Resources Act, the TRC, and SAHRA

In 1999, the *War Graves and National Monuments Act* was repealed and replaced by the *National Heritage Resources Act* (NHRA).[355] The first official heritage legislation of the democratic era, the NHRA provided a legal framework for the transformation of official memory and heritage in the country, with particular emphasis on appropriate management of heritage resources.[356] Heritage, as outlined by the NHRA in its preamble, is important as it defines South Africa's cultural identity, and holds the power to build the new nation.[357] The Act states:

> Our heritage celebrates our achievements and contributes to redressing past inequities. It educates, it deepens our understanding of society and encourages us to empathise with the experience of others. It facilitates healing and material and symbolic restitution, and it promotes new and previously neglected research into our rich oral traditions and customs.[358]

The NHRA decommissioned the former NMC, which was to be replaced by the newly created state heritage body, the *South African Heritage Resources Agency* (SAHRA). SAHRA was tasked with "the management of heritage resources at the national level".[359] SAHRA was to

[354] Roux, *Remaking the Urban*, 11.
[355] 'National Heritage Resources Act', (1999).
[356] DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation*, (n.d) Volume 1, 131.
[357] 'National Heritage Resources Act', (1999).
[358] *Ibid*.
[359] DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation,* 131.

form a council, with a minimum of nine members representative of each of the provinces in South Africa, but allowed up to a maximum of fifteen members, all of whom are appointed by the Minister of Arts and Culture.[360] SAHRA is responsible for all 'culturally significant' sites or objects that form part of South Africa's national estate.[361] The NHRA provides nine factors for what can be defined as culturally significant, or of 'special value':

- its importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa's history.
- its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage.
- its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage.
- its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of South Africa's natural or cultural places or objects.
- its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group.
- its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period.
- its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons.
- its strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group, or organisation of importance in the history of South Africa.
- sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa.[362]

[360] 'National Heritage Resources Act', (1999).
[361] 'National Heritage Resources Act', (1999).
[362] *Ibid*.

The NHRA introduced a tier system of heritage resource management, and made provision for the establishment of provincial, and local heritage resource authorities. 'Grade I' heritage resources are the responsibility of SAHRA and defined as those with "qualities so exceptional that they are of special national significance'.[363] These would be sites that are considered integral to the history of the country, such as Robben Island in the Western Cape where former president Nelson Mandela was incarcerated for eighteen years.[364] 'Grade II' are heritage resources that form part of the national estate, but "have special qualities which make them significant within the context of a province or a region", and as such, fall under the authority of provincial heritage bodies.[365] An example of a provincial heritage site would be the Smuts House Museum in Gauteng, residence of former prime minister J.C. Smuts.[366] 'Grade III' are defined as "[o]ther heritage resources worthy of conservation", and are the responsibility of local (municipal) heritage authorities, usually the Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture.[367] An example of this would be the Pearson Conservatory in St George's Park, Gqeberha which was established in 1882 to cultivate exotic plants.[368] In practice, this three tier system of heritage agencies, and resource grading has resulted in confusion around responsibilities, and jurisdiction, as will be seen in Chapter 5.

SAHRA: Burial Grounds and Graves

SAHRA is mandated by Section 36 of the NHRA for the protection and maintenance of all 'culturally significant' graves, allowing SAHRA to establish the *Burial Grounds and Graves Unit* (BGG) to "declare, restore and rehabilitate graves of cultural significance, and to build

---

[363] *Ibid.*
[364] Robben Island Museum, 'Home - Robben Island Museum', accessed 2 January 2025, https://www.robben-island.org.za/.
[365] 'No. 25 National Heritage Resources Act', (1999).
[366] The Smuts House Museum, 'Welcome to the Smuts House Museum', 2 January 2025, https://www.smutshouse.co.za/.
[367] 'No. 25 National Heritage Resources Act', (1999).
[368] Nelson Mandela Bay Tourism, 'Pearson Conservatory', accessed 2 January 2025, https://www.nmbt.co.za/listing/pearson_conservatory.html.

stakeholder relations that will improve the management of heritage resources".[369] 'Grave' is defined by the NHRA as a "place of interment", and includes "the contents, headstone or other marker of such a place", as well as "any other structure on or associated with such a place".[370] SAHRA states that "graves and burial sites form an important part of South Africa's heritage" as they play an "important role in structuring individual and national identities".[371] Section 36 of the NHRA specifically aims to protect:

- Graves of victims of conflict
- Graves or burial grounds older than 60 years old which is situated outside a formal cemetery administered by a local authority
- Graves of victims of conflict including people who died in any of the colonial wars
- Graves of people who died in the liberation struggle of South Africa.[372]

The NHRA further prioritises and includes within the 'national estate' graves and burial grounds such as 'ancestral graves', royal graves, graves of traditional leaders, historical graves and cemeteries, "human remains not covered by the *Human Tissue Act* (1983),[373] and "sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa".[374] SAHRA is additionally responsible for conducting the identification of graves of "certain categories of victim in the liberation struggles" such as:

---

[369] SAHRA, 'Burial Grounds and Graves'. The BGG Unit has since been absorbed into the Development Applications Unit.
[370] 'National Heritage Resources Act' (1999),
[371] SAHRA, 'Burial Grounds and Graves'.
[372] SAHRA, 'Which Types of Graves are being Protected', BGG Brochure.
[373] The Human Tissue Act (1983) is defined as an "Act to provide for the donation or the making available of human bodies and tissue for the purposes of medical or dental training, research or therapy or the advancement of medicine or dentistry in general; for the post-mortem examination of certain human bodies; for the removal of tissue, blood and gametes from the bodies of living persons and the use thereof for medical or dental purposes; for the control of the artificial fertilization of persons; and for the regulations of the import and export of human tissue, blood and gametes, and to provide for matters connected therewith".
[374] Republic of South Africa Government Gazette. No. 25 National Heritage Resources Act (1999), 14.

- Mass Struggles
- Political Boycotts
- Political Banishments
- Protest Marches
- Political Assassinations
- Police Custody/Detention.[375]

SAHRA explains that "[g]raves and monuments are […] tangible and symbolic reminders of individual, family, and community histories of bereavement. This history is as much concerned with the record of individual loss, as with collective representation of suffering, or ideas of *patriotic sacrifice or national aspirations* [emphasis added]".[376]

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: The Commemoration of Struggle Heroes

The proliferation of memorials to struggle heroes and victims of apartheid was predominantly driven by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which recommended the establishment of memorials as a form of 'symbolic reparation'.[377] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa was founded on a clause of the 1993 *Interim Constitution*,[378] and officially established with the passing of the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act* of 1995, which provided for "the investigation and the establishment of as complete a picture as possible of the nature, causes and extent of gross violations of human rights committed during the period from 1 March 1960".[379] The TRC's mandate started with the

[375] SAHRA, 'Victims of Liberation Struggle', BGG Brochure.
[376] SAHRA, 'Burial Grounds and Graves'.
[377] DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation*, 44.
[378] Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission', 2023, https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/.
[379] Republic of South Africa Government, 'No. 34 Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act' (1995), 1-2.

occurrence of the Sharpeville Massacre on 1 March 1960, and ended with the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as the first democratic president of the Republic of South Africa in 1994.[380]

Operating between 1996 and 2002,[381] the TRC provided a space where victims of apartheid violence could provide testimony on human rights violations, and to allow the perpetrators of these 'politically-motivated' offences to apply for amnesty, whilst still maintaining their human rights.[382] The TRC was seen as the first step of a 'bridge-building process' conceptualised to heal the past, and build a future founded on democracy and human rights.[383] However, globally and historically, truth commissions are ultimately symbolic, and do not have the power to prosecute, or to institute reform, therefore the truth commission's impact is on how they codify and institute an 'official' understanding of the past, as well as set the tone for the future.[384] The TRC has been criticised by scholars such as Noor Nieftagodien for focusing on simple binaries, such as good versus evil, black versus white, and victim versus perpetrator, that ignores the complexity of interaction between people during the apartheid period so as to mobilise history "behind a nationalist narrative".[385] Heidi Grunebaum explains that these binary or oppositional relationships creates a "false moral equivalency" between the violence of the apartheid state as inherently evil, with the resistance and of the liberation movement as inherently morally good.[386] Another criticism of the TRC has been its mandated focus on direct political violence, with the exclusion of the 'everyday' structural violence of apartheid such as the flawed system of racial classification, land dispossession, restrictive pass

---

[380] Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, Volume 1', 1998, 1. This mandate has been criticised by scholars such as Ciraj Rassool and Martin Legassick as it excludes the violence of the colonial period.
[381] Nicky Rousseau, 'The Farm, the River and the Picnic Spot: Topographies of Terror', *African Studies* 68, no. 3 (2009): 352.
[382] DoJCD, 'TRC Report', 2.
[383] *Ibid.,* 48.
[384] Wilson, *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, 16.
[385] Christopher Saunders and Cynthia Kros, 'Conversations with Historians', *South African Historical Journal* 51, no. 1 (2004): 1.
[386] Heidi Grunebaum, 'Debates on Memory Politics and Counter-Memory Practices in South Africa in the 1990s', *Education as Change* 22, no. 2 (2018), 6.

laws, and migrant labour, to name a few.[387] This resulted in reducing reconciliation to that between "former [male] political enemies, state agents and political activists", rather than addressing a major fundamental issue in South Africa, the "racial and economic divide".[388]

The focus on direct political repression and violence also served as a means for white South Africans to shift accountability solely onto the NP, claiming a form of innocence, despite having benefitted from the system of apartheid.[389] Madeleine Fullard and Nicky Rousseau disagree with the criticism of the TRC as an authoriser of public memory. They challenge the representation of the TRC as an agent of the ANC, and the notion that the Commission was "actively fabricating a moral order that legitimated and authorised the post-apartheid state".[390] They argue that the notion of the TRC's primary objective as a project that produced authorised histories "reduces [the TRC] to an intellectual enterprise" despite not being founded in South African historiography.[391] Instead, they write, the Commission's genealogy is rooted in the 'transitional justice initiatives' and the human rights framework of truth commissions in Argentina, El Salvador, and Chile.[392]

Despite not starting as an 'intellectual enterprise', the TRC did evolve into an authoriser of memory. Grunebaum writes that testimonies heard by the TRC categorised individuals into a "homogenous and disembodied collective narrative" that could be generalised, and a script in which "political struggle followed by negotiations, transitions to democracy, moral triumph and reconciliation" created a neat, linear narrative of the past with clear victims and perpetrators.[393] This resulted in the exclusion of experiences of people that did not fit neatly

[387] Fullard and Rousseau, 'Uncertain Borders', 225.
[388] *Ibid*., 225.
[389] Grunebaum, 'Debates on Memory Politics and Counter-Memory Practices', 7.
[390] Fullard and Rousseau, 'Uncertain Borders', 218.
[391] *Ibid*., 233.
[392] *Ibid*., 233.
[393] Grunebaum, 'Debates on Memory Politics and Counter-Memory Practices', 10-14.

into the category of victims of political violence, those of so-called ‘ordinary people’ and ‘everyday life’ under apartheid, and an authorised narrative of violent struggle for freedom.[394]

The main way the TRC was able to create an official narrative was through its representation to the public. The TRC presented itself as “uncovering and unearthing” the country’s past.[395] As a consequence, the TRC became the publicly recognised authority on the apartheid past and were imbued with official authority through its state-legislated establishment.[396] Historian Brent Harris explains that the TRC became ‘self-referential’, archiving the evidence it required to support the history it produced and ensuring the veracity of that history.[397] This created the impression that the history was real because it was based on tangible evidence.[398] Furthermore, as a result of amnesty confessions from secret police, a small number of unofficial exhumations took place between 1997 and 1998.[399] These people had been classified as ‘unjustly buried’, which consisted of banned funerals, mistreated corpses, and the missing bodies of those killed by apartheid secret police.[400] In March 1997, the bodies of three ANC guerillas were exhumed from farms in KwaZulu-Natal where they had been shot dead after being abducted and interrogated by the police.[401] Through this process, guerrilla bodies became representative of the ‘unjustly buried’, requiring justice and restitution through their remains being located, identified, exhumed, and reburied with dignity.[402] The physical reburial of the three guerrillas, and the symbolic reburial of an additional two people

---

[394] *Ibid*., 10-14.
[395] Brent Harris, ‘“Unearthing” the “Essential” Past: The Making of a Public “National” Memory Through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1994-1998’ (Master of Arts, Bellville, University of the Western Cape, 1998), 3.
[396] *Ibid*., 3.
[397] *Ibid*., 15.
[398] *Ibid*., 15.
[399] Nicky Rousseau, ‘Identification, Politics, Disciplines: Missing Persons and Colonial Skeletons in South Africa’, in *Human Remains and Identification*, ed. Élisabeth Anstett and Jean-Marc Dreyfus, Mass Violence, Genocide, and the ‘Forensic Turn’ (Manchester University Press, 2015), 177-178.
[400] *Ibid*., 177.
[401] *Ibid*., 177.
[402] *Ibid*., 177.

that had been thrown into the 'crocodile-infested' water of the Tugela River, would set the theme for later reburials: mourners dressed in ANC regalia would sing songs associated with the freedom struggle, effectively marking the burial of the dead a political act.[403] Through this process, members of political organisations that had fought the apartheid regime became lauded as the heroes of the nation, and 'resistance' became the new heritage of the country.

The Missing Person's Task Team, 2005 - Present

The *Missing Persons Task Team* (MPTT) was established by the National Prosecuting Authority on recommendation by the TRCs final report in 2005.[404] Its objective was to officially investigate the whereabouts of the approximately 477 missing people categorized as victims of apartheid-era disappearances.[405] The MPTT deals with apartheid-era 'extra-judicial' killings, such as enforced disappearances resulting in covert murders, as well as so-called 'lawful killings' such as the execution of people participating in what the apartheid state labelled as 'riots'.[406] During enforced disappearances, apartheid security police conceal evidence of wrongdoing by the disposal of bodies, which included the burning of corpses, or the use of explosives, which would be perceived publicly as failed 'terrorist acts' by the deceased.[407] 'Lawful' killings would result in bodies being left where they fell to be taken to mortuaries, whereafter they would be buried in pauper graves.[408] The MPTT was largely based on the work of the *Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense* [Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team*,* EAFF] established in 1984 to locate, exhume, and identify the remains

---

403 Fullard and Rousseau, 'Uncertain Borders', 243.
404 Rousseau, 'Identification, Politics, Disciplines, 188
405 *Ibid*., 187.
406 Moosage, 'Missing-Ness, History and Apartheid-Era Disappearances', 1-2.
407 *Ibid*., 2. This framing of botched acts of 'terrorism' also sought to represent the resistance fighters as inept.
408 *Ibid*., 2. Moosage refers to this process of becoming part of the system as the 'bureaucracy of death'. Lawful killings also took the form of political prisoners who were hanged, and bodies buried in unmarked graves.

of the *desaparecidos* [disappeared] of the Argentine dictatorship.[409] Where the MPTT differed from the EAFF, however, was that the process of the EAFF placed the closure of the *desaparecidos*' family members at the centre of the work, whereas the MPTT's focus was on the remains themselves: establishing identity through forensic pathology, investigating the cause of death, determining who was responsible,[410] and reburying the deceased as so-called 'heroes of the nation', sometimes over-riding a family's claim to their loved ones.[411] Rousseau writes that "the impetus to script funerals of those killed during the anti-apartheid struggle as politicised moments of resistance and mobilisation often left little room for personal familial grief".[412]

With the exception of one person, all exhumations undertaken by the MPTT were of guerrilla bodies.[413] Through recovery and reburial, these remains had shifted discursively from those of 'terrorists' as represented by the apartheid state, to 'victims of state terror' by the TRC, and finally to 'heroes of liberation' through the political reburial of their remains by the ANC.[414] Rousseau writes that the exhumation and reburial of these remains under the flag of the ANC served as a way to centre them in a discourse of heroism and nation-building.[415] Although these murders represent only a small number of acts of apartheid violence, memorialisation initiatives have focused primarily on this one category of violence.[416] For example, the way in which the 'Cradock Four '- Fort Calata, Matthew Goniwe, Sicelo Mhlauli,

---

[409] Alexa Hagerty, *Still Life with Bones: Genocide, Forensics, and What Remains*, First Edition (New York: Crown. Random House, 2023), 117. The *Equipo Argentina de Antropología Forense* (EAFF) was established one year after the fall of the Argentine Dictatorship in 1983. The team have done work in over sixty countries exhuming mass graves to identify human-rights violations.
[410] Moosage, 'Missing-Ness, History and Apartheid-Era Disappearances: The Figuring of Siphiwo Mthimkulu, Tobekile "Topsy" Madaka and Sizwe Kondile as Missing Dead Persons' (PhD Thesis, Cape Town, University of the Western Cape, 2018), 14.
[411] Rousseau, 'Identification, Politics, Disciplines', 191.
[412] *Ibid*., 191.
[413] *Ibid*., 184-185.
[414] *Ibid*., 351.
[415] *Ibid*., 352.
[416] *Ibid*., 352

and Sparrow Mkonto- were co-opted into what Rousseau calls ‘resistance histories’,[417] underscores how these four individuals were first represented in political discourse as ‘activists’, then ‘victims of human rights abuses’, and finally fashioned as ‘absolute enemies of the [apartheid] state’.[418] Through the inscription to public memory of the disappeared as heroes who “gave up their lives” for the freedom of the nation, it suggests that these people are politically relevant not for *who* they were, but for *what* they were: imagined heroes who selflessly fought for the end of a brutal regime to bring about a new democratic state.[419] Beyond their service to the nation, they seem to lose their own significance as individuals,[420] and through their status as deceased, their motives and actions are open to appropriation and misrepresentation by the state.[421] This means that despite commemoration the individuals matter not for who they were as individuals, but rather how the state is able to use their memory in order to authorise a specific narrative.

Skeletons of Empire – The Collection of Indigenous Skeletons for Display

The TRC’s mandate on violence starting with the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 was criticised by scholars such as Premesh Lalu who argued that the colonial dead were still missing and in need of restitution.[422] One such category of colonial dead is what Rassool refers to as ‘skeletons of empire’.[423] The remains of indigenous people stolen from their graves in the name of colonial ‘science’ are dead bodies that Rassool explains, “spoke to longer histories of dismemberment

[417] Moosage, ‘Missing-Ness, History and Apartheid-Era Disappearances’, 16.
[418] Pillay, ‘The Partisan’s Violence, Law and Apartheid’, 44
[419] Moosage, ‘Missing-Ness, History and Apartheid-Era Disappearances’, 16
[420] Karating, ‘Exhumations, Reburials and History-Making in Post-Apartheid South Africa’, 20.
[421] Marschall, ‘Pointing to the Dead’, 104
[422] Premesh Lalu, *The Deaths of Hintsa: Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts* (South Africa: HSRC Press, 2009). The limitation of the mandated time period is acknowledged within the TRC Final Report of 1998.
[423] Rassool, ‘Re-Storing the Skeletons of Empire’, 653.

and dissection”.[424] These human remains, their repatriation, and reburial, form a small part of public memory and. only a few are conscripted into the national political discourse.

During the late colonial period, large numbers of indigenous Khoi and San remains were illegally exhumed from graves and sold to museums and academic ‘collectors’ for exhibition in both South Africa, as well as Europe. Despite the passing of the *‘Bushman-Relics Protection Act’* in 1911 that sought to protect the graves of indigenous South African people, SANS, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, did not have any real power to enforce this law, and thus did little to hinder the plunder of burial sites.[425] Peter Kolb’s 1719 *Capvt Bonae Spei Hodiernvm* [The Current State of the Cape of Good Hope] is believed to have been the foundation for scientific scholarly development at the Cape.[426] Much of the earlier ‘non-scientific’ depictions of the Cape Colony were discarded as Kolb’s 900-page encyclopaedia on the indigenous people, geography, and natural surroundings became the authoritative work on the region.[427] Kolb established the practice of personal observation, replacing earlier studies based on second-hand knowledge from travellers. Huigen explains that “scientific interest in Southern Africa was nourished by a new empirical science that was interested mainly in accumulating and evaluating an encyclopaedic collection of empirical facts”.[428] In the emerging field of physical anthropology, the idea of race became central to studies on the people of the colonies.

In 1877, the British Colonial government established the *South African Philosophical Society* which emphasized “the need to study native groups before they disappeared”.[429] Dr Heinrich Lichtenstein, who was part of a growing trend of European ‘scientists’ collecting

[424] Rousseau, ‘Identification, Politics, Disciplines’, 185-186.
[425] Union of South Africa, ‘No. 2 Bushman-Relics Protection Act’ (1911).
[426] Huigen, *Knowledge and Colonialism*, 5.
[427] *Ibid*., 5-6.
[428] *Ibid*., 6.
[429] Morris, ‘Searching for “real” Hottentots’, 222.

bones of so-called ‘primitive species’ to be displayed in European museums, arrived at the Cape in 1803 to add to his growing collection of human skeletal remains.[430] The Colony was visited by two foremost anthropologists of the time, Felix von Luschan, curator of the Berlin *Museum für Völkerkunde* [Museum of Ethnology], and Alfred Haddon from Cambridge University, to provide guidance on the collection and maintenance of systematic collections of skeletal remains, as well as how to use anthropological data to “understand the native peoples that they governed”.[431] In South Africa, the Iziko South African Museum (formerly the South African Museum) in Cape Town, the National Museum in Bloemfontein, the Anatomy Departments at both the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town, the Albany Museum in Makhanda, and the McGregor Museum in Kimberley were all implicated in the collection of indigenous skeletal remains.[432] These colonial collections have raised ethical debates in the post-apartheid period surrounding whether museums are an appropriate place to store human remains, as well as who has the legal jurisdiction to repatriate and rebury them.[433] For example, the post-apartheid government inherited the collection of the Genadendal Mission Museum in the Western Cape from the apartheid government which included over 2,500 objects from the Moravian Mission Station and the later teachers’ training college built there, including a human skull.[434] All “cultural treasures” declared by the *National Monuments Act* of 1969 automatically gained “Specifically Declared Heritage Objects/Collection(s)” status from the *National Heritage Resource Act* of 1999, including the skull.[435] According to the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture:

[430] *Ibid*., 223.
[431] *Ibid*., 223.
[432] DAC, *Review of Legislation'*, 39.
[433] *Ibid*., 38. Although these remains tell the stories of “dispossession and marginalisation”, South Africa currently has no national policy on reburial of these remains.
[434] South Africa, Department of Sports, Arts and Culture. ‘Amendment of Gazette Notice No. 431 Published in the Government Gazette 13052 on 8th March 1991’. Government Gazette No. 45176. (17 September 2021).
[435] *Ibid*. Additionally, all former National Monuments gained “Provincial Heritage Status”, regardless if they met the criteria for Grade II listing by SAHRA.

> [a]t the time of declaration, it was not uncommon or considered unethical for human remains to be exhibited and viewed in the same way as objects. This perception has changed, and policies inform that it is unethical for museums to keep human remains in their collections.[436]

As a result, 30 years after its declaration in 1991, the skull was deaccessioned from the collection by SAHRA, and as of 2021, was to be returned to a claimant for reburial.[437] These policies are largely informed by the work of the Iziko Museum, who maintain the largest collection of human remains in South Africa.[438] They have initiated public discourse on repatriation and reburial of these illegally plundered human remains, and how to restore the humanity of these people, and provide dignity to their descendants.[439]

Arguably one of the most well-known people in the category of 'skeletons of empire' is Sara Baartman.[440] In July 1810, Baartman, a Gonaqua Khoi woman arrived in London to be displayed as a human curiosity in travelling 'freakshows'.[441] Baartman had lost her mother at a young age, and following her father's passing as a teenager, she entered into indentured servitude in Cape Town.[442] She was later in the service of Pieter and Hendrick Cezar, who allegedly 'convinced' Baartman that her 'unusual' body would draw paying crowds in England.[443] As Yvette Abrahams notes, there are differing opinions on the matter, however,

[436] *Ibid*.
[437] 'Amendment of Gazette Notice No. 431'.
[438] 1,400 people at the time of the report published in 2013.
[439] Iziko Museums of South Africa, 'Annual Report 2012', (2013), 15.
[440] Also commonly referred to as Saartjie Baartman. I choose here to refer to her by 'Sara', rather than the diminutive 'Saartjie'.
[441] Clifton Crais, and Pamela Scully. "Lost and Found." In *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography*, (Princeton University Press, 2009), 103.
[442] Andrew P. Lyons, 'The Two Lives of Sara Baartman: Gender, "Race," Politics and the Historiography of Mis/Representation', *Anthropologica* 60, no. 1 (2018): 330.
[443] Kerseboom, 'Grandmother-Martyr-Heroine', 63. Throughout all dealings between colonisers and the colonised one must remain aware of power dynamics. It is unlikely that Sara Baartman had much say in her servitude, nor her removal from Cape Town to London.

her own historiographical and archival research leads Abrahams to assert that Baartman was indeed enslaved.[444]

Baartman's prominent steatopygia (accumulation of fat around the lower part of the body) was believed to be exacerbated by her small stature, standing only 1.3 metres tall, and was a particular point of interest for European spectators.[445] From first contact with the Khoi at the Cape, Europeans were interested in the perceived physical and cultural differences between themselves.[446] Travellers aboard ships stopping at the Cape refreshment station came into contact with the Khoi, whom, with their lack of "neat clothes", no discernible material culture, and "strange language" were described as animals.[447] This representation of the Khoi as non-human was to become common for this period of time. In alleged mockery of her body, Baartman was nicknamed the "Hottentot" *Venus* as a joke, and was put on display in London to be gawked at by spectators.[448] She was later moved to Paris in 1815 when an animal trainer acquired the "right to exhibit" Baartman to the public.[449] The French anatomist, Georges Cuvier developed an obsession with Baartman, particularly her "Hottentot apron" (what European racial scientists called an extended labia minora that they believed was a feature of all Khoi women), which Baartman refused to expose to Cuvier.[450] After her death in 1815, Cuvier acquired Baartman's remains, which he dissected and analysed.[451] He published his 'findings'

---

[444] Yvette Abrahams, 'Images of Sara Bartman: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in Early Nineteenth-century Britain', 223.

[445] Andrew P. Lyons, 'The Two Lives of Sara Baartman: Gender, "Race," Politics and the Historiography of Mis/Representation', *Anthropologica* 60, no. 1 (2018): 330.

[446] Alan G. Morris, 'Searching for "Real" Hottentots: The Khoekhoe in the History of South African Physical Anthropology', *Southern African Humanities* 20, no. 1 (2008): 221.

[447] Huigen, *Knowledge and Colonialism*, 4.

[448] Pamela Scully, and Clifton Crais. "Race and Erasure: Sara Baartman and Hendrik Cesars in Cape Town and London." *Journal of British Studies* 47, no. 2 (2008): 301.

[449] Lyons, 'The Two Lives of Sara Baartman', 330. It has been rumoured that Baartman was also made to wear a slave collar during her time in Paris.

[450] *Ibid*., 331. Interest (both scientific and voyeuristic) in this so-called "Hottentot apron" which was deemed an "anatomical peculiarity" led men such as the soldier Robert Gordon to perform invasive gynaecological examinations of Khoi women. Khoi women were exposed to an 'ethnopornographic' gaze- that is, a dehumanising representation in which the idea of sexualised racial difference was constructed based on the genitals and buttocks of the Khoi.

[451] Kerseboom, 'Grandmother-Martyr-Heroine', 63.

on her genitalia in the academic journal *Histoire Naturelle des Mammiferes* [Natural History of Mammals] in which he argued that the Khoi body was more closely related to that of an ape, than modern humans.[452] Cuvier cast Baartman's body in plaster, preserved her brain and genitals in formalin, and removed her skeleton, which were placed on exhibition at the *Jardin des Plantes* [Garden of Plants], where she was displayed until 1937.[453] Baartman's skeleton and her plaster cast were then placed on display at the *Musée de l'Homme* [Museum of Humankind] until the 1970s,[454] when French feminists successfully protested to have her remains removed from public exhibition.[455]

At the Griqua National Conference in 1995, the genealogist and head of the Khoi Reference Group (KRG), Mansell Upham, pleaded with the newly elected ANC to repatriate Sara Baartman's remains in recognition of "the plight of indigenous people" and "reclaim an almost forgotten Khoekhoe/San heritage".[456] After a number of failed attempts, Thabo Mbeki, who had replaced Nelson Mandela as president in 1999, was able to negotiate the return of Baartman to South Africa in May 2000.[457] Brigitte Mabandla, then Minister of Arts and Culture noted that Baartman's return to South Africa symbolised the "return of African cultural heritage from Europe".[458] On National Woman's Day on 9 August 2002, Baartman was buried on Vergaderingskop Hill, Hankey, in the Eastern Cape.[459] This was met with some contestation, as the majority of scholarly sources point towards Baartman's home region being the Camdeboo, near Graaff-Reinet.[460]

---

[452] *Ibid*., 63.
[453] *Ibid*., 63.
[454] *Ibid*., 63.
[455] Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 282.
[456] Kerseboom, 'Grandmother-Martyr-Heroine', 63-64.
[457] *Ibid*., 64.
[458] *Ibid*., 64.
[459] *Ibid*., 63.
[460] Scully and Crais, 'Race and Erasure', 307.

According to UNESCO, Baartman's funeral followed 'Khoi traditions': "[Baartman's] remains were wrapped in a traditional costume and purified with herbs that were set on fire. Two wreaths of aloe adorned the coffin".[461] Despite following what was believed to be Khoi traditions, the entire funeral process was surrounded by contestation. A number of Khoi groups opposed the decision to bury Baartman on Women's Day, as they saw this as an attempt to make her remains part of a political narrative.[462]

At the funeral, former president Thabo Mbeki gave a speech where he emphasised Baartman's role in building the new post-apartheid nation, and her importance as a symbol of inequality in South Africa's past.[463] Mbeki heralded Baartman as the 'grandmother of the nation', which as Kerseboom argues, allows Baartman's remains to be appropriated into both Mandela's 'rainbow nation', and Mbeki's 'African Renaissance'.[464]

Additionally, the ANC specifically chose Baartman's burial date to coincide with South African National Woman's Day, and the International Day of the World's Indigenous People, 9 August.[465] In his speech, Mbeki stated:

> Today we celebrate our National Women's Day. We therefore convey our congratulations and best wishes to all the women of our country. We also mark this day fully conscious of the responsibility that falls on us to ensure that we move with greater speed towards the accomplishment of *the goal of the creation of a non-sexist society*. Our work in this regard must be driven by the knowledge that the women of our country have borne the brunt of the oppressive and exploitative system of colonial and apartheid domination. Even today, the women of our country carry the burden of poverty and continue to be exposed to unacceptable violence and abuse. It will never be possible for

---

[461] UNESCO, 'Saartjie Baartman Memorial', CIPDH - UNESCO, accessed 30 August 2023, https://www.cipdh.gob.ar/memorias-situadas/en/lugar-de-memoria/memorial-saartjie-baartman/.
[462] Kerseboom, 'Grandmother-Martyr-Heroine', 64. The KRG also objected to the metal fence that was placed around the burial site, as it hinders free movement of the spirit, and they requested that the fence be removed.
[463] UNESCO, 'Saartjie Baartman Memorial'.
[464] Kerseboom, 'Grandmother-Martyr-Heroine', 64.
[465] Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 282.

> us to claim that we are making significant progress to create a new South Africa if we do not make significant progress towards gender equality and the emancipation of women [emphasis added].[466]

Many Khoi groups such as the KRG objected to the shifting of the narrative to the government's project of gender equality, rather than the hoped restoration of dignity to Sara Baartman and 'her people'.[467] Giuliana Iannaccaro writes that in his speech, Mbeki "takes advantage of [Baartman] being a woman to solemnly confirm the South African's government obligation […] to the creation of a non-sexist society".[468] However, Mbeki also appropriated the story of Baartman's life as representative of the treatment of all African people during the colonial past. Mbeki was quoted as saying that "the story of Sarah Bartmann is the story of the *African people* of our country in all their echelons. It is the story of the loss of *our* ancient freedom" [emphasis added].[469] Iannaccaro explains that through doing this, Mbeki used "rhetorical strategies" that emphasised Baartman as a symbol of the "traumatic experience of a whole nation".[470] Baartman thus became emblematic of a single representation of being black or African, authorised by Mbeki's speech as a singular representation of the experience of all African people in the past, with no acknowledgment of complexity of those experiences. Despite the condemning of Baartman's colonial representation as a "savage monstrosity",[471] Baartman was

[466] Thabo Mbeki, 'Speech at the Funeral of Sarah Bartmann' (Speech, Hankey, Eastern Cape, 9 August 2002), http://web.archive.org/web/20171228003247/https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/speech-funeral-sarah-bartmann-9-august-2002.
[467] Jeanne van der Merwe, 'Sarah's Soul "Cries with Relief"', *IOL*, 9 August 2002
[468] Giuliana Iannaccaro, 'Whose Trauma? Discursive Practices in Saartjie Baartman's Literary Afterlives' (EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste, 21 December 2015), 38. In Scott Burnett et al.'s 'A Politics of Reminding: Khoisan Resurgence and Environmental Justice in South Africa's Sarah Baartman District' they write that in today's popular culture, Baartman is seen as a defiant, powerful woman, and an "Indigenous feminine icon", showing again how Baartman's image and representation continues to evolve and adapt.
[469] Johnson, 'Representing the Cape "Hottentots"', 526.
[470] *Ibid*., 38.
[471] Thabo Mbeki, 'Speech at the Funeral of Sarah Bartmann'.

appropriated into post-apartheid public memory as the 'grandmother of the nation', a martyr, and a national heroine.[472] Sadiah Qureshi writes that:

> […] even now there is no consensus on exactly who Baartman was, let alone *whose history she might best exemplify*. Once the French government agreed to her repatriation, many competing claims emerged from communities as to whom she belonged to, most obviously from groups claiming Khoekhoe descent, such as the Griqua. The fraught negotiations over how she should be buried and by whom provide a fascinating and a potent reminder of the differences that are all too often erased when Baartman is discussed as simply 'black' or 'African'.[473]

Additionally, Scully and Crais write that the complexities around questions of Baartman's agency are ignored when she is represented as either a defenceless black woman, or as a person with the capacity to practice free will.[474] These oppositional binary stances both allow Baartman to be appropriated into a variety of public narratives, erasing her identity once more.[475]

The ANC has been criticised for prioritising the commemoration of the heroic feats of male struggle heroes during the apartheid period, whilst the inclusion of women and non-binary individuals has only recently been added to the conversation.[476] Where women's roles were included however, they were predominantly represented as passive, and a sideline to the male members of resistance movements. This can be seen with Sara Baartman as well, where her role is one of passive victimhood, and commemorated not for who she was as an individual, but rather as a symbol of the trauma of a 'universal' black history. This emphasises the earlier

---

[472] Kerseboom, 'Grandmother-Martyr-Heroine', 64.
[473] Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 282.
[474] Scully and Crais. 'Race and Erasure', 303.
[475] *Ibid*., 303.
[476] Goolam Vahed, 'Women and National Liberation in South Africa: An Oral History Perspective', *South Asian Diaspora* 7, no. 2 (2015): 130.

point in this thesis surrounding missingness that people do not necessarily matter for who they are, but rather for the purpose they can serve in authorised narratives of public memory. Government definitions and/or understandings of indigeneity at the time also produced missingness. For instance, the repatriation of Baartman's remains was initially called for in hopes of the KRG gaining recognition for the 'plight of indigenous people' but was instead co-opted into the broader narratives of a unified black identity under Mbeki's African Renaissance.

The conscription of Baartman's remains into the political goals of the ANC at the time also serves as an example that only the human remains and graves of individuals that are appropriately 'useful' are chosen for official commemoration by the state. Louise Green and Noëleen Murray draw attention to the bones unearthed during the excavation and development of a luxury apartment building in Green Point, Cape Town.[477] After a series of debates around the remains, the developer ultimately won their appeal to continue work on the property, and the bones were exhumed and placed in an ossuary called the Prestwich Memorial.[478] These remains are alleged to belong to a former enslaved community residing at the Cape during the colonial period, however, these graves likely include other marginalised individuals from that period. Although the story the remains of these individuals tell are an important part of Western Cape history and the history of the city of Cape Town, they do not fit into the grander narrative of national public memory, despite falling under the 'national estate' in the NHRA.[479]

In 2015, amidst issues surrounding the #RhodesMustFall movement, Sara Baartman's grave was defaced with white paint.[480] In a press conference called after the event, a number

---

[477] Green and Murray, 'Notes for a Guide to the Ossuary', 374.
[478] *Ibid*., 375. An ossuary is a place where skeletal remains are stored.
[479] 'National Heritage Resources Act' (1999).
[480] BBC, 'South Africa Anger after Sarah Baartman's Grave Defaced', BBC News, 28 April 2015, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32499070.

of Khoisan leaders, including "Khoisan community Chief Daantjie Japhta" condemned the defacement of Baartman's grave, which he claims had brought dignity to their community.[481] It is unclear who the perpetrators were, but this vandalism of an individual's grave who was meant to symbolise the plight, and restoration of dignity of all black Africans is a representation of the contested nature of heritage, identity, and belonging in post-apartheid South Africa. This also shows that the contestation of memorials in South Africa does not only target white, colonial and apartheid monuments, but also indigenous and African figures. As a further example, PAC founder Robert Sobukwe's grave has also been subject to vandalism. In 2014, Sobukwe's grave in Graaff-Reinet was renovated, and officially declared a national heritage site after being badly damaged by members of the working class community.[482] Sobukwe's son, Dinilesizwe Sobukwe, attributed the vandalism to the large-scale unemployment and poverty of black communities in Graaff-Reinet, a fact which seems show the state's lack of understanding of the concerns of these communities, as the publicly funded grave restoration cost the state R500,000.[483] Baartman's grave and the garden of remembrance surrounding it seems to have been closed to the public after the vandalism incident. According to Google Maps, the site is 'permanently closed' to the public.[484] A personal visit to the grave in the town of Hankey, Eastern Cape revealed that the burial site was inaccessible to the public, locked behind a large fence and gate. The Khoi Cultural Education Centre that the KRG had requested was also unfinished, and similarly inaccessible. This is representative of an interesting pattern by the state. The initial public commemoration of these graves serves the state's necessary political purposes, but often, these sites of heritage eventually fall into disrepair. This can be seen in a number of cases in South Africa where municipal authorities fail to maintain these

[481] BBC, 'South Africa Anger after Sarah Baartman's Grave Defaced'.
[482] TH 18/08/2014 'Sobukwe Grave Restored'.
[483] *Ibid*.
[484] Google Maps. "Sarah Baartman Grave". Accessed 23 September 2023, from https://maps.app.goo.gl/VyNNXEyV8PhqetCL6.

heritage sites, such as the raw sewage running through Lingelihle Cemetery where the Cradock Four are buried,[485] and the destruction of Steve Biko’s grave.[486]

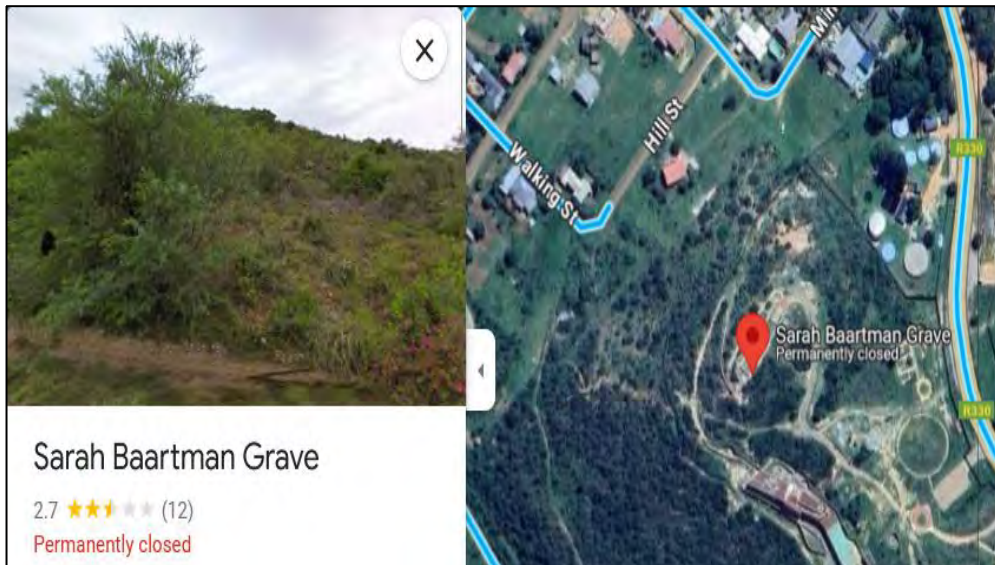


Figure 2 Baartman's grave, a 'National Heritage Site' is permanently closed to the public. (Google Maps. "Sarah Baartman Grave". Accessed 23 September 2023, from https://www.google.com/maps/place/Sarah+Baartman+Grave/@-33.8372841,24.8808043,546m/data=!3m1!1e3!4ml.

[485] Guy Rogers, ‘Sewage Still Pouring through Cradock Four Cemetery’, *DispatchLIVE*, 30 July 2020, https://www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/2020-07-30-sewage-still-pouring-through-cradock-four-cemetery/.

[486] Mashudu Sadike, ‘Freedom Fighters Turning in Their Graves as Their Last Places of Rest Are Desecrated’, *IOL*, 24 April 2024, https://www.iol.co.za/the-star/news/freedom-fighters-turning-in-their-graves-as-their-last-places-of-rest-are-desecrated-f2806eaf-d35f-4fb6-bf1c-d62bfd07c3b0.

Figure 3 Sara Baartman's grave site, and the unfinished Khoi Cultural Centre inaccessible behind a fence and locked gate. (Photographs by author, Hankey, Eastern Cape, September 2023).

Post-apartheid Commemoration in the second decade of the Twenty-First Century

The initial post-apartheid period saw the majority of public memory and heritage projects centring on 'struggle heroes' who died during resistance against apartheid, not only to honour the dead, but also to justify and legitimise the authority of the ANC as the ruling party. Between the 1970s and early 1990s, Hlongwane argues that there was a 'cultural explosion' which was influenced by and took place alongside "growing political militancy and insurrection".[487] He explains that political issues were "mirrored as an act of culture", which was defined predominantly by national liberation movements.[488] This is plausibly why cultural heritage and memorials in the post-apartheid period have centred particularly around 'heroes' of these resistance movements. Heritage, in the present, has fixated on 'resistance', which is to be understood as in opposition to 'white settler'. To be black, indigenous, and African, is automatically understood as to be part of the resistance.[489] Minkley writes that in authorised memory projects, "*real* heritage is represented as that which is indigenous and associated with resistance [emphasis added]".[490] This projects the idea of political 'resistance' conceptualised during the apartheid period, onto the colonial period, and sites deemed appropriate are incorporated into a resistance narrative. This can be seen with the Circle of Tombs (the Ten Kramats) in the Western Cape which were declared national heritage sites in 2021. SAHRA states that "these shrines are regarded as highly sacred places that represent the advent of Islam

[487] Ali Khangela Hlongwane, 'The Soyikwa Institute of African Theatre and the Cultural Movement of the 1970s and 1990s: Reflection on the Making of Cultural History in Soweto', in *Public History, Heritage and Culture in South Africa*, ed. Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu and Ali Khangela Hlongwane (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishing, 2021), 185.
[488] *Ibid*., 185.
[489] Gary Minkley, '"A Fragile Inheritor": The Post-Apartheid Memorial Complex, A.C. Jordan and the Re-Imagining of Cultural Heritage in the Eastern Cape', *Kronos* 34, no. 1 (2008): 17.
[490] *Ibid*., 25.

to southern Africa, and are *symbolic of the resistance* against religious, social and political oppression by the Dutch, slavery and British Colonisation [emphasis added]".[491]

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the emergence of a new nation necessitates a founding mythology on which to base its understanding of the past, and its vision for the future. In the present, these commemorative projects have shifted from reconciliation and nation building, towards the state's maintenance of political power.[492] For example, the focus of commemorative events prioritises party politics, rather than the desires of the struggle heroes' families. The opening ceremony of the *Heroes Acre* at Zwide Cemetery in Gqeberha in which in which a headstone was erected for Sizwe Kondile, as well as the dedication of a Wall of Remembrance in memory of Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Florence Matomela, and Sipho Hashe, was boycotted by the ANC.[493] This was the result of the superseding Democratic Alliance (DA) run municipality of Nelson Mandela Bay's going ahead with the event in September 2016, despite calls by the ANC to postpone the event in order to "properly discuss" the issue within the "provincial structures of the ANC".[494] Despite the DA NMB mayor at the time, Athol Trollip, acknowledging that it was not the DA that had started the process of commemoration, ANC branch leader Mike Xego stated that in going ahead with the event, the DA municipality was looking for "political gain", and that the people being honoured were members of the ANC, and thus "[the ANC's] victory".[495] Despite what some referred to as "petty politics", the families of the deceased were grateful that the event had continued, with

---

[491] South Africa. Department of Sports, Arts and Culture. Declaration of Ten (10) Kramats in the "Circle of Tombs" Situated at Various Locations Around the Cape Peninsula, Western Cape as National Heritage Sites. Government Gazette No. 45602. (3 December 2021).

[492] Mlambo, 'The Tragedy of the African National Congress (ANC) and Its Cadre Deployment Policy', 14.

[493] TH 05/10/2016, 'Most ANC Leaders Shun Heroes' Acre Event'; *The Herald*, 06/10/2016, 'Petty Politics an Insult to Heroes'

[494] *Ibid*.

[495] *Ibid*.

Sizwe Kondile's cousin, Pat Kondile, stating that the memorial meant a lot to the family as it shows Kondile was not “forgotten”.[496]

Richard Wilson writes that “despite the appeals to values of truth, justice or reconciliation, embattled politicians simply cannot resist the imperative to institutionalise past abuses in order to manufacture legitimacy for national bureaucracies”.[497] This can be seen in other post-colonial African countries such as Zimbabwe and Namibia. The Heroes’ Acre in Harare, Zimbabwe is seen as “[a] symbol of bravery and selflessness of those whose remains are laid to rest there”, focusing predominantly on those who died during the liberation war”.[498] Shepherd Mpofu argues that the Heroes’ Acre has instead become a shrine to the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and their narrative as liberators of the country.[499] Over time, as citizens became disillusioned with ZANU-PF's failures and their “liberation-war inspired legitimacy” wore off, the party made use of the dead heroes and creation of the Heroes’ Acre in an ideological attempt to restore their political legitimacy as the liberators of the nation.[500] Who is considered a national hero is often defined by the ruling party, and as such, members of the opposition, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) are not considered heroes, nor are they allowed to be buried in the Heroes’ Acre.[501] The definitions grant legitimacy as heroes only to a select few. Mpofu argues this legitimacy comes at “the expense of gender, democracy, diversity and inclusivity”.[502] This is similar to the situation in Namibia where the narrative of the heroic national liberation by the South West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO) has become the founding mythology of post-colonial

[496] TH, 05/10/2016.
[497] Richard A. Wilson, *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State*, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 16.
[498] Shepherd Mpofu, ‘Participation, Citizen Journalism and the Contestations of Identity and National Symbols: A Case of Zimbabwe’s National Heroes and the Heroes’ Acre’, *African Journalism Studies* 37, no. 3 (2016): 85.
[499] Mpofu, ‘Participation, Citizen Journalism and the Contestations of Identity and National Symbols’, 86.
[500] *Ibid.*, 86.
[501] *Ibid.*, 87.
[502] *Ibid.*, 91-92.

Namibia through its memorialisation in the National Heroes' Acre in Windhoek, and the Heroes' Memorial Shrine in Eenhana.[503] Baines explains that "[n]ational identity is invariably defined by the dominant group which excludes others from the locus of power".[504] Although emphasis on a collective, public memory and heritage can work to bind certain people together to resist oppression at the hands of others, it can also work to bring those same people together into becoming oppressors of others.[505]

The ANC has played a significant role in the construction of public memory and how the past is remembered in South Africa. As such, the post-apartheid heritage project has produced a form of public memory that presents the resistance struggle of apartheid period as one cohesive narrative instigated by the actions of the ANC, often excluding the contributions of other groups such as the PAC, and community organisations.[506] It has also excluded any heritage that is not political, and continues to exclude the same communities that were missing from public memory during the colonial and apartheid period, such as Indian, Chinese, and Coloured communities.[507] Forms of public memory and heritage that seek to redress this missingness are usually community-organised, and privately funded. For example, the District Six Museum in Cape Town, and the South End Museum in Gqeberha are both NPOs/NGOs and funded through private donations.[508] These institutions celebrate the diversity of these communities in the past, and seek to educate the public about historical narratives that have been excluded from the state-authorised dominant narrative which has focused solely on the conflict and violent resistance of black political organisations during the apartheid period.

---

[503] Heike Becker, 'Commemorating Heroes in Windhoek and Eenhana: Memory, Culture and Nationalism in Namibia, 1990–2010', *Africa* 81, no. 4 (2011): 520.
[504] Gary Baines, 'The Rainbow Nation? Identity and Nation Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Mots Pluriels* 7 (1998): 2.
[505] Wright, 'Heritage as Feel-Good History', 2.
[506] Marschall, 'Pointing to the Dead', 106.
[507] Marschall, *Landscape of Memory. Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South-Africa*, 25.
[508] District Six Museum, Welcome to the District Six Museum, 11 January 2025, https://www.districtsix.co.za/; South End Museum, 'About Us', 11 January 2025, https://southend-themuseum.co.za/.

Where these communities have been part of the narrative of violent resistance, they still have to fight for legibility in history. For example, residents of the 'Northern Areas' in Gqeberha, (Indian and coloured communities who had been forcibly removed from the neighbourhood of South End) continue to fight for representation in the liberation struggle, and legibility in society.[509] Families of those who died during the Northern Areas Uprising in 1990 believes their loved ones "died in vain", as they have very little to show for their sacrifice, apart from a single tombstone at the Papenkuil Cemetery which the community had to fight for in 2011.[510] On August 6, 1990, more than fifty people were killed by apartheid police in a march against rent increases, housing shortages and the demand of the end of the Northern Areas Management Committee.[511] At a wreath laying ceremony, family members said that "more needed to be done by all spheres of government in recognising the sacrifices of the people who paid the ultimate price for their beliefs".[512] Many of the families who lost loved ones were suffering from poverty, unemployment, and homelessness.[513]ANC regional convener, Nceba Faku promised an "improved tombstone [...] that would be bigger, with photos and dates of birth for the people that died, for the younger generation to enjoy freedom".[514] But it is not a larger grave memorial in Papenkuil Cemetery that the community seeks, but rather acknowledgment of shared sacrifice, and belonging in a society that has marginalised these communities to the periphery, both in the city, and in the history of the country.

[509] Simtembile Mgidi, 'Our loved ones died in vain, say families of uprising victims', *The Herald* 07/08/2020.
[510] *Ibid*.
[511] TH, 06/08/2020, 'Northern areas residents never got justice'.
[512] Mgidi, 'Our loved ones died in vain'.
[513] *Ibid*.
[514] *Ibid*.

Conclusion

This chapter has laid the groundwork for the case studies in this thesis by explaining the mechanisms by which public memory and heritage are authorised by the state. State heritage bodies hold the most power and resources to selectively commemorate sites and individuals that serve state objectives. These bodies are made up of small numbers of individuals who become representative of the state. Heritage legislation, while ostensibly neutral, has historically been wielded as a tool for legitimising power, advancing selective narratives, and marginalising contesting voices. This imbalance in power inevitably results in contestations over who and what are legible in the history of the country. As can be seen with the earlier example of the concentration camp memorial in Port Elizabeth, the Afrikaans-speaking *Dames Aktueel* were a community organisation affiliated with the nationalist goals of the apartheid state, however, the English-speaking members of the Port Elizabeth Town Council rejected the petition for a public memorial out of concern that it would cause controversy. This will also be explored in Chapter 5, as the Old African Burial Ground in Richmond Hill has had a number of community petitions for commemoration, however, SAHRA, the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Agency (ECPHRA), and the Mandela Bay Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC) have, at the time of writing, hitherto not engaged with this site.

Cemeteries embody the complex processes of inclusion and exclusion in public memory and heritage practices. The treatment of the dead is symbolic of the treatment of the living in a given society. For those excluded from commemoration, this signifies their exclusion, or missingness from political legibility in society. Although the NHRA, SAHRA, and the other state heritage bodies were conceived of in a democratic new age, public memory and heritage in the present has followed similar patterns as those in the past. The NHRA outlined the need for heritage to promote "reconciliation, understanding and respect", and to

"contribute to the development of a unifying South African identity".[515] More importantly, the NHRA states that "heritage resources management must guard against the use of heritage for *sectarian purposes or political gain* [emphasis added]".[516] However, as has been seen with the ANC-led national government, the majority of public memory and heritage projects have emphasised the role of 'struggle heroes', predominantly male members of MK who died during the fight for the perceived future nation. This narrative has become the dominant, authorised version of South Africa's past: a linear, teleological narrative that begins with the violent resistance against the apartheid regime, and the advent of democracy brought about by the ANC. This narrative not only erases the contribution of other political parties, but also community initiatives. It emphasises the role of violent struggle between men, marginalising the role of other forms of resistance. It continues to legitimise the authority of the ANC as the liberators of South Africa, and thus, the rightful leaders of the country. This follows a similar trend to other African countries, such as the example of the ZANU-PF authorising the definition of a 'struggle hero', at the expense of "gender, democracy, diversity and inclusivity".[517] The concern here is that these nation-states, once oppressed by the colonial order, have tended towards becoming the oppressors of others.

This chapter has also served to argue that the dominant narrative of public memory and heritage centres on conflict, and resistance by a select few. These narratives are useful to the state, as Susan-Mary Grant and Baines argue, because they serve nationalist purposes.[518] In South Africa, the building of a new nation has shifted from nation-building and reconciliation, towards commemorating the "[the ANC's] victory", as referred to by the NMB's ANC branch leader, Mike Xego, in an attempt to hold onto political power.[519] Heritage

---

[515] 'National Heritage Resources Act'(1999).
[516] *Ibid.*
[517] Mpofu, 'Participation, Citizen Journalism and the Contestations of Identity and National Symbols', 91-92.
[518] Grant, 'Raising the Dead', 509; Baines, 'The Rainbow Nation?', 2.
[519] TH 05/10/2016.

has thus become a form of political power in the post-apartheid present, directly going against the 'inclusive' regulations outlined by the NHRA. In addition, state-authorised public memory and heritage is ambiguous, and often contests itself. The treatment of so-called struggle heroes that have been commemorated as the founders of the new nation, lose relevance once they have served their purpose. This results in decay, vandalism, and destruction of the grave sites or cemeteries, which, as explored earlier in this chapter, may lead to these sites themselves becoming forgotten over time.

The NHRA outlined the importance of community inclusion, especially formerly marginalised communities who were not represented in colonial or apartheid history. In reality, the state has dominated the public memory and heritage landscape, reducing these communities' ability to represent themselves, once more. The emphasis on the feats of 'heroes' and 'great men' in the post-apartheid present largely follows the same patterns of exclusion as in the past. The following chapters will delve into the specific case studies of forgotten cemeteries to explore how these dynamics played out in Gqeberha, and what they reveal about the broader politics of public memory and heritage in South Africa.

Chapter 3 - 'Hottentots and Other Coloured People': The Union Congregation Cemetery, 1838 – 1897

This chapter examines the history of the London Missionary Society's (LMS) 'Union Burial Ground' in Gqeberha, with emphasis on how its original purpose as a burial site for the Khoi community was forgotten through its appropriation as a 'Settler Cemetery'. The cemetery, established in 1838 for members of the LMS's Khoi congregation,[520] holds historical significance as the first 'non-European', and multi-racial burial ground in the city.[521] Over time, however, the cemetery became associated with colonial settler history, its origins forgotten. Today, it is remembered primarily as the final resting place of James Langley Dalton who received a Victoria Cross for his participation in the Battle of Rorkes Drift (1879).[522] This chapter seeks to examine how processes of racial segregation, colonial heritage policies, and the physical erasure of graves belonging to Khoi, and individuals from other black communities, contributed to the shift in how the cemetery is remembered in public memory and heritage. This cemetery, although still extant on the physical landscape, has been forgotten, and is 'missing' from the early history of the city.

[520] Genealogical Society of South Africa, 'Russell Road Cemetery', in *Monumental Inscriptions: Coastal Cemeteries Nanaga to Kareedouw* (Port Elizabeth: Genealogical Society of South Africa, 1999).
[521] Historical Society of Port Elizabeth, 'Report on the State of the Russell Road Cemetery and St Mary's Burial Ground' (Port Elizabeth, 1963), 1.
[522] The Battle of Rorkes Drift was part of the Anglo-Zulu War and saw the British defending the Rorke's Drift mission station in KwaZulu-Natal against the Zulu Kingdom. A Victoria Cross is the highest honour that can be bestowed on members of the British, or Commonwealth military forces.

Figure 4 Russell Road Cemetery in Gqeberha, Eastern Cape. From Google Earth, 2025.

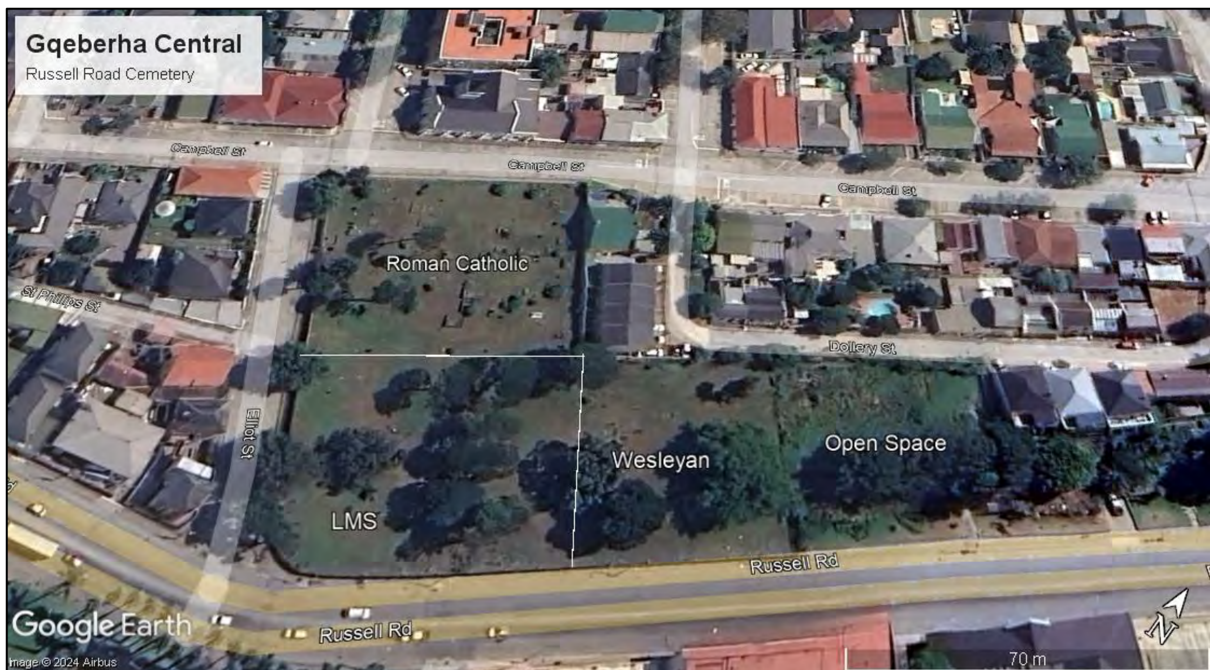


Figure 5 Russell Road Cemetery showing the three historic burial grounds with boundaries added. From Google Earth, 2025.

Historical Context

Services at the LMS Union Chapel, which began in 1826, were originally intended for enslaved and Khoi individuals working in the city.[523] By 1834, the LMS had established a permanent

[523] Kitchingman, Le Cordeur, and Saunders, *The Kitchingman* Papers, 90.

mission station in Port Elizabeth in response to what missionaries described as "worrying behaviour" from their Khoi congregants in the city.[524] This mission station included a residential location, a school, and by 1838, a cemetery. The burial ground was closed in 1897 after a series of typhoid infections across the city were blamed on the state of the city cemeteries.[525]

The London Missionary Society was established in 1795 as a result of what was perceived by the authorities as the breakdown of 'traditional society' in Western Europe.[526] The LMS was formed as an evangelical, non-denominational organisation, but drew on Protestantism (the rejection of the 'supreme authority' of the Roman Catholic Pope),and Congregationalism (the autonomy of individual churches).[527] Early missionaries were driven by the idea that God was present in everyday life and communicated directly with humanity, especially in the form of violent events and disasters as a call for the guilty to repent.[528] The overarching belief of the Society was that the 'Second Coming of Christ' was precipitated by the 'final' conversion of all of humanity to Christianity.[529] The perceived inherent depravity of humankind was believed to be driven by Satan, the ultimate personification of evil in Abrahamic faiths, who was believed to be in constant combat with God.[530] Satan was believed to hold the "lands of the heathens" captive, and thus missionaries set off with the intent of

[524] Kitchingman, Le Cordeur, and Saunders, *The Kitchingman* Papers, 71.
[525] PET 22 June 1897.
[526] Jack Boas and Michael Weiskopf, 'The Activities of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, 1806-1836: An Assessment', *African Studies Review* 16, no. 3 (1973): 420.
[527] Ayyappan Balakrishnan, 'The Role of the London Missionary Society and Church Missionary Society in the Abolition of Oozhiyam (Bonded Labor Service) in Kerala', *Journal for the Study of Religion* 33, no. 2 (2020), 8. Protestantism is a branch of Christianity that sought to 'protest' the Catholic Church and reform certain beliefs and practices such as the supreme authority of the Pope in Rome.
[528] Elizabeth Elbourne, 'A Question of Identity: Evangelical Culture and Khoisan Politics in the Early 19th Century Eastern Cape', in *Collected Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies*, vol. 44, 1992, 15.
[529] *Ibid*., 15.
[530] *Ibid*., 15.

converting these "heathens" – those who had never heard the 'word of Christ'- to Christianity.[531]

The first LMS missionaries to arrive at the Cape Colony in 1799 were Dr Johannes van der Kemp and James Read.[532] In November 1801, Governor Francis Dundas granted van Der Kemp the authority to establish a mission wherever "he thought it would prove most useful".[533] In March 1802, Read and van Der Kemp settled in an area called Botha's Farm on the outskirts of Algoa Bay.[534] They named this settlement Bethelsdorp (Village of Bethel), which was to become the "first missionary institution in the [Cape] Colony".[535] In 1809, the first British governor of the Cape Colony, Du Pré Alexander, the Second Earl of Caledon passed the *Caledon Code* (also referred to as the "*Hottentot*" *Code* or "*Hottentot Proclamation*") which positioned all indigenous people without a fixed place of residence as "vagrants" under the penalty of the law.[536] This law was essentially a coercive measure to force Khoi people into servitude to the colonial state, as well as to the white farmers in constant need of labour.[537] The only available alternative for those who did not comply was to join and live at a mission station.[538] Elizabeth Elbourne writes that these missions effectively became "political asylums" for these communities, explaining that "people tended to come to [the mission] if they were marginal or outcast, in need of concrete protection, rather than because they necessarily wanted to convert [to Christianity]".[539]

---

[531] Elbourne, 'A Question of Identity, 15.
[532] Boas and Weiskopf, 'The Activities of the London Missionary Society in South Africa', 420.
[533] Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, Volume 1* (London: Oxford University Press, 1899), 497.
[534] Boas and Weiskopf, 'The Activities of the London Missionary Society in South Africa', 420.
[535] Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society,* 498.
[536] George McCall Theal, 'Records of the Cape Colony from May 1809 to March 1811 Volume VII' (London: Clowe, 1897), 211.
[537] Wayne Dooling, 'The Origins and Aftermath of the Cape Colony's "Hottentot Code" of 1809', *Kronos*, no. 31 (2005): 50.
[538] *Ibid*., 50.
[539] Elizabeth Elbourne, 'Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity', *Kronos*, no. 19 (1992): 19.

The 1828 passing of *Ordinance 50* by the British Government at the Cape repealed the Caledon Code, doing away with the pass law, allowing the Khoi greater freedom of movement and employment.[540] A drought in 1828 caused many of the pastoralist Khoi to leave the Bethelsdorp mission in search of grazing land for their cattle.[541] Many also went in search of employment in the newly established towns of Port Elizabeth (Gqeberha) and Uitenhage (Kariega).[542] Complaints from authorities in Port Elizabeth soon reached missionary James Kitchingham in Bethelsdorp about the behaviour of some of their congregants. In his diary Kitchingham complains:

> [I] heard to the grief of the drunkenness of several of our people in the Bay yesterday... [and] [t]his evening, we had three young girls before us who have been living in lewdness in the Bay; what to do with them I know not. May God change their hearts![543]

Christopher writes that the establishment of a permanent station in Port Elizabeth was conceived as a method of "prevent[ing] the worst features of industrial and colonial settler society afflicting the [Khoi] community" (promiscuity', consumption of alcohol, and smoking cannabis) and would allegedly be achieved through education, and conversion to Christianity.[544] However, Christopher also draws attention to the fact that these so-called 'worst features' affected the Khoi beach labourers' ability to work efficiently, and as the town was completely dependent on 'Hottentot' labour, this may not have been an entirely altruistic motive. The Khoi people would eventually be replaced as harbour labourers by the large

[540] Kitchingman, Le Cordeur, and Saunders, *The Kitchingman* Papers, 20.
[541] A form of subsistence whereby nomadic communities move around with their domesticated livestock.
[542] Kitchingman, Le Cordeur, and Saunders, *The Kitchingman* Papers, 20, 87; A.J. Christopher, 'Race and Residence in Colonial Port Elizabeth', *South African Geographical Journal* 69, no. 1 (1987): 9.
[543] *Ibid*., 71.
[544] Chase, J.C., The Cape of Good Hope and The Eastern Province of Algoa Bay (London. 1843), 4; Christopher, 'Race and Residence', 9.

number of Mfengu people migrating into the colony, as the colonial government believed that the Mfengu were more 'sober', and reliable than the Khoi.[545]

The exact date that the LMS burial ground was established could not be ascertained in primary source documents from the Africana archive at the Port Elizabeth Main Library.[546] According to the Eastern Cape chapter GSSA, the cemetery was established by the LMS on 7 August, 1838.[547] In 1842, and 1843, two unused portions of the burial ground were walled off, and sold to the Wesleyan Chapel, and Roman Catholic Church respectively.[548] Together, these three separate but parallel burial grounds became known collectively as the Russell Road Cemetery. In its earliest days, the cemetery was referred to as the 'Hyman's Kloof Burial Ground', named after Charles Hyman whose lone house resided at the bottom of the kloof that would someday become Russell Road.[549] J.J. Redgrave, whose 1947 book *Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days* was considered the first 'authoritative' history of Port Elizabeth, provides the first official representation of the burial ground. Redgrave refers to Russell Road Cemetery as the 'Old Settlers' Cemetery'. He writes:

> [f]or many years the old Settlers' Cemetery remained unenclosed and was desecrated by *Kaffir* tracks and grazing cattle among the graves of those brave pioneers. As far back as the [1860s] the residents were loud in their complaints regarding 'the want of an enclosure for the sacred burial of our early forefathers', and only in recent years has the portion facing Russell Road been converted into beautiful rockeries worthy of their memory. But the other portion a little beyond it and enclosed by a shabby wall presents a scene of

[545] Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation', 65.
[546] See Terminology section at the start of this thesis regarding why the official name of the library is still 'Port Elizabeth Main Library' rather than Gqeberha.
[547] GSSA, 'Russell Road Cemetery', in *Monumental Inscriptions: Coastal Cemeteries Nanaga to Kareedouw* (Port Elizabeth: Genealogical Society of South Africa, 1999).
[548] Christopher, 'Segregation and Cemeteries', 40*;* GSSA, 'Russell Road Cemetery'; As necessitated by the different denominations, the three burial grounds were separated by walls, fences of aloes, and entrance through separate gates.
[549] Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days*, 109. Redgrave writes that 'Hymanskloof' was named after "the patriarch of the Hyman party". This 'patriarch' was twenty-one-year-old Charles Hyman.

lonely desolation with its sombre trees spreading gloom over the cracked tombstones and neglected graves lying at all angles 'midst pathways overgrown with weeds'.[550]

Figure 6 The earliest known photograph of Russell Road Cemetery, circa 1870. The Wesleyan Cemetery is on the right of the photograph, the LMS to the left, and the Roman Catholic section obscured by the boundary fence made of aloes. Russell Road is shown below. On the left are residents of Strangers' Location. From Port Elizabeth Main Library, Photograph 11-52(b), 'View of Russell Road showing Settlers Cemetery, c. 1870'.

As the early authority on the history of Port Elizabeth Redgrave's work has continued to inform writers in the present day. Baines writes that Redgrave's book is "[t]he first full-length history of Port Elizabeth", and although it "was once regarded as 'authoritative'", it is "a rather patchy and unreliable account".[551] The book remains a useful resource as it reflects the values of the period it was written. The city of Gqeberha, despite having a substantial population of white Afrikaans-speaking people throughout its existence, has historically been defined as an English city from its beginnings as an 1820 Settler town. *Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days* is a representation of this English identity, whose intended audience were the descendants of

[550] Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days,* 112.
[551] Baines, 'Port Elizabeth History', 255.

British settlers with a sense of nostalgia for the colonial past. Thus, the representation of Russell Road Cemetery, consisting of three separate burial grounds, as a Settler Cemetery is consistent with Redgrave's audience. The issue with the representation of this as a white, 'Settlers' Cemetery', however, is the presence of so-called 'coloured' graves. With the passing of time, and the removal of the separating walls, the three burial grounds became consolidated as a single cemetery, with no mention of its original founding as a Khoi burial ground. Early maps, and land grant diagrams specifically refer to the LMS Union Church's portion as a 'native' burial ground.[552] In lieu of physical grave markers which have decayed or been destroyed due to long-term neglect of the cemetery, this thesis has drawn on death certificates as physical evidence of multi-racial burials. Before South Africa became a Union in 1910, the registration of births and deaths were decentralised, and laws varied in different areas of the country.[553] In 1894, the Cape Colonial Government passed the *Births and Deaths Registration Act* which standardised the filing of birth and death certificates.[554] In addition to a number of white and European burials of the Union Congregation, death certificates from this period confirm the presence of burials belonging to groups of people classified as 'Mixed', 'Coloured', 'Hottentot', and 'Basuto', among others.[555] The coroners filing the documents do not seem to have used consistent or standardised classifications for people, often using 'mixed', and 'coloured' when referring to Khoi individuals.

---

[552] Hyman's Kloof Land Grant'; *Plan of the Town of Port Elizabeth*, Map (Port Elizabeth, 1895).
[553] Sulaiman Bah, 'The Making, Unmaking and Remaking of a National but Stratified Vital Statistics System in the Republic of South Africa', *PSC Discussion Papers Series* 12, no. 3 (1 March 1998), 2.
[554] Cape of Good Hope, 'Act. No. 7 Births and Deaths Registration' (1894).
[555] "South Africa, Cape Province, Civil Records, 1840-1972", database with images, *FamilySearch*, National Archives, Pretoria.

A2.10.95. [B. & D. 2.

FORM OF INFORMATION OF A DEATH: ACT No. 7 OF 1894.

WARNING.—The penalties for false statements wilfully made are the same as those for perjury.
Anyone who loses a COMPLETED registration form is liable to a penalty not exceeding £5.

—o—

DECEASED—

1. Christian Names and Surname Elsie Michaels
2. Sex Female
3. Usual place of Residence Burial Ground Port Elizabeth Cape Colony
4. Age 75 years
5. Race (a) Mixed
6. Whether Single, Married, Divorced or Widowed (b) Married L (3) D (7)
7. Occupation Housekeeper
8. Date of Death Tenth January 1896
9. Place of Death Burial Ground Port Elizabeth
10. Intended Place of Burial Russell Road Cemetery
11. Causes of Death Liver Complaint

11A. Duration of last Illness Three months

12. Medical Man's Name None

INFORMANT—

13. *Original* Signature [or Mark] Abraham his X mark Michaels
14. Qualification Son
15. Residence Burial Ground Port Elizabeth Cape Colony

Signed in my presence on this ______ day of ______ 189__

______ Witness (c).

The following spaces are reserved for the use of Assistants for Urban Areas, and of the Deputy Registrar. No one else should fill them up.

When Registered ______ 189 . Sub-district of ______

(*Signature*) ______ Assist. to Deputy Registrar (*Urban Areas*).

When Registered Jany 11. 1896 District of PORT ELIZABETH

(*Signature*) J de Smidt Deputy Registrar. No. of Entry. 36

N.B.—If the Certificate of a Medical Practitioner is produced, the causes of Death and duration of illness must be recorded in the Registration Book by the Deputy Registrar and Assistant to the Deputy Registrar (Urban Areas) as stated in such Certificate, which is to be attached to the form.

(a) If born outside Cape Colony, enter on the same line in addition to the *Race*, the name of the Country, State or Colony where born, if known.
(b) If married, divorced or widowed, state on this line ______ the total number of children deceased has had.
(c) When a Rural Assistant, Field-cornet or Police Officer, writes out form for Informant, he should add the words "Form written out by me" and sign as "Rural Assistant," "Field-cornet" or "Police Officer," as the case may be.

Figure 7 Death Certificate of Elsie Michaels, a 'mixed' woman buried in Russell Road Cemetery in 1896. From National Archives of Pretoria "South Africa, Cape Province, Civil Records, 1840-1972", online database at Family Search, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939Z-5C9T-DX?cc=1779109&wc=Q81G-HBY%3A139966501%2C141806301.

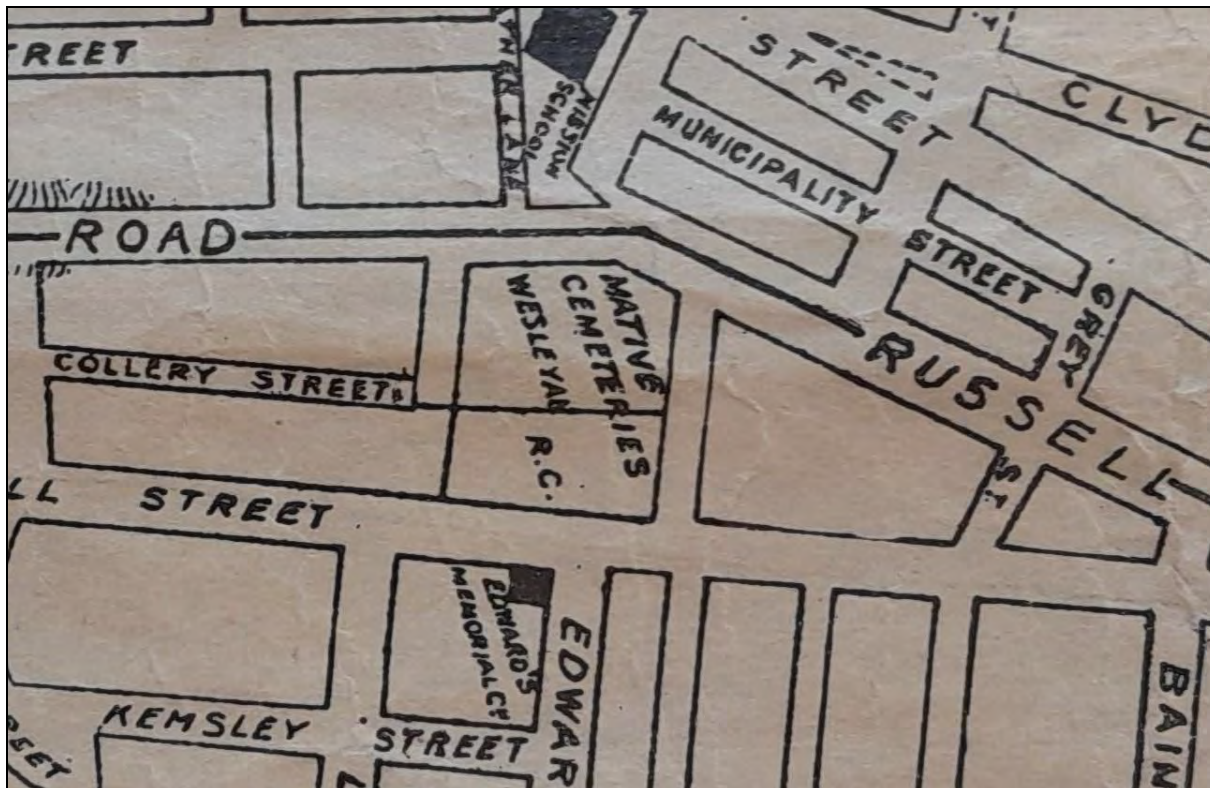


Figure 8 Portion of a map showing the three burial grounds: 'RC' - Roman Catholic; Wesleyan; and 'native' - LMS. Russell Road is above the cemeteries. From ‘Plan of the Town of Port Elizabeth, Map (Port Elizabeth, 1895’) Port Elizabeth Main Library.

A census of the Cape Colony in 1891 explains that:

> […] [mixed and coloured people] includes the great and increasing population which has sprung from the intercourse of the colonists with the indigenous races, and which fills the interval between the dominant people and the natives. Among them is an inconsiderable number of foreigners.[556]

‘Europeans’ or ‘Whites’ were defined as the “descendants of the original Dutch Colonists and French Refugees, and of the immigrants, chiefly of British and [German] Races”.[557] The ‘Basuto’ people would have come from present-day Lesotho and were often grouped together

[556] Cape of Good Hope Census Office, ‘Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope as on the Night of Sunday the 5th of April 1891’ (Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons, Government Printers, Castle and Burg Streets, 1892), xvii.
[557] *Ibid*., xvii.

with the 'Bechuana' people, who would have been from present-day Botswana.[558] The presence of these bodies, despite their graves not being marked on the landscape, challenges the notion of Russell Road Cemetery as solely a white, 'settler' burial ground. Elizabethada Wright writes that:

> When bodies are covered over and they as well as their headstones decay, the cemetery will appear as if it never existed. Yet the cemetery did exist- and may continue to exist even after it seems not to. The cemetery's very real graves leave the possibility of being rediscovered even after they are forgotten.[559]

The absence of grave markers presents one explanation as to how the cemetery's use as a 'native' cemetery became forgotten. A fringe theory, although lacking any substantial evidence, suggests that these graves were intentionally erased from the landscape as descendants of white settlers began shaping history through a lens of nostalgia, primarily catering to the middle- and upper-class white community of the town.[560]

Closure of the Cemetery, 1897: Infectious Disease, Public Health, and Burial Reform

Russell Road Cemetery was closed to interments on 25 May 1897 as a result of the pervasive fear among white middle and upper-classes that cemeteries were spreading typhoid fever.[561] This closure was influenced by public health reform in England, which directly influenced policy making in the Cape Colony, as well as the fear that infectious disease outbreaks in Port Elizabeth were being caused by the presence of urban cemeteries surrounding residential areas. This fear of disease, referred to as 'sanitation syndrome' by Maynard Swanson, is a common factor in the closure of all three cemeteries discussed in this thesis. This fear stemmed from Victorian-era values surrounding the potential of infection and 'moral contagion' that working

[558] Cape of Good Hope Census Office, 'Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope', xvii.
[559] Wright, 'Rhetorical Spaces in Memorial Places', 55.
[560] Personal Communication with Carol Victor, 17 April 2023.
[561] PET 22/06/1897.

classes seemingly posed to the predominantly white middle, and upper classes of colonial society.[562] Julie Rugg argues that class and moral economy are central to understanding the motivations of public health reform in the 1800s.[563] In Victorian England, the poor and working classes were perceived by those in power as a threat to the 'general public' due to issues such as overcrowding, lack of sanitation services, 'immorality', and disease in the over-populated urban centres.[564] A large aspect of this was a lack of understanding on how infectious diseases spread, and that all aspects of social life were believed to carry moral connotations, meaning that 'immorality' could be spread from coming into contact with 'immoral people', much like a disease.[565] As a result, these 'moral sensitivities' became a major driving force of public health measures and burial reform.

In contrast to continental Europe, England was considered late to instituting burial reform. Many European nations had already outlawed burials in city centres in the 1700s owing to major population growth, overcrowding in cemeteries, and disease epidemics, whereas England only started in the 1820s.[566] Reform in England was based on principles for hygienic cemetery management such as appropriate cemetery location, soil type, sufficient burial depth, outlawing the reuse of graves, and the lessening of harmful *miasma*.[567] Miasma, the leading theory of infectious disease transmission in England during the 1800s, posited that breathing *mal aria* [bad air] caused by decomposing or 'corrupting' matter, called 'miasmata', could

[562] Maynard W. Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', *The Journal of African History*, 18, no. 3 (1977): 387. Swanson was particularly interested in the power of disease as a metaphor and its ability to influence beliefs and behaviour. His focus was on urban development, and how sanitation syndrome contributed to the later establishment of formal segregation during Apartheid.
[563] Julie Rugg, 'Nineteenth-Century Burial Reform in England: A Reappraisal', *Histoire, Médecine et Santé*, no. 16 (2021): 83
[564] Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation', 77. This argument posits the working class and poor as separate from the 'general public', which was made up of middle and upper classes in England.
[565] Elizabeth B. van Heyningen, 'The Social Evil in the Cape Colony 1868-1902: Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10, no. 2 (1984): 35.
[566] Rugg, 'Nineteenth-Century Burial Reform in England', 80.
[567] *Ibid*., 80.

cause disease and decay in the human body.[568] Corrupting matter took various forms, such as human waste, decaying animal or plant matter, and decomposing corpses.[569] Before reform, burials followed the centuries-old tradition of taking place in an urban churchyard, however, with population growth, this led to overcrowding in the church graveyard, and a lack of new burial spaces.[570] Private, for-profit cemeteries buried corpses in 'public graves', which were pits approximately ten metres deep, used to bury up to sixteen coffins on top of each other.[571] It was also common practice for gravediggers to remove older burials, moving the human remains to bone-houses to be disposed of, and sometimes selling old coffins as firewood.[572] Gravediggers were often subject to diseases such as typhus and smallpox from coming into contact with corpses that had been infected with these diseases before death.[573] The state of these graveyards also meant that constant bad odours and black flies were present, which made living near them practically unbearable.[574] An extreme example of this was Enon Chapel in London. From the 1820s to 1840s, an estimated 12,000 corpses were interred in the cellar area underneath the church.[575] During worship services on Sundays, women were said to faint from the stench in the unventilated church.[576]

[568] Stephen Halliday, 'Death and Miasma in Victorian London: An Obstinate Belief', *BMJ: British Medical Journal* 323, no. 7327 (2001): 1469. An anecdote from this period suggested that gaining weight could also be attributed to the smells of certain foods. The story tells of a butcher's wife who allegedly became overweight from being surrounded by the smell of pork.
[569] Peter Thorsheim, 'The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth Century London', *Environmental History* 16, no. 1 (2011): 40.
[570] Deborah Elaine Wiggins, 'The Burial Acts: Cemetery Reform in Great Britain, 1815-1914' (PhD Thesis, United States of America, Texas Tech University, 1991), 5.
[571] *Ibid*., 25.
[572] Wiggins, 'The Burial Acts', 25. Bone-houses were also referred to as 'charnel houses', and 'mortuary chapels', and were used to store skeletal remains after they were exhumed.
[573] Wiggins, 'The Burial Acts', 30-31. It was reported that the kind of work these men had to do often required taking strong stimulants.
[574] *Ibid*., 25.
[575] *Ibid*., 31.
[576] *Ibid*., 31.

Public Health Reform in England: Cemeteries and Miasma

In 1842, Edwin Chadwick, an English public health reformer performed an investigation and concluded that lower life expectancy and death rates were lower in the rural areas as opposed to the urban city spaces.[577] He hypothesised that the bad smells caused by human waste, sewage and garbage were to blame, and in order to make London a healthier city, these smells had to be eradicated.[578] In 1843, Chadwick extended his hypothesis to the smells from corpses, stating that "all interments in towns, where bodies decompose, contribute to the mass of atmosphere impurity which is injurious to public health".[579] This conclusion was based on an earlier, similar theory put forward by the surgeon, Sir George Alfred Walker in his 1839 book, appropriately and descriptively named *Gatherings from Grave Yards: Particularly Those of London: With a Concise History of the Modes of Interment among Different Nations, from the Earliest Periods, and a Detail of Dangerous and Fatal Results Produced by the Unwise and Revolting Custom of Inhuming the Dead in the Midst of the Living*.[580] In his book, Walker argued that the smells from 'putrefying' bodies could cause life-threatening fever in the living.[581] The work done by Walker and Chadwick was not widely accepted at first. Many believed the presence of consecrated burial grounds prevented the encroachment of urban expansion, leading to less of the area being built up, therefore less overcrowding, and logically, less disease.[582] Public opinion would change, however, in 1848 with an outbreak of cholera

[577] Edwin Chadwick, 'Mr Chadwick's Report on Interment in Towns', *Provincial Medical Journal and Retrospect of the Medical Sciences* 7, no. 172 (1844); Metropolitan Sanitary Inspector, 'First Report on the Chief Evils Affecting the Sanitary Condition of the Metropolis, with Suggestions for Their Removal', *Proceedings of the Public Meeting*, 6 February 1850; Thorsheim, 'The Corpse in the Garden', 40.
[578] Thorsheim, 'The Corpse in the Garden', 40.
[579] Thorsheim, 'The Corpse in the Garden', 41.
[580] George Alfred Walker, *Gatherings from Grave Yards: Particularly Those of London: With a Concise History of the Modes of Interment among Different Nations, from the Earliest Periods. And a Detail of Dangerous and Fatal Results Produced by the Unwise and Revolting Custom of Inhuming the Dead in the Midst of the Living* (London: Longman, 1939).
[581] George Alfred Walker, 'Burials', *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal (1840-1842)* 3, no. 26 (1842): 520; George Alfred Walker, 'Interment and Disinterment, or, A Further Exposition of the Practices Pursued in the Metropolitan Places of Sepulture, and the Results as Affecting the Health of the Living: In a Series of Letters to the Editor of The Morning Herald', 1843, 17.
[582] Thorsheim, 'The Corpse in the Garden', 41.

that left over 60,000 people dead across Britain.[583] The cause was found to be human waste-water seeping into wells of drinking water, however, the cemeteries received the blame. One survivor explained that:

> [t]he modern and unnatural practice of interring the multitudinous dead in the midst of the still more multitudinous living... is alike inconsistent with public health and public decency. The churchyard is literally full, and not another corpse can be interred in it without exposing the remains of the dead and poisoning the atmosphere with pestilential miasmata.[584]

The first official burial reform act in England was passed in 1853 with the *Burial Act*, which outlawed interments in burial grounds within crowded areas of the city.[585] It also provided legislation for the closure of the 'worst offending' cemeteries in London.[586] The last of the English Burial Acts was implemented in 1884 with the *Disused Burial Grounds Act* which prevented property developers from building over the sites of old graveyards.[587] These acts effectively brought an end to inner-city burials, moving cemeteries to rural areas on the periphery of urban centres, as well as providing a set of standards for British colonies to follow.[588]

In the Cape Colony during the Victorian period (1837-1901), the majority of government officials and medical practitioners either came directly from England, or were

[583] Thorsheim, 'The Corpse in the Garden', 41.
[584] *Ibid*., 41. Closing the burial grounds also served to protect the dead from desecration. With gravediggers opening old graves and digging new ones in densely crowded burial grounds, bodies were often mutilated or dismembered by accident. In addition, Walker himself asserted that "worse" than that, "the bodies of our wives, our daughters, our relatives, are to be exposed to the vulgar gaze, the coarse jests and brutal treatment of men".
[585] The National Archives of the United Kingdom, 'Burial Act, 1853 An Act to Amend the Laws Concerning the Burial of the Dead in England beyond the Limits of the Metropolis and to Amend the Act Concerning the Burial of the Dead in the Metropolis.' (1853).
[586] Rosalind Wallduck, 'Dealing with London's Dead: The Aftermath of the Burial Acts', *The Natural History Museum* (blog), 2017. The Royal Family were exempt from the Burial Acts and continued to be buried in urban London.
[587] Rosalind Wallduck, 'Death, Corruption and Sanitation: London's Graveyards in the 19th Century', *The Natural History Museum* (blog), 2017. The act before this was the 1880 Osborne Morgan's Burial Bill which allowed funerals to take place without a religious service from the Church of England.
[588] Thorsheim, 'The Corpse in the Garden', 41.

educated there.[589] These officials fashioned themselves as a "tiny elite of educated men" and saw themselves as 'defenders of traditional morality' and 'public virtue'.[590] As early as 1858, governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Grey had warned the Town Council at the Cape of the potential threat the cemeteries in the city could pose to public health.[591] A special committee appointed by the governor found that many of the cemeteries in Cape Town were in a state of decay, being described as overcrowded, with collapsed burial vaults exposing bones to public view, and the smell of decomposing corpses emanating from shallow graves.[592] The White Sands burial ground behind Gallows Hill in Cape Town was found to be in one of the worst states, which was blamed on being "waste land on which pauper burials took place with no regulation or control".[593] This negative view of the pauper cemetery was likely influenced by the aforementioned 'sanitation syndrome' and the low view held of destitute persons, however, the original cemeteries in Somerset Road that *were* regulated were in a similar state of decay, with the Dutch Reformed Church's cemetery considered 'highly unsanitary' due to their practice of above-ground burial vaults.[594]

After a smallpox epidemic hit the Cape in 1882, the *Public Health Act* (1883) was passed, which was informed by the British Burial Acts, allowing for the closure of cemeteries within urban spaces if they were deemed injurious to public health, and also prohibited the establishment of new cemeteries within municipal limits.[595] In 1886, Cape Town's inner-city cemeteries were declared closed to interments by the Maitland Cemetery Board (formerly the Cape Peninsula Cemetery Board), and all burials were to take place at the Maitland Cemetery,

[589] Christopher, 'Race and Residence', 3; Elizabeth Boudina Van Heyningen, 'Public Health and Society in Cape Town 1880-1910.' (PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989), 173; Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation', 80.
[590] Van Heyningen, 'Public Health and Society in Cape Town', 173.
[591] *Ibid*., 175.
[592] *Ibid*., 175.
[593] *Ibid*., 174.
[594] *Ibid*., 174.
[595] Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 'Act No. 4' (1883).

a public necropolis established 11 kilometres from town specifically for that purpose.[596] This saw a counter-response by the Muslim working class in the city, whereby 3,000 Muslim people protested the forced closure of the Islamic cemetery, Tana Baru, by defying orders and burying the body of a child.[597] The colonial government's violent response prompted a 'riot' that persisted for three days in what van Heyningen refers to as "one of the most violent public reactions in the annals of Cape Town History in the nineteenth century.[598]

In 1896, a number of typhoid cases in homes near St Mary's Cemetery in Port Elizabeth raised concerns about the state of the cemeteries in the city and the potential harm they could pose to public health. [599] The Surgeon General and Sanitary Inspector for Port Elizabeth, one Dr Uppleby investigated claims that miasma from the cemeteries was causing the typhoid fever, but concluded against this, as the miasma theory had fallen out of popularity.[600] With the development of scientific methods, and research done by people such as Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch, the miasma theory had been replaced by germ theory, which posited that diseases are predominantly caused by microorganisms such as bacteria or viruses. However, in the Cape Colony, miasma theory seemed to persist.

An unnamed medical practitioner wrote in to the *Eastern Province Herald*, disagreeing with Uppleby. He argued that the 'deplorable conditions' in the cemetery must be the cause of the epidemic, highlighting that with the poor quality of the gravelly soil, the shallow depths at which the burials took place, and the steep incline on which the cemetery was built against the hill, fluids from the decomposing corpses would drain into the streets below.[601] He explained:

[596] Van Heyningen, 'Public Health and Society in Cape Town', 175.
[597] Farid Esack, 'Three Islamic Strands in the South African Struggle for Justice', *Third World Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1988): 474.
[598] Van Heyningen, 'Public Health and Society in Cape Town', 175. This is referred to as the Cemetery Riots of 1886.
[599] PET 23/01/1896.
[600] PET 02/02/1896.
[601] EPH 26/02/1896.

The products of decomposing bodies are intimately mixed with the sparsely distributed soil all round, and they naturally drain through the gravelly soil in South Union Street and also to a greater extent in Alfred Road where dirty and horrible smelling water can be seen at times oozing from under the wall. These products carrying infectious typhoid germs when dried by the sun are blown about or rising after a hot day in the shape of poisonous evaporations infect not only the houses nearby, but any person who passing may happen to breathe them.[602]

Although he erroneously attributed the infections from the particles being breathed in, he was correct about the issues that the shallow burials and soil type caused. After an 'exhaustive inquiry' by the city's Health Committee on the city cemeteries, the Town Council voted that all inner-city cemeteries should be closed.[603] As a result, the *Port Elizabeth Municipal* Act (1897) was passed.[604] This Act amended a section of earlier legislation from 1868, *Constituting the Town of Port Elizabeth a Municipality* which allowed for the provision that:

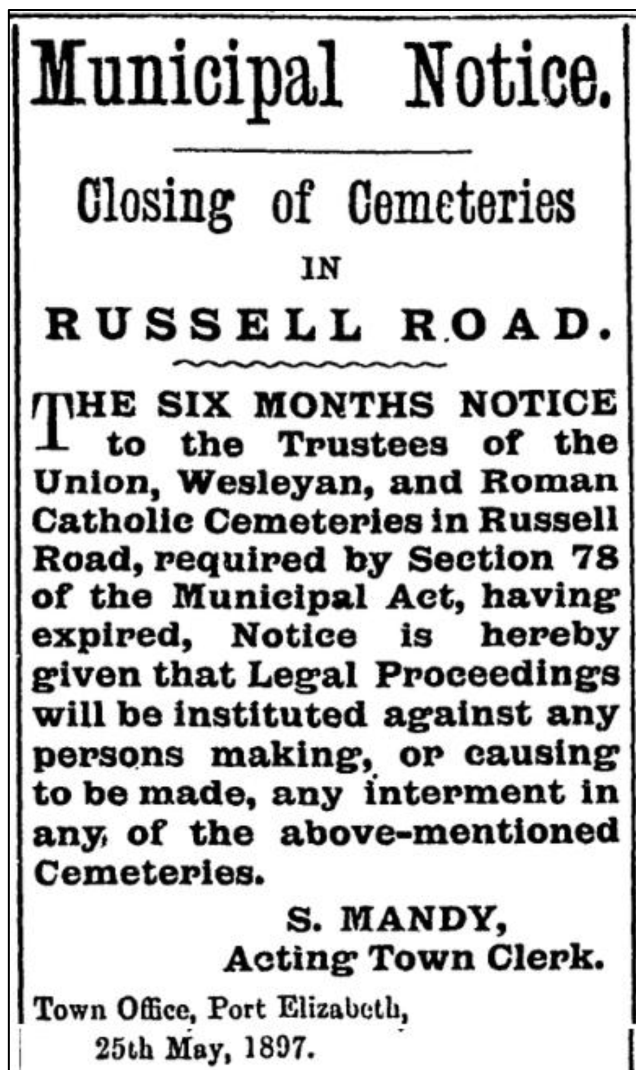
> [s]o soon as *any burial-ground within the limits of the Municipality*, or portion thereof, shall become *so crowded* as to be, in the opinion of two-thirds of the Council shall be empowered to give six months' notice that burials therein shall cease, and that, after the expiration of the said term of six months, any person or persons causing any interment to be made therein, shall be liable to pay a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, to be recovered in any competent court [emphasis added].[605]

The 1897 Act expanded on the 1868 Act, revising 'overcrowded' to "dangerous to the public health', delineating "any burial-ground within the limits of the Municipality", to "any *cemetery*

[602] EPH 26/02/1896.
[603] PET 02/02/1896. Mr Middleton of the Town Council also put forward that coffins should be buried at a greater depth.
[604] Cape of Good Hope, 'No. 27 Port Elizabeth Municipal Act' (1897).
[605] Cape of Good Hope, 'Constituting the Town of Port Elizabeth a Municipality' (1868).

or burial ground within the limits of the municipality, *whether municipal, private or church burial ground*" [emphasis added], and adding that, in addition to a fine or defaulting on its payment, "any person or persons causing any interment [in these closed cemeteries]" would be liable to "imprisonments with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding six months".[606] This Act also set regulations for burial depth, and number of bodies allowed to be interred within a certain area, which had hitherto not been regulated, and contributed to the health risks in cemeteries. In December 1896, a notice was published by the Town Council that in six months from that date, all interments in Russell Road Cemetery were to cease, and take place at one of the public multi-denominational cemeteries on the outskirts of the city, in South End or North End.[607]

[606] 'Constituting the Town of Port Elizabeth a Municipality Act' (1868).
[607] PET 22 June 1897.



Municipal Notice.

Closing of Cemeteries
IN
RUSSELL ROAD.

THE SIX MONTHS NOTICE to the Trustees of the Union, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic Cemeteries in Russell Road, required by Section 78 of the Municipal Act, having expired, Notice is hereby given that Legal Proceedings will be instituted against any persons making, or causing to be made, any interment in any of the above-mentioned Cemeteries.

S. MANDY,
Acting Town Clerk.

Town Office, Port Elizabeth,
25th May, 1897.

Figure 9 Municipal Notice that the six months' notice has expired. From *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* 22 June 1897.

Neglect of the Russell Road Burial Grounds

In June 1900, just two years after its closure, the Town Council complained of the respective churches' neglect of their grounds at Russell Road Cemetery and suggested fencing to restrict public access.[608] The cemetery appears in the newspaper archives again in March 1915 when the Council put forward the motion of exchanging a piece of land to the LMS Union Church in exchange for the 'native' burial ground as a result of their neglect and allowing the desecration

[608] CDT 28/06/1900.

of a number of crosses marking different graves.[609] The Council had complained that during cleaning, they had removed a large amount of debris, some of which destroyed grave markers.[610] Evidence suggests that many of the grave markers were wooden crosses, which likely would have been stolen for fire wood, destroyed during cleaning, or decayed over time.[611] The use of wooden crosses also speaks to the general poverty of the Khoi and 'coloured' population of the congregation, making their graves the first to be missing from the landscape.

Figure 10 A photograph printed in *the Eastern Province Herald* showing the LMs portion of Russell Road Cemetery. The Town Council had the cemetery cleaned. The debris contains pieces of broken gravestones, and old wooden crosses. From the *Eastern Province Herald*, 9 July 1964.

In 1981, the HSPE and GSSA undertook the monumental task of transcribing the surviving gravestones in all three sections of Russell Road Cemetery.[612] These remaining stones predominantly carry the names of white settlers and their descendants, reinforcing only one aspect of the cemetery's past.[613] This could be why the HSPE in their March 1981 quarterly bulletin expressed confusion as to why the LMS "Coloured Church" had owned a portion of the "Settlers' Cemetery", theorising that it must have been some "accident of history".[614] In a

[609] PET 03/03/1915.
[610] EPH 08/07/1915.
[611] 'Report on the Portion of the Russell Road Cemetery Administered by the Union Congregational Church', Port Elizabeth Main Library (1938), 1.
[612] Historical Society of Port Elizabeth, *Looking Back: A Quarterly Bulletin*, 21, no. 1 (March 1981), 3.
[613] GSSA, 'Russell Road Cemetery'.
[614] Historical Society of Port Elizabeth, *Looking Back*: *A Quarterly Bulletin,* March 1981, Volume 21, 1: 3.

letter published in the *Eastern Province Herald* on 14 July, 1983 a visitor from England lamented the neglected state of Russell Road Cemetery, bemoaning that "in that unkempt but hallowed area sleep some those who, from 1820 onwards, were the builders of Port Elizabeth and the Eastern Cape", and that:

> [t]hey, and others, did so well for this land, yet are today left to rest in what is little better than a forgotten garbage heap […] May I suggest then, that your apparently niggardly City Council shell out a modicum on the preservation of the resting place of those noble people who are the integral hub of your history; those who made Port Elizabeth and the Eastern Cape, "out of nothing".[615]

The representation of the cemetery as the final resting place of "those noble people who are the integral hub of [Port Elizabeth's] history" and "who made Port Elizabeth and the Eastern Cape 'out of nothing'"[616] is reminiscent of the narrative of British commemoration discussed in Chapter 2. The neglected state of this cemetery was often complained about in reference to the perceived disrespect it posed to those "brave pioneers", as Redgrave refers to them.[617]

***A* 'Settler Cemetery', but not *the* 'Settler Cemetery'**

It is interesting to note that, although Russell Road Cemetery's use as a 'native cemetery' was forgotten in favour of its status of a 'Settler Cemetery', this does not seem to have been widely accepted. In a tourist guide from 1960, St Mary's Cemetery is highlighted as the 'Settler Cemetery', while Russell Road Cemetery does not even feature as a point of interest. Due to the scarcity of sources, the origins of the cemetery's designation as a 'Settler Cemetery' remain obscure. The GSSA claims that the cemetery was declared a "Garden of Remembrance" in 1981, but no additional evidence has been found in this regard.[618] In the same year, Town Clerk

615 EPH 14/7/1983.
616 *Ibid*.
617 Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days,* 112.
618 GSSA, 'Russell Road Cemetery'.

P.K. Botha submitted a motion to have the cemetery deproclaimed with the intention of converting the grounds into a public park.[619] On several occasions from 1963 onwards, a number of proposals by community organisations such as the HSPE were made to remove the remaining gravestones and cement them into the surrounding walls to prevent further desecration; however, these plans were never realized as a number of English-speaking residents of the city protested.[620]

Figure 11 A Tourist guide to Port Elizabeth. On the right, under 'Places of Interest' number 16 (C2) is St Mary’s Cemetery and is listed as “Settlers’ Cemetery”. Russell Road Cemetery does not feature as a point of interest on this map.

[619] EPH 30/1/1981.

[620] EPH 05/06/1964; Historical Society of Port Elizabeth, *Looking Back: The Journal of the Historical Society of Port Elizabeth* 23, no. 3 (December 1983), 110.

Today, Russell Road Cemetery is known as the burial place of James Langley Dalton who was buried in 1887. Dalton was a commissary during the Battle of Rorke's Drift in 1879 for which he won a Victoria Cross. The Richmond Hill Neighbourhood SRA Council states:

> The most famous grave to be found [in the Russell Road Cemetery] is for James Langley Dalton (1833- 7 January 1887). He was an English recipient of the Victoria Cross, the highest and most prestigious award for gallantry in the face of the enemy that can be awarded to British and Commonwealth forces. Queen Victoria bestowed this honour on him for his part in the defence of the Rorke's Drift post on 22 January 1879.[621]

Dalton was not a resident of Port Elizabeth. He was visiting the city in 1887, when he suffered a heart attack and died. He was buried in the Roman Catholic section, and his grave is the most well-cared for and visited in the present, particularly by military men. 'Heritage Walks' arranged by older members of the community often visit Dalton's grave site to pay respect. No mention is made of the Khoi or 'coloured' graves, nor even the Wesleyan section.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced the history of the LMS Union Burial Ground from its establishment in 1838 to its closure in 1897. It has shown how the cemetery originally served as a burial space for members of the LMS's Khoi congregation residing in Port Elizabeth and later grew to include 'multi-racial' burials which included African, 'mixed-race', and European people. It has examined how the LMS burial ground was made missing from public memory and heritage through the consolidation of all three burial grounds into the single Russell Road Cemetery, which was then labelled as a white 'Settler Cemetery'. This is likely as a result of the absence of grave markers belonging to the black individuals from these communities as a result of

[621] Richmond Hill SRA, 'Russell Road Cemeteries', 2016, https://rhsra.co.za/russel_cemetries.html.

neglect. Additionally, apartheid-era racial segregation of residential areas ingrained the idea that racial segregation was a historical fact, resulting in the backwards projection of these values. This led to the mistaken notion that all colonial-era cemeteries in South Africa were racially segregated. As discussed earlier in this chapter, cemeteries during the early colonial period were more often segregated by religion, as was common in Britain. The evidence provided by the death certificates proves that multi-racial burials took place in this cemetery. However, beyond community organisations such as the GSSA, HSPE, and MBHT commemorating the cemetery as a 'Settler Cemetery', the burial ground is not recognised by SAHRA, ECPHRA, or DSRAC, perpetuating the same marginalisation these communities face, and continue to endure during life. Neither the HMC, nor the NMC recognised this cemetery as historically relevant, either.

Figure 12 Russell Road Cemetery behind a locked gate. Access to the cemetery was granted by the Richmond Hill SRA. Photograph by author, 21 June 2024.

Figure 14 Looking down at the LMS section from the Roman Catholic section. Photograph by author, 21 June 2024.

Figure 13 Looking up at the Roman Catholic burial ground from the LMS ground. Very few visible graves remain in this section. Photography by author, 21 June 2024.

Figure 16 The remaining gravestones in the LMS section bear European names. They have been cemented down to prevent further destruction. Photograph by author, 21 June 2024.

Figure 15 The Roman Catholic section of Russell Road Cemetery is the most well-maintained. Photograph by author, 21 June 2024

Figure 17 Dalton's grave. The small stones are from visitors paying their respects. Visitors must request access to the cemetery from the SRA. Photograph by author, 21 June 2024.

The following chapter discusses the Pauper Cemetery in North End. This chapter's discussion on public health concerns, and the 'sanitation syndrome' experienced by white middle- and upper-class communities provides the framework for which this cemetery was closed, and subsequently forgotten.

Chapter 4 - "Rattle his bones over the stones, he's only a pauper whom nobody owns": The North End Gaol Cemetery, c. 1855 – 1885

This chapter examines the Old Gaol and Pauper Cemetery in North End, Gqeberha. The burial ground was likely established around 1855 for the burial of paupers, and convicts from the North End gaol.[622] The burial ground was informally referred to as the "outcasts' burial ground" by the Town Council, as it was primarily used for those marginalised by the racial and social hierarchies of colonial society. The ground was situated on a triangular piece of waste land" at the intersection of Mount Road and present-day Harrower Road on the northern outskirts of town, near the Agricultural Show Ground.[623] The cemetery was informally established, and its association with marginalised communities meant that it rarely featured in official records. Consequently, the majority of this case study's descriptions come from the newspaper archives, particularly complaints reported in the published minutes of Town Council meetings.[624] Other references to the cemetery are limited. A.J. Christopher's 'Segregation and Cemeteries in Port Elizabeth, South Africa' mentions the site only briefly describing it, as "the site of the power station".[625] The GSSA's *Monumental Inscriptions, Coastal Cemeteries: Nanaga to Kareedouw* describes the cemetery as the final resting place of

---

[622] A pauper is someone who died in poverty without the financial means to provide for their funeral.

[623] EPH 25/03/1859; Cape of Good Hope Colonial Secretary's Office: Local Government and Health Branch, *Map Shewing Distribution of Houses Affected by Typhoid Fever at Port Elizabeth and Line of Sewers: Annexure to Report on Prevalence* (Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony, 1896), University of Cape Town. Libraries. Special Collections. Cape of Good Hope Parliamentary Papers; Donaldson and Hill, *Plan of Port Elizabeth (Cape Colony): Supplement to Donaldson and Hill's Eastern Province Cape Colony Directory* (Port Elizabeth, 1904), Port Elizabeth Main Library. An earlier pauper cemetery was said to have existed on the bank of the Baakens River, near the Tramways Building, and St Mary's and the Malay Cemetery, but it is unknown when this ground was closed. It is also possible that it has been mistaken for the pauper ground at North End, as both areas were built over by power stations at that time, and they may have confused the two.

[624] Due to its association with marginalised individuals, historical documentation on the Old Criminal and Pauper Cemetery in Gqeberha is biased, especially given that the town council were English middle and upper-class men influenced heavily by the classist sentiments of Victorian England.

[625] Christopher, 'Segregation and Cemeteries', 40.

James Carey, the Irish assassin-turned-informer who was assassinated enroute to Port Elizabeth.[626]

The majority of the graves, apart from that of James Carey, are described as having been marked by small piles of stones, or simple wooden crosses, reflecting the cemetery's informal, and impoverished nature.[627] To date, only one other individual's name is known, Jacob Arantes, whose 1869 execution was published in the *Eastern Province Herald*. Arantes was hanged at the gaol for murder and buried by his wife and children.[628] The Pauper Burial Ground was flattened and built over by an electric power station in 1905. As a consequence of the limited knowledge, this case study is substantially shorter than the others in this thesis. The erasure of this burial ground reflects broader patterns of exclusion and neglect in how colonial authorities treated spaces associated with marginalised communities. It also demonstrates how urban development, and commercial interests override respect for the dead. This chapter contributes to the scarce knowledge that currently exists about the Old Gaol and Pauper Cemetery by tracing its history from its establishment to its closure, and subsequent erasure from the landscape. The complete missingness of this cemetery from public memory and heritage demonstrates how South African cities such as Port Elizabeth constructed historical narratives that prioritise certain categories of the dead while excluding others. By examining the cemetery's role and eventual missingness, this chapter explores how colonial society relegated this burial ground to obscurity, demonstrating how the marginalisation experienced by these communities in life, persisted in death. It also demonstrates how colonial and apartheid

[626] James Carey was a Fenian assassin turned informer. Carey and his cohorts were responsible for the 1882 deaths of Irish Chief Secretary Lord Frederick Cavendish and the under-secretary, Mr Thomas Henry Burker. After Carey turned on his cohorts, he was sent to the Cape Colony for fear of his life. He was assassinated aboard the Melrose from Cape Town to Port Elizabeth by Patrick O'Donnell in 1883. Carey was buried by his family in the Pauper Cemetery at Port Elizabeth.
[627] EPH 29/03/1894.
[628] EPH 26/04/1869.

state heritage agencies have deemed the 'less sanitary' aspects of the past unworthy of commemoration.

Historical Context

The Pauper Cemetery was likely established around 1855 for the interment of those excluded from burial in Port Elizabeth's consecrated cemeteries. As discussed in Chapter 3, burial practices in the British Empire reflected strict religious, and social hierarchies. For instance, it was standard for the Church of England to deny burial in consecrated ground to unbaptised infants, stillborn babies, and individuals deemed socially, or morally "deviant". [629] However, the individuals of the clergy in Port Elizabeth did sometimes show compassion and allow unbaptised children to be buried in the same ground as their families.[630] Despite having no officially defined limits, the Town Council declared the cemetery was full in 1881.[631] In 1884, the Council expressed concerns over shallow burials- particularly those belonging to smallpox victims- fearing the potential spread of disease.[632] As discussed in Chapter 3, the absence of burial depth regulations caused the exposure of corpses. A major contributing factor was the lack of a dedicated undertaker, resulting in inconsistent burial depths.[633] There were other issues, such as the cemetery's location on a windy hill, and the poor soil quality that led to constant erosion,[634] and roaming animals disturbing the graves.[635]

---

[629] Deborah Elaine Wiggins, 'The Burial Acts: Cemetery Reform in Great Britain, 1815-1914' (PhD Thesis, United States of America, Texas Tech University, 1991), 141.
[630] EPH 29/03/1894; Wiggins, "The Burial Acts", 141.
[631] PET 05/05//1881.
[632] PET 03/03/1882; PET 21/01/1886; PET 19/03/1896.
[633] EPH 28/01/1859; EPH 11/02/1878. In 1896, a gravedigger explained the process of pauper burials: "A big hole is dug, and after the coffin has been placed therein, a plank is laid over the cavity until another Pauper has to be buried, when the plank is removed, and the next coffin lowered down… the ordinary way pauper graves were dug is about ten feet, and three persons were buried in each grave".
[634] PET 29/07/1890.
[635] EPH 18/10/1883.

Figure 18 Approximate location of the old Gaol and Pauper Cemetery in North End. From Google Earth, 2025.

A major contributor to the cemetery's marginal status were public health campaigns in the Victorian-era British Empire which conflated certain social behaviours with disease such as prostitution with syphilis, and drunkenness with tuberculosis.[636] Social hierarchies, and divisions in class meant that the middle and upper classes avoided the working class and the destitute out of fear of disease and 'immorality', both in life, and in death. In the South African context, scholars such as Baines and Christopher have argued that, historically, race and class were directly correlated such that sanitation syndrome – rooted in the fear of poor and working-class – necessarily took on a racial dimension.[637] However, as Marc Epprecht argues, sanitation syndrome simplifies class identities, creating bounded categories that did disregard the evidence of a colonial black, middle class, and a poor, white working class.[638] As an example, Van Heyningen argues that, despite assertions to the contrary, white women in the Cape Colony also engaged in sex work, as occupations available to women were limited, and often did not

[636] Van Heyningen, 'The Social Evil in the Cape Colony 1868-1902: Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10, no. 2 (1984): 35.
[637] Baines, 'The Control and Administration of Port Elizabeth's African Population'; Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation'; Christopher, 'Race and Residence'.
[638] Marc Epprecht, 'The Native Village Debate in Pietermaritzburg 1848–1925: Revisiting The "Sanitation Syndrome"', *The Journal of African History* 58, no. 2 (2017): 259–283.

pay well.[639] An 1868 register from a Lock Hospital (an institution that forcibly treated sex workers for venereal disease) in the Cape Colony shows that a number of European women listed as English, German, Dutch, Irish, Scottish, and French, were treated for sex work-related infections.[640] Van Heyningen argues that a large number of sex workers were not the social 'deviants' they were made out to be, but rather members of everyday colonial society.[641] White, Irish residents in Port Elizabeth were also marginalised by the white, English-speaking upper class- likely as a result of political relations between England, and Ireland. Irish Town, a neighbourhood in colonial-era Port Elizabeth, was 'notorious' for its brothels, bars, and gambling rooms, often spoken of as being a space of 'vice', and 'sin'.[642] Van Heyningen writes that the Dutch were also "driven to the wall economically and politically during the enforcement of [British] interests".[643]

Closure and Erasure, 1886-1905

The Pauper Cemetery was closed in 1885, with all future burials ordered to take place at the municipally owned North End Cemetery.[644] Over the next decade, multiple petitions were submitted to enclose the cemetery with a fence and convert the area into a green space.[645] However, these efforts appear to have been unsuccessful, and the site remained neglected. It is unclear whether the cemetery was ever enclosed or landscaped. In 1905, the Port Elizabeth Public Works Department had submitted plans to the Cape Government to construct an electric

---

[639] Van Heyningen, 'The Social Evil in the Cape Colony', 171.
[640] *Ibid*., 171. Sex work became institutionalised with the passing of the Contagious Diseases Act of 1868 which was directly influenced from British legislation. The act was meant to control the spread of venereal disease, as was based off of a system in France where sex workers had to register, and 'voluntarily' undergo examination, and treatment in 'Lock Hospitals' if found to have an infection. Lock Hospitals supposedly specialised in treating sexually transmitted illnesses.
[641] *Ibid*., 174. These women were seen as the most insidious, though, as Van Heyningen states, "the prostitute... in the guise of the nursemaid or domestic servant, penetrated the sacrosanct circle of the Victorian family and threatened it with contamination".
[642] Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days*. Irish Town would have been the area surrounding the old Alice and Evatt Streets in Central which was known for its "many canteens and smuggling houses".
[643] Van Heyningen, 'The Social Evil in the Cape Colony', 11.
[644] EPH 10/02/1886.
[645] EPH 12/06/1891; PET 25/06/1891; EPH 16/12/1896; PET 09/07/1897.

power station on the site.[646] In these plans, the ground was described as “land adjoining the old [agricultural] show yard”,[647] and “recovered alienated […] land”, with no acknowledgment of its former use as a burial ground.[648] The foundation stone for the new power station was laid by the mayor in June of 1905, and the building remained in use until its demolition in 1931.

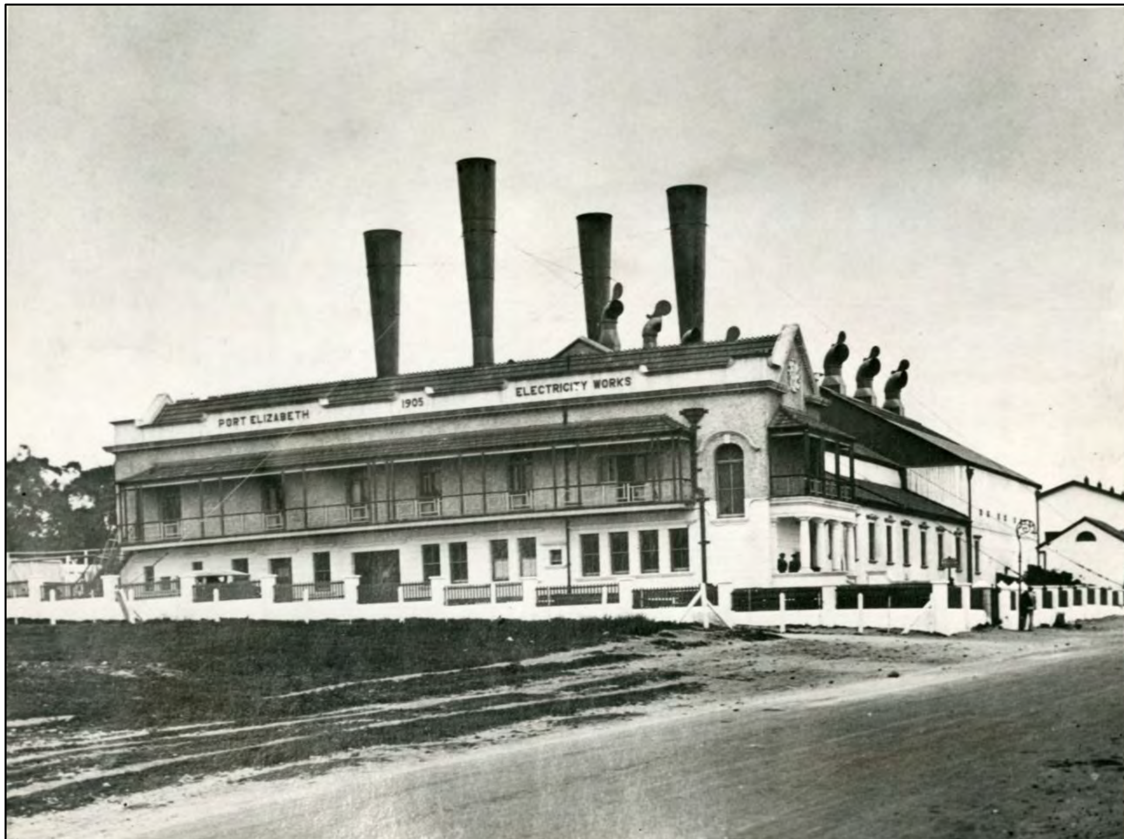


Figure 19 A photograph of the Mount Road Power Station. (Port Elizabeth Main Library, '19 Business Premises 9').

A new electrical building was constructed on the site in 1931, replacing the original power station.[649] This second structure remained in use until 1987, when it was also demolished. Shortly afterward, the current buildings housing the Port Elizabeth Municipal Electricity and

[646] CDT 30/03/1905.
[647] *Ibid*.
[648] CDT 02/03/1905.
[649] Artefacts, ‘Mount Road Power Station 1931’, accessed 29 July 2023.

Waterworks departments were constructed on the site.[650] Whether the human remains from the Pauper Cemetery were ever exhumed and reinterred elsewhere remains unknown. No evidence of exhumation or reburial could be found in the Port Elizabeth Main Library's archives. However, anecdotal evidence in the form of an old ghost story suggests that the bones may have been moved:

> […] the [Pauper] cemetery was moved to make way for the new power station. An employee tasked with moving the remains from the cemetery took a liking to [James] Carey's skull and its clean bullet hole, using it for many years as an ashtray and candle holder. The long-dead Carey still finds this offensive and refuses to leave the boiler room or the site where the cemetery once was, instilling fear in all those who work there.[651]

Figure 20 The only existing photograph of the Pauper Cemetery. A visitor from Ireland stands beside James Carey's grave. The pen marks on the photograph show where the grave is found. The stones in the background of the photograph mark other graves. 1883. Port Elizabeth Main Library, Photograph 39-8.

[650] Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, 'Electricity and Energy', accessed 29 July 2023; Google Maps, *Port Elizabeth Munelec Building* (North End, Gqeberha, Eastern Cape, 2023).
[651] news24, 'The Ghost of Old Mount Road Power Station', Port Elizabeth Ghost Stories, 2 November 2012; if the remains were reinterred, they likely would have been buried in the 'coloured' pauper section in North End Cemetery.

Figure 21 The site of the old burial ground is inaccessible to the public. Photograph by author, 15 October 2024.

Conclusion

The erasure of the Old Gaol and Pauper Cemetery raises important ethical, and historical questions. First, it highlights the state's ongoing prioritisation of industrial, and commercial interests over the dignity of the dead, particularly those from marginalised communities. This can be seen in the present with Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses being built on old gravesites,[652] and mining taking precedence over ancestral graves.[653] Secondly, it reflects broader patterns of exclusion in public memory and heritage. The cemetery's absence from historical narratives demonstrates how only certain categories of the

[652] Siyamtanda Capa, 'RDP House Built on Gravesite', *News24*, 30 June 2021, https://www.news24.com/news24/rdp-house-built-on-gravesite-20210623; Sivenathi Gosa, 'Family's Uphill Battle to Locate Mom's Grave', *Dispatch Live*, 16 March 2022, https://www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/2022-03-16-familys-uphill-battle-to-locate-moms-grave/.
[653] Skosana, 'Grave Matters: The Contentious Politics Of Gravesite Removals In Contemporary South Africa – The Case Of Tweefontein, Ogies'; Skosana, 'Grave Matters'.

dead- those deemed “respectable” or useful to dominant state-authorised narratives- are commemorated. As colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid governments constructed their histories, they consistently excluded the poor, and marginalised, unless they could be instrumentalised, as with suffering white women in concentration camps or celebrated anti-apartheid figures. This emphasises the need to critically examine whose lives and deaths are deemed worthy of commemoration. The cemetery’s missingness from public memory and heritage thus reflects broader processes of exclusion that continue to shape how societies remember their pasts.

The following chapter is on the Old African Burial Ground in Richmond Hill. This cemetery is an example of how certain cemeteries, despite meeting the criteria of ‘resistance histories’, also become forgotten – demonstrating an ambiguity around the authorised state discourses.

Chapter 5 – The *Native* Strangers' Location Burial Ground, Richmond Hill, c. 1855 - 1881

The forgotten 'African Burial Ground' located in the present-day neighbourhood of Richmond Hill in Gqeberha served as a cemetery from approximately 1855 to 1881 for the black communities living in the colonial city's residential locations. The closure of the cemetery by the Town Council in 1881 marked the beginning of its physical erasure.[654] The burial ground- also referred to as the "Native Strangers' Location Cemetery", "Fingo [Mfengu] Cemetery", and the "*Kafir* [Xhosa] Burial Ground"- was flattened after its closure, and subsequently converted into Richmond Hill Park, which remains in use at present.[655] This process led to its symbolic missingness as well. As the surrounding area developed into a white, suburban residential neighbourhood, the cemetery- and the black communities that once used it- were excluded from public memory and heritage, its history largely forgotten. This chapter explores how these processes of erasure reflect a broader pattern of selective commemoration by the state throughout the colonial and apartheid eras, but particularly during the post-apartheid period.

The closure of the cemetery in 1881 is representative of the Port Elizabeth Town Council's priorities in the later part of the 19th century, and its missingness from public memory and heritage in the 20th century is symbolic of later colonial, and apartheid values surrounding who and what was relevant to history in those periods. In the post-apartheid period, the priorities of the *National Heritage Resources Act* (1999) guiding state heritage groups appear to be sidelined in favour of party-specific struggle commemorations by the ANC, and black

[654] GSSA, 'Richmond Hill Cemetery'.

[655] Archival sources are scarce, and it is not clear precisely when the cemetery ground was converted into a park. The *Cape Daily Telegraph* on 21 January 1907 notes that white residents of Richmond Hill had petitioned that the old cemetery be converted into a 'recreation space'. In 1946, *The Advertiser* refers to the area as a park. This suggests that the conversion occurred sometime between these two dates.

identity politics. Despite the resistance central to the history of the early colonial locations in Gqeberha, this cemetery does not feature in post-apartheid memory and heritage, as compared to the Red Location, for example. Unlike the other case studies examined in this thesis, this cemetery is distinct in that there have been attempts at commemoration by community heritage organisations such as the Mandela Bay Heritage Trust (MBHT), and the Historical Society of Port Elizabeth (HSPE), however, these petitions have been unsuccessful through lack of engagement by state heritage bodies, such as the local Mandela Bay Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC), the regional Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Agency (ECPHRA), and the national South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA). This chapter explores how the Old African Burial Ground's missingness from public memory and heritage reflects not only the state's selective process of remembering and forgetting, but, as a microcosm of social reality, the cemetery's missingness represents the community's marginal value to the state.

Figure 22 Present-day Richmond Hill Park in Richmond Hill, Gqeberha. The Old African Burial Ground was converted into a public park after its closure. From Google Earth, 2025.

Historical Context

This cemetery, which will be referred to as the 'Strangers' Location Cemetery' for ease of understanding, functioned as a burial ground for the black communities residing in the municipal-owned *Strangers' Location*. Following the Sixth Frontier War (1834-1835) in which the Mfengu people fought alongside the British against the Xhosa, Governor Benjamin D'Urban recognised the Mfengu as British subjects, allowing them to move into the Cape Colony.[656] Baines notes that the Mfengu were the "first Africans to enter the Cape […] in considerable numbers".[657] The majority of Mfengu men found employment on the landing beaches, and later in the growing industries of tanneries, wool washeries, and factories.[658] Mfengu women were employed as cooks, laundresses, and housekeepers.[659] An 1849 map shows an informal settlement named 'Fingo Village',[660] where the majority of Mfengu moving into Port Elizabeth had settled on town commonage.[661] This area was likely chosen as a necessity of living close to their area of employment- the landing beaches, and the white residential neighbourhood of Central Hill- as well as the proximity to sources of potable water.[662] However, despite the moniker 'Fingo City', Kirk notes that a diverse population, in addition to the Mfengu, had formed a community on the location as early as 1841.[663]

[656] Christopher, 'Race and Residence in Colonial Port Elizabeth, 68.
[657] Baines, 'Origins of Segregation in Port Elizabeth', 65.
[658] Kirk, 'A "Native" Free State at Korsten', 314.
[659] *Ibid.*, 314.
[660] 'Plan of the Town of Port Elizabeth, South Africa from a Survey by R. Essenhigh,' 1849.
[661] Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation', 67.
[662] Baines, 'The Control and Administration of Port Elizabeth's African', 1. Baines also notes that a number of people settled near the landing beaches, and in "two villages, each fifteen minutes' walk in opposite directions from the centre of town".
[663] Kirk, 'Race, Class, Liberalism, and Segregation', 304.

Figure 23 – The 1849 map showing 'Fingo City' on the area of what would become the Native Strangers' Location in 1855. The so-called 'Hottentot Location' is adjacent, as well as the three burial grounds that would become present-day Russell Road Cemetery. From Harradine, ‘A Social Chronicle to 1945’, 2002.

In 1847, the colonial government sought greater control over the African population residing in urban areas, and issued regulations for the establishment of ‘native locations’ a few kilometres from the city centre.[664] On 27 June, 1855 under provision of the *Ordinance for the Creation of Municipal Boards in the Towns and Villages of the Colony* (1836), Governor George Grey issued a land grant for the site of a “*Strangers*’ Location, where Hottentots, Fingoes, Kafirs and other strangers *visiting* Port Elizabeth may *temporarily* reside [emphasis added]”.[665] The terms ‘stranger’, ‘visiting’, and ‘temporarily’ were selected for the legislation to position the residents of the location as transient, and not part of the permanent population of the town.[666] This served as an early precursor of what would be to come with the system of urban residential segregation in the apartheid period. Baines notes that this land grant

[664] Christopher, ‘Formal Segregation and Population Distribution in Port Elizabeth’, 5.
[665] Cape of Good Hope, ‘Port Elizabeth Native Strangers’ Location Act’ (1883). The land grant provisioned for approximately 351 415 square metres and would have been in present-day Richmond Hill, Gqeberha.
[666] Christopher, ‘Formal Segregation and Population Distribution in Port Elizabeth’, 5.

effectively marks the "first attempt by the local state to control African residence in Port Elizabeth".[667] African people were restricted from residing outside of Stranger's Location, unless they lived with their employer, or were exempt from the status of 'stranger' through property ownership and having the right to vote.[668]

Figure 24 Portion of a map showing the 'native burial ground'. From 'Plan of the Town of Port Elizabeth, Map (Port Elizabeth, 1895') Port Elizabeth Main Library.

The Growth of Residential Locations in Port Elizabeth, 1857

In 1857, a large number of Xhosa refugees from other parts of the Eastern Cape moved into Port Elizabeth as a consequence of the cattle-killing.[669] The population at Strangers' Location grew substantially, resulting in the establishment of a second location on the other side of

[667] Baines, 'The Control and Administration of Port Elizabeth's African Population', 21.
[668] *Ibid*., 5.
[669] *Ibid*., 15.

Cooper's Kloof (present-day Albany Road) in 1862.[670] In 1876, Town Councillor Thomas Gubb allowed a number of African people who could not find accommodation at the two municipal locations to erect huts on his farm near the old Mill (present-day Mill Park).[671] Gubb referred to them as "raw natives" as they differed from the Christianised population of Strangers' and Cooper's Kloof Locations.[672] What would eventually become known as Gubb's Location was thus the first private residential location in the city and fell outside the jurisdiction of the Town Council and its regulations, making it a preferred place to live for many.[673]In October 1881, a five day 'faction fight' took place between Mfengu residents of Strangers' Location, and Xhosa residents of Gubb's Location, that resulted in the death of four men.[674] One of the deceased was the white superintendent of Strangers' Location,[675] whose death was set to use by the Town Council to represent the "danger posed by the proximity of the [African] locations to white residential areas".[676] The fight included over 800 men, and although the exact cause is still unknown, Kirk suggests that it may have been a result of Xhosa beach workers refusing to participate in a planned strike organised by the Mfengu beach workers.[677] Once the fight had subsided, fear spread through the white public over the "uncontrollable nature" of the African locations, as the town police had not been able to control the situation.[678] The Town Council put forward a proposal regarding the removal of the residents of Strangers' Location,

---

[670] Christopher, 'Race and Residence', 9.
[671] Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation', 78.
[672] *Ibid*., 78. Redgrave embellishes this story in 1947, writing that Gubb's Location was where "Kaffir doctors practiced their witchcraft and were often consulted by white people, much to the latter's regret on more than one occasion".
[673] Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation', 78.
[674] Kirk, 'Race, Class, Liberalism, and Segregation', 307.
[675] According to the *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* published on the 7th of October 1881, the superintendent had antagonised the fighters by pulling out his revolver and threatening to shoot them.
[676] Baines, 'The Control and Administration of Port Elizabeth's African Population', 15,
[677] Kirk, 'Race, Class, Liberalism, and Segregation', 308. E.J. Inggs explains that that the Mfengu had held a monopoly on beach labour until 1857, when a large number of Xhosa entered the city after the devastating consequences of the Mfecane. Prior to this, the town's lack of a harbour and their resulting reliance on the Mfengu's labour to offload ships meant that the Mfengu were able to strike and successfully demand higher wages a number of times.
[678] PET 07/10/1881.

and the authority to sell the land it was on.[679] A committee was formed consisting of Jacobus Wilhelmus Sauer, Minister of Native Affairs; Sir John Gordon Sprigg, former prime minister of the Cape Colony; Dr William Guybon Atherstone, member of parliament; and Charles Lewis, the Mayor of Cape Town, to put together a bill outlining the closure of the location.[680] This resulted in the passing of the *Port Elizabeth Native Strangers' Location Act* of 1883, in order to

> […] enable the Municipal Council of Port Elizabeth to remove the Native Strangers' Location from its present site, and to sell the ground forming the said site.[681]

The Council proposed moving the residents of Strangers' Location to a newly established site near the water reservoir in present-day Glendinningvale, near where the Mount Road Police Station is today.[682] Reservoir Location, known as *kwaNtamobomvu* in Xhosa,[683] was approximately four kilometres from the city centre (where most African residents would have worked). 'Sanitation syndrome', the fear of infectious disease as discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, was used to justify the bill, particularly the threat that 'uncivilised natives' could spread disease not only to the town's white population, but also other black people in the locations.[684] As early as May 1859, a mere four years after Strangers' Location had been established by the Town Council, the town engineer had presented a report that the 'filthy' conditions in Strangers' Location posed a threat to public health, as 'coloured servants' could

---

[679] Kirk, 'Race, Class, Liberalism, and Segregation', 314.
[680] House of Assembly, 'Report on the Select Committee on the Native Strangers' Location Bill' (W.A. Richard & Son's Government Printers, 1883), 1.
[681] Cape of Good Hope, 'No. 17 Port Elizabeth Native Strangers' Location Act' (1883), 716.
[682] Kirk, 'A 'Native' Free State at Korsten', 314.
[683] Gary Fred Baines, 'New Brighton, Port Elizabeth C1903-1953 : A History of an Urban African Community' (PhD Thesis, Cape Town, University of Cape Town, 1994), 39. Baines writes that the Xhosa names literally means "*place of the rooinek*, which possibly denoted that an Englishman may have previously owned the land".
[684] Kirk, 'A 'Native' Free State at Korsten', 314.

infect their white employers with smallpox.[685] Baines argues that "the social metaphor of disease became a particularly effective means of maintaining political pressure for Africans to be kept away from white residential areas".[686] Although the Act was passed, the enforcement and administration was unsuccessful, and only around fifty families moved from Strangers' to Reservoir Location.[687] The failure of the Act was attributed to two main issues: the first, approximately half of the African population living in the city were mission-educated, and part of an emerging black middle class with the right to own property, and vote.[688] They formed a large part of the wage force in the harbour, as well as the growing industries of tanneries, wool washeries, and factories producing explosives, soap, cigarettes, and shoes.[689]

By the 1880s, the majority of the community were predominantly Christian, and also worked as church ministers, court interpreters, or business owners, such as butcheries and bakeries.[690] The second issue was the Cape liberal tradition which had 'facilitated' the black middle class by supporting their so-called "civilisation".[691] The Act, however, did not account for divisions based on social or class differences between African people, and stipulated the removal of *all* residents from Strangers' Location.[692] For this 'aspirant' black middle class, which was fluid and often fluctuated to include former working class people that had entered professional occupations or accumulated enough capital to open a business, this Act threatened to remove their ability to own property, which was an important part of the liberal tradition.[693] The original bill and the subsequent Act was met with resistance by residents of Stranger's Location, as well as a small group of white liberals referred to as 'Friends of the Natives',

---

[685] Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation', 76-77.
[686] *Ibid*., 77.
[687] Kirk, 'Race, Class, Liberalism, and Segregation', 318.
[688] *Ibid*., 318.
[689] *Ibid*., 314.
[690] *Ibid*., 314.
[691] *Ibid*., 294.
[692] *Ibid*., 314.
[693] *Ibid*., 315.

which included missionaries, politicians, lawyers and merchants, who insisted on amending the Act to guarantee that "respectable Africans" would be treated justly and compensated for their schools and churches.[694] A second amendment sought to provide a freehold title to any head of households moving to the Reservoir Location who had resided in Strangers' or Cooper's Kloof Location for three years.[695] As a result of these amendments, the 1883 Act went largely unenforced as the cost to the Council would be too high.[696]

Baines argues that the motion to remove Strangers' Location had less to do with the fear of disease, and more to do with white commercial and residential expansion. He draws attention to the fact that as early as the 1860s, properties around Strangers' Location had already been surveyed and designated for white residential use.[697] The land Strangers' Location had been established on, initially on the outskirts of town, was considered 'worthless', however, as white urban expansion encroached on the location, the land value increased exponentially.[698] These white residences which belonged predominantly to the 'upper classes', were large, and followed European architectural styles, standing in stark contrast to Strangers' Location's 'traditional African housing' of wood and corrugated iron structures, or round, wattle and daub huts.[699] The white residents regarded these 'traditional' homes as an "eyesore", and a threat to the value of their property.[700] Baines writes that the "dominant classes saw white social exclusivity threatened by [Strangers' Location] which meant falling property prices, lack of security, and a threat to health standards".[701] This all resulted in scrutiny from

[694] Kirk, 'A 'Native' Free State at Korsten', 115. Cape Liberalism in the nineteenth century was considered paternalistic but facilitated an alliance between African people and White people. It was based on notions of free trade, property rights, and progress. The calls for just treatment by these so-called 'Friends of the Natives' was also largely influenced by the English need for the Africans vote.
[695] *Ibid*., 315.
[696] *Ibid*., 316.
[697] Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation', 77.
[698] Kirk, *Making a Voice: African Resistance to Segregation in South Africa*, 41.
[699] Appel, 'Housing in Late 19th and Early 20th Century Port Elizabeth', 21.
[700] Baines, 'The Origins of Urban Segregation', 77.
[701] *Ibid*., 80.

the Town Council, who labelled Strangers' Location 'a nuisance', and "unfit for human habitation", despite the fact that it was under municipal control, and residents had been promised 'decent living conditions' by the Council.[702]

1883, thus, marked the start of the history of organised black resistance in Port Elizabeth. Following this period, there was what Kirk calls a 'philosophical shift' in the black middle class from the reliance on white liberals for assistance, towards African unity to "protect their limited privileges".[703] A series of organisations were established, such as The *Native Educational Association* (NEA), and the *Imbumba Yama Nyama* (The Native Improvement Association), which was the first black political organisation in South Africa.[704] The context for this philosophical shift and the creation of the *Imbumba Yama Nyama* was as a result of the significant change in the relationship between African mission-educated men, and the liberal whites following the discovery of diamonds in 1867, and the subsequent demand for cheap 'native' labour.[705] The resulting laws passed, such as the *Locations Act* of 1869 were an effort to promote 'native labour' through the imposition of a "hut tax" on all Africans living on 'Crown Land', payable only in cash, forcing people onto the wage market.[706] Another substantial change in liberal policy came after the Last Frontier War (1877-1878) which vastly increased the number of Xhosa people under "colonial jurisdiction".[707] A large number of white people expected that the 'conquered' Xhosa would be made available as cheap labour, whilst others complained that most African people would not convert to Christianity, or let go of their 'uncivilised' cultural practices.[708] There was also tension as a result of the economic competition between the white working class and the black middle-class, which Kirk argues

---

[702] Appel, 'Housing in Late 19th and Early 20th Century Port Elizabeth', 23-24.
[703] Kirk, 'Race, Class, Liberalism, and Segregation', 297.
[704] *Ibid*., 298.
[705] *Ibid*., 300.
[706] *Ibid*., 300.
[707] *Ibid*., 301.
[708] *Ibid*., 301.

"threatened white supremacy".[709] The *Imbumba Yama Nyama* was thus also formed in context of the establishment of the Afrikaner Bond in May 1883- established as a result of the growing Afrikaner nationalism- in order to push for the removal of African voting rights.[710] Thus, according to Kirk, these conflicts effectively marks the start of "[black] community consciousness and political activism in Port Elizabeth".[711]

In 1896, property developers again exerted pressure on the municipality to remove Strangers' Location and Cooper's Kloof Location to make way for white suburban development, and move the residents to the planned 'Race Course Location' on the old Fairview Estate in Cape Road.[712] Site-holders in Strangers' and Cooper's Kloof Locations were promised plots of land with titles at the Race Course Location as a *quid pro quo* for any land they willingly surrendered to the Council.[713] The proposed move was interrupted with the start of the South African War (1899-1902) as a portion of Race Course Location which had been laid out and provided with piped water was used by the British military authorities as a site for a concentration camp.[714] With the end of the war, new concerns arose as complaints that the residents of the new location would have to commute through the white residential areas to and from work, and that, although it was on the periphery of the town, the trajectory of urban development meant that the white areas would soon reach the Race Course Location once again, and the municipality would have to restart the process of relocating the African residents.[715] The proposed new Race Course Location was thus rejected.

[709] Kirk, 'Race, Class, Liberalism, and Segregation', 301.
[710] *Ibid*., 301.
[711] *Ibid*., 294.
[712] Baines, 'The Control and Administration of Port Elizabeth's African Population', 16.
[713] *Ibid*., 16.
[714] *Ibid*., 16.
[715] *Ibid*., 16.

The Bubonic Plague and Forced Removals, 1901-1903

On 12 April 1901, a number of dead rats infected with bubonic plague had been discovered in the Harbour stores in Port Elizabeth.[716] The rats were infected by fleas brought in on hay shipped from Buenos Aires, Argentina, intended for the horses of the British garrison stationed in Port Elizabeth during the South African War.[717] The first infections logically occurred among harbour labourers working in these warehouses, most of who were black people living in the municipal locations.[718] This fuelled the myth that the locations, rather than the harbour, were the "breeding grounds for disease".[719] At this point, Swanson's concept of the 'sanitation syndrome,' previously discussed in this thesis, becomes relevant once again. The white middle and 'upper' classes, driven by a fear of contracting disease from black people, intensified pressure on the government to relocate African people away from white residential areas.[720]

It is interesting to note that the conditions which contributed to this negative view of Strangers' Location – overcrowding, and the lack of facilities such as piped water or adequate disposal of waste – were to blame on the municipality, as the management and administration of the African locations was their responsibility.[721] The *Public Health Act* of 1897 provided the legislative power to forcibly remove residents of the African locations from "infected" premises.[722] An autonomous Plague Board was established in Port Elizabeth in order to investigate the source of the infection, as well as limit the spread of the disease. The Board restricted movement of African people within the city, as well as forcibly quarantined

[716] J. Alexander Mitchell, 'Bubonic Plague in Cape Colony', *South African Journal of Science* 3, no. 1 (1905): 452.
[717] *Ibid*., 452.
[718] *Ibid*., 452.
[719] Baines, 'The Control and Administration of Port Elizabeth's African Population', 16.
[720] *Ibid*., 16. Although white people feared infection from African people, interestingly, Baines asserts that "aside from the [bubonic] plague, infectious diseases were more prevalent amongst white than black residents of Port Elizabeth during 1901".
[721] Kirk, 'Race, Class, Liberalism, and Segregation', 306.
[722] Baines, 'The Control and Administration of Port Elizabeth's African Population', 17.

suspected cases of plague to the lazaretto(the infectious disease station), at the mouth of the Shark River in present-day Humewood.[723] Many homes in the African locations, particularly Strangers' Location, were condemned as "unfit for human habitation" and subsequently burned to the ground as a result.[724] Baines writes that what initially began as a form of 'infectious disease control' quickly evolved into an "anti-black health and moral crusade", as numerous residents were harassed and intimidated by members of the Plague Board, often receiving little notice before the demolition of their homes.[725] In total, the Plague Board destroyed over six hundred homes in Strangers' Location, forcing many of these people to search for housing outside of the city. The Plague Board lacked the authority to remove residents from properties that had not been condemned, and thus the full closure of Strangers' Location was not achieved until a later date.[726]

There was, of course, some truth to the concerns about sanitation. Overcrowding posed a significant challenge that the municipality had been unable to resolve. In 1894, a case of smallpox was reported to the city's sanitary inspector, who discovered that a five-bedroom home was being inhabited by sixteen people, with one room being shared by seven people, including the man infected by smallpox.[727] One of the municipality's solutions was to continually divide available living spaces into smaller units, but this strained the already limited land allocated for Strangers' Location.[728] Despite the fact that this area was under the Town Council's control, and they had promised residents 'decent living conditions', the situation ultimately drew scrutiny from the Council itself.[729] The removal of Strangers' Location was

[723] Baines, 'The Control and Administration of Port Elizabeth's African Population', 17. Humewood was then on the periphery of the city limits and across the Baakens River, thus far away from residential areas,
[724] *Ibid*., 17.
[725] *Ibid*., 17.
[726] *Ibid*., 18.
[727] Appel, 'Housing in Late 19th and Early 20th Century Port Elizabeth', 23. The overcrowded conditions could be attributed to the increasing number of migrant labourers to the city as a result of mining in the interior of the country, as well as the growing popularity of marriage and the resulting need for suitable family housing.
[728] *Ibid*., 23.
[729] *Ibid*., 23-24.

eventually realised with the passing of the *Native Reserve Locations Act* (1902) which authorised the Governor of the Cape Colony to forcibly relocate African residents from the inner-city locations to a 'native reserve location'.[730] This was defined as:

> […] any area in or near any city, borough, town, village, or any area proclaimed under section thirteen of the *Public Health Amendment Act*, 1897, set apart under the provisions of this Act for the occupation or residence of Natives employed in any such city, town, village, or proclaimed area.[731]

Forced removals to the New Brighton Location began in May of 1903, one month before the *Native Reserve Location Act* came into effect.[732] Two farms, Cradock's Place, and the Deal Party Estate, both roughly eight kilometres from the city centre, were purchased by the Colonial Government for the establishment of the 'native reserve, New Brighton.[733] The African middle-class residents of Strangers' Location resisted these removals, objecting to the lack of compensation, land rights, or security of tenure.[734] The high cost of rent for a family home in New Brighton and the expense of commuting to the city led many black residents to relocate instead to the freehold 'village' of Korsten, which lay outside the control of the Port Elizabeth municipality, and was therefore not subject to the racially discriminatory regulations of the *Native Reserve Locations Act*.[735]

---

[730] South Africa, 'No. 40 Native Reserve Locations Act' (1902).
[731] 'Native Reserve Locations Act' (1902). The penalty for contravention of the Act was a fine "not exceeding ten pounds" (approximately £1,000 pounds when adjusted for inflation, or roughly R 23,200), and if payment was defaulted, "imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months".[731] A 'native' was defined as "any Kafir, Fingo, Zulu, Mosuto, Damara, Hottentot, Bushman, Bechuana, Koranna, or any other aboriginal native of South Africa or Central Africa", but excluded "any Native while serving in any of His Majesty's [Queen Victoria's] Ships and while in uniform"
[732] Baines, 'The Control and Administration of Port Elizabeth's African Population', 18.
[733] *Ibid*., 18.
[734] *Ibid*., 18.
[735] Kirk, 'A "Native" Free State at Korsten', 310.

The Cemetery: Creation, Closure, and Commemoration Attempts

As mentioned in the chapter introduction, the Strangers' Location burial ground was likely created by the people 'squatting' on the town commons next to the LMS's 'Hottentot Location'. The 1855 'Native Strangers' Location' land grant did not include space for a burial ground, and official demarcation of the cemetery only occurred in in 1876 after a 'special committee' of the Town Council met to decide whether the burial ground should be 'removed', or have its boundaries defined.[736] The latter option was ultimately chosen after much debate, as the motion to remove the burial ground was closely tied to discussions of having the Strangers' Location removed.[737] The motion to remove the cemetery was ultimately blocked by Councillor Mackay, who argued that fairness would require the removal of cemeteries belonging the Scottish, English, and Malay communities, as well.[738]

In June 1881, tensions escalated when a Scottish sailor was buried in the Strangers' Location cemetery, which had informally become a burial site for 'paupers' from the Provincial Hospital.[739] Angered by this burial, the Town Council ordered the sailor exhumed and reburied in the Scottish St George's Cemetery.[740] On 21 June, 1881, the Town Clerk prohibited the burial of 'Europeans' in 'native' cemeteries.[741] Shortly after, on 10 August, 1881 the Strangers' Location cemetery was officially ordered to close once a portion of ground at the municipal North End Cemetery had been designated for 'native' burials.[742] Citing section 78 of the *Constituting the Town of Port Elizabeth a Municipality Act* (1868), burial grounds within the

[736] EPH 23/06/1876.
[737] EPH 23/07/1870.
[738] EPH 02/06/1876.
[739] PET 21/06/1881.
[740] *Ibid*.
[741] *Ibid*.
[742] EPH 16/08/1881.

city were to be closed if two-thirds of the Council deemed them "overcrowded"; the cemetery was closed in December 1881, and subsequently enclosed with a fence.[743]

The Status of the Cemetery in the Twenty-First Century: 2008 - Present

In December 2008, in anticipation of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the South African Police Service (SAPS) proposed building a 10111 Emergency Services Call Centre on a portion of the old burial ground. SAPS had been reassured that, despite rumours, the site was unlikely to have been a burial ground. Trial pits dug by Bopite Engineering Geologists did not yield any archaeological or human remains.[744] However, a 'Phase 1 Archaeological Impact Assessment' was performed by archaeologists Johan Binneman and Celeste Booth of the Albany Museum in Makhanda at the behest of Richmond Hill residents.[745] Their report confirmed the site was "historically documented as an Mfengu burial ground older than 100 years".[746] The archaeologists conducted a physical survey to assess whether burial sites were present. evaluate the potential impact of the development and provide recommendations to minimise damage.[747] Binneman and Booth stressed the significance of the site, stating that it "inculcated the past identities of the Mfengu people who occupied the Richmond Hill area", and permission should therefore be obtained from the 'probable descendants' of the Mfengu people displaced to New Brighton after the 1903 forced removals from Strangers' Location.[748]

A public meeting was held on 11 March 2009 in New Brighton. Professor Albrecht Herholdt of 'The Matrix cc Urban Designers and Architects' presented the R90 million project,

[743] 'Constituting the Town of Port Elizabeth a Municipality' (1868).
[744] 'A Phase 1 Archaeological Impact Assessment: South African Police Services (SAPS) 10111 Call Centre, Erven 530 AND 4162, Central Hill, Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape Province', 2009.
[745] *Ibid*.
[746] 'A Phase 1 Archaeological Impact Assessment'.
[747] *Ibid*.
[748] *Ibid*.

supported by the National Government, and the Nelson Mandela Bay mayor.[749] Herholdt assured attendees that the possibility of the site being a burial ground was "remote", and claimed they were "99% sure that they will not find any bones".[750] He added that if any human remains were found, however, that they would be stored in the Albany Museum to be claimed by descendants.[751] Ward Councillor Davis objected to the project, asserting that the "burial ground was the final resting place for many of the ancestors of the Mfengu people".[752] Similarly, Titus Pemba, a meeting attendee, argued that African burial sites and history had long been destroyed "with a total disregard of African history and culture".[753] The meeting ended with the main points of contention being the need to respect the "bones of our elders", versus the potential of job creation.[754]

Disagreements between stakeholders further complicated the issue. Councillor Jeremy Davis of Ward 5 (which includes Richmond Hill) was not informed, nor invited to the public meeting and only managed to attend after being informed by a third party. Although public participation was required, the meeting was poorly advertised and was scheduled for 15h00 on a weekday, a time when most residents were at work. Consequently, only 22 New Brighton residents attended the meeting.[755] There was also a language barrier, as New Brighton's Councillor Tutu served as translator between the English-speaking officials and Xhosa-speaking attendees. Residents of Richmond Hill also objected to the project, citing concerns about the proposed architecture for the call centre, a square, four-storey office block as not keeping with the "cultural heritage of the historical suburb".[756] The planned fifty metre-high

[749] Meeting Minutes of Public Meeting, 'Proposed Building of a Radio Base Station, Richmond Park', 11 March 2009, New Brighton, 1. Port Elizabeth Main Library.
[750] *Ibid*. 1.
[751] *Ibid*., 1.
[752] *Ibid*., 1.
[753] Titus Pemba is the son of famous New Brighton painter, the late George Pemba.
[754] *Ibid*., 2.
[755] *Ibid*., 1.
[756] TH 03/11/2008.

radio mast was also criticised for clashing with the character of the old Erica School, located adjacent to the site.[757] Many residents expressed frustration with the lack of participation, which only started when Councillor Davis called a public meeting in September 2008 to inform the community of the proposed development, and of Richmond Park as the "sacred burial ground of the Mfengu people".[758]

The Provincial Heritage Resource Authority (PHRA) had not received the necessary permit applications for development of the site.[759] Assistant Commissioner Okkie Terblanche dismissed the community's concerns as "emotional", however, the contestations were not against the need for a call centre, but rather its chosen location.[760] In April 2009, one month after the public meeting in New Brighton, construction plans were halted as human remains were unearthed.[761]. The bones were reinterred in line with SAHRA permit conditions. Annette du Plessis from the Red Location Museum in New Brighton described the discovery of the bones as "[…] a sensitive issue with significance not only for the Mfengu people", noting that she "strongly suspect[ed] it was a mixture of people… buried there because the community was integrated similar to the South End community".[762] Following the discovery, SAPS and

[757] TH 14/11/2008; Some residents were concerned about the "effects of the electromagnetic waves". SAPS apparently also threatened that if the Call Centre could not be built in time, that the city would lose all of their soccer matches.
[758] *Ibid*.
[759] TH 14/11/2008.
[760] TH 30/12/2008.
[761] TH 17/04/2009.
[762] *Ibid*.

the Public Works Department made the decision to relocate the call centre to an alternative site.[763]

Figure 25: Photographs taken by Ward Councillor Jeremy Davis in 2009 of the excavation trial pits (left), a portion of a human skull unearthed (centre), and human leg bones (right). From Wiki Loves Monuments South Africa, 'Richmond Park', 2013.

Failed Commemoration Attempts: 2022 and 2023

The desired memorial for the cemetery following the 2009 excavations never materialised. In 2013, an anonymous petitioner applied to *Wiki Loves Monuments* to declare the park as a heritage site, arguing that:

> [d]ue to the historic heritage nature of the site, and *its connection to the Red Location and freedom struggle*, as well as the ongoing vulnerability to further attempts to build on the site or disregard the sanctity of the graves, the petitioner would like to motivate that it be considered for declaration as a National Monument [emphasis added].[764]

The application was unsuccessful, but this would mark the first attempt to draw the site into the narrative of the 'freedom struggle'. In November 2022, MBHT heritage practioner, Simphiwe Msizi approached *The Herald* in a bid to honour the "Mfengu people buried in Richmond Hill".[765] He accused authorities of "neglecting African heritage".[766] He submitted a formal letter to ECPHRA, which administrator Sinazo Mnyakama "escalated to the heritage

[763] TH 22/06/2009.
[764] Wiki Loves Monuments South Africa, 'Richmond Park', Archived Page, 20 September 2013, https://web.archive.org/web/20130928015236/http://www.wikilovesmonuments.co.za/wiki/Richmond_Park.
[765] TH 18/11/2022.
[766] *Ibid*.

authorities' bosses", and stated that ECPHRA planned to gather its own evidence through inspections, and once approved, the site would be formally commemorated with a memorial.[767]

NMB Ward Five Councillor Terri Stander expressed "excitement about the conserving of the graves" and was "planning to use money from her discretionary fund, which is about R100,000, to assist with the memorial".[768] However, no further action was taken. In November 2023, excavations for a footpath began in the park without the required permits from heritage authorities. As a resident of the neighbourhood familiar with the burial ground's history, I contacted the community organisation, the Nelson Mandela Bay Heritage Trust (MBHT) about the work being done.[769] They confirmed that no permit applications, or proposed plans had been submitted.[770] The issue arose from poor communication between different authorities, including the Ward Five Council's office, the NMB Parks and Cemeteries Department, and the Richmond Hill Special Rates Area (SRA) Body. The zoning of the park falls under 'Public Open Space', meaning any work would be approved through the Parks and Cemeteries Department.[771] Although Councillor Stander, who had been made aware of the burial ground's significance by Msizi in 2022,[772] was aware that the municipality's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) involved building a toddler play area in the park, she had not received confirmation of the footpath construction. The SRA, similarly, had not been informed of the work.[773] ECPHRA issued an 'emergency stop work' order to the Parks Department, which was to be delivered by the Sheriff.[774] However, as a motion of understanding of the sensitivity of the issue, the Parks director Mr Ndoda had ceased work the day before relevant stakeholders met,

[767] TH 18/11/2022.
[768] *Ibid*.
[769] Mandela Bay Heritage Trust, 'About', 2024, https://mbht.co.za/about/.
[770] Personal Communication with Lynn Haller and Simphiwe Msizi, November 2023.
[771] MBHT, Site Meeting of the Mfengu Burial Ground, 24 November 2023, Richmond Hill.
[772] TH 18/11/2022.
[773] Personal Communication with Richmond Hill SRA, 22 November 2023.
[774] ECPHRA (2023) Email to Albany Museum; ECSRAC; Human Settlements; MBHT. 22 November.

on 22 November 2023.[775] Archaeologist Ayanda Mncwabe-Mama from ECPHRA conducted a physical survey to determine if graves were present beneath the partially dug pathway, but fortunately did not find any.[776]

Figure 26 The unauthorised work being done in the Old African Burial Ground/Richmond Hill Park. Photograph by author, 19 November 2023.

A stakeholder meeting was held on 1 December 2023 in Richmond Hill to discuss the situation. Similar to the 2009 SAPS incident, the question was one of development versus heritage. ECPHRA chairperson Dumisane Sibayi emphasised that "development must be done but not at the expense of heritage resources".[777] The Albany Museum archaeologist Celeste Booth reiterated that the site had already been confirmed as a historic burial ground in 2009, making

[775] Site Meeting on Illegal Excavation at Richmond Hill Park, 22 November 2023.
[776] *Ibid*.
[777] MBHT, Minutes of the Mfengu Burial Ground/Richmond Park, 1 December 2023.

excavations unnecessary.[778] Councillor Stander called for public education on the site's history, while the majority agreed on the importance of maintaining the park as a multicultural community space. All participants approved the idea of a memorial, except for Booth, who claimed that the "whole situation has been blown out of proportion" and was "disrespectful to the people lying there". She further stated that the "site is being used as propaganda" and argued that the "only people who can talk about this area are the Mfengu people".[779]

Conclusion

This chapter has served as a case study of the Old African Burial Ground in Richmond Hill. The burial ground, also referred to as the Strangers' Location Cemetery, differs from the other case studies, as there have been attempts at commemorating this site. The connection with the Red Location and the forced removals to New Brighton are one of the ways in which community members have attempted to make Strangers' Location Cemetery useful to state-authorised public memory and heritage. The focus on Mfengu history at the cost of other community histories is clear. There are a number of ways in which the cemetery could be commemorated that fit into the dominant narrative of state-authorised history; however, it has not been commemorated at a local, provincial, nor national level. The insistence of the ground as solely an 'Mfengu' burial ground erases the presence of other communities in the area and tells a very singular story. Additionally, an Mfengu chief, Nkosi Funda "representing the Kingdom of Amagaba" in the Eastern Cape was brought in to do a 'traditional healing ceremony' at the burial ground. He spoke of his ancestors buried there, and of their resistance against the British, despite originally entering the Colony as British citizens, and the African

[778] MBHT, Minutes of the Mfengu Burial Ground/Richmond Park, 1 December 2023.
[779] *Ibid*.

middle class with voting rights, and Christian beliefs.[780] This demonstrates that while some sites can be positioned to be appropriated by authorised state narratives – meant to bolster the ruling party's political legitimacy – it does not necessarily mean that those sites will be officially memorialised/commemorated. There is a need to recognise the ambiguity over which gravesites are memorialised, and which are not – accompanied by a set of choices made by heritage authorities that are not always transparent to the public.

[780] Kirk, 'A "Native" Free State at Korsten', 312. It was also incorrectly stated during the meeting that a pit had been dug up in the disused cemetery in 1903 to bury victims of the Bubonic plague, however as emotionally charging this alleged disrespect is, this is highly unlikely given that Plague Board did not allow bodies to be buried in city cemeteries in 1903 as a threat to public health, and the Lazaretto cemetery was extended by the plague hospital to deal precisely with the large number of burials.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion

This thesis set out to investigate how certain cemeteries in South Africa become forgotten from public memory and heritage in South Africa. Cemeteries, which were defined as landscapes of memory that reflect societal values through the commemoration of the dead, effectively serve as a microcosm of social reality. As a result, being excluded from commemoration becomes a metaphor for neglected histories, marginalised identities, and the exclusionary nature of public memory and heritage. This thesis has shown that state-authorised public memory and heritage projects in South Africa prioritises certain categories of the dead, contributing to the exclusion or forgetting of others. This was explored through three case studies of historically significant but forgotten cemeteries from colonial-era Gqeberha. This thesis argued that these cemeteries have been forgotten because the individuals, or communities they served do not fit the dominant narrative of public memory and heritage promoted by the state (although this is somewhat complicated by the third case study). This dominant narrative was identified to centre on violent conflict, and resistance thereof. However, there is ambiguity in which cemeteries are ultimately commemorated, as even those that fit the resistance narrative may remain missing from memory.

Accepting the selective nature of public memory and heritage practices in South Africa, this thesis posed three main research questions. The first centred on how the colonial government created the initial missingness of these cemeteries. As explored in the preceding chapters, the missingness of these cemeteries started in the colonial period and have persisted into the post-apartheid present. The first case study, the LMS burial ground in present-day Russel Road Cemetery was made missing by the colonial government through the neglect of its grave markers, erasing physical and memorial trace of the Khoi and 'coloured' burials from the landscape. The later consolidation of all three burial grounds into a single cemetery, and

the retrospective projection of apartheid notions of racial segregation (not only in urban spaces, but also in burials) influenced the idea that the cemetery was a colonial 'white' burying ground. White residents, and later community organisations such as the HSPE and GSSA came to refer to the cemetery as a 'Settler Cemetery', commemorating the space through a lens of nostalgia for the British colonial past. However, neither the HMC, NMC, nor SAHRA have officially recognised it as such. The cemetery itself is today understood as historically significant due to the grave of James Langley Dalton who was awarded a Victoria Cross for his time at the Battle of Rorke's Drift (1879). There is no public recognition of its initial use as a Khoi cemetery from 1838 to 1897.[781]

The second case study is the old Pauper and Gaol Cemetery which was made missing by the government in 1905 when it was built over by an electric power station. The marginal status of the cemetery as the 'outcast' burial ground and the unconsecrated ground on which it stood had initially been considered worthless when the cemetery was established, but as industrial development spread, the cemetery was a prime location for the station. The marginal status of the cemetery means that the graves of these individuals were not a priority as the government was more interested in development. This case study emphasises the importance of posing critical questions around whose lives and deaths are deemed worthy of dignity.

The third case study, the old African Burial Ground in Richmond Hill was made missing through its closure in 1881 and the flattening of the ground (removal of any trace of burials). After forced removal of the Strangers' Location from the site, the neighbourhood became a white residential suburb. In 1907, petitions were submitted to have the space turned into a public park, which it remains today. Only a small number of individuals are aware of its prior use as a "native burial ground". All three of these case studies share the common feature

[781] The chair of the GSSA in Gqeberha disagrees that the cemetery holds the bodies of 'non-Europeans' as "[his] ancestors are buried there".

that the fear of disease was used as justification to close the cemeteries. This was not necessarily the only factor, as shown with the prioritisation of industrial development in the second case study. The third case study explored in chapter 5 explains how the government had been attempting to remove the black residential location for decades before they were successful. The closure of the burial ground coincided with attempts at moving the residents of Strangers' Location further from the city centre.

The second research question engaged with how public memory and heritage in South Africa have made use of the dead, their graves, or cemeteries in the colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid periods. This question aimed at providing the context for the case studies in this thesis, and has shown how historically, heritage legislation, and the decisions of individuals within state heritage bodies plays a central role in authorising how the past is remembered. This thesis has argued that legislation is the main way that the state is able to codify and authorise heritage and memory. In South Africa, a number of acts have achieved this over time, each repealing the former, representing the changing goals of the state: the *Natural and Historical Monuments Act* (1923), the *Natural and Historical, Relics and Antiques Act* (1934), the *National Monuments Act* (1969), the *War Graves and National Monuments Amendment Act* (1987), and the *National Heritage Resources Act* (1999).[782]

During the colonial and apartheid period in South Africa, certain communities were purposefully excluded and marginalised from memory and heritage. The South African National Society (SANS) established in 1905 was led by a group of prominent white settler descendants motivated by the desire to preserve and promote "old Colonial life".[783] This

[782] ' The Natural and Historical Monuments Act (1923); Union of South Africa, 'No. 4 The Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act' (1934); Republic of South Africa, 'No. 28 National Monuments Act' (1969); Republic of South Africa, 'No. 11 War Graves and National Monuments Amendment Act' (1986); Republic of South Africa, 'No. 25 National Heritage Resources Act', (1999).
[783] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, xix.

centred around colonial architecture, and sites such as the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town which represented European conquest.[784] Indigenous Khoi and San people were considered 'living fossils', and a dying population.[785] This led to the establishment of the first official heritage legislation in South Africa, the *Bushman-Relics Protection Act* (1911), which sought to preserve indigenous artefacts for posterity. Although the Act provisioned for the protection of indigenous graves, this was not for commemoration, but rather aligned with the scientific goals of the colony at the time.[786] In 1923, the *Natural and Historical Monuments Act* was passed which allowed for the establishment of the Historical Monuments Commission (HMC).[787] The HMC was responsible for the preservation, and commemoration of objects and sites of value to the Union of South Africa.[788] This served to garner the white public's interest in the colonial past, and encourage social cohesion around a settler colonial identity.[789] Black South Africans were not included in this particular construction of history.

In 1934, the 1911 and 1923 Acts were repealed, and replaced with the overarching *Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act* (1934) and a new HMC committee.[790] This led to commemoration of cemeteries such as the Dal Josafat Huguenot cemetery in Paarl as the burial spaces of *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* [Society of True Afrikaners] founding members.[791] In the wake of the Second World War, a number of graves belonging to prominent chiefs in South Africa such as Chief Ngqika were commemorated and heralded as heritage sites, but the majority of the black populations of the country were not represented in memory.[792] The first apartheid era heritage legislation was passed in 1969 with

[784] Caltex Africa (Ltd), *South African Heritage*', 9.
[785] Morris, 'Searching for "Real" Hottentots', 222.
[786] 'Bushman-Relics Protection Act' (1911).
[787] 'The Natural and Historical Monuments Act (1923).
[788] *Ibid*.
[789] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, xix.
[790] 'The Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act' (1934).
[791] Oberholster, *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, 91.
[792] *Ibid*., 160.

the *National Monuments Act* which repealed the 1934 Act and decommissioned the HMC, which was replaced by the NMC.[793] In 1999, the *National Heritage Resources Act* was passed as the first heritage legislation of the democratic, post-apartheid period. The decommissioned NMC was replaced by SAHRA, who are responsible for heritage at a national level.[794] The construction of public memory and heritage was shown to be a selective process whereby individuals affiliated with state heritage bodies have the authority to select what is to be commemorated. These individuals carry their own set of values which influences their decisions. First the HMC in 1923 and 1934, then the NMC in 1969, and from 1999, SAHRA, PHRAs, and local state heritage bodies. These state heritage bodies in turn had smaller committees responsible for identifying burial grounds and graves to be commemorated, limiting the selection of sites to an elite few with their own ambiguous criteria informed both by legislation, and their own biases.

The third research question posed was how state-authorised memory in the post-apartheid period reproduces the missingness of gravesites or cemeteries that do not conform to official narratives of public memory and heritage. The missingness of the cemeteries used in this thesis demonstrates the continuation of previous forms of state public memory and heritage priorities. Formerly marginalised communities remain missing in the present, as political objectives continue to centre on legitimation of state authority, and maintenance of power. The emphasis on the narrative of conflict, and resistance has carried over from the colonial period, through the apartheid, and is still present in the post-apartheid era where ‘struggle heroes’, predominantly those belonging to MK, are commemorated, perpetuating the colonial and apartheid practice of memorialising “great men”, often at the expense of gender and diversity. This was evident in the example used in Chapter 2 of the Northern Areas (coloured and Indian)

[793] ‘National Monuments Act’ (1969).
[794] ‘National Heritage Resources Act’ (1999).

community in Gqeberha having to fight for their recognition in the apartheid struggle. Despite the NHRA's appeals to inclusivity, the gravesites and cemeteries of many marginalised communities remain missing from memory and heritage.

This is symbolically representative of the political and social missingness of these communities in reality. The LMS Union Burial Ground demonstrates that certain marginalised communities from the colonial period did not feature in the history of the city. Their exclusion from public memory in the present is representative of the continued political marginalisation of the Khoi in the post-apartheid period, where individuals such as Sara Baartman are only "useful" to the state when they can be appropriated into the dominant narrative. Even the burial ground's attempted community commemoration as a colonial 'Settler Cemetery' failed as the priorities of state heritage bodies centre on the dominant, authorised narratives of conflict and resistance that serve political objectives. However, there is also ambiguity in state commemoration as sites that do fit this narrative remain missing. The Richmond Hill old African Burial Ground has been petitioned for commemoration by community organisations a number of times for the role the Strangers' Location community played in resisting removals by the colonial state. Despite this, neither SAHRA, ECPHRA, nor DSRAC have prioritised the site. This shows the complexity in the selective processes of state commemoration. It is possible that the site has not been commemorated by SAHRA (as of January 2025,[795]) as colonial sites are not as easily appropriated into dominant narratives as apartheid-era sites are, such as New Brighton which has an officially known history of resistance. The Pauper Cemetery has demonstrated how marginalised individuals such as the poor, and those considered as social outcasts, continue to be missing from the history of the colonial city. This is a continuation of the erasure of the so-called less "sanitary" aspects of history. This exclusion

[795] Personal Communication with Dumisani Sibayi, Eastern Cape Chair of SAHRA, 23 January 2025.

from public memory and heritage has implications for those whose histories have been erased, as being represented in public memory shapes not only how communities view themselves, but also how they are perceived by society. Public memory shapes how a society remembers its past and, in turn, influences present-day identities and power dynamics. When the history of a community is excluded in the post-apartheid period, it reinforces colonial and apartheid social hierarchies, and silences contesting voices.

The exclusion of certain groups from memory is concerning as there exists the potential for the post-apartheid state to become oppressors in their own right, allowing only certain groups access to social and political legibility in society. This was demonstrated in Chapter 2 with the example of the ruling ZANU-PF in post-colonial Zimbabwe using the grave sites of dead 'heroes' in an attempt to restore their "liberation-war inspired legitimacy".[796] This emphasis on asserting political dominance through the heritage landscape has led to only a select few being commemorated, excluding other political parties such as ZAPU, and all but erasing gender, inclusivity, and democratic ideals. The ANC has also demonstrated concerning behaviour in recent years as support for the party has waned. The building of "the new nation" has shifted from reconciliation and collective identity, towards commemorating the "[the ANC's] victory".[797] This also includes disrespecting the same people they are commemorating, boycotting ceremonial reburials of heroes' remains due to "petty politics" between political parties, as explored in Chapter 2, and allowing these memorial sites to fall into decay once they have served their purpose.

The framework for this thesis drew on critical heritage studies (CHS) as a response to state-authorised memory, and Edkin's concept of missingness as lenses through which to examine the three cemetery case studies. CHS was used to examine the politics surrounding

[796] Mpofu, 'Participation, Citizen Journalism and the Contestations of Identity and National Symbols', 86.
[797] TH 05/10/2016.

commemoration, and how this may serve political goals, whereas missingness was used to understand the processes by which people become missing from particular discourses, particularly in the context of dominant narratives of politics and history. These frameworks were useful as CHS explores how communities that lack the power to shape official memory are often erased, neglected, or marginalised in heritage practices. This perspective was crucial for understanding how cemeteries and the individuals buried within them become excluded from public memory. Moreover, applying the concept of missingness to forgotten cemeteries, particularly those serving formerly marginalised and black communities, revealed how the individuals buried there are rendered invisible by not aligning with the political priorities of the present. The three case studies in this thesis have demonstrated how processes of neglect, erasure, and contested commemoration reflect broader socio-political patterns that have persisted from the colonial and apartheid periods into the post-apartheid era, and how those who do not have the power to represent themselves are often excluded from the official understanding of how the past is remembered. What this has shown is that certain cemeteries becoming forgotten from history is a representation of the lack of value their living communities have to the state.

The majority of historical studies of the city of Gqeberha (formerly Port Elizabeth) have centred on urban development and residential studies. This thesis has contributed not only to the spaces of the living, but also of the dead. 'Deathscapes' are understood as spaces characterised by death, burial practices, and commemoration of the deceased. The emphasis is not only on physical locations such as graves and cemeteries, but also on the social, cultural, political, and environmental contexts surrounding how the dead are remembered. This thesis has contributed to Christopher's work as the sole scholarly source on commemoration of the dead in Gqeberha. It has added complexity to Christopher's assertion that all colonial-era cemeteries in the city were segregated by race, predominantly through tracing the history of

the LMS burial ground in the first case study, and the use of death certificates to show that burials were 'racially' mixed from the establishment of the cemetery, until its closure in 1897. This thesis has added to the knowledge of public memory, heritage, the politics of commemoration, and the deathscapes of Gqeberha. However, there is great potential for future studies. The scope of this thesis was limited to three case studies from Gqeberha to ensure sufficient time to complete a project of this kind in the designated time, as a result there are a number of missing cemeteries from Gqeberha's past that could not be included. Christopher refers to the 'original' civilian cemetery established in 1820 on the "northern side of town" that was built over before 1880.[798] The original Lazaretto Cemetery is believed to have been located near the mouth of Shark River where Town Lodge sits today, however this has not been confirmed.[799] This includes the 'Shark River Convict Station Cemetery', and the Leper Institute burial ground located somewhere in the Baakens Valley which were mentioned anecdotally. The Plague Cemetery which was opened as a result of a deadly outbreak of Spanish Influenza in 1918 was situated in Lucerne Avenue behind the Infectious Diseases Hospital (present-day Elizabeth Donkin Psychiatric Hospital) in Forest Hill and was destroyed by floods in the 1960s.[800] Two cemeteries serving the African communities in the Locations have also hitherto not been studied: the cemetery at Gubb's Location which was closed in 1898 and built over by the affluent neighbourhood of Mill Park,[801] and the cemetery at Reservoir Location (which became the main African burial ground after the closure of the Strangers' Location cemetery in 1881) in the vicinity of the present-day neighbourhood of Glendinningvale.[802] St Paul's Church was granted land for a burial ground in 1859, north of the Pauper Cemetery in North

[798] Christopher, 'Segregation and Cemeteries', 42.
[799] CDT 13/10/1904.
[800] EPH 11/12/1918; Port Elizabeth Main Library, 'Lazaretto Cemetery at the end of Lucerne Street, Forest Hill', *Cemetery Scrapbook*, (1998). Residents complained of bones washing down the street.
[801] CDT 06/10/1898. Evidence is also available in the form of death certificates which can be found online at "South Africa, Cape Province, Civil Records, 1840-1972", online database with images, *FamilySearch*, National Archives, Pretoria.
[802] PET 18/05/1886.

End,[803] and a pauper cemetery was believed to exist outside of St Mary's Cemetery on the shore of the Baakens River.[804] The exploration of any of these missing cemeteries could contribute to how the past is remembered in the city. The commemoration of the Richmond Hill old African Burial Ground is also a "work in progress", and no doubt there will be much to explore on this site in the future.

[803] EPH 25/03/1858. The source does not differentiate whether it was Anglican or Roman Catholic.
[804] EPH 20/09/1861.

Bibliography

Brochures, Pamphlets and Reports

‘A Phase 1 Archaeological Impact Assessment: South African Police Services (SAPS) 10111 Call Centre, Erven 530 AND 4162, Central Hill, Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape Province’, 2009.

Caltex Africa (Ltd). *South African Heritage: From Van Riebeeck to Nineteenth Century Times*. 1st ed. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau Publishers, 1965.

Chase, J.C., *The Cape of Good Hope and The Eastern Province of Algoa Bay* (London. 1843).

House of Assembly, ‘Report on the Select Committee on the Native Strangers’ Location Bill’ (W.A. Richard & Son’s Government Printers, 1883).

Iziko Museums of South Africa. ‘Annual Report 2012’, 2013.

Lovett, Richard. *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, Volume 1*. London: Oxford University Press, 1899.

Oberholster, J. J. *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*. Cape Town: Rembrandt Van Rijn Foundation for Culture at the request of the National Monuments Council, 1972.

Republic of South Africa, Arts and Culture Task Group, Second Draft Report, (May 1995). Walker, George Alfred. ‘Burials’. *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal (1840-1842)* 3, no. 26 (1842). https://www.jstor.org/stable/25491056.

South Africa, Department of Sports, Arts and Culture. 'Amendment of Gazette Notice No. 431 Published in the Government Gazette 13052 on 8th March 1991'. Government Gazette No. 45176. (17 September 2021).

South Africa. Department of Sports, Arts and Culture. Declaration of Ten (10) Kramats in the “Circle of Tombs” Situated at Various Locations Around the Cape Peninsula, Western Cape as National Heritage Sites. Government Gazette No. 45602. (3 December 2021).

South African Heritage Resource Agency, Protecting the Burial Ground and Graves, Brochure. 2020,https://www.sahra.org.za/Wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/BGG-Brochure.pdf

South African Heritage Resources Agency, ‘Press Release: Voortrekker Monument Declared a National Heritage Site’, Press Release (Cape Town: SAHRA, 29 July 2011).

State Information Office of the Union of South Africa. *South Africa’s Heritage*. Pretoria: State Information Office, 1952.

Swart, Marius, Andre Appel, Otto Terblanche, Theo Rautenbach, and Linda Opperman. *Afrikanerbakens*. Port Elizabeth: Dames Aktueel Somerstrandse Tak, 1985. The South African Native Races Committee. ‘The Natives of South Africa: Their Economic and Social Condition’. London, 1901.

Theal, George McCall. ‘Records of the Cape Colony from May 1809 to March 1811 Volume VII’. London: Clowe, 1897.

Walker, George Alfred. ‘Interment and Disinterment, or, A Further Exposition of the Practices Pursued in the Metropolitan Places of Sepulture, and the Results as Affecting the Health of the Living: In a Series of Letters to the Editor of The Morning Herald’, 1843. https://jstor.org/stable/60209463.

Walker, George Alfred. *Gatherings from Graveyards: Particularly Those of London: With a Concise History of the Modes of Interment among Different Nations, from the Earliest Periods. And a Detail of Dangerous and Fatal Results Produced by the Unwise and Revolting Custom of Inhuming the Dead in the Midst of the Living*. London: Longman, 1939.

CORY Library for Historical Research

Hobhouse, Emily. ‘To the Committee of the South African Distress Fund: Report of a Visit to the Camps of Women and Children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies’. London: Friars Printing Association Limited, 1901.

Kitchingman, James, Basil Alexander Le Cordeur, and Christopher C. Saunders, eds. *The Kitchingman Papers: Missionary Letters and Journals, 1817-1848 from the Brenthurst Collection, Johannesburg*. Brenthurst Series 2. Johannesburg: Brenthurst Press, 1976.

Statutes

Cape of Good Hope, ‘No. 14 Constituting the Town of Port Elizabeth a Municipality’ (1868).

Cape of Good Hope, ‘No. 17 Port Elizabeth Native Strangers’ Location Act 1883’ (1883)

Cape of Good Hope, ‘No. 23 Public Health Amendment Act’ (1897).

Cape of Good Hope, ‘No. 27 Port Elizabeth Municipal Act’ (1897).

Cape of Good Hope, ‘No. 3 Cemeteries Act’ (1883).

Cape of Good Hope, ‘No. 4 Public Health Act’ (1883).

Cape of Good Hope, ‘No. 7 Births and Deaths Registration’ (1894).

Cape of Good Hope. ‘No. 17 Port Elizabeth Native Strangers’ Location Act’ (1883).

Republic of South Africa, ‘No. 11 War Graves and National Monuments Amendment Act’ (1986).

Republic of South Africa, ‘No. 25 National Heritage Resources Act’ (1999).

Republic of South Africa, ‘No. 28 National Monuments Act’ (1968).

Republic of South Africa, ‘No. 34 Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act’ (1995).

Republic of South Africa, ‘No. 65 Human Tissue Act’ (1983).

Republic of South Africa. No. 207 Castle Management Act (1994).

Union of South Africa, ‘No. 2 Bushman-Relics Protection Act’ (1911).

Union of South Africa ‘No. 34 Unlawful Organizations Act’ (1960).

Union of South Africa, ‘No. 4 The Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act’ (1934).

Union of South Africa, ‘No. 6 The Natural and Historical Monuments Act’ (1923).

United Kingdom, Statute of Westminster (1931).

The National Archives of the United Kingdom.

‘Burial Act 1853’, An Act to amend the Laws concerning the Burial of the Dead in England beyond the Limits of the Metropolis and to amend the Act concerning the Burial of the Dead in the Metropolis. (1853). https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/16-17/134.

‘Cemeteries Clauses Act 1847’, An Act for consolidating in One Act certain Provisions usually contained in Acts authorizing the making of Cemeteries (1847). https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/10-11/65/contents.

‘Disused Burial Grounds Act 1884’, An Act for preventing the erection of Buildings on Disused Burial Grounds. (1884). https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/47-48/72.

‘New Poor Law, 1834’, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/1834-poor-law/.

Historical Society of Port Elizabeth

Historical Society of Port Elizabeth, *Looking Back: A Quarterly Bulletin* 21, no. 1 (March 1981).

Historical Society of Port Elizabeth. ‘Report on the Portion of the Russell Road Cemetery Administered by the Union Congregational Church’. Port Elizabeth, 1938.

Historical Society of Port Elizabeth. ‘Report on the State of the Russell Road Cemetery and St Mary’s Burial Ground’. Port Elizabeth, 1963.

Historical Society of Port Elizabeth. *Looking Back: The Journal of the Historical Society of Port Elizabeth* 23, no. 2 (1983).

Historical Society of Port Elizabeth. *The Donkin Heritage Trail: A Walking Tour of Port Elizabeth*. 7th ed. Port Elizabeth: HSPE, 1998.

Mandela Bay Heritage Trust

MBHT, ‘Minutes of Mfengu Burial Ground/Richmond Park Meeting’, 1 December 2023.
MBHT, ‘Minutes of Site Meeting of the Mfengu Burial Ground’, 24 November 2023.

National Archives, Pretoria

"South Africa, Cape Province, Civil Records, 1840-1972," database with images, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939Z-5C9G6Z?cc=1779109&wc=Q81G-HBY%3A139966501%2C141806301 11 January 2017), 1896 > Port Elizabeth > image 586 of 1275; National Archives, Pretoria.

"South Africa, Cape Province, Civil Records, 1840-1972," database with images, FamilySearch (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-Y3Q8-

2R7?cc=1779109&wc=Q81G-4VJ%3A139967101%2C141806301 24 June 2016), 1897 > Port Elizabeth > image 31 of 1135; National Archives, Pretoria.

"South Africa, Cape Province, Civil Records, 1840-1972," database with images, *FamilySearch*(https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939Z-5C9T-DX?cc=1779109&wc=Q81G-HBY%3A139966501%2C141806301 - 11 January 2017), 1896 > Port Elizabeth > image 37 of 1275; National Archives, Pretoria.

Port Elizabeth Main Library

'Hyman's Kloof Land Grant', *Land Book A*. Port Elizabeth Town Council, 1862.

'London Missionary Society Land Grant', *Land Book A*. Port Elizabeth Town Council, 1859.

'Plan of the Town of Port Elizabeth'. Map. Port Elizabeth, 1895.

'Report on the Portion of the Russell Road Cemetery Administered by the Union Congregational Church', Port Elizabeth Main Library (1938).

'Waterworks Grant to Town Council of P.E, 17th December 1884', *Land Book B*. Port Elizabeth Town Council, 1905.

Chas. E. Goad Ltd. 'Port Elizabeth Municipality Power Station'. Port Elizabeth, 1925.

Donaldson and Hill. 'Plan of Port Elizabeth (Cape Colony): Supplement to Donaldson and Hill's Eastern Province Cape Colony Directory'. Port Elizabeth, 1904.

Genealogical Society of South Africa. 'Russell Road Cemetery'. In *Monumental Inscriptions: Coastal Cemeteries Nanaga to Kareedouw*. Port Elizabeth: Genealogical Society of South Africa, 1999.

Genealogical Society of South Africa. East Cape Branch. 'North End Jail Cemetery'. In *Monumental Inscriptions, Coastal Cemeteries: Nanaga to Kareedouw*. Port Elizabeth: Genealogical Society of South Africa, 1999.

Genealogical Society of South Africa. *Index of Monumental Inscriptions: Old South End Cemetery, Port Elizabeth*. Port Elizabeth: Genealogical Society of Port Elizabeth, 1988.

Historical Society of Port Elizabeth. 'Report on the State of the Russell Road Cemetery and St Mary's Burial Ground'. Port Elizabeth, 1963.

Lazaretto Cemetery at the end of Lucerne Street, Forest Hill, (Photograph), Cemetery Scrapbook, 1998.

Minutes of Public Meeting, 'Proposed Building of a Radio Base Station, Richmond Park', 11 March 2009, New Brighton.

Photograph '1-84', "Aerial view of the City from Richmond Crescent and the Oval looking towards South End and the sea. c. 1920".

Photograph '19 Business Premises 9'.

Photograph '39-8', "The grave of the informer James Carey at the North End Jail graveyard. The jailer, R.J. Philpott is standing beside it, 1883".

Photograph '48-2', "A Fingo village of grass huts with a few mud huts thatched".

University of Cape Town Library

Cape of Good Hope Colonial Secretary's Office: Local Government and Health Branch. 'Map Shewing Distribution of Houses Affected by Typhoid Fever at Port Elizabeth and Line of Sewers: Annexure to Report on Prevalence'. Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony, 1896. University of Cape Town. Libraries. Special Collections. Cape of Good Hope Parliamentary Papers.

Speeches

Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Brigitte Mabandla, National Heritage Resources Bill, Second Reading Debate, 13 February 1999.

Macmillan, Harold. 'The Wind of Change Speech'. Speech presented at the Address by Harold Macmillan to Members of both Houses of the Parliament of the Union Of South Africa, Cape Town, 3 February 1960. https://web-archives.univ-pau.fr/english/TD2doc1.pdf.

Thabo Mbeki, 'Speech at the Funeral of Sarah Bartmann' (Speech, Hankey, Eastern Cape, 9 August 2002), http://web.archive.org/web/20171228003247/https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/speech-funeral-sarah-bartmann-9-august-2002.

Newspaper Articles

Cape Daily Telegraph

CDT 1900/06/28.

CDT 1900/06/29.

CDT 1905/02/02.

CDT 1905/03/02.

CDT 1905/03/30.

CDT 1905/06/22.

CDT 1900/06/28.

CDT 1901/06/27.

Eastern Province Herald

EPH 1847/01/30.

EPH 1859/03/25.

EPH 1859/06/24.

EPH 1861/09/20.

EPH 1862/04/23.

EPH 1869/03/26.

EPH 1870/07/23

EPH 1876/06/02.

EPH 1876/06/23.

EPH 1878/02/11.

EPH 1881/08/16.

EPH 1881/08/16.

EPH 1883/10/12.

EPH 1884/02/29.

EPH 1888/10/01.

EPH 1890/07/30.

EPH 1891/06/12.

EPH 1894/05/23.

EPH 1910/01/26.

EPH 1915/07/08.

EPH 1918/12/11.

EPH 1922/04/12.

EPH 1964/06/05.

EPH 1964/07/09.

EPH 1981/01/30.

EPH 1981/01/30.

EPH 1981/03/04.

EPH 1983/07/14.

Port Elizabeth Telegraph

PET 1881/08/05.

PET 1881/10/07.

PET 1882/03/17.

PET 1883/08/04.

PET 1884/03/01.

PET 1886/01/21.

PET 1886/05/13.

PET 1886/05/18.

PET 1890/07/29.

PET 1891/06/25.

PET 1891/07/09.

PET 1896/01/23.

PET 1896/02/20.

PET 1896/10/15.

PET 1897/06/22.

PET 1915/07/03.

The Herald

2008/07/31 ‘Permit row over Tramways building’.

2008/11/03 ‘Planned Police Building Not in Keeping with Surrounding Area’.

2008/11/14 ‘‘Richmond Hill Residents Angered by Proposed Police Call Centre’.

2008/12/09 ‘Residents Outraged at SAPS ‘High-Handedness’.

2008/12/30 ‘Richmond Hill Residents Will Fight Call Centre by All Available Legal Means’.

2009/01/01 ‘Siting of Police Call Centre Not a Done Deal Yet’.

2009/04/17 ‘Burial Ground Gives Up Two Skulls at New Call Centre Site’.

2009/05/22 ‘Police Call Centre to go Up in Korsten Instead’.

2012/05/17 ‘Hole Not Refilled’.

2016/10/05, ‘Most ANC Leaders Shun Heroes’ Acre Event’.

2016/10/06, ‘Petty Politics an Insult to Heroes’.

2017/11/17, ‘ANC Betrays Comrades’.

2020/08/06, ‘Northern Areas Residents Never Got Justice’.

2020/08/07, ‘Our Loved Ones Died in Vain, Say Families of Uprising Victims’.

2022/11/18 ‘New Bid to Honour Mfengu People Buried in Richmond Hill’.

2023/11/07, ‘Legacy of Executed MK Members Wasted, Families Say’.

Theses

Arffmann, Leif. ‘Whose Cemetery?’ *Mortality* 5, no. 2 (2000): 125–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/713686005.

Bickford-Smith, John Vivian. ‘Commerce, Class and Ethnicity in Cape Town, 1875 to 1902’. PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1988.

Bron-Swart, Eleanor Janet. ‘“With Divided Mind and Unsure Steps”: South Africa from Referendum to Republic, August 1960 May 1961’. PhD, University of the Free State, 2021. https://scholar.ufs.ac.za/items/5fb4f98a-c14c-463a-a229-33c77b3839e6.

Brown, Jeffrey P. 'The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History: Sloane, David Charles: Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press'. *History: Reviews of New Books* 20, no. 4 (1992). https://doi.org/10.1080/03612759.1992.9950605.

Buettner, Elizabeth. 'Cemeteries, Public Memory and Raj Nostalgia in Postcolonial Britain and India'. *History & Memory* 18, no. 1 (2006): 5–42. https://doi.org/10.1353/ham.2006.0001.

Carrim, Nazir Hoosain. 'Human Rights and the Construction of Identities in South African Education'. PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2007. http://hdl.handle.net/10539/2032.

Gentry, Kynan, and Laurajane Smith. 'Critical Heritage Studies and the Legacies of the Late-Twentieth Century Heritage Canon'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 11 (2 November 2019): 1148–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2019.1570964.

Harris, Brent. '"Unearthing" the "Essential" Past: The Making of a Public "National" Memory Through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1994-1998'. Master of Arts, University of the Western Cape, 1998.

Ladner, Olivia. 'Problematic Advocacy and Victorian Public Health in Gatherings From Graveyards by Dr. George A. Walker'. Honours Thesis, University of Southern Mississippi, 2022. https://aquila.usm.edu/honors_theses/830.

McElya, Micki. *The Politics of Mourning: Death and Honor in Arlington National Cemetery*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Mlambo, Daniel M. 'The Tragedy of the African National Congress (ANC) and Its Cadre Deployment Policy: Ramifications for Municipal Stability, Corruption and Service Delivery'. *PanAfrican Journal of Governance and Development (PJGD),* 4, no. 1 (2023): 3–17.

Moosage, Riedwaan. 'Missing-Ness, History and Apartheid-Era Disappearances: The Figuring of Siphiwo Mthimkulu, Tobekile "Topsy" Madaka and Sizwe Kondile as Missing Dead Persons'. PhD Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2018.

Rainville, Lynn. *Hidden History: African American Cemeteries in Central Virginia*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014.

Rugg, Julie. 'Defining the Place of Burial: What Makes a Cemetery a Cemetery?' *Mortality* 5, no. 3 (2000): 259–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/713686011.

Rugg, Julie. 'Nineteenth-Century Burial Reform in England: A Reappraisal'. *Histoire, Médecine et Santé*, no. 16 (2021): 79–95. https://doi.org/10.4000/hms.2642

Sheldon, Amy Gabrielle. 'The Relevance of the Biopic Krotoa (2017): A Mis-Representation of History?' Master Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2021. https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/34028.

Skosana, Dineo. 'Grave Matters: The Contentious Politics of Gravesite Removals in Contemporary South Africa – The Case Of Tweefontein, Ogies'. PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2019.

Strydom, Willemien. 'Die Politieke Betrokkenheid Van Kontak En Vroue Vir Vrede, 1976-1990'. M.A, Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, 1997.

Van Heyningen, Elizabeth Boudina. 'Public Health and Society in Cape Town 1880-1910.' PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989.

Vural, Leyla. 'Potter's Field as Heterotopia: Death and Mourning at New York City's Edge'. *Oral History* 47, no. 2 (2019): 106–16. https://www.jstor.org/stable/45214476.

Wiggins, Deborah Elaine. 'The Burial Acts: Cemetery Reform in Great Britain, 1815-1914'. PhD Thesis, Texas Tech University, 1991.

Books and Journal Articles

Abumere, Frank A. 'Colonial and Apartheid Legacy'. In *Monuments and Memory in Africa*, by John Sodiq Sanni and Madalitso Zililo Phiri, 127–43, 1st ed. London: Routledge, 2024. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003432876-8.

Aderinto, Saheed. 'Pleasure for Sale: Prostitution in Colonial Africa, 1880s-1960s'. In *Prostitution: A Companion to Mankind*, edited by Frank Jacob, 469–80. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016.

Appel, André. 'Demografiese En Sosiale Tendense in Vroeg Industriële Port Elizabeth, ca. 1870–1914'. *South African Historical Journal* 23, no. 1 (1990): 74–99. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582479008671672.

Appel, André. 'Exploring Some Aspects of Labour and Labourers in Port Elizabeth 1870–1914'. *South African Journal of Economic History* 6, no. 2 (1991): 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/20780389.1991.10417184.

Appel, André. 'Housing in Late 19th and Early 20th Century Port Elizabeth'. *New Contree* 37 (1995): 11. https://doi.org/10.4102/nc.v37i0.535.

Appel, André. 'Port Elizabeth, c.1855–1875: Enkele Sosio-Ekonomiese Aspekte'. *South African Historical Journal* 16, no. 1 (1984): 101–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582478408671589.

Bah, Sulaiman. 'The Making, Unmaking and Remaking of a National but Stratified Vital Statistics System in the Republic of South Africa'. *PSC Discussion Papers Series* 12, no. 3 (1 March 1998). https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/pscpapers/vol12/iss3/1.

Baines, Gary. 'Narratives of New Brighton: Representations of the Port Elizabeth Township in Official Discourse, Cultural Memory, and Public History'. *African Studies* 64, no. 2 (2005): 243–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/00020180500355744.

Baines, Gary. 'Port Elizabeth History: A Select Annotated Bibliography'. *South African Historical Journal* 38, no. 1 (1998): 252–69. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582479808671323.

Baines, Gary. 'The Control and Administration of Port Elizabeth's African Population c. 1834-1923'. *Contree*, 1989. https://www.academia.edu/926694/The_control_and_administration_of_Port_Elizabeths_African_population_c_1834_1923.

Baines, Gary. 'The Master Narrative of South Africa's Liberation Struggle: Remembering and Forgetting June 16, 1976'. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 40, no. 2 (2007): 283–302. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40033914.

Baines, Gary. 'The Origins of Urban Segregation: Local Government and the Residence of Africans in Port Elizabeth, c.1835–1865'. *South African Historical Journal* 22, no. 1 (1990): 61–81. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582479008671655.

Baines, Gary. ‘The Rainbow Nation? Identity and Nation Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa’. *Mots Pluriels* 7 (1998): 1–12. https://www.academia.edu/download/17410200/Baines_rainbow_nation.pdf.

Ballim, Faeeza. ‘Land Dispossession and the Ghosts of the Medupi Power Station’. In *Falling Monuments, Reluctant Ruins: The Persistence of the Past in the Architecture of Apartheid*, edited by Hilton Judin. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2021.

Beavon, L. ‘Factors Affecting the Growth and Form of Port Elizabeth, 1820-1863: A Study in Historical Urban Geography’. In *Focus on Cities*, edited by H.L. Watts, 160-. Proceedings of a Conference Held in July 1968 at the University of Natal, Durban. Durban: University of Natal Institute for Social Research, 1970.

Becker, Heike. ‘Commemorating Heroes in Windhoek and Eenhana: Memory, Culture and Nationalism in Namibia, 1990–2010’. *Africa* 81, no. 4 (2011): 519–43. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0001972011000490.

Boas, Jack, and Michael Weiskopf. ‘The Activities of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, 1806-1836: An Assessment’. *African Studies Review* 16, no. 3 (1973): 417–36. https://doi.org/10.2307/523513.

Bunn, David. ‘Whited Sepulchres’, in *Blank--: Architecture, Apartheid and After*, ed. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić (Rotterdam : New York: NAi ; Distributor, D.A.P./Distributed Art Publishers, 1998), 95–119.

Burnett, Scott, Nettly Ahmed, Tahn-dee Matthews, Junaid Oliephant, and Aylwyn M. Walsh. ‘A Politics of Reminding: Khoisan Resurgence and Environmental Justice in South Africa’s Sarah Baartman District’. *Critical Discourse Studies* 20, no. 5 (2023): 524–39. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2022.2092165.

Casper, Monica J., and Lisa Jean Moore. *Missing Bodies: The Politics of Visibility*. Biopolitics. New York: New York University Press, 2009

Christopher, A. J. ‘Segregation and Cemeteries in Port Elizabeth, South Africa’. *The Geographical Journal* 161, no. 1 (1995): 38–46. https://doi.org/10.2307/3059926.

Christopher, A.J. ‘Race and Residence in Colonial Port Elizabeth’. *South African Geographical Journal* 69, no. 1 (1987): 3–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/03736245.1987.10559736.

Coombes, Annie E. *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*. London: Duke University Press, 2003.

Crais, Clifton, and Pamela Scully. “Lost, and Found.” In *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography*, 103–15. Princeton University Press, 2009. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1wmz45z.10.

De Reuck, Jenny. ‘Social Suffering and the Politics of Pain: Observations on the Concentration Camps in the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902’. *English in Africa* 26, no. 2 (1999): 69–88. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40238883.

Doherty, Christo. ‘Moving Monuments: Settler Nationalism and the Peregrinations of the Transvaal Irish Brigade Monument’. *Interventions* 23, no. 1 (2021): 144–69. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2020.1813614.

Dooling, Wayne. ‘The Origins and Aftermath of the Cape Colony’s “Hottentot Code” of 1809’. *Kronos*, no. 31 (2005): 50–61. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41056535.

Edkins, Jenny. *Missing: Persons and Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Edkins, Jenny. *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. ‘Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity’. *Kronos*, no. 19 (1992): 3–27. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41033769.

Elizabeth Buettner, ‘Cemeteries, Public Memory and Raj Nostalgia in Postcolonial Britain and India’, *History & Memory* 18, no. 1 (2006): 5–42, https://doi.org/10.1353/ham.2006.0001.

Epprecht, Marc. ‘The Native Village Debate in Pietermaritzburg 1848–1925: Revisiting The “Sanitation Syndrome”’. *The Journal of African History* 58, no. 2 (2017): 259–83. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853716000608.

Esack, Farid. ‘Three Islamic Strands in the South African Struggle for Justice’. *Third World Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1988): 473–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436598808420068.

Esterhuysen, Amanda. ‘Heritage and Politics in South Africa’. *The Digging Stick*, Doing Heritage In South Africa: Doubts and Dilemmas, 30, no. 2 (2013): 2–4.

Freschi, Federico, Brenda Schmahmann, and Lize Van Robbroeck, eds. *Troubling Images: Visual Culture and the Politics of Afrikaner Nationalism*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2020. https://doi.org/10.18772/22020024716.

Frescura, Franco. ‘Monuments and the Monumentalisation of Myths’. In *Myths, Monuments, Museums*. University of the Witwatersrand, 1992. https://www.academia.edu/30657564/Monuments_and_the_monumentalisation_of_myths.

Fullard, Madeleine, and Nicky Rousseau. ‘Uncertain Borders: The TRC and the (Un)Making of Public Myths’. *Kronos*, no. 34 (2008): 215–39. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41056608.

Giliomee, Hermann Buhr, and Bernard Mbenga, eds. ‘The Afrikaner Nationalists in Power’. In *New History of South Africa*, 1st ed. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2007.

Giuliana Iannaccaro, ‘Whose Trauma? Discursive Practices in Saartjie Baartman’s Literary Afterlives’ (EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste, 21 December 2015), https://doi.org/10.13137/2283-6438/11868.

Grunebaum, Heidi. ‘Debates on Memory Politics and Counter-Memory Practices in South Africa in the 1990s’. *Education as Change* 22, no. 2 (2018). https://doi.org/10.25159/1947-9417/3777.

Hagerty, Alexa. *Still Life with Bones: Genocide, Forensics, and What Remains*. First Edition. New York: Crown. Random House, 2023.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Halliday, Stephen. ‘Death And Miasma in Victorian London: An Obstinate Belief’. *British Medical Journal* 323, no. 7327 (2001): 1469–1471. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25468628.

Harrison, Rodney, ed. *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*. Understanding Global Heritage. Manchester: Manchester University Press in association with the Open University, 2010.

Hlongwane, Ali Khangela. 'In Search of Everyday Life in Marabastad: An Exhibition in History, Memory and Place, and the Complexities of Land Restitution'. In *Public History, Heritage and Culture in South Africa*, edited by Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu and Ali Khangela Hlongwane. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishing, 2021.

Hlongwane, Ali Khangela. 'The Soyikwa Institute of African Theatre and the Cultural Movement of the 1970s and 1990s: Reflection on the Making of Cultural History in Soweto'. In *Public History, Heritage and Culture in South Africa*, edited by Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu and Ali Khangela Hlongwane. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishing, 2021.

Hochstrasser, Julie Berger. 'A South African Mystery: Remarkable Studies of the Khoikhoi'. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 66 (2016): 196–231. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44657330.

Hotz, Mary Elizabeth. 'Down among the Dead: Edwin Chadwick's Burial Reform Discourse in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England'. *Victorian Literature and Culture* 29, no. 1 (2001): 21–38. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25058537.

Huigen, Siegfried. *Knowledge and Colonialism: Eighteenth-Century Travellers in South Africa*. Netherlands: Brill, 2009. https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004177437.i-314.

Inggs, E.J. 'Mfengu Beach Labour and Port Elizabeth Harbour Development'. *Contree* 21 (1987). https://doi.org/10.4102/nc.v21i0.726.

Itzkin, Eric. 'A Community Journey: Return to Juliwe Cemetery in Roodepoort, Gauteng'. In *Falling Monuments, Reluctant Ruins: The Persistence of the Past in the Architecture of Apartheid*, edited by Hilton Judin. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2021.

Jeffreys, M. D. W. 'The Origin of the Name Hottentot'. *African Affairs* 46, no. 184 (1947): 163–65. https://www.jstor.org/stable/719230.

John Wright, 'Heritage as Feel-Good History', *The Digging Stick*, Doing Heritage in South Africa: Doubts and Dilemmas, 30, no. 2 (2013): 1–2.

Johnson, David. 'Representing the Cape "Hottentots," from the French Enlightenment to Post-Apartheid South Africa'. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 4 (2007): 525–52. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053727.

Kerseboom, Simone. 'Grandmother-Martyr-Heroine: Placing Sara Baartman in South African Post-Apartheid Foundational Mythology'. *Historia* 56, no. 1 (2011): 63–76. http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S0018-229X2011000100004&lng=en&nrm=iso&tlng=en.

Kirk, Joyce F. 'A "Native" Free State at Korsten: Challenge to Segregation in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, 1901-1905'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 17, no. 2 (1991): 309–36. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2637239.

Kirk, Joyce F. 'Race, Class, Liberalism, and Segregation: The 1883 Native Strangers' Location Bill in Port Elizabeth, South Africa'. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 24, no. 2 (1991): 293–321. https://doi.org/10.2307/219792.

Kirk, Joyce F. *Making a Voice: African Resistance to Segregation in South Africa*. African Modernization and Development Series. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 2000.

Kryder-Reid, Elizabeth. 'Introduction: Tools for a Critical Heritage'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 24, no. 7 (2018): 691–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2017.1413680.

Lalu, Premesh. *The Deaths of Hintsa: Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts*. South Africa: HSRC Press, 2009.

Lambert, John. '"Tell England, Ye Who Pass This Monument": English-Speaking South Africans, Memory and War Remembrance until the Eve of the Second World War'. *South African Historical Journal* 66, no. 4 (2014): 677–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582473.2014.926971.

Lyons, Andrew P. 'The Two Lives of Sara Baartman: Gender, "Race," Politics and the Historiography of Mis/Representation'. *Anthropologica* 60, no. 1 (2018): 327–46. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44876756.

Lyons, Andrew P. 'The Two Lives of Sara Baartman: Gender, "Race," Politics and the Historiography of Mis/Representation'. *Anthropologica* 60, no. 1 (2018): 327–46. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44876756.

Mack, Mark E., and Michael L Blakey. 'The New York African Burial Ground Project: Past Biases, Current Dilemmas, and Future Research Opportunities'. *Historical Archaeology* 38, no. 1 (2004): 10–17.

Malherbe, Vertrees C. 'Illegitimacy and Family Formation in Colonial Cape Town, to c. 1850'. *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 4 (2006): 1153–76. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3790244.

Manetsi, Thabo. 'Heritage Denunciation and Heritage Enunciation? A Postcolonial Discourse on State Prioritisation of Heritage in South Africa'. In *Exchanging Symbols: Monuments and Memorials in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, edited by Anitra Nettleton and Mathias Alubafi Fubah, 1st ed. African Sun Media, 2020. https://doi.org/10.18820/9781928480594.

Maritz, Lorraine. '"In Die Vyand Se Kraal." Die Rol En Ervaring van Afrikanervroue in Die Women's National Coalition'. *Litnet Akademies* 7, no. 3 (2010): 259–301. https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC62266.

Marschall, Sabine 'Visualizing Memories: The Hector Pieterson Memorial in Soweto', *Visual Anthropology* 19, no. 2 (2006): 145–69, https://doi.org/10.1080/08949460600598695.

Chari, Sharad. 'Photographing Dispossession, Forgetting Solidarity: Waiting for Social Justice in Wentworth, South Africa'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 34, no. 4 (2009): 521–40. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2009.00360.x.

Marschall, Sabine, 'Monuments and Affordance: Multisensory Bodily Engagements with the Landscape of Memory in South Africa', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 57, no. 227 (3) (2017): 671–90, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26613058.

Marschall, Sabine. 'Commemorating "Struggle Heroes": Constructing a Genealogy for the New South Africa'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 2 (2006): 176–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250500496136.

Marschall, Sabine. 'Memory and Identity in South Africa: Contradictions and Ambiguities in the Process of Post-Apartheid Memorialization'. *Visual Anthropology* 25, no. 3 (2012): 189–204. https://doi.org/10.1080/08949468.2012.665335.

Marschall, Sabine. 'Pointing to the Dead: Victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa'. *South African Historical Journal* 60, no. 1 (2008): 103–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582470802287745.

Marschall, Sabine. 'The Long Shadow of Apartheid: A Critical Assessment of Heritage Transformation in South Africa 25 Years On'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 10 (2019): 1088–1102. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2019.1608459.

Marschall, Sabine. *Landscape of Memory. Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South-Africa*. Leiden: Brill, 2010. z

McKay, Vernon. 'South African Propaganda'. *SAIS Review (1956-1989)* 10, no. 3 (1966): 4–17. https://www.jstor.org/stable/45348390.

Miller, DeMond Shondell, and Jason David Rivera. 'Hallowed Ground, Place, and Culture: The Cemetery and the Creation of Place'. *Space and Culture* 9, no. 4 (2006): 334–50. https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331206292450.

Minkley, Gary. '"A Fragile Inheritor": The Post-Apartheid Memorial Complex, A.C. Jordan and the Re-Imagining of Cultural Heritage in the Eastern Cape'. *Kronos* 34, no. 1 (2008): 16–40. https://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0259-01902008000100002.

Morris, Alan G. 'Searching for "Real" Hottentots: The Khoekhoe in the History of South African Physical Anthropology'. *Southern African Humanities* 20, no. 1 (2008): 221–33. https://doi.org/10.10520/EJC84793.

Mowat, Joan G. 'Towards a New Conceptualisation of Marginalisation'. *European Educational Research Journal* 14, no. 5 (2015): 454–76. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474904115589864.

Mpofu, Shepherd. 'Participation, Citizen Journalism and the Contestations of Identity and National Symbols: A Case of Zimbabwe's National Heroes and the Heroes' Acre'. *African Journalism Studies* 37, no. 3 (2016): 85–106. https://doi.org/10.1080/23743670.2016.1209223.

Murray, Martin J. *Commemorating and Forgetting: Challenges for the New South Africa*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2013. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctt32bck0.

Murray, Noëleen, Nick Shepherd, and Martin Hall, eds. *Desire Lines*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Myrtinnen, Henri. 'Claiming the Dead, Defining the Nation: Contested Narratives of the Independence Struggle in Post-Conflict Timor-Leste'. In *Governing the Dead: Sovereignty and the Politics of Dead Bodies*, edited by Finn Stepputat. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.

Ndletyana, Mcebisi, and Denver A. Webb. 'Social Divisions Carved in Stone or Cenotaphs to a New Identity? Policy for Memorials, Monuments and Statues in a Democratic South Africa'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23, no. 2 (2017): 97–110. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2016.1246464.

Ndlovu, Sifiso Mxolisi, and Ali Khangela Hlongwane, eds. *Public History, Heritage and Culture in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishing, 2021.

Ndlovu, Sifiso Mxolisi. 'Death in Detention in Apartheid South Africa: Commemorations, Remembrance and Making Sense of Isivivane and the Wall of Names at Freedom Park National Heritage Site'. In *Public History, Heritage and Culture in South Africa*, edited by Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu and Ali Khangela Hlongwane. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishing, 2021.

Nkosi, Mbuso. *These Potatoes Look Like Humans: The Contested Future of Land, Home and Death in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2023.

Nora, Pierre. 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire'. *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520.

Nordh, Helena, Carola Wingren, Tanu Priya Uteng, and Marianne Knapskog. 'Disrespectful or Socially Acceptable? – A Nordic Case Study of Cemeteries as Recreational Landscapes'.

Landscape and Urban Planning 231, no. 1 (2023): 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2022.104645.

O'Keeffe, Tadhg. 'Landscape and Memory: Historiography, Theory, Methodology'. In *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity: New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape, Heritage, Culture, and Identity*, edited by Niamh Moore and Yvonne Whelan. England: Ashgate, 2007.

Overing, Joanna. 'The Role of Myth: An Anthropological Perspective, or: 'The Reality of the Really Made-up''. In *Myths and Nationhood*, edited by Geoffrey A. Hosking and George Schöpflin. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Qureshi, Sadiah. *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Rainville, Lynn. 'Protecting Our Shared Heritage in African American Cemeteries'. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2009): 196–206.

Rassool, Ciraj. 'Human Remains, the Disciplines of the Dead, and the South African Memorial Complex'. In *The Politics of Heritage in Africa*, edited by Derek R. Peterson, Kodzo Gavua, and Ciraj Rassool, 133–56. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316151181.008.

Rassool, Ciraj. 'Re-Storing the Skeletons of Empire: Return, Reburial and Rehumanisation in Southern Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 41, no. 3 (2015): 653–70. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2015.1028002.

Redgrave, J.J. *Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days*. Wynberg: The Rustica Press Ltd., 1947.

Reuck, Jenny de. 'Social Suffering and the Politics of Pain: Observations on the Concentration Camps in the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902'. *English in Africa* 26, no. 2 (1999): 69–88. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40238883.

Ronan, Kate. 'Memory, Place and Nation-Building: Remembering in the "New" South Africa'. *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*, 1 October 2007. https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/108.

Rousseau, Nicky, Riedwaan Moosage, and Ciraj Rassool. 'Missing and Missed: Rehumanisation, the Nation and Missing-Ness'. *Kronos* 44, no. 1 (2018). https://doi.org/10.17159/2309-9585/2018/v44a2.

Rousseau, Nicky. 'Identification, Politics, Disciplines: Missing Persons and Colonial Skeletons in South Africa'. In *Human Remains and Identification*, edited by Élisabeth Anstett and Jean-Marc Dreyfus, 175–202. Mass Violence, Genocide, and the 'Forensic Turn'. Manchester University Press, 2015.

Rousseau, Nicky. 'The Farm, the River and the Picnic Spot: Topographies of Terror'. *African Studies* 68, no. 3 (2009): 351–69. https://doi.org/10.1080/00020180903381263.

Roux, Naomi. *Remaking the Urban: Heritage and Transformation in Nelson Mandela Bay*. Manchester: Manchester University press, 2021.

Rugg, Julie. 'Nineteenth-Century Burial Reform in England: A Reappraisal'. *Histoire, Médecine et Santé*, no. 16 (2021): 79–95. https://doi.org/10.4000/hms.2642.

Sanders, Edith R. 'The Hamitic Hypothesis; Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective'. *The Journal of African History* 10, no. 4 (1969): 521–32. https://www.jstor.org/stable/179896.

Saunders, Christopher, and Cynthia Kros. ‘Conversations with Historians’. *South African Historical Journal* 51, no. 1 (2004): 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582470409464827.

Shepherd, Nick. ‘Heritage’. In *New South African Keywords*, edited by Nick Shepherd and Steven Robins. Johannesburg: Jacana Press, 2008.

Smith, Laurajane, and Emma Waterton. ‘Constrained by Commonsense: The Authorized Heritage Discourse in Contemporary Debates’. In *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*, edited by Robin Skeates, Carol McDavid, and John Carman, 1st ed., Oxford University Press, 2012. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199237821.013.0009.

Solani, Noel, and Bongani C. Ndhlovu. ‘From Graves to Official Memorials: Re-Presentation and Re-Negotiating Memorials and Monuments in Twenty-First Century South Africa’. In *Public History, Heritage and Culture in South Africa*, edited by Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu and Ali Khangela Hlongwane. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishing, 2021.

Stanley, Liz. *Mourning Becomes...: Post/Memory, Commemoration and the Concentration Camps of the South African War*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008.

Strange, Julie-Marie. ‘Only a Pauper Whom Nobody Owns: Reassessing the Pauper Grave c. 1880-1914’. *Past & Present* 178 (2008): 148–75. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3600760.

Swartz, Sally. ‘Colonial Lunatic Asylum Archives: Challenges to Historiography’. *Kronos* 34, no. 1 (2008): 285–302. http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S0259-01902008000100013&lng=en&nrm=iso&tlng=en.

Tayob, Abdulkader I. ‘On a Knife-Edge or in the Fray: Managing Heritage Sites in a Vibrant Democracy’. In *Desire Lines*, edited by Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd, and Martin Hall. London: Routledge, 2007.

Thorsheim, Peter. ‘The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth Century London’. *Environmental History* 16, no. 1 (2011): 38–68. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23050646.

Trapido, Stanley. ‘The Emergence of Liberalism and the Making of Hottentot Nationalism 1815-1834’. *Collected Seminar Papers. Institute of Commonwealth Studies* 42 (1992): 34–60. https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/4216/.

Vahed, Goolam. ‘Women and National Liberation in South Africa: An Oral History Perspective’. *South Asian Diaspora* 7, no. 2 (2015): 129–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/19438192.2015.1007635.

Van Heyningen, Elizabeth Boudina. ‘The Social Evil in the Cape Colony 1868-1902: Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts’. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10, no. 2 (1984): 170–97. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2636870.

Van Heyningen, Elizabeth. ‘Costly Mythologies: The Concentration Camps of the South African War in Afrikaner Historiography’. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34, no. 3 (2008): 495–513. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40283165.

Van Heyningen, Elizabeth. ‘The Voices of Women in the South African War’. *South African Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1999): 22–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582479908671882.

Wassermann, Johan. ‘Spirituality and the Memorialisation of the Dead of the Durban Concentration Camps during the South African War (1899-1902) – a Micro History’. *Pharos Journal of Theology*, no. 102 (1) (2021). https://doi.org/10.46222/pharosjot.102.118.

Wilson, Richard A. *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press, 2001. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511522291.

Witz, Leslie, Gary Minkley, and Ciraj Rassool. 'No End of a [History] Lesson: Preparations for the Anglo-Boer War Centenary Commemoration'. *South African Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1999): 370–87. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582479908671899.

Witz, Leslie, Gary Minkley, and Ciraj Rassool. *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts*. African Perspectives. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017.

Witz, Leslie. 'Museums, Histories and the Dilemmas of Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa'. *University of Michigan: Working Papers in Museum Studies* 3 (2010): 1–23.

Wright, Elizabethada A. 'Rhetorical Spaces in Memorial Places: The Cemetery as a Rhetorical Memory Place/Space'. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (2005): 51–81.

Wright, John. 'Heritage as Feel-Good History'. *The Digging Stick*, Doing Heritage in South Africa: Doubts and Dilemmas, 30, no. 2 (2013): 1–2.

Websites

60 Minutes, "Uncovering Black Cemeteries Paved Over in Florida | 60 Minutes," November 28, 2022, YouTube Video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sT9TaQcWcFs.

Adams, Char. 'The Growing Movement to Save Black Cemeteries'. NBC News, 16 February 2022. https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/growing-movement-black-cemeteries-rcna15566.

Africa South Art Initiative. 'Towards a Peoples Culture Festival (1986)'. ASAI, 2024. https://asai.co.za/peoplesculture/towards-a-peoples-culture-festival-1986/.

Artefacts, 'Public Works Department', accessed 22 May 2024. https://artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=1952.

Artefacts. 'Mount Road Power Station 1905-1906'. Accessed 28 July 2023. https://artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/bldgframes.php?bldgid=13102.

Artefacts. 'Mount Road Power Station 1931'. Accessed 29 July 2023. https://artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/bldgframes.php?bldgid=12005.

Artefacts. 'Vrouemonument - National Women's Monument'. Artefacts.co.za. Accessed 20 September 2024. https://artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/all_images.php.

Barnett, Tracy L. 'Recording and Recovering the Past: African-American Cemeteries in Athens, Georgia'. The Collective for Radical Death Studies. Accessed 19 January 2024. https://www.radicaldeathstudies.com/blog/recording-and-recovering-the-past-african-american-cemeteries-in-athens-georgia-tracy-l-barnett.

BBC. 'South Africa Anger after Sarah Baartman's Grave Defaced'. BBC News, 28 April 2015. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32499070.

Capa, Siyamtanda, 'RDP House Built on Gravesite', *News24*, 30 June 2021, https://www.news24.com/news24/rdp-house-built-on-gravesite-20210623.

Darke, Nicole Susan. 'Afrikaner Nationalism and the Production of a White Cultural Heritage: An Analysis of Selected Works Undertaken by Dirk Visser and Gabriel Fagan from 1967-1993'. Master of Philosophy, University of Cape Town, 2012.

Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission', 2023. https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/.

Genealogical Society of South Africa. 'GSSA East Cape Branch'. The Genealogical Society of South Africa, 2014. https://genza.org.za/index.php/en/gssa-home-eastern-cape.

Google Maps. 'Port Elizabeth Munelec Building'. North End, Gqeberha, Eastern Cape, 2023. https://goo.gl/maps/EnYktiU6cJ6kexgw7.

Gosa, Sivenathi. 'Family's Uphill Battle to Locate Mom's Grave'. *Dispatch Live*, 16 March 2022. https://www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/2022-03-16-familys-uphill-battle-to-locate-moms-grave/.

Merwe, Jeanne van der. 'Sarah's Soul "Cries with Relief"'. *IOL*, 9 August 2002. https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/sarahs-soul-cries-with-relief-91184.

Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. 'Electricity and Energy'. Accessed 29 July 2023. https://www.nelsonmandelabay.gov.za/page/electricity-and-energy.

news24. 'The Ghost of Old Mount Road Power Station'. Port Elizabeth Ghost Stories, 2 November 2012. https://www.news24.com/news24/port-elizabeth-ghost-stories-20121022.

Province of the Northern Cape, 'Reburial of Mr Klaas and Mrs Trooi Pienaar', 12 August 2012, http://www.northern-cape.gov.za/index.php/news-room/news-and-speeches/152-media-room/office-of-the-premier/news-and-speeches/769-reburial-of-mr-and-mrs-klaas-and-trooi-pienaar.

Richmond Hill SRC. 'Russell Road Cemeteries', 2016. https://rhsra.co.za/russel_cemetries.html.

Sarah Baartman Grave, Hankey, Eastern Cape. https://maps.app.goo.gl/VmD3UHpwpsz4cqEB6. https://heritagestudies.org/index.php/2017/06/28/what-is-critical-heritage-studies-and-how-does-it-incorporate-the-discipline-of-history/.

South African Government News Agency. 'Report Recommends SA to Make History Compulsory in 2023'. South African Government News Agency, 31 May 2018. https://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/report-recommends-sa-make-history-compulsory-2023.

South African Heritage Resources Agency. 'Burial Grounds and Graves', 2020. https://www.sahra.org.za/burial-grounds-and-graves/.

South African National Society. 'History of The South African National Society'. Accessed 13 November 2023. https://sanationalsociety.co.za/history/.

South African National Society. 'History of The South African National Society'. Accessed 13 November 2023. https://sanationalsociety.co.za/history/.

South End Cemetery, 'Old Section Map', accessed 27 September 2022, http://gravescustodian.com/.

The National Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein. 'Vrouemonument History', Vrouemonument. Accessed 20 September 2024. https://vrouemonument.co.za/index.php/en/history.

UNESCO World Heritage Centre. 'The World Heritage Convention'. UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed 6 September 2024. https://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/.

UNESCO. 'Saartjie Baartman Memorial'. CIPDH - UNESCO. Accessed 30 August 2023. https://www.cipdh.gob.ar/memorias-situadas/en/lugar-de-memoria/memorial-saartjie-baartman/.

University of the Western Cape. 'Forensic History'. Department of History Projects. Accessed 24 June 2023. https://www.uwc.ac.za/study/all-areas-of-study/departments/department-of-history/projects.

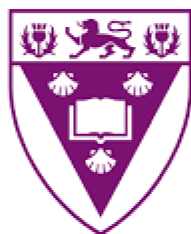
Wallduck, Rosalind. 'Dealing with London's Dead: The Aftermath of the Burial Acts'. *The Natural History Museum* (blog), 2017. https://naturalhistorymuseum.blog/2017/05/31/dealing-with-londons-dead-the-aftermath-of-the-burial-acts-human-anthropology/.

Wallduck, Rosalind. 'Death, Corruption and Sanitation: London's Graveyards in the 19th Century'. *The Natural History Museum* (blog), 2017. https://naturalhistorymuseum.blog/2017/05/31/death-corruption-and-sanitation-londons-graveyards-in-the-19th-century-human-anthropology/.

Wells, Jeremy. 'What Is Critical Heritage Studies and How Does It Incorporate the Discipline of History?' *Lived Heritage Studies* (blog), 28 June 2017.

Wiki Loves Monuments South Africa. 'Richmond Park'. Archived Page, 20 September 2013. https://web.archive.org/web/20130928015236/http://www.wikilovesmonuments.co.za/wiki/Richmond_Park.

Appendix



RHODES UNIVERSITY
Where leaders learn

RESEARCH ETHICS DECLARATION

To be included in the Appendices of research papers / dissertations / theses submitted for postgraduate examination where research did not involve interaction with human participants, or the use of animal subjects, and therefore did not require research ethics approval.

Candidates whose research did require ethics clearance must include their ethics approval letter in the Appendix of their examination submission.

Name of Candidate: Lari Hallowes-Welman

Name of Supervisor: Dr Janeke Thumbran

Degree: Master of Arts

Title of research: Gone and Forgotten: Public Memory, Heritage, and Missing Black Cemeteries in Gqeberha

DECLARATION

I declare that my research did not require ethical clearance because (tick all that apply):

I did not collect data from human participants or animal subjects	X
I used previously collected data that had already received ethics clearance.	
I analysed documents / open-access digital texts that are freely available in the public domain.	X
I did a literature review/analysis of theoretical or secondary material only.	X
I used human datasets of non-sensitive information that are either anonymous (identifiers were never collected) or have been deidentified (identifiers have been completely removed).	
I used commercially produced human biological material (e.g. established human cell lines).	
I observed people in public spaces and natural environments where they had no reasonable expectation of privacy and I did not interact with them or intervene in any way.	
I used non-living animal materials (eg bones of already deceased organisms or fossils) while complying with any custody and/or jurisdiction requirements.	
I did a content analysis of public media (newspapers, advertisements, and social media posts).	X
I did a simulation study with no real-world consequences and does not involve disturbing or distressing content.	

I observed flora, fauna, and ecosystems without interfering with or disturbing their natural state while complying with any jurisdiction requirements.	
Other (Please provide details):	

Signature of Candidate:

Date: 29 January 2025

Signature of Supervisor:

Date: 29 January 2025