Remembering my European past: Observations and reflections on places of memory in South Africa

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Abstract

I invite you to join me on a tour of monuments and places of memory in South Africa. Based on personal experiences, observations and reflections, the paper takes you from Cape Town with its statue of Jan van Riebeeck to the Voortrekker Monument and Freedom Park in Pretoria, with a brief detour to the German Settler's Monument in East London. On the one hand, we ask whether monuments and memorials that commemorate European influence in South Africa are still relevant today. On the other hand, we take a critical look at new monuments such as Freedom Park in Pretoria, which provides new perspectives on South African heritage.

Key words: German; heritage; memorials; monuments; remembering; South Africa.

I have very vivid memories of my childhood days in Cape Town. I grew up speaking German. My birth was announced in a German newspaper. I went to a German school, a German Lutheran church, and most of my friends were German, or, more correctly, German-speaking. We celebrated Christmas the German way and sang German carols. Over weekends we often went on outings with my German grandparents, uncles and aunts and cousins. My favorite place was Rhodes Memorial on the slopes of Table Mountain above UCT. My parents told me they were engaged there; we would often drive up to the colossal granite structure on a Sunday morning and then I would climb onto the backs of huge bronze lions and enjoy the view over the Cape flats with the Boland Mountains in the background. When I was five years old my parents bought their first house, an old derelict place on the slopes of Table Mountain but with a stunning view of the mountain, the city and the bay. I remember that Coloured people had lived in the house before us. They had to move. Although our house is not in District Six and is now dwarfed by enormous three-story mansions, the museum in the city reminds me of what happened when I was small.

When I was about ten, I joined the German boy scouts. We went on hikes and camps wearing a khaki uniform with a blue neck scarf held together by a clasp of zebra skin. One Saturday afternoon we were given the task

Figure 1: A German childhood in Cape Town. Photographs by the author's family.

to discover and document all the memorials in the Cape Town city centre. I remember the controversial statue of Jan Smuts that used to be at the top of Adderley Street, regarded as 'possibly the finest monument this country can boast of' [Eric Loubser] to 'outrageous', a 'baboon on a rock' and 'it resembles Tarzan' [Louise Smuts, granddaughter] (Joubert & Berndt 2009:38).

A little unobtrusive stone monument in the lower part of Adderley Street impressed me because of the sad story it told: It is a bronze sailing ship commemorating the death of Royal Navy officer and explorer Robert Falcon Scott[1] who perished on his way back home from the South Pole after having discovered that his Norwegian rival Amundsen had reached this southern most place four weeks before him. It was vandalised not for its bronze but perhaps for political reasons in June 1948 when the National Party came to power. It stands half way between two huge statues: the memorial across from the railway station commemorating the fallen soldiers of the great wars and the Jan van Riebeeck statue just below the fountain. Later on, Jan was joined by his wife Maria and, to maintain symmetry, he had to be moved to make place for her. On 6 April for a number of years, I think I was about 12 or 13, when van Riebeeck day was still a public holiday, I would wear my German *Lederhosen* and join groups of children from various European countries at the foot of the statue, dance a German folk dance, followed by Scottish sword dances, and Dutch girls in their *klompe*. Then we would listen to speeches from politicians and community leaders who praised the various European immigrants for their contribution to South Africa. Then wreaths were laid at the feet of Jan van Riebeeck, as the founder of European civilisation at the Cape.

Now, 40 years later, Van Riebeeck Day has been forgotten, school children in national dress no longer dance at his feet and strategically planted trees might soon obstruct his view of the City of Cape Town. What

Figure 2: Memorial to Robert Falcon Scott, Adderley Street, Cape Town. Photograph by the author.

has happened to the myth? Why was South African's European heritage ever commemorated? Why, in the first place, were the Germans and their language ever important in South Africa? There is even a memorial to German settlers in East London!

These are some of the questions I have asked myself, and I will start with Jan van Riebeeck and his monument.

As an employee of the VOC [Dutch East India Company], van Riebeeck was recalled as head of a trading station in Tongking [Vietnam] as it was discovered that he was conducting trade for his own account. In today's language, he was a corrupt official who had been redeployed rather than sacked from the company which, according to OF Mentzel, employed men that were 'as a rule down at heel and practically destitute' and sent to the 'vaevuur van die slegtes' (the purgatory of bad ones) (Schoeman 2004:50).

Not only the man, but also his statue has a doubtful history. The plaque reads: 'This statue was presented to the City of Cape Town by Cecil John Rhodes and unveiled by the then mayor Mr Thomas Ball on 18th May 1899.' One may ask why, shortly before the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, the very British Rhodes whose dream it was to build a railway line from the Cape to Cairo over British territory, would want to donate a statue of the epitome of Afrikaner heritage to the people of Cape Town 'until we learn that he was reliant on the vote of the Cape Dutch-speaking whites to keep him in power as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.' He even wanted only his name to appear on the pedestal and 'specifically stipulated that the sculptor's name was not to be acknowledged on his work' (Joubert & Berndt 2009:34).

Jan van Riebeeck was, however, not left standing alone. To commemorate the tercentenary of his arrival at the Cape in 1652, the Portuguese government donated a statue of Batholomeu Dias, whereas the 'people of the Netherlands' sent a statue of an Riebeeck's wife Maria de la Queillerie as a gift to the South African nation, thereby expounding the view of the Voortrekkers as the harbinger of culture and civilisation to the country.[2] The couple face Table Mountain, in the direction where van Riebeeck as if 'laying claim to the land', as Joubert and Berndt (2009:34) comment in a workbook on public sculptures for high school learners. Dias, the explorer faces west, towards the Cape Town International Convention Centre and the Atlantic Ocean from whence he and all other Europeans that followed came.

This monument, as well as the three Cape Town statues, is reminiscent of the European influence in the Cape, but during apartheid, it was mainly van Riebeeck who was used as for propaganda purposes. His image appeared on South African coins and bank notes; the day of his arrival at the Cape was declared a public holiday, and in school history books he was often referred to as the founder of the nation. Thus there were (and still are today[3]) calls by government critics to remove his statue, as Keith Gottschalk (1985) expressed in his 'Ode to the Statue of Jan van Riebeeck'

> And you Jan?
> Branch manager of a multinational corporation?
> Imperialist!
> You, convicted of corruption:
> Umkhonto knows all about statues like you.
> So I'm telling you statue
> One of these days
> We're going to donner you!.

But the statue was not 'melted down and reshaped into useful objects like door knockers and railings', the plinth not 'crushed into gravel and scattered on to the paths in our public parks' (Vladislavć 1996:19), there

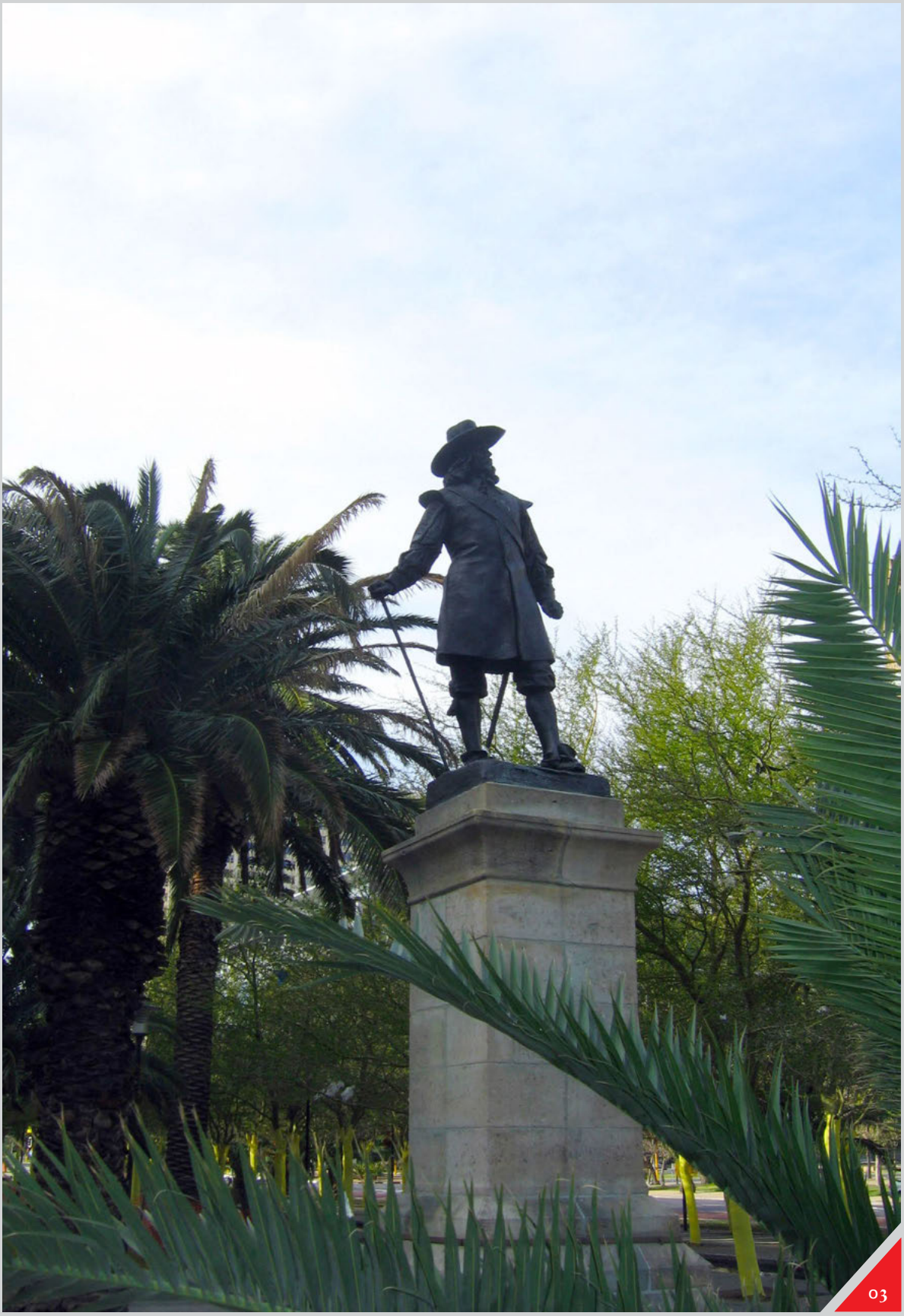

Figure 3: Statue of Jan van Riebeeck, Adderley Street, Cape Town. Photograph by the author.

was no 'uncanny' collapse as with JG Strijdom in Pretoria (Hook 2005), and there was no 'Goodbye, Lenin'[4] as in East Germany after the wall came down, where most of the statues reminiscent of the former German Democratic Republic were removed from public spaces. The Cape Town Municipality has, however, planted a number of trees very close to Jan van Riebeeck, a lane of thorn trees as part of a memorial to Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama as well as a few palms that might soon make the statue hard to find.

Nevertheless, with Jan van Riebeeck's doubtful past and recent claims that the images used to portray him and his wife are actually those of other persons whose portraits were displayed in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, a deconstructed view of the statue could be a monument to the corrupt politician.

During apartheid times, the statue of Jan van Riebeeck had monument status, as no memorial to the early Dutch settlers exists at the Cape. There are, however, others which commemorate European migration to South Africa, the nearest one being the French Huguenot Memorial in Franschhoek with its religious imagery of the trinity in the three arches, the Bible in the right hand of the female figure, and the sun of righteousness with the cross pointing towards the heavens. Interestingly the date of inauguration was 17 April 1948, one month before the National Party came to power.

The other two monuments to European settlers are in the Eastern Cape. The most famous and largest with conference halls and exhibition spaces is the 1820 British Settlers' Monument in Grahamstown, which was inaugurated on 13 July 1974 after the South African parliament had voted R100 000 towards the project. It is famous as the main venue of the annual Grahamstown Arts Festival. The other one, by far the smallest of the three, and to which I have already briefly referred is

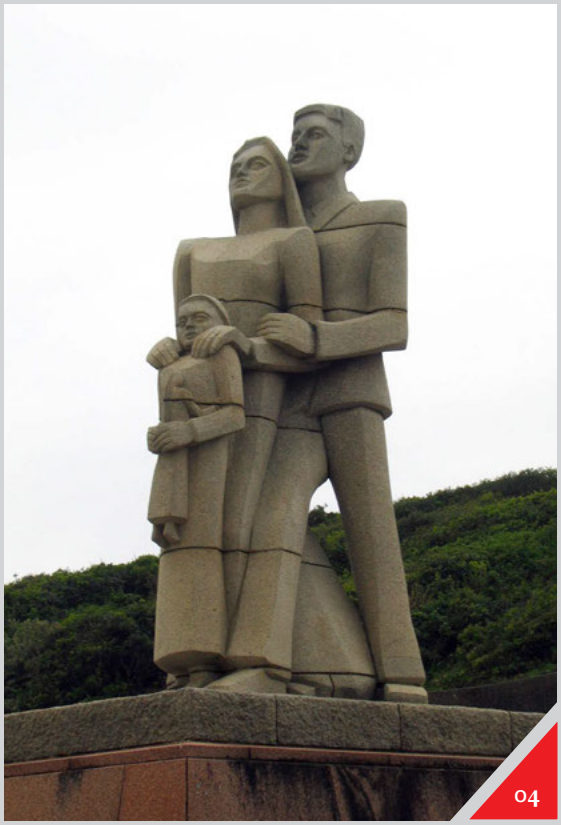

Figure 4: German Settlers' Monument, Esplanade Street, East London. Photograph by the author.

the German Settlers' Monument in East London. It was unveiled on Settler's Day in 1960 to commemorate the centenary of the arrival of German settlers in British Kaffraria between 1857 and 1858. This monument, claimed to be the only one of its kind in the world, was commissioned by descendants of the settlers, sculpted by Lippy Lipshitz and built with financial aid from the former West German government. Situated along the Esplanade within meters of the sea, it portrays a man, a woman and a child with a doll, all holding one another from behind and gazing out onto the Indian Ocean. Behind them, on a concrete retaining wall that breaks the slope of Naval Hill, are five bronze friezes by German sculptor Bodo Kampmann depicting various stages of the immigrants' life, the farewell, the voyage to South Africa, building a home, ploughing the new land and the family looking into the future.

These were some thoughts on my childhood recollections of monuments and memorials in the Cape that had a bearing on my German background. By the time I turned 18, I was in Pretoria, where I spent many hours marching on a parade ground in Voortrekkerhoogte, with a view of the Voortrekker Monument in the distance. I was sent here to do my National Service and had never experienced a monument of this size, dedicated to a cause, and not a person. The Great Trek I only knew from my school history books, but now I saw how the spirit of Jan van Riebeeck had been brought up to this hill above the capital, embalmed in a new meaning with mystical symbolism, enshrined by ox wagons, Voortrekker heroes and memories of an epic battle with divine intervention.

Foreign visitors were often brought to the monument and it was used as a backdrop for photo shoots. The fifteenth anniversary of the arrival in South Africa of 83 German orphans who were adopted by prominent Afrikaner families was celebrated here on 6 April 1963, Van Riebeeck Day. It seemed appropriate to take the photograph at this site, because for those who were responsible for bringing the orphans to South Africa, the German blood in the Afrikaner, dating back to the arrival of the early Dutch settlers, was of great importance (van der Merwe 2010), and studies were undertaken which attempted to prove the German roots of the Afrikaner (Hoge 1945; Schmidt-Pretoria 1938).

When Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in 1652, those with him and those who arrived after him were mostly employees of the Dutch East India Company, a job which was very high risk, because, on average, ten per cent of the crew and passengers would perish on the journey, and subsequently, the VOC recruited its staff from far beyond the boundaries of the Netherlands. Hoge (1945:156) and Schoeman (2004:174) maintain that up to 15,000 of the sailors and soldiers that settled at the Cape between 1650 and 1800 were Germans who were simply given a new identity on their arrival in Cape Town. As the VOC during its rule at the Cape only allowed only Dutch as official language, it was general practice to translate or transfer all names of new arrivals into Dutch. Afrikaans author Karel Schoeman, in search of his German founding father, mentions the names of some sailors who were on board with him on the *Meijenburg* when it docked in Cape Town in 1724. The Englishman Jonathan Wright became 'Johannes Riet', the Scotsman James Thomson became 'Jacob Thomasz' and the Germans Arnoldus Kreutzmann and Carl Christoph Rauchfuss were renamed 'Ary Crysman' and 'Carel Christoffel Rykvoet' respectively (Schoeman 2004:13).

More than 200 years later a similar phenomenon occurred when German war orphans were brought to South Africa and given Afrikaans names upon arrival. A group of Germanophile Afrikaners, who wanted to thank Germany for the assistance it had given them after the Anglo Boer War,[5] regarded it as their dear duty to assist Germany in its time of need with all available resources ["ihre teure Pflicht …, dem notbedrängten Deutschland mit allen zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln Beistand zu leisten'] (de Lange 1970:81). The Deutsch-Afrikanische Hilfsausschuss (DAHA) together with the Vroue-noodleningskomitee [VNLK] between 1945 and 1957 collected more than £250 000 amongst Afrikaners to alleviate suffering in Germany and they sent thousands of food packages, clothing, and blankets to Germany with the greeting 'van die Boerevolk van Suid-Afrika' (Slater 2005:31-32). Amongst the members of these two organisations, there were a few ingenious people who set out to bring 10 000 German war orphans to South Africa in order to assist Germany locally and at the same time re-inject the Afrikanervolk with fresh German blood (Slater 2005:32). For this purpose, prominent Afrikaners with the help of the three

large reformed churches in the country founded the 'Dietse Kinderfonds' [DKF]. This association finally managed to bring 83 German orphans to South Africa, who arrived by ship in Cape Town in September 1948. The history of the DKF was compiled and published in 1970 by one of these children, Eike de Lange, who taught German at the University of South Africa and was for many years a member of the Association for German Studies [SAGV].

On the fortieth anniversary of their arrival, Werner van der Merwe published a history of the German orphans under the title 'Vir 'n blanke Volk' ('For a white nation'), in which he researched what happened to the children, how many tried to find their real parents and some discovered that they were in fact not war orphans as van der Merwe (1998) pointed out. He tries to give a critical account of the whole adoption process but does not mention that many of the children were adopted by members of the *Broederbond* who received preferential treatment during the selection process. Van der Merwe, himself one of these 83 children, was only born after the war in February 1946 as Werner Schellack, and then took on the surname of his adoptive parents. The most famous German orphan at the time was Hermine Sönnichsen who became Marié-Anna [Marietjie] Malan (van der Merwe 1998:104) while two men became famous in later life, Lothar Neethling, the notorious policeman known as Doctor Death and the opera singer Professor Werner Nel.

They posed outside the monument, but inside there is no sign of the European heritage which was celebrated at the foot of Jan van Riebeeck. Here one just sees 'Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika' in Afrikaans, with images on white Italian marble of neatly dressed Voortrekkers fighting black tribes, around the cenotaph flags of all the Boer Republics, in the Cape there were the British, the Germans, the French and the Dutch, in Pretoria

Figure 5: First reunion of the German war orphans, Voortrekker Monument, 6 April 1963 (De Lange 1970:108).

there is just one nation. Like with the German war orphans, the European heritage has been absorbed into something new, after all throughout the time of apartheid Germans were regarded as favoured immigrants because they were regarded as easily assimilable.

On a visit to Pretoria in September 2011, I entered the Monument for the first time. Andrew Crampton (2001: 235) in his paper on the Voortrekker Monument, the birth of apartheid and beyond, provides some background to the eternal flame I saw inside:

> The arrival of the flame of civilisation and the ox wagon from the 1938 Trek re-enactment were greeted in similar fashion. The *Pretoria News* (1949:5) reported that the flame "had been lit eleven years before beside van Riebeeck's statue in Cape Town, and had been carried by runners across the Cape, the Free State and the Transvaal" for the laying of the foundation stone. Since then, the flame had been "guarded by Pretoria University, and was now going to its final home in the monument. … It signifies that civilisation has conquered barbarism and the journey to nationhood is complete."

Figure 6: The symbolic trek of 1938. Ox wagons departing from Jan van Riebeeck statue, Cape Town. Photograph by Cay from 'Die Groot Trek'. Commemorative issue of *Die Huisgenoot*, December 1938.

In her thesis on the deconstruction of museums and memorials in pre- and post-apartheid South Africa, Meents (2009:86) expounds this myth of the 'flame of civilization' by referring to Delmont (1992) who had written: 'The flame was supposedly lit by the sun's rays at the foot of van Riebeeck's statue in Cape Town. This gave the monument some sort of magic power almost like a relic making the invisible visible.' The monument seems to have lost most of its religious dimension. Nowadays there is not just a monument, the visit offers a whole cultural experience with a heritage centre, an exhibition depicting 'Afrikaners in the 20th Century; pioneers, beacons and bridges – post card flashes from the past', not just the flame of civilisation, but also an eternal flame in honor of the unknown soldier outside the monument where a wall of remembrance was erected to commemorate members of the former SADF who died in active service between 1961 and 1994.

It is indeed unfortunate that, for political reasons, this wall was not accommodated within the newly erected Freedom Park. It would have been a sign of reconciliation if the names of those who died fighting on the SANDF side, many of whom had little choice about becoming soldiers, could have been included. A separate monument, a separate cultural space could very easily become a source of new nationalism or for those who 'want an eternal resting place in a tranquil, safe and culturally friendly environment', where 'culturally friendly' could mean white, Afrikaans, conservative.[6]

Fortunately, South African politicians have recently taken note that the Voortrekker Monument must be regarded as a part of the country's heritage and that the Afrikaner's struggle for freedom can be seen within a bigger picture of obtaining freedom for all South Africans. Subsequently, on 16 March 2012, the Voortrekker Monument became the first Afrikaans monument

in the country to be declared a national heritage site. At the declaration ceremony, Minister of Arts and Culture Paul Mashatile said this was done 'to tell the South African story and tell it in its entirety.'[7]

An interesting perspective on the Voortrekker Monument and the way it made its way into popular culture can be seen in Pieter Dirk Uys' 'Boerassic Park' set out at his 'Evita se Perron' in Darling: Replicas of the monument, tapestries, brass trays, salt and pepper pots and playing cards. It was thus no surprise that the image of the Voortrekker Monument was used to feature Dina the 'inheemse blom van die maand' in the first edition of the Afrikaans men's magazine *Loslyf* (see Peffer 2009:229-231). At present, the only image of monument available in its gift shop is a paperweight and a larger version, cut in half, to serve as book ends.

In the design of the Monument itself, there is a strong link to German heroic architecture of the nineteenth century. The influence of the *Völkerschlachtdenkmal* in Leipzig on Moerdijk's architectural design has been widely discussed (Delmont 1992; Crampton 2001; Grundlingh 2001). Probably Europe's biggest memorial to the dead, this 91m high Battle of the Nations Monument is one of the more than 100,000 war memorials in the country. It was erected in memory of the thousands who died when the forces of Napoleon were crushed by a combined army of Russian, Prussian, Austrian and Swedish forces. The monument, which is presently being restored for its centenary celebrations and the 200 year commemoration of the battle of the nations, was built and funded by the citizens of Leipzig without any state aid (Poser 2008:7). It is thus a monument of the people, which is run by the people of the

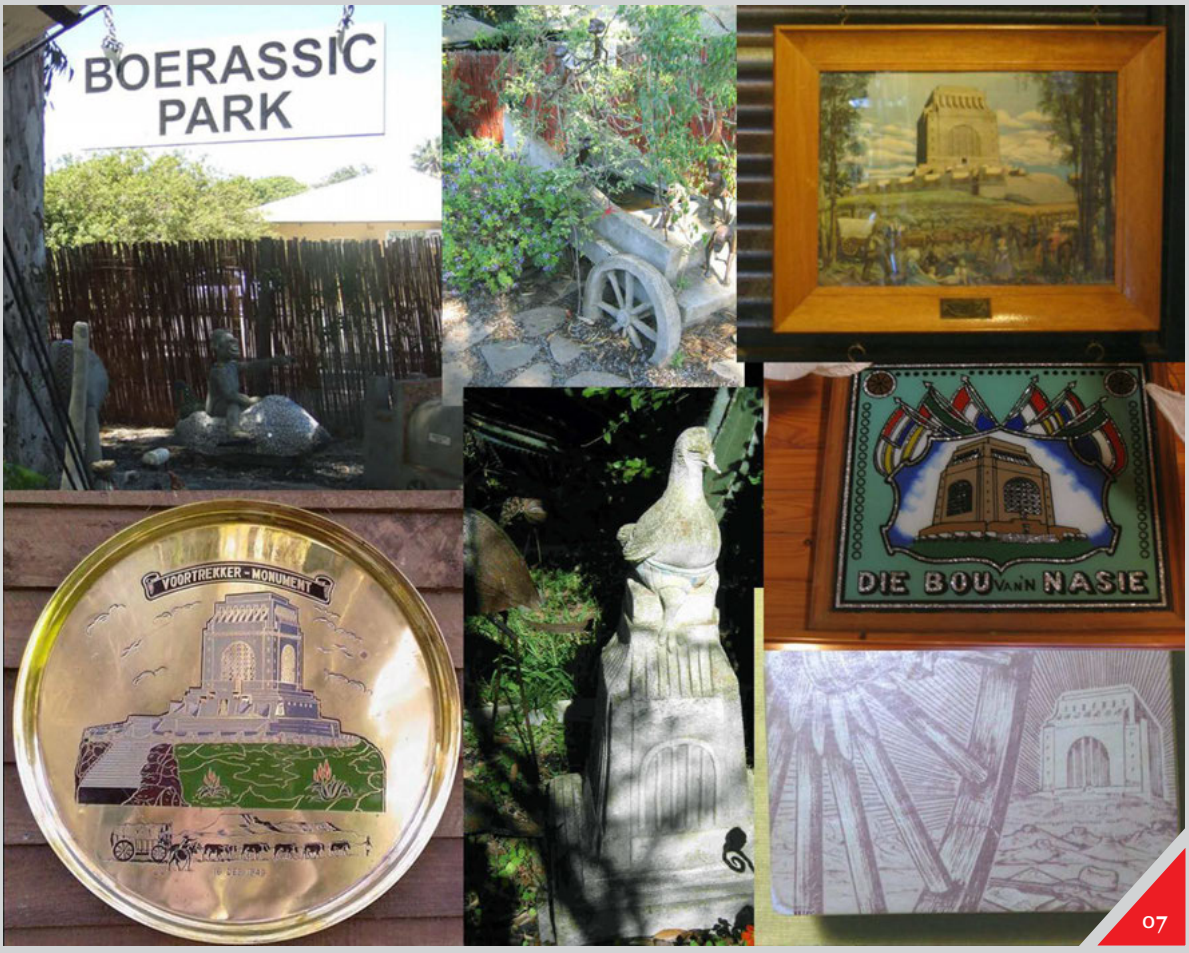

Figure 7: Boerassic Park, Darling. A collage of images compiled by the author.

Figure 8: Guards of the dead surrounding the crypt of the Battle of the Nations Monument, Leipzig. Photograph by the author.

city, unlike the Voortrekker Monument and the Freedom Park, which were built almost entirely with state funds.

Ironically, the Saxons were defeated in this epic battle as they fought on the side of Napoleon. This is reflected in the composition of the monument. It is not a celebration of victory, as with the Voortrekkers, but a place of memory to death and defeat where half a million soldiers battled with one another for four days in the villages and on the fields outside the walls of Leipzig, resulting in the death of approximately 110,000 people. Many tens of thousands died later as a result of injuries and disease (Poser 2008:4).

The interior is an enormous crypt in which 16 sombre warriors form a deathwatch, their heads bowed in mourning with eight six-metre high death masks behind them. Entering this huge space beneath a 68-metre high dome into which 324 almost life size riders have been chiselled, is a moving experience, enhanced by the cold air and the music reminiscent of a requiem playing in the background. It has the feeling of a mausoleum and has also been used by various governments in recent German history as a political symbol: In the Weimar Republic in became a symbol of nationalist undemocratic alternative to the new republic, during the Nazi era it became the symbol of a 'Volksgemeinschaft' and during DDR times it became a symbol of German-Russian friendship (Poser 2008:20-22).

The image of the mausoleum, however, does not go well with the original ideals for which the Voortrekker Monument was erected. According to Meents (2009:1), who refers to Derrida and Barthes in her deconstruction of this monument: 'Seen from another perspective … even these outdated monuments can retain contemporary relevance?'

Just as the *Völkerschlachtdenkmal* has now become a place of memory for historical differences that have since been overcome and a sign of nationalisms that are no longer important (Poser 2008:22), the Voortrekker Monument needs to be filled with new meaning. The importance of this is also emphasised by Rigney (2008:346):

> To bring remembrance to a conclusion is de facto already to forget. While putting down a monument may seem like a way of ensuring long-term memory, it may in fact turn out to mark the beginning of amnesia unless the monument in question is continuously invested with new meaning (Kosellek).

But what can this relevance be, advertising the site for its stunning views of the city, as the Battle of the Nations Monument also does, with a lift to take older tourists to the top, building a mountain bike track, a garden of remembrance, a tea room, using it as a venue for concerts?

At the opening ceremony of the Voortrekker Monument, one year before his death, Jan Smuts (1949:6)[8] argued that the monument should be 'a symbol not only of the past, but also of our reconciliation and ever lasting peace, and our pledge also in our colour relations to continue to strive after the just, the good, and the beautiful.'

Now, it seems, this place, this symbol of reconciliation, has been taken over, by a monument on another hill overlooking Pretoria. The *Vryheidspark* is indeed an interesting sight and a very unusual experience for the visitor. According to the SouthAfrica.info website, the Freedom Park is the 'product of the government's efforts to create and foster a new national consciousness of the common legacy that binds South Africans, the park addresses gaps, distortions and biases to provide new perspectives on South Africa's heritage.'

Figure 9a: ***S'khumbuto*** **at Freedom Park, Pretoria, with the eternal flame and amphitheatre in the background. Photograph by the author.**

Whereas the Voortrekker Monument has a heritage centre, the Freedom Park ***is*** heritage with its own eternal flame. It claims to be our South African unbiased, undistorted, with the entire gaps filled heritage. The visitor sees lots of water that evaporates faster than it can be added in the hot Tshwane sun, carved on glossy rock walls thousands of names of struggle heroes each one verified and approved by a select committee, further down symbolic rocks originating from all corners of the country whose origins and meaning can only be explained by a knowledgeable guide. No room for freedom of interpretation. Here, where water vapour escapes from cracks in the earth, shoes must be removed before stepping on the hallowed grounds. However, across the valley, on the other hill, the visitor sees South Africa's largest university, UNISA. Here heritage, there science, knowledge and history, here myth, there evidence. Let the two hills remain apart, separated by the new Gautrain railway line and the highway to Johannesburg. The visitor to Freedom Park should enjoy the view from the one to the other and realise that:

Heritage should not be confused with history. History seeks to convince by truth, and succumbs to falsehood. Heritage exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error. Time and hindsight alter history, too. But historians' revisions must conform to accepted tenets of evidence. Heritage is more flexibly amended. Historians ignore at professional peril the whole corpus of past knowledge that heritage can airily transgress.

Heritage uses historical traces and tells historical tales. But these tales and traces are stitched into fables closed

Figure 9b: ***Isivivane*** **at Freedom Park with UNISA in the distance. Photograph by the author.**

to critical scrutiny. Heritage is immune to criticism because it is not erudition but catechism – not checkable fact but credulous allegiance (Lowenthal 1998:7).

When I was small, I celebrated my European past on 6 April, now this should be done on 24 September. But I could never again dance at the feet of van Riebeeck in my lederhosen, not just because they are too small now. Official festivities are no longer for me. I no longer play this 'heritage game' (Herwitz 2011:236). Instead, I look at monuments and memorials with a smile on my face. I take note that on 16 December 2011 Freedom Park and the Voortrekker Monument were officially linked by a road. I have observed that the German Settler's Monument in East London has now been incorporated into a new place of memory. On the right, the German family still gazes over the Indian Ocean, behind them, further to the left a wall of remembrance to struggle heroes has been erected as if to say, you have pushed us a way, but we are back now. Towering above all on a high concrete pedestal is a beautiful bronze monument, donated by an Italian sculptor and the people of an Italian town, multicultural man, who not only stands higher than the Germans, but also looks far beyond the ocean up from whence his help may come. He transcends the question of origin, of heritage. But despite a dedication by Nelson Mandela, multicultural man is endangered; the fragile bronze structure with pigeons floating in the wind is fenced off and locked up at night. Otherwise he may face the same fate as the bronze plaques of the German settlers.[9]

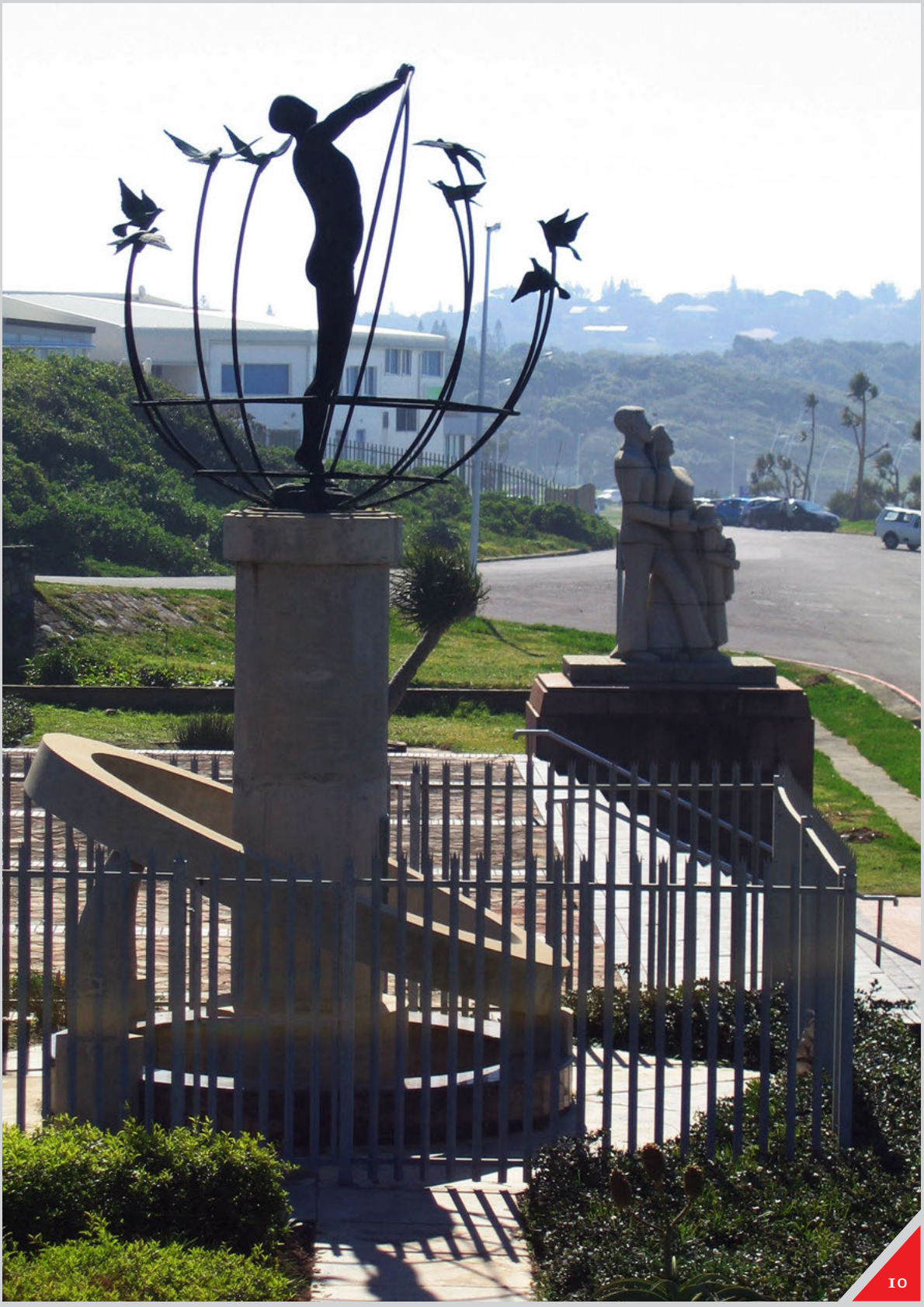

Figure 10: Symbol of multiculturalism with German Settler's Monument in the background, East London. Photograph by the author.

Notes

1 On 16 January 1912, Scott and his party reached the South Pole, only to find a Norwegian flag and a note from Amundsen stating that his party had reached the Pole on 14 December 1911. On 29 March 1912, Scott made his last entry in his diary. 'We shall stick it out to the end, but we are getting weaker, of course, and the end cannot be far. It seems a pity, but I do not think I can write anymore.' It is supposed that he may have remained alive for one or two days more after that, alongside the bodies of Wilson and Bowers (http://www.royal-navalmuseum.org/info_sheets_robert_scott.htm).

2 'The two portraits which appeared on banknotes and coins, postage stamps, in books and was cast into bronze, was that of Bartholomeus Vermuyder and Catharina Kettingh (who did not even know each other). The portraits were painted by Dirck Graey and are displayed in the Amsterdam Rijks Museum' (http://cape-slavery-heritage.iblog.co.za/).

3 On 6 April 2012, on the 360th anniversary of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape, a group of Khoisan people wrapped the statue in black bags and claimed that it should be taken to the Apartheid museum.

4 Title of the German film by Wolfgang Becker (2003) which reflects the changes experienced by East Germans after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

5 During their visit to Germany, a delegation which included the Boer generals Christiaan de Wet, Koos de la Rey and Louis Botha, received £10,000 from the German people for victims of the war (Slater 2005:30).

6 This quote is from a brochure on the Voortrekker Monument.

7 This is quoted from http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/03/16/voortrekker-monument-now-a-heritage-site.

8 This is quoted from Crampton (2001:240).

9 The five bronze reliefs by German artist Bodo Kampmann show various stages of the settlers' lives: leaving home, travelling to South Africa, their arrival, their work and their optimistic future. The plaques were stolen by vandals in January 2006 and have not been replaced.

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