

Journal of Literary Studies

ISSN: 0256-4718 (Print) 1753-5387 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rjls20

"State of the union": The "new pageantry" and the performance of identity in North America and South Africa, 1908–1910

Peter Merrington

To cite this article: Peter Merrington (1999) "State of the union": The "new pageantry" and the performance of identity in North America and South Africa, 1908–1910, Journal of Literary Studies, 15:1-2, 238-263, DOI: 10.1080/02564719908530227

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/02564719908530227

Published online: 22 Oct 2010.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 52

View related articles

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=rjls20

"State of the Union": The "New Pageantry" and the Performance of Identity in North America and South Africa, 1908-1910

Peter Merrington

Summary

A new performance genre, the "new pageantry", was "invented" in England in 1905 and rapidly became recognised throughout England, North America and the British dominions as an effective means of celebrating centenaries and inaugural moments such as the establishment of Union in South Africa in 1910. The Quebec Tercentenary Festival adapted such a performance for the tercentenary celebrations in the summer of 1908; and this model was then employed for the celebration of Union in Cape Town, in October 1910. The question of "reconciliation" between *Quebecois* and English-speaking Canadians was compared with the need for reconciliation between the Boers and the English-speaking South Africans in that same decade.

The genre of the "new pageantry", the civic, national, and imperial reticulations by which the genre was performed and propagated, and the peripheral events that accompanied the more important performances, afford a composite and three-dimensional model of period national and colonial (or imperial) identity and values. The paper traces some of the symbolism that was identified with the "new pageantry", including the period emphasis on the Elizabethan age, the neo-Hegelian imagery associated with imperial Freemasonic practices, and a tropology that represents the international network of empire as a "family" of states, "races" and nations. As a form of illusion, theatrical performance is seen as providing, in Raymond Williams's terms, a "subjunctive" mode of national or civic identity. The historical episodes depicted in the "new pageantry" form a canonical popular history for the "dominions", and they reify particular ethnic stereotypes - not only of North American "first nation" tribes, and of South African aboriginal peoples, but also of comparisons between English, French, Portuguese, Boer, Protestant, Catholic, and other colonial "types". The genre is thus seen to have served in the formation of a colonialist national "public history" and "heritage". The derivation of "pageantry" from *pagus* or field, and *pangere*, to cultivate, establish and pledge, helps to emphasise an extended understanding of the genre, as figuring the broader colonial enterprise: battlefields, mission fields, fields of endeavour, fields of discourse on which the nation solemnly re-enacts chosen moments in order to selectively lift these from the realm of historical accident and locate them within a desired narrative of historical "destiny".

Opsomming

In 1905 het daar 'n nuwe uitvoerende genre, te wete die "nuwe praalvertoning", ("new pageantry") in Engeland ontstaan wat spoedig dwarsdeur Engeland, Noord-Amerika en die ganse Britse Ryk groot byval gevind het as 'n effektiewe manier om eeufeeste en inwydingsgeleenthede, soos die totstandkoming van die Unie van Suid-Afrika in 1910 te vier. In die somer van 1908 is Quebec se derde eeufees deur 'n sodanige skouspel herdenk wat toe as model gedien het vir die feesviering van Uniewording in Oktober 1910 in Kaapstad. Die kwessie van "versoening" tussen die Fransprekende en Engelssprekende Kanadese, is vergelyk met die noodsaaklikheid van 'n rekonsiliasie tussen die Boere en die Engelssprekende Suid-Afrikaners binne dieselfde dekade.

Die genre van die "nuwe praalvertoning", die burgerlike, nasionale en imperiale netwerke waardeur die genre uitgevoer en gepropageer is, en die gepaardgaande perifere gebeurtenisse wat deel van die belangriker opvoerings uitgemaak het, verskaf 'n saamgestelde en driedimensionele model van dié era se nasionale en koloniale identiteit en waardes. Hierdie artikel is ook gemoeid met die naspeuring van die simboliek wat met die "nuwe praalvertoning" gepaardgaan, insluitende die beklemtoning van die Elisabethaanse era, die neo-Hegeliaanse beeldspraak wat met imperiale Vrymesselaarspraktyke verband hou, en 'n tropologie wat die internasionale netwerk van die Britse Ryk as 'n "familie" van state, rasse en nasies versinnebeeld.

Teateropvoerings het, as 'n vorm van illusie, volgens Raymond Williams se siening, tot 'n "aangevoegde" wyse van nasionale en burgerlike identiteit bygedra. Die historiese episodes het in die skouspel 'n vorm van kanonieke gewilde geskiedenis vir die dominiums gebied; asook sekere etniese stereotipes bekeer - nie net Noord-Amerikaanse "eerste nasie"-stamme nie, of Suid-Afrikaanse boorlinge nie, maar het ook vergelykings tussen die Engelse, die Franse, die Portugese, die Boere, die Protestante, die Katolieke en ander koloniale "tipes" getref. Die genre word dus beskou as bydraend tot die vorming van 'n koloniale nasionale "openbare geskiedenis" en "erfenis". Die Engelse woord *pageantry* (praalvertoning) is afgelei van *pagus* of "veld", en *pangere*, "om te kweek, te vestig" en te waarborg, en dit dra daartoe by om 'n omvattende begrip van die genre te beklemtoon as kensketsend van die breëre koloniale onderneming: slagvelde, sendingvelde, beyweringsvelde en redevoeringsvelde waarop die nasie plegtig sekere geselekteerde momente weer meemaak om sodanige gebeure uit die domein van historiese toevalligheid te lig en dit binne die gewenste narratief van geskiedkundige "lotsbestemming" te plaas.

> Deux lettres de M. L.O. Armstrong, agent de colonisation du Pacifique Canadien, sont lues, dans lesquelles ce monsieur offre de fournir pour le temps des fêtes, pour figurer dans les pageants et dans le défilé historique, un contingent de 100 sauvages Algonquins munis de tous leurs costumes de guerre, armes, tepees ou tentes, canots, etc. ....

Troisiéme Centenaire de la Fondation de Québec: Travaux Préliminaires, 1908: 232

> Pageantry for Art's sake, and for History's sake, and for the sake of Patriotism, national and international, ... pageantry for the sake of human understanding and universal brotherhood.
>
> (Darnley 1932: 48)

1

Louis-Napoleon Parker, the French-born son of an expatriate American couple, "invented" a new performance genre in England in 1905, the so-called "new pageantry". Within three years this genre had become an established medium for celebrating national and imperial history, and for affirming communal identity, in both the United States and the British Empire: "In England our Pageants revived popular interest in local history, in folk-lore, folk-song, and folk-dances. Pageants have swept the United States from end to end; from Boston to California, from Quebec to New Orleans" (Parker 1928: 302). Parker became an immediate celebrity, with numerous emulators. In the United States his idea was rapidly institutionalised into the American Pageantry Association. In Britain one Frank Lascelles, the Oxford-educated Lord of the Manor of Sibford Gower, an amateur thespian, sculptor and poet, was appointed imperial "Pageant Master", enjoying the patronage of royalty and of dominion statesmen. This paper traces the origins of this remarkable period phenomenon, suggesting some connections between British imperial ideology and American civic ceremonial in the early years of the century, and attempting conclusions about the role of public or national identity-formation and the construction of "public history" within modern civil society.

While some reference will be made to American pageantry in the United States, the main emphasis will be on two particular imperial performances, the 1908 Quebec Tercentenary Festival and Pageant, and the Cape Town 1910 Pageant of the Union of South Africa.[1] Both were produced by Frank Lascelles, and they shared many points in common. Sir J.H. de Villiers, Speaker of the old Cape House of Assembly and convenor of the National Convention (for the planning of Union) attended the Quebec pageant as representative of South Africa, and it was on his recommendation that the idea of a pageant was adopted for the celebration of the South African Union in 1910, and that Lascelles should again be appointed as the "Pageant Master". The recurring theme in Quebec of co-operation between French- and English-speaking Canadians was an obvious parallel with the pressing political need, in the aftermath of the South African War, for reconciliation between the English and the Dutch.[2]

This genre, and the civic, national, and imperial reticulations by which the genre was performed and propagated, the peripheral events that accompanied the more important performances of the "new pageantry" (receptions, exhibitions, reconstructions of sites of historical, national or touristic interest, publication of ephemera, and so forth), afford a composite and three-dimensional model of period national and colonial (or imperial) identity and values.

The semantics of "pageantry" yields a suggestive set of metaphors which happily reinforces the idea of the "new pageantry" as an enactment of imperial or colonial ideology: "pageant" is derived from the Latin *pagina* or "page", and from *pagus*, meaning "a field". These have a common root in *pangere*, "to record", "plant", "settle", and "pledge". Thus we find a paradigm of chronicling, occupying and settling the land, and covenanting: activities that are fundamental to what might be generalised as the "colonial enterprise". The scripts of the Cape Town and the Quebec pageants (published as the "Book of Words", or the "Book of the Pageant") are compiled by local and national historians and antiquarians, and prefaced with dedicatory remarks from viceroys and premiers. The most significant historical episodes in the pageants are those dealing with landfall and settlement; as well as moments of dedication, covenant between settlers and God, or the signing of treaties between them and the "natives".

As the epigraph at the beginning indicates, immense claims were made, at the time, for the social value of the "new pageantry". Again, here is a statement describing the 1910 Union of South Africa Pageant:

> Hottentots, Basutos, Zulus, Portuguese, Dutch and British all joined in. Now, no religion could have forged this unity, no patriotic appeal - nothing but a great drama in which races could act their own share in the epic story of a modern world's making.
>
> (Darnley 1932: 40-41)

"History" and "Art", patriotism, universal understanding and brotherhood, unity, the making of the modern world: these generous ideas are embodied in an epic and dramatic narrative; and this neo-Hegelian concept of progression towards a social ideal of universal wisdom is further inflected with social-Darwinist concepts of racial gradation.[3]

In his first performance, which he termed the "mother of all pageants" (produced in 1905 for the eight-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the town of Sherbourne in England) Louis-Napoleon Parker included a procession of Freemasons singing Masonic hymns, and again there was a considerable Freemasonic aspect to the South African Pageant of Union: late Victorian and Edwardian social tropologies of "human understanding" and "universal brotherhood", of national and racial origins and "heritage", of heliocentric enlightenment and renewal such as were enacted in contemporary creed-systems like Freemasonry, are a ready stock of universalist concepts and images from which to construct the iconography of imperialism, whether it be in South Africa, Quebec or Newfoundland, Egypt or Australia.

While the imperial pageants enjoyed this iconic and allegorical dimension,

they were, however, not as programmatically allegorical by nature as were the instances of the "new pageantry" that were produced in the United States - such as "The Pageant of Darkness and Light" (Boston: 1911), "A Pageant of Patriotism" (Taunton, Mass., 1911), "Pageant of American Childhood" (Worcester, Mass., 1913) and "The Romance of Work" (Philadelphia, 1915).[4] The British and imperial pageants (including those of Quebec and Cape Town) tended to focus more on historical re-enactment, on the presentation of canonical histories which emphasised founding episodes, while "the American type made free use of allegorical interludes" (Beegle & Randall 1916: 19). Another early commentator claimed that American pageants "lean more towards advancing community ideals than in England and especially in featuring symbolism and prophecy" (Davol 1914: 28). Despite this distinction in style and content, the pageants in both the United States and the dominions of the empire nonetheless were equally reflections of colonial or settler identity, and of spiritual-evolutionary discourses such as were popularly propagated at the turn of the century in the contemporary international climate of neo-Hegelian idealism. Both the Cape Town pageant and the Quebec pageant laid emphasis on motifs of Christian enlightenment, civilisation, the "taming" of "barbarous" lands and peoples.

2

At several moments in the Quebec pageant opportunities arise for scenes such as the following:

> ... the sailors have set up a great cross of wood. Upon its arms is a shield charged with the lilies of France and an inscription, "*Franciscus Primus Dei gratia Francorum rex regnat*". The booming of the cannon having died away, the Frenchmen kneel before the cross, pointing to heaven, and striving to indicate that upon this sign depends their redemption.
>
> "At all of which", says Cartier, "the savages marvelled, turning one to another, and gazing upon the cross". Then, treating it with reverent awe, they place baskets of corn before it, adorned with flowers, and burn tobacco before it, as incense.
>
> Meanwhile, from the wigwams beyond appears a woeful throng, the sick, the maimed, and the decrepit, brought or led forth and placed before the perplexed commander - "as if", he says, "God had come down to cure them". He reads to his petitioners a portion of the gospel of St John: "*IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM, ET VERBUM ERAT APUD DEUM, ET DEUS ERAT VERBUM*". Then he makes the sign of the cross over them, and, though comprehending not a word, his audience listen with grave attention.
>
> (Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants, Quebec, 1908: 20)

A similar incident is enacted at a later stage, in the "Sixth Pageant", where "Daumont de Saint-Lusson takes possession of the country of the west in the name of the King of France":

> A large cross of wood has been prepared. Dablon [a Jesuit priest] with solemn ceremony pronounces his blessing upon it and the cross is raised aloft for veneration. It is planted in the ground, and the notes of the *Vexilla Regis* float out upon the air as the Frenchmen, with heads uncovered, unite in reverent song. Beside the cross is planted a post of cedar with a metal plate charged with the royal arms. One of the Jesuits in these far shores of inland seas, offers the prayer for the King's sacred majesty. With drawn sword in one hand, Saint-Lusson raises with the other a clod of earth, as he takes possession of the boundless west in the name of the King.
>
> (Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants, Quebec, 1908: 42)

Authority is multiplied in these scenes, in terms of the king, of God, the word of God, the sword and the cannon, escutcheons and Latin inscriptions, gestures and choral songs, the relative situations and conditions of the characters; and the evident reason for these displays of authority is confrontation with the "other", and assertion of "rights" of possession of the land. The medievalist heraldry and chivalry serve to render these moments of plunder into something purely aesthetic, a drama in the period mode of late pre-Raphaelitism. This aesthetic gesture thus overlays the naked authority with an added kind of authority, that which is entailed by the mystique of the culturally symbolic.

The opening words of the Gospel of St John are emblematic of a particular feature of the "new pageantry", its concern with origins. "In the Beginning was the Word" becomes an ambiguous claim, applying equally to the interpretation of Jacques Cartier as "discoverer" of Canada and bearer of (sacred and literate) civilisation, as to St John's apperception of the nature of God. This synthesis of elements is the nature of the symbolic, just as the description of the tobacco as "incense" at once illustrates the "ignorance" of the "savages" *and* makes them out to be "natural" postulants. The symbolic thus collapses distinctions without eliminating them, and every event or historical episode may be read as "original", a paradoxical combination of periodicity and timelessness.

To revert, if one may, to Freemasonic symbolism (the ubiquity and influence of English Freemasonry throughout the later British empire must be the subject of a separate study, but Masonic symbolism impinges on the concept of pageantry and civic ceremonial), the order of Freemasonry known as "Royal Arch" Masonry offers a motto that contains a suggestive pun, rewriting the phrase of St John as "In the Arch was the Word", where the Greek *arche,* meaning both "beginning" and "authority", is combined with the Latin *arca,*

"coffer", "vault", or "arch" - a reminder of some of the symbolic associations of the idea of origins. An arch is also a gate, which was a term applied to both Cape Town and Quebec: "Gateway to Africa" and "Gateway to the West", "thresholds", in both instances, of "civilisation". At the South African Union celebrations Adderley Street, the principal ceremonial route through Cape Town, was crossed by four triumphal arches, each emblematic of one of the four new provinces of the Union.[5] A related trope associated with the idea of origins was of birth, dawning, awakening into consciousness. Sir J.H. de Villiers, the South African who attended the Quebec pageant, commending this as a model for the celebration of Union, approved of Cape Town as the venue in that it was "the cradle from which the South African nation of the future was to arise". Similarly the term *berceau*, or "cradle", was repeatedly applied to Quebec as the origin of "*la Nouvelle-France*", and hence of modern Canada.

The emphasis, in the genre of "new pageantry" as a whole, on the Middle Ages and on the early European Renaissance, is of course predictable in the sense that pageants and masques evolved in the European courts and towns of this epoch; it is also visually decorative as well as historically apt for scenes relating to the voyages of discovery; but more than this we note, in the period spanned by the genre (c.1905-1935), a recurrent emphasis on the "spirit" of the Elizabethan "adventurers", on the period of England's first real national self-awareness during the later-sixteenth century.[6] Thus Raleigh, Drake (and earlier the Cabots), Sir Humphrey Gilbert and the settling of Newfoundland (not to mention the continental equivalents of Columbus, Cartier and Champlain),[7] are recurring topics in numerous pageants of the time, accompanied by spectacles of "Merrie England", and "The Spacious Days of Good Queen Bess". This emphasis once again lays a broader symbolic tissue or filter across all subsequent historical moments and events, hinting that any local "dawning of consciousness" can best make sense when coloured by the "greater dawn" of the Renaissance. A contributor to *Our Modern Orpheus*, the *Festschrift* for Frank Lascelles, makes this claim very clearly:

> True pageantry is the modern counterpart of the spirit which inspired the Elizabethan renaissance, the period when Britain's greatness was founded, when her Imperial impetus was established.
>
> In that age, pageantry, from becoming a function of the trade guilds, virtually assumed control of the British nation. The Elizabethan was an era in which the whole nation expressed its life in a pageant of expansion. Nothing was too great for the dreamers of that age and nothing too difficult for them to accomplish. Thus it came to be evident that the highest and truest function of

> pageantry is to inspire the race to greater achievement. This constitutes its importance as a modern imperial influence.
>
> (Darnley 1932: 124)

In this way the very genre itself in its courtly and Renaissance origins makes a claim to a kind of historiography. Theatre ("definitively" the Elizabethan stage) is "historical"; history is a stage. Precise causation makes way for a symbolic and synthetic understanding of national history. The Pageant Master Frank Lascelles has this to say about the Quebec pageant as "art":

> An appreciation of its History and of the deeds of its heroes ranks among the great factors in the development of a nation.
>
> Hence it will be readily granted that any influence which tends to the increase of this appreciation is not lightly to be set aside.
>
> Although, with the perspective lent by time, the present should realise fully the structure of its heritage, yet it is given to few to have their imagination so stirred through the medium of the printed page, as to cause them to appreciate the significance of the record.
>
> But Art ever waiting to inspire, proves to us, as a handmaid to the Sciences, the truth of the Roman poet's words, that "Things seen are mightier than things heard".

(Lascelles quoted in *Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants*, Quebec, 1908: 19)

Lascelles adds the following note:

> In the few places where it has been found necessary to combine in one scene incidents which may have taken place on different occasions, I cannot do better than repeat as an apologia the words used in the prefatory note to the Book of Words of the Oxford Historical Pageant: "It is perhaps advisable to point out that a modern Pageant, like an historical play of Shakespeare, is often compelled by reason of space, time, and suitability for representation, to foreshorten history. The critic must not murmur if persons and events are found in a juxtaposition for which there is no absolute warrant in the chronicles, or if fancy sometimes bodies forth possibilities which may never have been realities".

(Lascelles quoted in *Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants*, Quebec, 1908: 19)

3

"Bodying forth" of "possibilities which may never have been realities" is a comment that can be applied not only to the superficial expediencies of theatrical production, but also to more radical questions of identity and politics. Theatre is an illusion, and public identity as something rehearsed and performed

is theatrical; further, such identity is subject to the vicissitudes of events and it is therefore doubly an illusion where politics flies in the face of contrary opinion. Even more, where this kind of political illusion is encouraged by a given public and international atmosphere of ameliorative idealism, as was the case in the first decade of the century, the illusory is sanctioned by a powerful moral and symbolic discourse of "wisdom", "beauty", and "understanding". A tribute to the Pageant Master Frank Lascelles depends on this kind of discourse when it calls him, without irony, "King of Shadows; supreme necromancer; spiritual alchemist" (Darnley 1932: 173), gesturing at the "Elizabethan" archetype of Prospero the Magus, so admired in the early decades of the century.

A concept derived from Raymond Williams's discussion of the theatre of Bertold Brecht, that is, the idea of "subjunctive performance" (Williams 1979: 218), is well adapted to commentary on this illusory ameliorative idealism of the period. In grammatical terms the subjunctive mode refers to actions that are not strictly "factual" (that is, "indicative"), but rather to do with wishing, hoping, praying, promising and the setting of conditions (that is, "illocutionary" speech acts which are described in speech act theory as "performative"). These conditional, optative, jussive, and hortatory modes of action are precisely the mode of the performance of the "new pageantry", where the cast rehearses idealised identities, events, and situations, offering up to the approving audience not so much an accurate reconstruction of the past, as a set of proleptic gestures of dutiful citizenship for the present and future. In this process the cast "bodies forth possibilities which may never have been realities" (Lascelles in *Historical Souvenit and Book of the Pageants*, Quebec, 1908: 19).

The subjunctive mode is, of course, not merely applicable to the technicalities of the drama, but in this case it applies indeed to the performative construction of public identity. The recurring emphasis, in the Quebec and the Cape Town pageants, on scenes of public espousal of causes, of dedication, avowal, covenanting and solemn treating, recalls one of the root meaning of pageantry as "pledging". Here, in a late-medieval sequence from the South African Union Pageant, Vasco da Gama prepares himself spiritually for the voyage of discovery in 1497 that would take him round the Cape:

> On the right is the facade of the Chapel of the Eremita, wherein Vasco da Gama, his captains and his company, who had spent the night in vigil prayer and confession, are receiving absolution and the special indulgences granted by His Holiness the Pope if they shall succumb to the perilous dangers of their voyage to the East Indies or cruel martyrdom by savage hands or sad losses from troublesome fevers or disease.[8]
>
> (*Souvenir and Programme of the Pageant of South Africa*, 1910: 10)

Later in the same pageant occurs a scene where English-speaking citizens of Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape present a Bible to Jacobus and Piet Uys preparatory to the departure of a party of *Voortrekkers* for the interior in 1835; and a scene referring to the massacre in 1838 by the Zulu chief Dingaan of Retief and his comrades, followed by the Boers' revenge at the Battle of Blood River - two incidents in colonial South African history that over time gained considerable symbolic meaning for Afrikaner nationalism in particular. Both involve the forging of sacred pledges, the second being marked in the Afrikaner calendar by the "Day of the Vow" or "Day of the Covenant" on 16 December, the date of the battle.[9]

Perhaps the most important performative gesture in both the Quebec and Cape Town pageants was the avowal of friendly co-operation between the two "races" as they then were termed, of *Quebecois* French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians, and of Dutch-speaking and English-speaking South Africans. No serious consideration was given to indigenous peoples as full citizens of either of these dominions; and this fact, besides the short-lived and indeed largely illusory amity between English-, French- and Dutch-speaking settlers, emphasises the illusory nature of the sense of public identity forged by the performances. The Quebec pageant concluded with an extravagantly idealised representation of the capture of the city by Wolfe in 1759 (both commanders and their armies drawn up side by side in a mutual advance into the future by these two "vigorous races"), while the Cape Town pageant omitted the recent and bitter history of the Transvaal War of 1880-1881 and the South African War of 1899-1902. In a statement on the South African Union pageant, the organisers made the point clearly:

> Suffice it to say that the Pageant is a national one, and deals with the History of each of the Colonies forming part of the Union. For various reasons which will be easily understood the last sixty years have not been included in the period dealt with, more especially as the intention of the Pageant is to cement together, to obliterate points of difference, and to make all our fellow-countrymen feel that, whether they come from the Transvaal, from the Orange Free State, from Natal, or from the Cape Colony, their ancestors have all had a hand in the making of this country's history, and that the work of these makers of history should be respected and honoured by all, as without it the probability of Union would have been small indeed.
>
> *(Souvenir and Programme of the Pageant of South Africa*, 1910: 10)

This adaptation of "History" for political reasons is enabled by the idealising neo-Hegelian public rhetoric of the time, as well as by the conventions and expediencies of the genre itself. The key to the success of the "new pageantry"

within its period context, as a form of social comment and encouragement, is obedience, discipline, a willing suspension of disbelief or a willing co-operation with the "rules" both of the genre and of public ethics as they were then explicitly or tacitly stated and accepted. It seems reasonable to argue that this condition was obtainable largely owing to the hierarchical structure and pretensions of metropolitan and colonial society at the time. The very vocal insistence by producers such as Louis Napoleon Parker that the genre served to bridge social distinctions ("the executants must include every class of the community, both male and female .... A Pageant is absolutely democratic. That is one of its many merits" (1928: 283-284)) only points towards the fact of such distinctions, which are supposedly a "natural" function of the pervasive idealising rhetoric which typifies the public sphere in that epoch.[10]

4

According to this argument, then, "history" is a "pageant", and history must therefore obey the rules of the genre. Historical "rightness" or perhaps "inevitability", or "destiny", is thus a function of generic conventions, and of the inculcated politeness that would make good citizens "observe" these conventions. During the period of the "new pageantry" it is evident that the concept of pageantry became a popular metaphor for the titles of books of natural and social history, often virtually interchangeable with such terms as "heritage" and "romance". By these means colonial history is written up and disseminated on a large scale for emerging mass cultures as an appealing and generically distinct ideological narrative. The readily identifiable terms or conventions of the generic forms help to make sense of "history" as a kind of narrative sequence, the logic of which can - at a popular level - give meaning to the present.

The difficulty in Quebec, of course, was that the Englishman Lascelles needed to produce a pageant with imperial patronage for a celebration by a predominantly French-speaking and fiercely nationalist community. The original impulse to celebrate the tercentenary of Quebec had been entirely *Quebecois*, with emphasis on Cartier, Champlain, the Ursuline and Jesuit missionaries, Frontenac, and other French pioneers, and it seems that this initiative had been taken over by a greater Canadian and British imperial connection to the chagrin of many locals. The imperial connection chose to emphasise the battles in which Britain wrested control of Quebec from the French Canadians. The founding by the Governor-General of Canada, Earl Grey, of the Quebec National Battlefields Commission, was an act of public generosity aimed at the establishing of a public park on the Plains of Abraham, but at the same time this location was the

site of Wolfe's victory over Montcalm and hence a public reminder of defeat and humiliation. The Quebec historian (and mayor at the time), Sir George Garneau, writes that "the task [facing Frank Lascelles] bristled with difficulties: racial and religious susceptibilities had to be smoothed over and enthusiasm had to be evolved from a maze of public sentiment which was, to say the least, lukewarm towards what seemed to be an unattainable object: the blending together of historic scenes culled from the French and British regimes in Canada" (Garneau quoted in Darnley 1932: 13). Reports indicate that the grandstand built on the Plains of Abraham had to be guarded against arsonists; and an album of satirical cartoons directed against the Prince of Wales (later George V) who attended as the patron of the festivities, was published in French.

Curiously, if the grand narrative of British imperialism was to dominate the moment, the pageant was in actual fact presented entirely in French. Furthermore, the majority of the scenes in the pageant were devoted exclusively to French-Canadian history with its strongly Catholic set of values. A great deal of substantial ephemera was published, also in French, to commemorate the proceedings. Yet, "finally", British imperial authority set about co-opting and recording the events in a way that would subsume this vernacular *fête* into a showcase of exemplary imperial unity and power. The extraordinary measures taken by the *Quebecois* themselves to record the planning of the tercentenary seem calculated to put on record every particular of their own original and continuing involvement in order that the imperial panoply should be offset by evidence of local patriotism. The planning committee and the authorities of the city of Quebec published two huge documents in French, running to two hundred and sixty pages and six hundred pages, in which every stage of planning and execution was recorded, including detailed minutes and verbatim speeches, from the first airing of the idea of a tercentenary *fête* by the Quebec *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, through to public meetings, election of committees, the design and construction of a life-size replica of Champlain's vessel the *Don de Dieu,* the arranging of Brock fireworks from England, and the engaging of Frank Lascelles to produce the historical pageant. The larger of these two documents concluded with a hundred pages of genealogy of the Quebec Province descendants of early French-Canadian settlers.

Countering these *Albums Souvenirs* were English loyalist publications such as *The King's Book of Quebec*, which sought to assert the protocols and perspectives of international imperialism. Earl Grey, the Governor-General, wrote the following:

> It is generally admitted that the effect of the Tercentenary has been to draw Canadians of French and British descent closer to each other and to the Crown;

> to reveal to Canada, through the Review on the Plains of Abraham the strength of her manhood, and through the Pageants the culture of her people and the virtue and valour of their ancestors; to strengthen the "Entente Cordiale" so happily existing between the Empire and the great and friendly powers of France and the United States; to unite on Canadian soil the peoples of the mother country and of the self-governing Dominions in a celebration of common interest to all alike; to bring the growing power of the new Dominion of Canada, and the proud record and modern attractions of the Ancient city of Quebec more prominently before the attention of the world; and, lastly, to nationalize, or rather to imperialize, the sacred ground on which the foundation stone of the Empire of Great Britain was well and truly laid.
>
> (Darnley 1932: 14)

The imperial connection was established by a squadron of British warships that brought the Prince of Wales across the Atlantic and up the St Lawrence river to Cap Diamant, along with warships from France and the United States; and by the presence of prime ministers or their representatives from the major dominions (South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand), as well as Vice President Fairbanks of the United States. Louis Botha (in 1908 senior of the four prime ministers of the self-governing colonies of British South Africa) sent Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, saying of him, "a man of whom every true South African is proud. He does not represent any political party, and, what we considered especially appropriate, he is of French descent" (*Les Fêtes du Troisième Centenaire de Quebec*, 1911: 255). Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Prime Minister of Canada, commended the South African example of "two nations working together for the common weal, in building up a great free country under the British flag, in peace, liberty and good will". Laurier added:

> It is remembered that [General Louis Botha] was from the Dutch point of view the hero of the war, as we have here with us tonight General Lord Roberts, who was the real hero of the war from the British standpoint. Only five years after the war, that gentleman has become a most loyal British subject.
>
> (*Les Fêtes du Troisième Centenaire de Quebec*, 1911: 255)

Imperial loyalty and friendship were thus made out to be the dominant themes, with a secondary but persistent emphasis on local patriotism, heroism, faith and courage. Pope Pius X sent a message of support to Quebec, and a large-scale open-air pontifical mass was celebrated at the pageant grounds. The emphasis in the Quebec pageant on Catholic history, on Jesuit missionaries and the authority of Church emissaries, distinguished it from the Cape Town pageant and indicated Lascelles's attentiveness to local sentiment.[11]

Public enthusiasm and support were needed for the success of the programmes in both Quebec and Cape Town. History as reconciliation and progress had to be more than an idea - it had to be borne out by the proceedings, enacted in the pageants, and *embodied* in the form of supportive audiences. In South Africa ex-president Reitz of the erstwhile Orange Free State Republic was sent on a promotional tour around the four self-governing colonies to muster support from the Afrikaner or Boer populations for what would otherwise be largely a "loyal-unionist" or pro-imperial celebration. In Quebec, as mentioned, the initiative for the tercentenary had come from a *Quebecois* association, the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*. Each of these pageants was prepared by a veritable army of volunteers organised into various committees under the supervision of Frank Lascelles and the festival planners. The Canadian federal government passed legislation providing for three commissioners to take ultimate control of the entire *fête*, the governor-general of Canada, the governor of Quebec Province, and the mayor of Quebec City. Each festival had its royal patron, the Prince of Wales (subsequently George V) in Canada, and his uncle, the Earl of Connaught and Strathearn (then worldwide Grand Master of English Freemasonry) in South Africa. The structure of royal and viceregal patrons, and of elaborate and capacious committees, including in Quebec the *sous-comité d'histoire et d'archéologie,* and in Cape Town a huge "ladies' committee" which included Olive Cronwright-Schreiner and the wives of all local notables, seems, at one and the same time, to have been of practical purpose, and to have made an essential gesture at inclusiveness even while it mirrored the elite hierarchies of these colonial societies and of imperial authority.

5

"History" as a "pageant" is a kind of sanctioned, authorised fiction. The typologies with which period personalities and events, and national and ethnic differences, are dealt with are such as to simplify for easy consumption and for iteration, to reinforce received opinions, to support political purposes, and to make credible a sense of national "logic" or destiny in a particular sequence of events. Just as G.W.F. Hegel saw "History" as the heliocentric "dawning" and meridian of human consciousness on a global scale, so the historical pageants trace a kind of passage from the "birth" of a nation to its "consummation" (as was the term chosen to describe the moment of Union in South Africa). Further, where the pageants deal with colonial settlement as in South Africa and Canada, "dawning" is also an "awakening" from "primitive darkness", the crossing of

a "threshold" of consciousness, the entry into a modernising world-narrative of "peace", "progress" and "prosperity" (Hegel 1857: 103).

The typologies that were used to dramatise this powerful symbolism reflect a fundamentally racist ethnography. In both pageants the indigenous peoples are represented as of timeless tribal types: Bushmen, Hottentots, Zulus, Iroquois, and Huron. These are distinguished by stereotypical characteristics - the Bushmen are childlike, the Hottentots cunning, the Zulus warlike, the Iroquois bloodthirsty and the Huron loyal. All are frozen in an ethnographic time-capsule, whereby (apart from exemplary individual cases of Christian conversion and change in lifestyle) they serve as a constant symbol of avowed racial, cultural and cognitive difference. They are a showcase to illustrate picturesque regionalism or to offset by pointed contrasts the "civilisation" of the colonisers. A comment on the back of a postcard from the Quebec festival entitled "At Home with the Caughnewanga Iroquois, who played their ancestors' parts in the pageants" reveals distinctly the racism of the period:

> It is remarkable that, in spite of the centuries which in passing have done their best to civilize the Indian tribes of Canada, these people retain so fully the characteristics and habits of their ancestors. Ordinarily dressed as our white men, and living on farms, in ordinary houses, they fall with the utmost readiness into the spirit as into the garb of the aboriginal Indians. Their acting of savage progenitors is intensely real, and reveals depths of originality seldom seen among our white Thespians. It is the influence of their traditions, and shows that the later influence of our civilization is superficial. Their home is the wigwam, their dress the deerskin.
>
> (Pageant Ephemera Collection, National Archives of Quebec)

In both the Quebec and the Cape Town pageants we find ethnic dances juxtaposed with courtly scenes - from Fontainebleau and the court of Henry of Navarre, and from the court of King John II of Portugal. The Quebec pageant presents friendly "Indians" performing a "calumet dance", described as follows in the *Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants*:

> The calumet has the same influence among savages that a flag of truce has among civilized nations .... The ceremony of smoking is practised with much solemnity previous to the discussion or execution of any transaction of importance .... A ceremony of religion .... Without the intervention of the dance, no public or private transactions of moment can take effect. It seems to operate as a charm, in rousing the natives from their habitual indolence and torpidity, and in inspiring them with activity and animation. Their youths are more passionately fond of these than Europeans are of theatrical exhibitions.
>
> (*Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants*, Quebec, 1908: 27)

The "Bushman" "Baboon Dance" (a sequence, contributed to the Cape Town pageant organisers by the Canadian-born doyen of South African historians, George McCall Theal) is described with less symbolism, but an art nouveau spectacle in the finale of this pageant elaborately allegorises the intended contrasts:

> The scene shall represent a vast, silent veldt, with the eternal sea on one side and immutable mountains on the other. First there shall be a silence, and then a low, sad, tremulous music, rising and rising, plaintive and restless: rising and rising, strange and dishevelled: rising and rising, agonised and tortured. Suddenly on all sides are present a host of dark forms with veiled faces fleeing hither and thither in disordered motion, and uttering half-articulate cries of woe. These are the hordes of ignorance, cruelty, savagery, unbelief, war, pestilence, famine and their ilk, the pitiless progenitors of all the misery of man, the inwohners [sic] of black night.
>
> In an instant the music changes and silver-clad children appear with branches of the silver tree in their hands. As they enter, the air is filled with a flight of doves, the soft grey doves of peace. The forms of darkness are driven back and put to rout.
>
> (*Souvenir and Programme of the Pageant of South Africa*, 1910: 93)

The emphasis in the description of the "calumet dance" on "truce", solemnity, transactions and religious ceremony is intriguing in that it presents, in a mimic counterpoint, the main themes of the genre. Where there is no truce, no transaction, no universalised enactment of amicable, reasonable and ameliorative modernity, then the moment is interpreted in other ways so as to render it part of the "logic" of "history" as in this allegorical sketch. The fourth episode in the Quebec pageant represents a fight to death between Frenchmen and Iroquois at Long-Sault on the Ottawa River in 1660, "the most glorious feat of arms of the heroic times of New France, ... accomplished by Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux, in the very year in which the Iroquois had resolved to exterminate the colony" (*Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants,* Quebec 1908: 32). Seventeen Frenchmen withstood "eight thousand chosen warriors" until they were overwhelmed:

> Frightened by so murderous a defence [continues the script] the Iroquois abandoned their assault on Quebec, Three-Rivers and Montreal, and the defenders' heroism saved the colony. Without their devotion and voluntary martyrdom all Canada would have relapsed into the darkness of paganism and barbarity, and Christian civilization would have had to make a fresh beginning in the country.
>
> (*Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants,* Quebec 1908: 32)

Alternatively, in the spirit of reconciliation, a long and complicated sequence is enacted in the Cape Town pageant, representing the historical episode where, in

1854, President Hoffmann of the newly constituted Orange Free State Republic visits Moshesh, chief of the Basutos, in order to present the latter with a plough "in token of peace and amity". He also presents him with a barrel of gunpowder, but the pageant script omits to mention that this gesture would lead to protests from the burghers of the Free State and to Hoffmann's resignation. In any event, the script is crammed with picturesque detail: Moshesh is conducting an indaba with his Chiefs and *indunas*, ...

> a 'Smelling-out' dance is performed by Witch Doctors, ... Hoffmann arrives on horseback with an escort of six armed burghers, a Kafir [sic] policeman (in uniform) and six coloured after-riders, followed by a Scotch cart drawn by four oxen with coloured driver and *voorloper*. On the cart is a plough and a keg which bears the inscription *Bus-Kruit*.
>
> Moshesh's "Taster" then dips a calabash into one of the pots and tastes the beer. Then he fills another calabash and hands it to Hoffmann's interpreter who also drinks a few mouthfuls of it. Then the "Taster" takes two other calabashes, fills them and hands, first one to Hoffmann and then the other to Moshesh who both proceed to drink the liquor.
>
> (*Souvenir and Programme of the Pageant of South Africa*, 1910: 90-91)

There is much else besides. The purpose of this elaborate procedure it seems is to add a sense of depth and weight to the re-creating of moments of negotiation, treaty, and amity. One or other of these three activities or conditions appears to enter into most of the scenes and episodes in both the Canadian and the South African pageants, though sometimes the negotiations are easy and sometimes defiant, as in the episodes where Capetonians protested the freedom of the press in 1824, and in 1849 refused to permit disembarkation from the convict ship Neptune. *Quebecois* pride, for instance, is introduced into the Canadian pageant where, in an episode from 1690, Admiral Phipps in charge of an attacking English force is rebuffed in no uncertain terms. Lascelles introduces into this scene what might only be termed (from a clichéd perspective) "Gallic" esprit and éclat. A sample is worth quoting for the tone:

> [Phipps's subaltern envoy is drawn through a noisy *Quebecois* crowd] ... laughing women cry: "*Voila! Monsieur Colin-Maillard, qui vient nous faire visite!*" .... The governor [Frontenac] stands before him haughty and stern, surrounded by French and Canadian officers - Maricourt, Sainte-Hèléne, Longueuil, Villebon, Valrenne, Bienville, and many others bedecked with gold and silver lace, perukes and powder, plumes and ribbons, arrayed in all the martial foppery in which they take delight, and regarding the envoy with keen, defiant eyes.
>
> (*Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants*, Quebec, 1908: 44-45)

Where incidents like this are re-created with such symbolic force, the parties involved cannot be other than stereotypes of national character rather than individual personages. The greater intent of the pageant is to propagate a sense of a "grand narrative" of ethnic, national, and imperial destiny, and this intent dictates the manner of representation. Identities are enforced and typified in ways that enhance a greater whole, a universalist idea of the imperial family of nations and peoples. In numerous pageants in the subsequent two or three decades, in England, in the "sister dominions" of the British commonwealth, and in the United States, these typologies are propagated in pursuit of the same idealist and universalist concept of a world-family at the head of which presides a protestant Anglo-Saxon *pater familias*, patron, president or king.

Lascelles was accorded extravagant honours and praise as "Orphic" pageant-master and president of the revels, presiding over this mimesis of imperial community. As if to confirm the idealised unity of the "types" that made up the imperial family he was rewarded in Canada by the "Head Chief", American Horse, with an honorary chiefdom of the Iroquois, being ceremonially dubbed "Tehonikonraka" ("man of resources"), and clad in wampum, eagle's feathers and buckskin. Similarly in South Africa he was made a chief of the Basuto, with the title of "Rakalello", "father of wonderful thoughts". Praise to the father, but in such guise as to invert his status in the manner of carnivalesque inversions, thus distinguishing him from the immutable persons of the princes and viceroys who played their parts as official "patrons" at these *fêtes*.

6

The differences between these civic pageants in both the British empire and the United States, and the idea of carnival as practised in the Latin and Catholic world, would be an illuminating study. Indeed, in Cape Town, as if in a necessary response to the hegemonic pageants, the *klopse* carnival took on its present form during the epoch of the "new pageantry";[12] and the New Orleans carnival is inspired by the influence of the descendants of expatriate Acadian French-Canadians. Within the imperial universe, however, the empire pageants came to be part of the social scene. In a leader article Thomas Cook's international magazine *The Excursionist* (September 1910) recommended the Union pageant to its readers as "an extra item of exceptional interest to the usual programme of sightseeing"; this pageant was reported in the *Times* of London; and it preceded the huge 1911 Festival of Empire Imperial Exhibition and Pageant of London at the Crystal Palace, and the coronation durbar in Delhi, both of which were again stage-managed by Lascelles.

Both the Quebec and the Cape Town pageants were accompanied by weeks of official receptions, military reviews, exhibitions, and the laying of foundation stones (at the time very much a Freemasonic prerogative) for public edifices and institutions. There were musical programmes and massive firework displays that, with "gigantic double chromatropes", "the aerial harlequinade", "gas balloons with radium light and shooting fireballs", and "the greatest firework bomb ever made" (*Battlefields Tercentenary Celebrations, Programme of Fireworks Display*, 1908), blew the festivities into the twentieth century. New national anthems were essayed in public; yards of laudatory verse were composed (including one entitled "The Last Huron"); historic sites were reconstructed - in particular the wooden "Abitation" at the foot of the Heights of Abraham in Quebec built by Champlain as his first lodgings and fortress. In Quebec, besides the pageant, there was a *défilé historique* of characters and types that wound its way through the streets of the old town, and *hommes-du-guet* and *hérauts-d'armes* patrolled through the city in seventeenth-century garb as security and information officers. Special postage stamps, coins and medals were minted, and postcards and books of photographic or historic memorabilia were sold. In Cape Town, the pageant emblem, a swastika designed by Rudyard Kipling, was sold in silver gilt as a lapel badge or brooch. The *Association des Médecins de langue française de l'Amérique du Nord* held a congress at which they celebrated the three-hundredth anniversary of the arrival in Quebec "of the surgeon Bonherme, companion to Champlain". In each instance, the pageant and accompanying celebrations were regarded as a substantial fillip to the commercial and touristic promotion of the city and region.

What remains of particular interest, however, is the concept of the performance of national identity. The genre of "new pageantry" provides an opportunity to observe a literal understanding of this concept, and the ways in which it might contribute to present growing research fields concerning "heritage", "public history", and the reinvention of public identity in post-colonial transformations such as that currently experienced in South Africa. This literal understanding might well be applicable, thereafter, as a model for the analysis of more varied and transferred understandings of "performance of identity", as in state ceremonial, in the uses of sport and advertising, music, broadcasting media, corporate images, the promotion of tourism, literary trends, and many other activities that affect a sense of region and nation.[13] In South Africa there were several more instances of the "new pageantry". One of them, *The Spirit of the Mountain: An Historic Pageant of South Africa in Seven Epochs*, produced in Kimberley in 1909 for the South African National Union (a loyal-Unionist lobby group), anticipated the Union Celebration performance; another in Cape Town in 1938 celebrated the centenary of the emancipation of slaves in the

Cape; and in 1952 there was a national festival to mark the tricentenary of the arrival in 1652 of Jan van Riebeeck.[14] In Canada there appears to have been a long-standing tradition of community and documentary drama,

> ... a direct line of descent from historical dramas like Sarah Anne Curzon's *Laura Secord* (1887) and Charles Mair's *Tecumseh* (1886) to the contemporary didactic plays ... related to a minor tradition of civic and professional pageants, which themselves followed Louis Parker's historical pageants in the 1910s.
> (Filewood 1987: 5-6)

Extending the concept of performance we can entertain the idea of an all-inclusive *mise-en-scene* where the stage-setting, the backdrop, and the properties add an environmental dimension to the ideological formation of good citizens; and further, since the "new pageantry" derives its script from canonical local or national histories, it may be said to represent an idealised microcosm of the desired ideological formation of all citizens, whether they participate as "pageanteers" or as audience, or whether they are entirely unconnected with the actual performances. In the same vein, then, the idea of stage-set and backdrop might be extended to the civic role of national monuments and public spaces such as the Union Buildings, Rhodes Memorial, the Company's Garden in Cape Town, and - in the 1930s - the Voortrekker Monument. It is no accident that the historic moments commemorated by the pageants also gave rise to environmental, monumental and conservationist initiatives that were deliberately linked to questions of national identity, both in South Africa and in Canada. Most notable of these was the formation in Cape Town in 1905, by private individuals, on similar lines to the then ten-year-old English National Trust, of the forerunner of the South African National Monuments Council. This private association put on an exhibition of antiquities for the Union Pageant and, at the time of Union, was lobbying for the foundation of a national botanical garden, for the preservation of Bushman rock art, and for the acquisition of the Castle of Good Hope as a historical site. In Canada the Plains of Abraham (the scene of Wolf's defeat of Montcalm) where the 1908 pageant was performed, were at the festival declared a public park by the National Battlefields Commission.[15]

The derivation of "pageantry" from *pagus* or field, and *pangere*, to "cultivate", "establish", and "pledge", helps to emphasise this extended understanding of the genre - battlefields, mission fields, fields of endeavour, fields of discourse on which the nation solemnly re-enacts chosen moments in order selectively to lift these from the realm of historical accident and locate them within a desired narrative of historical "destiny". These performances and such related activities constitute an "invention of heritage" for the community - where "heritage" may be understood as a visible or material sense of avowed historical affiliation.[16]

Illusory the performance of public identity may be, technically speaking, as theatrical performance, and in an ideological sense, yet - from an applied point of view and adapted for contemporary political needs - it would seem a vital component of nation-building in a multicultural society such as found in South Africa, or indeed in North America. In these countries greatly revised questions of "heritage" and of the ownership of "public history" are emerging under the incentive of postcolonial pressures to rewrite the grand narratives of history and national identity such as were enacted in the Edwardian historical pageants.

Acknowledgements

To the South African Library, the British Library, the Covent Garden Theatre Museum, the Archives of the *Université de Laval*, Quebec, and the Quebec National Archives, and to M. Caron, antiquarian book dealer of Quebec City; as well as to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Western Cape, for funding to attend a conference in Canada, which provided the opportunity to look for material in Quebec, and to the CSD and the Oppenheimer Foundation for support for research in London



Figure 1

The 1910 pageant of the Union of South Africa: Advertising posters and postcards.

Reproduced by permission of the South African Library

Notes

1. The Quebec Tercentenary Festival and Pageant occurred in July 1908. The South African Union celebrations took place in October 1910. For more discussion of the South African Union Pageant, see Merrington 1997.

2. The Canadian example was commonly cited in South Africa preliminary to 1910. B.K. Long, confidant of members of Milner's "kindergarten", legal advisor to the Union Convention, and later the editor of the *Cape Times*, published for the Closer Union Movement in 1908 a detailed comparison of the constitutions of several federal states, opening with a history and analysis of Canada. Viscount Milner, "architect of Union", made a lecture tour of Canada in the Quebec Tercentenary year, speaking, under the rubric of "imperial unity", on the similarities and differences between the two countries.

3. Neo-Hegelianism is cited here because up to World War I this strand of German idealist philosophy was dominant in English philosophical circles, and was taught at Oxford, in particular at Balliol, that nursery of imperial administrators, where the neo-Hegelians Jowett, Bradley and Green made a strong impression on Milner. It is unnecessary to rehearse here the universalist idealism of, for instance, Hegel's *Philosophy of History*, with its geographical, spiritual, cultural and ethnic imperialism. His understanding of citizenship and the organic state profoundly influenced a generation of imperial administrators.

4. Two recent books on the phenomenon of the "new pageantry" in the United States are by Glassberg (1990) and Prevots (1990).

5. At a Freemasonic reception for the Earl of Connaught during the South African Union celebrations, the hope was expressed to him that "the important mission with which you have been entrusted by His Most Gracious Majesty the King will serve as a Keystone to complete the Arch of South African Unity and Brotherhood" ("Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, 1910", Manuscripts Collection (MS B103), South African Library, Cape Town.

6. Virginia Woolf's novel *Orlando* (1928) is a historical fantasy (a literary "pageant", perhaps) that starts in Elizabethan England and concludes during the modernist period of neo-Elizabethan sentiment; and her final novel, *Between the Acts* (1941), is in part a parody of the very genre of the "new pageantry". Here is an "Elizabethan" speech from *Between the Acts*:

   The Queen of this great land
   Mistress of ships and bearded men
   Hawkins, Frobisher, Drake,
   Tumbling their oranges, ingots of silver,

Cargoes of diamonds, ducats of gold,
Down on the jetty, there in the west land, -
(she pointed her fist at the blazing blue sky)
Mistress of pinnacles, spires and palaces -
(her arm swept towards the house)
For me Shakespeare sang -
(a cow mooed. A bird twittered)
The throstle, the mavis (she continued)
In the green wood, the wild wood,
Carolled and sang, praising England, the Queen,
....

(Woolf 1941: 52)

(Her friend, E.M. Forster, wrote and produced two historical pageants within the guidelines of Parker's genre, in 1934 and 1938, one for his adopted home-town of Abinger in Surrey.)

7. The symphonic ode *Christophe Colombe* by Félicien David was performed during the celebrations.

8. The Pageant of the South African Union emphasised the historical episodes of Portuguese navigation, which complemented the medievalist atmosphere of the genre. The curator of the South African Museum wrote to colleagues in Lisbon for the loan of period armour; but it was ironic that in 1910 Portugal was in the throes of a violent modernising revolution against the medieval authority of monarchy and church.

9. These two incidents are recorded in Afrikaner history by marble relief sculptures in the Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria. The marble frieze that runs round the interior of this monument is in fact a historical pageant in tableau form. It is not irrelevant to record, further, that on the sculpted figure of Piet Retief is a water bottle with a Freemasonic image from the Netherlandic Constitution, an encoded message that announces a special covenant between this most famous of Voortrekker leaders, his brethren, and the "Grand Architect of the Universe".

10. Freemasonry itself is founded in egalitarian enlightenment thinking, and yet Masonic ritual entails a complex system of promotion or gradation, and concealment rather than transparency, and certainly the "English Constitution" at the time was governed by a formidable hierarchy of royalty and imperial viceroys.

11. It is perhaps again indicative of the British desire to co-opt the proceedings that, besides the presence of the full Canadian Catholic hierarchy, the Duke of Norfolk, head of the Catholic Church in England, was in attendance.

12. D.C. Martin (1995 and forthcoming) has studied the *klopse* in detail from a sociopolitical standpoint.

13. Two examples of the usage of pageantry as a literary form are in Juta (1910), and in the introduction to Buchanan-Gould (c.1950).

14. For a study of the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival see Rassool and Witz (1993).

15. Coincidentally both Cape Town and Quebec have "castles" or fortresses of Vaubon's classic five-bastion design, which are used for historical and military "pageantry" and have served as icons of national identity and prestige.

16. "Heritage" is a term currently employed in museology and tourist programmes worldwide; yet it should be noted that, from a late Victorian or Edwardian perspective, the concept is loaded with implications of "patrimony", Christian eschatology, missiological imperialism, and national "destiny".

References

Beegle, Mary Porter & Randall, Jack
1916 *Community Drama and Pageantry.* New Haven: Yale University Press.
Buchanan-Gould, Vera
c.1950 *Vast Heritage.* Belville: Beau Rivage.
Le Comité du "Livre-Souvenir" Des Fêtes Jubilaires
1911 *Les Fêtes du Troisième Centenaire de Quèbec: 1608-1908.* Quebec: Laflamme & Proulx.
Darnley, the Earl of (ed.)
1932 *Frank Lascelles: Our Modern Orpheus.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Davol, Ralph
1914 *A Handbook of American Pageantry.* Taunton, Mass: Davol.
Filewood, Alan
1987 *Collective Encounters: Documentary Theatre in English Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Forster, E.M.
[1934]1936 The Abinger Pageant. In: *Abinger Harvest.* London: Edward Arnold.
[1938]1940 *England's Green and Pleasant Land: A Pageant Play.* London: Hogart.
Glassberg, David
1990 *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
Hegel, G.W.F.
1857 *Lectures on the Philosophy of History (1837),* translated by J. Sibree. London: George Bell.

Historical Souvenir and Book of the Pageants
1908 Quebec. Montreal: National Battlefields Commission.
Juta, René
1910 *The Cape Peninsula.* Cape Town: Juta.
Long, B.K.
1908 *The Framework of Union: A Comparison of Some Union Constitutions.* Cape Town: The Closer Union Society.
Martin, Denis-Constant
1995 "Coloureds", "Blacks", Sud-Africains .... Y a-t-il une culture métisse?. *Les temps modernes,* décembre, pp. 613-629.
1999 *The New Year Festivals in Cape Town.* Cape Town: David Philip.
Merrington, P.J.
1997 Masques, Monuments and Masons: The 1910 Pageant of the Union of South Africa. *Theatre Journal* 49(1): 1-14.
Milner, Viscount
1909 *Imperial Unity: Speeches Delivered in Canada in the Autumn of 1908.* London: Hodden & Stoughton.
Parker, Louis-Napoleon
1928 *Several of My Lives.* London: Chapman & Hall.
Prevots, Naima
1990 *American Pageantry: A Movement for Art and Democracy.* Ann Arbor: UMI Research.
Rassool, Ciraj & Witz, Lesley
1993 The 1952 Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and Contesting Public National History in South Africa. *Journal of African History* 34: 447-68.
S.A. Library
1910 Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn. Cape Town, MS B103.
Souvenir and Programme of the Pageant of South Africa
1910 Cape Town: The Pageant Committee.
Williams, Raymond
1979 *Politics and Letters: Interview with New Left Review.* London: New Left Books.
Woolf, Virginia
1928 *Orlando.* London: Hogart.
1941 *Between the Acts.* London: Hogarth.