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THE USE OF HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS AS SOURCE FOR CULTURAL HISTORY: THE SAMMY MARKS PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION

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THE USE OF HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS AS SOURCE FOR CULTURAL HISTORY: THE SAMMY MARKS PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

"Louis¹ has a very nice new camera, Mother gave it to him, it can take plates & films, Mother says if I am a good girl ... she will give me one, but I like the one I have now.",² Girlie³ wrote to her father, Sammy Marks (1844 - 1920), the first real industrialist in Transvaal, in 1902. Thanks to this keen interest in photography there exists today at the Sammy Marks Museum just east of Pretoria a collection of photographs capturing not only special, but also everyday moments in the lives of a Victorian family in Transvaal.

This study aims at reuniting the complimentary elements scattered throughout the Marks photograph collection, telling the story of how the family lived. Most of the photographs had little or no information accompanying them. Without research they would be useless except as examples of charming old photographs.

The researcher had to familiarize himself with the family and their place of abode. For this purpose notes and reminiscences of the family⁴ and the biography compiled by Mendelsohn, titled *Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of Transvaal'* (Cape Town, 1991), had to be studied in depth. Because the biography was written from a specific angle, it was deemed necessary to go back to the primary source and personally go through the Marks correspondence. As this is preserved at the University of Cape Town, a limited time schedule and budget proved to be restrictive but even so a large amount of useful bits and pieces of information was retrieved.

A strong leaning towards Mendelsohn's work will be observed especially as far as details concerning the more personal side of the family's life is concerned. About Marks's commercial endeavours and his economic and social contributions much has been written and much of that is repetition and rewritten, often repeating mistakes. According to Meiring, Marks had always been opposed to a book being written about him. This would show Marks as modest and reserved, but leads to a dearth of detailed information about the personal lives of the man and his family.

Starting with the little information that was available about some of the photographs, the whole collection had to be worked through and sorted out. Of some photographs there were several copies of which only one carried some information. This then had to be transferred to the others.

A lot proved to depend on good memory because small detail and unfamiliar faces had to be filed in the brain's recesses so when they resurfaced in another picture the other could be found and referred to. The gigantic task of comparing the photographs and

¹ Louis Marks (1885 - 1974) (See Figure 4).

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., G. Marks - S. Marks, 1902. Letter, G. Marks - S. Marks, 1902.07.19.

³ Gertrude Miriam Marks (1889 - 1955) (See Figure 6).

Personal interviews were held by museum staff with Mrs Dolly Maisels née Marks and the information recorded. Her son, S.J.N. Maisels, also recorded some notes on the house and the family (See bibliography).

⁵ P. Meiring, Bane en baanbrekers, p. 136.



trying to place and date them then started. Unfortunately space and practicality forbid dealing with all the photographs in this study, so a selection of the most informative ones had to be made.

Combined with the correspondence and documents which also survived the ravages of time, one gets a good impression of the lives of the members of the Marks family.⁶ Forty letterbooks with an average of 500 pages in length each, as well as a horde of other documents have been preserved and kept in the strongroom at Zwartkoppies Hall, Marks's country mansion and retreat. These have been donated by the family to the Kaplan-Kushlick Foundation and are being preserved at the University of Cape Town.⁷

Although the photographs are an invaluable source of information on their own, the supporting evidence supplied by the written word helps to bring the static pictures to life, making the subjects breathe as it were. Photographs being captured images, tell very little about the character of the subjects, whereas the written word causes them to speak. A photographic study like this one shows the vitality and variety of people's day-to-day existence. Like the author of Marks's biography puts it: "One feels as if one is peeking through a window upon scenes that played off nearly a century ago". 8

Quite a few people, including historians of name, are of the opinion that the past cannot be recovered. This is due to distortions and errors in previous, and sometimes even in widely accepted writings, forever being brought to light. While it is true that there are many gaps, it is also true that there are many facts which are indisputable. It does not mean that it is not worthwhile doing the effort of trying to recover the past.⁹

The study at hand is attempting just that, by looking at historical photographs as source of information for the cultural historian and using the Marks photo collection as a case study. Much of it is fact which will stand any amount of scrutiny but some deductions and conclusions have of necessity been based on impressions or circumstantial evidence which makes the probability of them being true larger than the improbability. The researcher has tried to indicate such instances by using appropriate terms like "It seems..." or "probably". At the same time it is unavoidable in the writing of any history to employ a degree of imagination. However, no historian is allowed to imagine things that could not reasonably have happened. He is restricted to what might have happened or required to imagine what must have happened.

In this way at least some progress is made in recovering the past, providing a stepping stone from which further study is made possible, which might either prove or disprove the propositions made. It is hoped that whatever mistakes there are, if any, are confined

M. Robertson, Die Sammy Marks-dokumente - 'n skatkis vir historici, Buurman, Desember 1984 - Februarie 1985, pp. 14 - 17.

⁷ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. ix.

⁸ Personal interview: R. Mendelsohn, University of Cape Town, 17.11.1993.

⁹ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 63.

¹⁰ L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, p. 49.



to minute details of relatively slight importance, as Hocket puts it.¹¹ It is also impossible to dig up all the facts and reconstruct the Marks family life totally. The study is restricted to those aspects substantiated by the evidence studied.

Gottschalk puts it that most human affairs happen without leaving vestiges or records of any kind behind. ¹² Many people live out their whole lives and die and a couple of years later even their last resting places become obscure and eventually disappear. Nobody will ever know anything about them or their lives. While this might be true of the majority of people who have walked this earth, the cultural historian is fortunate that some have left traces behind which can be followed.

¹¹ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, pp. 63 - 64.

¹² L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, p. 45.



II. THE VICTORIAN-EDWARDIAN PERIOD AND ITS PEOPLE

A working knowledge of the period and its people, their way of life, joys and sorrows and happenings that influenced them is necessary to start off with. Without this the researcher will not know what to look for or how to recognise things he might find in the photograph as source. What to the layman is a charming and interesting old photograph, to the researcher becomes much more. With his background knowledge the photograph gets perspective and can be contextualised. It becomes a document, a record of detail that would otherwise have been lost, confirming or disproving statements and assumptions.

Queen Victoria (1819 - 1901), after whom the period is named, is the epitome of her era, in her sobriety of behaviour, her industrious habits and bourgeois tastes and the fixity of her beliefs. At the same time she deviated from the characteristics in some other important respects like not sharing in its surging enterprise, intellectual energy or scientific curiosity.¹

This is certainly true of most people, i.e. that they shared some common ground but being individuals would of necessity differ in others. Marks himself, in contrast with Victoria, is typical of the enterprise, energy and scientific curiosity which featured prominently in the period. Bentley goes so far as to say that no such being as the typical Victorian ever existed. But even so, each Victorian represented in his or her own way the quintessence of Victorian thought or conduct.² Young concurrs with this view, stating that the only articles of a common Victorian faith to him seems to be Representative Institutions and the Family.³

Stumbling blocks in the path of the interpretation of photographs as cultural historical source

What actually is a photographic reportage, a picture-story? Sometimes there is one unique picture whose composition possesses such vigour and richness, and whose content so radiates outward from it, that this single picture is a whole story in itself. But this rarely happens. The elements which, together, can strike sparks out of a subject, are often scattered either in terms of space or time - and bringing them together by force is "stage management," and, I feel, cheating. But if it is possible to make pictures of the "core" as well as the struck-off sparks of the subject, this is a picture-story; and the page serves to reunite the complimentary elements which are dispersed throughout several photographs.⁴

This description is applicable to the study in hand. Even so there are certain dangers or stumbling blocks attached to such a study. The first danger lies in generalizing

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 36.

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 40.

³ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, pp. 151 - 153.

⁴ H. Cartier-Bresson, Introduction in N. Lyons, Photographers on photography, p. 43.



through selection. Much of the Victorian experience was not shared and one finds sharp contrasts and paradoxes.

According to Young, English society was poised on a double paradox, branded hypocrisy by its critics. Its practical ideas were at odds with its religious professions, and its religious belief was at issue with with its intelligence.⁵ Opposite the "rushing swiftness of its intellectual advance" there was "the tranquil evolution of its social and moral ideals."⁶ "Looked at from the Early Victorian years it is a time of license, of an unrestrained and dangerous sceptisism, a perilous trifling with the essential decencies of society and sex," while looking back, we may see it as "a time of excessive caution and reserve", both pictures which would be true.⁷

The distinct class distinction also added to this so what might be true of one group of people did not really count for another. To make matters even more complex, the classes themselves were no unified groups but can be subdivided so that even within each class there were vast differences. There was an instinctive respect for the traditional social hierarchy and this was passed on from the Victorians to the Edwardians. The mother of Maud Berkeley, one of the Victorians whose diaries have been preserved taking readers back to life as it was, thought Maud's titled in-laws to be much to grand for the likes of her, the daughter of a retired maths teacher. No one family can be representative of a time, people or culture but can be measured against the general background. A study of such a family can form a basis for comparison with others and from this general deductions can be made.

At the same time each stratum of Victorian society was drawing away from the stratum next below in a steady competition, "accentuating its newly acquired refinements and enforcing them with censorious vigilance." ¹²

Another danger is that what looks Victorian is identified in terms of that which was in vogue during the last part of the nineteenth century, negating the existence of the earlier years. Strictly speaking the period should be divided into an early, middle and late part. These in turn could be subdivided. Read for example takes the periods 1868 - 1880, 1880 - 1900 and 1900 - 1914 as chronological sub-periods, calling them respectively 'the Victorian Turning Point', 'Fin de Siècle' and 'Edwardian England' and

⁶ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 34.

⁶ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 154.

G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 155.

⁸ G. Perry and N. Mason, Rule Britania - the Victorian world, pp. 15 - 16.

A comparison of different autobiographies and diaries shows that distinctly for example M.V. Hughes, A London family 1870 - 1900, Oxford, 1992 versus F. Fraser (ed.), MAUD The diaries of Maud Berkeley, London, 1985.

¹⁰ N. Bentley, Edwardian album, p. 16.

¹¹ F. Fraser (ed.), MAUD the diaries of Maud Berkeley, p. 118.

¹² G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 41.

G. Perry and N. Mason, Rule Britania - the Victorian world, p. 21.



stating that each of these had its own distinctive moods.¹⁴ For the purpose of this study, which deals mainly with the period 1880 - 1920, it is the late-Victorian and the Edwardian eras which are of importance.

It is not the aim of this study to give an in depth description of the Victorian or Edwardian periods. The scope thereof is simply too extensive. Lytton Strachey, according to Read, quipped that the history of the Victorian age would never be written because we know too much about it.¹⁵ A few introductory notes of general character to each chapter will have to suffice.

A time of change

The Victorian era being so long (strictly speaking 1837 - 1901, the reign of Queen Victoria [1819 - 1901]) is perhaps characterised most of all by change. At its outset it was an agrarian society, but towards the end it was an industrial one. Going hand in hand with this phenomenon was urbanisation. When Victoria started her reign, most of her subjects were dwelling in the country but by the end of the period the picture had changed and the majority were living in the towns and cities. It would seem that the one main theme running through the period was economic and social change but assessments which are invariably subjective, vary. All of this was due mainly to the Industrial Revolution which gained momentum as the years sped by, leaving its mark indelibly on the society that existed in its shadow. During the period there were profound changes in national ideals, tastes and habits, while fashions came and went, not only in clothes but architecture, furnishing, style and even way of dining.

The Industrial Revolution brought new wealth to a new class and led to conspicuous consumption and display.²² One of the most important phenomena was the birth of the middle class as a direct result of the Industrial Revolution, causing the middle class to become extremely influential - creating an "aristocracy of wealth".²³ It was now possible for people with individuality and enterprise to make their way in life and rise

¹⁴ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. ix.

¹⁵ D. Read, England 1868 - 1914, p. xi.

¹⁶ G. Perry and N. Mason, Rule Britania - the Victorian world, p. 8.

¹⁷ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 48.

¹⁸ G. Perry and N. Mason, Rule Britania - the Victorian world, pp. 12 - 13.

The invention of machines to do work and make things previously exclusively done or made by hand, leading to increased productivity both in quantity and in speed of production. The mechanisation in turn gave rise to factories.

G. Perry and N. Mason, Rule Britania - the Victorian world, pp. 8, 293.

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 36.

²² G. Perry and N. Mason, Rule Britania - the Victorian world, p. 40.

N. Bentley, Edwardian album, p. 16.

from the class they were born in. This was called upward social mobility.²⁴ This event brought about a whole new species of society with no roots in land but depending for its existence on the hard logic of scientific progress and the dreary precepts of economic doctrine.²⁵ Sammy Marks is a typical example hereof.

One had to be born blue-blooded to belong to the ranks of the aristocracy, but one did not have to be an aristocrat to be rich any more. It was possible for anyone to become rich, while inheriting a title did not necessarily bring money with it. Great entrepreneurs of industry and commerce belonged to the middle class. However, a number of noblemen, realising the changes that were taking place and the need to adapt, went into business. The bourgeoisie looked up at and admired the upper class and imitated them.

Many a middle class mother aspired to get her daughters married to titled gentlemen. To many an impoverished nobleman this was the means out of pecuniary difficulty. Quite a few American heiresses married into aristocratic British families.³⁰ It became more commonplace for the classes to mix through intermarriage. The present British queen, Queen Elizabeth's ex-brother-in-law, Lord Snowdon, for example, has middle-class maternal grandparents.³¹ Industrialists were not really accepted by the aristocracy.³² Though they brought enormous benefits to the public they began the systematic ruin of the English countryside.³³ Factories sprung up all over with polution in its wake, while railroads crisscrossed previously unspoiled fields.

However, the tide of expansion and inflation came to more or less a halt in 1864 and from then till the end of the century there was a long, slow decline. On the surface all seemed well, but England was actually already slipping into what would later be known as the Great Depression.³⁴

²⁴ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 24.

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 42.

Titles were given to bankers, brewers, ironmasters, armament manufacturers, prominent artists and others raising them to the peerage, but they were very few in number. D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 30.

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 44.

²⁸ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 30.

²⁹ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 94.

D. Read, England 1868 - 1914, p. 245; G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 108.

S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, pp. 6 - 10. Linley Sambourne, Lord Snowdon's great-grandfather, was a cartoonist for Punch, a nineteenth century periodical.

P. Thompson, The Edwardians, p. 78.

³³ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 44.

³⁴ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 77.



British society was shaped in this era, its urge to reform leading to far reaching changes in form of government, education, religion and eventually emancipation of women³⁵ while "national self-satisfaction blossomed like a giant chrysanthemum, manured by the swift expansion and consolidation of the Empire."³⁶

Progress

The discovery of photography coincides with the emergence of the middle class with money to spend and a sense of its own importance.³⁷ This caused an intense interest in being photographed to be preserved for posterity and to be remembered, as if to leave something of the self that is longer lasting, behind on this temporary world.

A building boom was experienced and railways tracked all over the countryside, all spawned by a restless need for progress and invention, affecting not only Britain but all her colonies as well as the United States of America.³⁸

London was little more than a large country town, but the railways transformed the city. Prosperity, based on commerce and industry, resulted in the "Great Exhibition of the industries of All Nations" of 1851, the first industrial exhibition ever to be held. Soon London became the capital of a great Empire, comparable to ancient Rome. By the end of the century it had the finest drainage system in the world, underground railways, public transport in the form of busses and trams while the villages on its outskirts were transformed into dense inner suburbs.³⁹

In the agricultural field the Victorians paid great attention to the development of scientific farming and more efficient agricultural methods, more than any previous age. 40 Marks showed himself to be a typical Victorian also in this sense, paying much attention to progress made in this field as is evident in the large amount of books dealing with this subject in his library, his farming endeavours and his acquisition of a steam plough.

The Victorian era was one of enormous intellectual activity as well as materialistic aims. A huge amount of moral and philosophical controversy raged while science made gigantic progress. It was also the Golden Age of English literature.⁴¹

Victorian art appealed to the emotions, not the intellect with a taste for obvious sentiment and smooth execution. It was deemed that art had to be morally uplifting,

³⁵ G. Perry and N. Mason, Rule Britania - the Victorian world, p. 8.

³⁶ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 36.

³⁷ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. xii.

³⁸ G. Perry and N. Mason, Rule Britania - the Victorian world, p. 9.

³⁹ G. Perry and N. Mason, Rule Britania - the Victorian world, p. 23.

⁴⁰ A.J. Lambert, Victorian and Edwardian country-house life from old photographs, p. nn.

⁴¹ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 44.



showing the rewards of virtue and the penalties of vice.⁴² The Victorian enjoyment of art was sincere and curiously uniform. To them the pleasure of the response was more important than the excellence of the work. Painters were thought of as upper-class decorators, recorders of domestic insidents, winning landscapes and right sentiment.⁴³ Thanks to the new wealth there was a much larger demand for works of art, causing oil-painters of the second half of the nineteenth century to ride the crest of a wave - to be a painter became a passport to wealth, gentility and fame.⁴⁴

Education

A passion for self-improvement which reigned supreme, helped in the establishing of national education, eventually resulting in the raising of the age limit of compulsory schooling to 14. This was boosted by the growing demand for trained and intelligent men by the industries and businesses. However, the success of the Empire also helped to perpetuate another disadvantage. The English upper class had survived into the early twentieth century partly through its own adaptability, its willingness to earn money through urban development, mining and industry as well as through agriculture, and the absorption into its own ranks of the successful industrialist who chose to set himself up as a landed gentleman. At the same time the expanding system of public schools offered a training for the industrialist's sons in the gentlemanly style of life. It was generally expected that the children who were sent to the renowned schools would above all acquire good qualities and be moulded into stereotyped gentlemen and potential leaders. It

It was an education which concentrated on the production of rulers and professional men, rather than businessmen or scientists, even though by the 1900s several leading schools had a quarter of their boys going into industry. This was partly because the expanding Empire offered such ample administrative and military career opportunities for public schoolboys. Relatively open social mobility thus simply led to the diversion of the sons of the most successful entrepreneurs into a non-productive imperial ruling class. However education in the grammar schools, public schools and universities was the preserve of a priviledged minority, costing their parents a small fortune. 49

The education of girls was aimed at keeping them dependent on men and too much knowledge was considered unladylike. Girls had to learn certain accomplishments which were to make of them good wives and mothers. Reading, writing, simple arithmetic

⁴² N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, pp. 44, 59.

⁴³ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 161.

⁴⁴ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 77.

⁴⁵ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 148.

⁴⁶ P. Thompson, *The Edwardians*, pp. 154 - 155.

⁴⁷ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 101.

⁴⁸ P. Thompson, *The Edwardians*, pp. 154 - 155.

⁴⁹ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, pp. 101 - 103.



combined with a little French, some fancy sewing, dancing and music was considered more than enough. This was mostly gained from a governess, who was usually herself a lady of genteel birth and upbringing but who happened to hit upon hard times.⁵⁰ Here again the Markses followed suit.

The education of Victorian girls fitted them for one thing: marriage. Jobs were reserved for men. Women not lucky enough to catch a husband were forced to fend for themselves, but girls were limited in choice of occupation. Especially well-bred girls of gentle upbringing and education were badly off. Manual labour and domestic service was out of the question and prostitution, virtually the only alternative unthinkable. Mostly, thanks to the little education they had received, they had some knowledge of a foreign language, music and art. The most respectable way out was then to become a governess.⁵¹

This was another change brought about as time marched on, for towards the end of the century educational opportunities for women became more and better and gradually women started entering colleges and finally universities to go into professions formerly only open to men.⁵²

Religion

The Victorian middle-class was not deeply interested in moral responsibility. Though they went to church regularly they also believed in Mammon, for the power of money talked loudly and gave impetus to commerce, believing all progress to be beneficial.⁵³

Although being quite preoccupied with religion, as a community on the whole, they were a hard-hearted lot, not over-endowed with spiritual imagination, nor noticeably more Christian in their general behaviour than their descendants.⁵⁴ A preoccupation with religion existed and intense zeal was to the order of the day. However, they tended to be more concerned with the nature of their main duty to God than with man's conduct on earth.⁵⁵ On intellectual level there was vigorous speculation and enquiry re-examining the purpose and meaning of religion. Despite the large amount of debate and discussion about religious topics and concerns, very little was done in practise about the plight of the needy.⁵⁶ Even so family prayers were held daily by most respectable families.⁵⁷

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 162.

A. Mial and P. Mial, *The Victorian nursery book*, p. 161; G. Perry and N. Mason, *Rule Britania - the Victorian world*, p. 178.

⁵² G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, pp. 100 - 101.

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 43.

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 177.

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 44.

⁵⁶ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 177.

⁶⁷ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 94.



A tightening of church discipline, brought about by the Oxford Movement, led to a reawakening to the singularity of Sunday, the observance of the Sabbath and consecrating it exclusively to the worship of God and the examining of the soul.⁵⁸

No recreation or amusement was allowed on a Sunday and any reading done had to be of a non-secular nature. ⁵⁹ Some employers insisted that their servants attend church on Sunday. ⁶⁰ At Sunday dinner table the morning's sermon was a main topic of conversation - the manner usually being more discussed than the matter. ⁶¹ Oratory was the driving force of the religious revival of the Victorian Age. More often than not it was the personality and performance of the preacher that attracted his audience than the matter of his discourse. ⁶²

Labour

By the end of the era the lot of the working man and woman had improved greatly, though not enough.⁶³ Labour legislation curbed exploitation like the system of child labour⁶⁴ and improved labour conditions in general. Eventually comprehensive legislation was in force by the end of the century.⁶⁵

In London and other large cities there was a huge force of itinerant workers who scratched a bare living from the streets as hawkers, traders, porters and the likes or by doing whatever the season or the locality had to offer. These hawkers and traders offered for sale an enormous variety of articles ranging from food and drink ... to ... cutlery, clocks and watches ... many of the poorer class bought almost all they needed in the street.

Sexism and bigotry

The Victorians had very set ideas about the sexes and the difference between them. These were underlined and accentuated in every possible way and females were totally dependent upon males. The main object in life for woman was seen to be to keep her

⁵⁸ N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, p. 182.

⁵⁹ N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, p. 184.

⁶⁰ L. Stanley (ed.), The diaries of Hannah Cullwick, p. 16.

⁶¹ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 192.

⁶² N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, p. 188.

⁶³ N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, p. 203.

⁶⁴ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, pp. 65, 219.

⁶⁵ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 128; N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 209.

⁶⁶ N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, p. 212.

⁶⁷ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 216.

husband contented, bear his children, look after his home and entertain his friends. Besides this she was a showpiece to display to all and sundry her husband's status and wealth. Many women found the middle-class conventions restrictive and even stiffling, but a vast majority seems to have accepted them and lived happily in their roles as household angels, wives and mothers. The job market was almost exclusively reserved for men who were considered the breadwinners. While depriving their women of many prerogatives the men claimed or allowed themselves, they adored and admired women and many were spoilt. They had to be living displays of the man's success in life and his wealth and status and were therefore placed on pedestals and reverred as 'household angels'. To

Women were regarded as the weaker sex, physically and mentally unfit for full involvement in the world. I Ladies were expected to show refinement in both mind and body which they often demonstrated by adopting a pose of frailty and ill-health. "To be 'delicate' was to be interesting, and to lie on a sofa was a mark of status". Strict rules of behaviour both by a lady and towards a lady were in force. Maud Berkeley often remarks in her diaries that she is not sure whether something she did or wanted to do would be considered "fast" or improper. To

However, what counted for ladies did not count for servants and female servants were often expected to do the heaviest and dirtiest work imaginable.⁷⁴ In the same vein the rules of behaviour that were expected from ladies did not apply to the men. A double standard of sexual morality was in swing. For men it was flexible but for women rigid.⁷⁵ Brothels for example flourished and many a gentleman had the embarassing encounter of running into their own servants in these houses of ill repute as it was not uncommon for female domestics to increase their earnings in this illicit way.⁷⁶ It was also nothing out of the ordinary for a man to have a mistress, the Prince of Wales setting the example.⁷⁷

⁶⁸ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 17.

⁶⁹ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 156; S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 16.

G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 156; G. Perry and N. Mason, Rule Britania - the Victorian world, p. 178.

⁷¹ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 40.

⁷² S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 36.

F. Fraser (ed.), The diaries of Maud Berkeley, p. 5.

L. Stanley (ed.), The diaries of Hannah Cullwick, pp. 66, 75, 81, 109.

⁷⁵ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 40.

F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, pp. 117 - 132.

⁷⁷ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 245.



The Edwardian period, in contrast to its predecessor, the Victorian period, was very short - lasting a brief nine years (although it is generally taken to have only come to an end with the start of the First World War in 1914)⁷⁸. The reason is simply that King Edward VII only ruled that long before his death in 1910. It is therefore difficult to find any drastic change or development either in events or people, nor can it be said that it had far-reaching effects on the destiny of the British Empire or its subjects. ⁷⁹ Bentley goes so far as to call it "an era of peace, prosperity and self-satisfaction". ⁸⁰ The English Edwardians, in particular the high society, occupied and decorated the central position amongst the different contemporary societies and did most to bring the myth of the lost Golden Age into the twentieth century. ⁸¹

"The Edwardian decade, sandwiched between the appalling poverty of the nineteenth century and the horrors of the Great War, seems to be a golden age". 82 Both extremities of poverty and wealth existed side by side but in between was the comfortable life of prosperous families, a way of life that has vanished utterly. 83 However, Priestly, himself an Edwardian child, believes the Edwardian age was never a golden one but that, seen across the dark years afterwards, it could easily be mistaken for one. 84

Although periods in history are often named after certain monarchs, it would be senseless to try and interpret an era as starting and ending according to the span of time of any single ruler's reign. One period slowly changes over to another so it can be truthfully said that most of what is called Edwardian had either its birth or conception in the Victorian era. Due to the overlapping of the people living in these periods, periods also overlap. Many Victorians lived right through Edward's reign, clinging to their Victorian ideas and way of doing and probably shaking their heads disapprovingly at the newfangled modern things and outrageous behaviour of the young and restless. So in many ways the Victorian era lasted long after Victoria's death. Young even calls the Edwardian era the flash epilogue of the late Victorian age. 85

The brevity of the Edwardian period meant that many Victorians still lived to experience it like in the case of Sammy Marks and his wife. His children, being born at the closing years of the Victorian era started adulthood in the Edwardian era but spent most of their lives in the Modern era, having the privilege of living through the

⁷⁸ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 379.

⁷⁹ N. Bentley, *Edwardian album*, p. 11.

⁸⁰ N. Bentley, *Edwardian album*, p. 11.

⁸¹ J.B. Priestley, *The Edwardians*, p. 55.

⁹² J.B. Priestley, The Edwardians, p. 57.

⁸³ J. Smith, Edwardian children, p. 12.

⁸⁴ J.B. Priestley, *The Edwardians*, p. 57.

G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 184.



reigns of several British monarchs. Being brought up in Victorian society and spending their youth in the Edwardian one, must have affected their characters and behaviour.

In the end the Edwardians did not really differ from the Victorians. They kept to the concepts, ideas, morals and beliefs of their parents although starting to relax the strict and solid attitudes and conventions of the Victorian era. It was the First World War that brought drastic change and heralded the beginning of the twentieth century.⁸⁶

"In time's long-distance lens we see the Edwardian era as no more than a hiatus between the golden apogee of Victorian omnipotence and grandeur and the evaporation of its residue before the twentieth century had run half its course".⁸⁷

Thanks to the invention of cameras that were relatively cheap and easy to use, the Edwardians were able to capture the appearance of their everyday world, but amateurism and the fact that in many cases the aim was only to get a quick likeness or impression, had an effect on the quality.⁸⁸ At the same time the period is very well-documented, aided by the passion for writing. "Edwardians all wrote letters; everyone spent all the morning writing letters. They were writing to all their relations and friends".⁸⁹ Writing desks with writing paper, envelopes, ink wells and blotters could be found in most bedrooms.⁹⁰

It was a hypocritical society, insisting upon social discipline, upon a certain level of behaviour and upon appearances being kept up, though what went on behind closed doors was another story. Priestly sees Edwardian high society as shallow, self-indulgent and stupid, wasting money in amusing itself. Arranged marriages were still common but so were "recognised lovers". At many Edwardian house-parties it would seem that opportunities were discreetly provided for lovers to enjoy themselves. 93

The Edwardian cost of living compared to modern times seems absurdly low, but in fact during most of these years working people in the mass were worse off than they had been during the last years of the last century. Prices were a little higher whereas wages had remained much the same. Too many people could be described as poverty-stricken, with at least a third of the population living below any humane level of subsistence, overworked, underpaid and crowded into slums. 94 Even so it would be wrong to create

⁸⁶ N. Bentley, Edwardian album, p. 60.

⁸⁷ N. Bentley, Edwardian album, p. 11.

⁸⁸ N. Bentley, *Edwardian album*, p. 16.

⁸⁹ J. Smith, *Edwardian children*, p. 107.

⁹⁰ J. Smith, Edwardian children, p. 108.

⁹¹ J.B. Priestley, *The Edwardians*, p. 58.

⁹² J.B. Priestley, *The Edwardians*, p. 61.

⁹³ J.B. Priestley, *The Edwardians*, pp. 66 - 67.

J.B. Priestley, *The Edwardians*, p. 72.



the impression that the working class of these years was altogether down-trodden, dispirited, wretched. Somehow a large number of them rose above it. 95

Legacy

The Victorian era has left behind a vast legacy, both material and spiritual. Generations after Queen Victoria's death the influence of the period was still felt. Young puts it almost poetically:

That time has left its scars and poison with us, and in the daily clamour for leadership, for faith, for a new heart or a new cause, I hear the ghost of a late Victorian England whimpering on the grave thereof.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ J.B. Priestley, *The Edwardians*, p. 77.

⁹⁶ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 184.



III PHOTOGRAPHS AS SOURCE OF INFORMATION FOR THE CULTURAL HISTORIAN

1. The development of photography

Of all the inventions of the nineteenth century, photography was by far the most original and far-reaching in its consequences.¹ In order to make the most of photographs as a source for study it is essential to know how the technique developed. It is essential for a professional picture researcher to have a basic knowledge of both the history of photography and art history, and one can surely add cultural history.² In some instances it is the photograph itself that contains the most reliable information. Even so, for the purpose of criticism the photograph itself can tell a lot, just as the kind of paper a document is written on can tell a lot about the document. However, technical analysis of the individual pictures are not aimed at nor attempted in this study, as it requires specialised knowledge and skills.

It falls out of the scope of this study to go into a detailed history of photography, but a few words about the development are necessary. It must be kept in mind that in trying to abbreviate one always runs the risk of generalising some events and skipping others. This chapter then serves as a brief background to the Sammy Marks collection of photographs. Marks arrived in South Africa in 1868 by which time photography had undergone quite some development. In the forty odd years of his life that remained, great advances would be made in this field. Apart from knowledge of the development of photography, its history in South Africa is necessary as well, in order to evaluate the specific photographs.

At first photographs were taken only by professionals - due to the skill it required, the large and cumbersome equipment it demanded and the expenses involved. Still, a few amateurs did exist and their numbers grew as time passed and the process became easier and equipment less complicated.³ To these amateurs we owe a lot because of the informality of their pictures and the spontaneity thereof. Family portraits and scenes are often more natural because of a lack of self consciousness on the part of the subject.⁴ This led to more informality both in pose and dress aided by the often impromptu nature of such pictures.

Castle puts it that these pictures truthfully reflect the everyday life of the people of the period, and the subject matter, because it relies upon the whim of the photographer or the sitter, is of great interest. According to Castle a large number of enthusiasts were women which is not surprising when one considers how little there was to occupy the average Victorian woman of the middle or upper classes apart from the routine

J. Maas, The Victorian art world in photographs, p. 9.

² A. Novotny (ed.), Picture sources 3, p. x.

³ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, pp. 69 - 71.

⁴ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. 76.



domestic and social occupations and what were sometimes uninteresting hobbies.⁵ It is understandable, therefore, that a large number of women seized upon photography as an exciting new venture. No record could be found indicating that Bertha Marks (the wife of Sammy Marks) herself was involved in photography but the children certainly were and the cameras they used were gifts from her.

First attempts

It is thought that the basic principle underlying photography, that of the Camera Obscura, was already known to the Chinese⁶ and it is known that it was used by tenth century Arab scholars.⁷ The first detailed description seems to have been that of Leonardo da Vinci (1452 - 1519) who described the Camera Obscura in the 16th century. The Camera Obscura was a room with a small hole in one wall causing a reflected image of the outside scene to appear on the opposite one. Eventually by the mid-seventeenth century the principle was used to design a portable camera obscura that was used as an aid to sketching.⁸

One could compile a list of names of people who contributed in small ways to preparing the way for photography, but it was a Frenchman, Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1764 - 1833), who first managed to fix an image formed by a camera obscura in the year 1827. Niépce formed a partnership with L.J.M. Daguerre (1789 - 1851) but died in 1833 after which his son, Isidore, took his place. 10

Daguerreotypes

Daguerre became the dominant figure and on 7 January 1839 the discovery of the daguerreotype process was formally announced in Paris. Herewith the French government liberally donated the discovery to the world. However, five days before, Daguerre had patented it in England, preventing its common use in that country. 12

The daguerreotype process produced directly fixed positive images on sensitised plates of what was reflected in the camera. For a copy the process had to be repeated or a daguerreotype of the original had to be taken. Also the image was reversed left to right, which could be corrected by placing a prism in front of the lens.¹³ Daguerreotypes

P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, pp. 76, 72.

⁶ C. Wills and D. Wills, History of photography, p. 11.

⁷ A.D. Bensusan, Silver images, p. 1.

⁶ C. Wills and D. Wills, History of photography, p. 12.

⁹ C. Wills and D. Wills, *History of photography*, p. 12.

¹⁰ C. Wills and D. Wills, *History of photography*, p. 12.

¹¹ A.D. Bensusan, Silver images, p. 4.

¹² A. Briggs, Victorian things, p. 124.

¹³ C. Wills and D. Wills, History of photography, p. 14.

were taken in South Africa from 1846 with European photographers arriving and setting up shop and the art was still practised in Johannesburg nearly hundred years later.¹⁴

Calotypes

More important was the work of (William Henry) Fox Talbot (1800 - 1877) who was simultaneously developing a photographic process in England. This culminated in the invention of the photographic process as we know it today by producing a negative and a way of making any number of positive copies from it.¹⁵ He designed a process by which sensitised paper, after exposure to light, would produce a negative image that could be fixed. Positive prints could then be made by contact printing the negatives on sheets of the same sensitised paper. He called this photogenic drawing.¹⁶

Later Talbot discovered that such sheets, after a brief exposure, possessed a latent image that could be developed chemically to a visible but negative one. Again positive prints were possible to be made by contact printing.¹⁷ He called this process the calotype process. Wills states that positive prints made in this way are mistakenly called calotypes as they actually are salt paper prints. According to Bensusan, Talbot's calotype process seems to have been little used in South Africa, the earliest professional exponent starting in 1854 in Port Elizabeth.¹⁸

The next important step was the discovery in 1848 that coating thin smooth paper with albumin, obtained from egg-whites, produced a paper with a very smooth and semi-glossy surface that would retain all the quality contained in the negative. This process remained in use from 1850 to the 1890s. In the 1880s a transition started to gelatine-based emulsions. Other developments also took place so that by the turn of the century a variety of printing papers were available. Carbon prints became very common and deserve special mention. On the discovery common and deserve special mention.

The switch from the use of the albumenized paper to emulsion paper came more slowly. By the end of the 19th century there were important changes in printing, with their origins in the United States of America. The term 'instantaneous photograph' was coined at this stage. At the Paris exhibition of 1889 there was even a photo-automat. Cameras were now being mass-produced too, with many varieties available to choose from.²¹

¹⁴ A.D. Bensusan, Silver images, pp. 10, 13.

¹⁵ C. Wills and D. Wills, *History of photography*, p. 15.

¹⁶ C. Wills and D. Wills, History of photography, p. 16.

¹⁷ C. Wills and D. Wills, *History of photography*, p. 16.

¹⁸ A.D. Bensusan, *Silver images*, p. 13.

¹⁹ C. Wills and D. Wills, History of photography, p. 19.

²⁰ C. Wills and D. Wills, History of photography, p. 25.

²¹ A. Briggs, Victorian things, p. 134.

Ambrotypes

Ambrotypes (wet collodion positives on glass) resulted from the discovery in 1851 that when negatives with insufficient density for proper printing were placed on a black background, the image appeared as a positive. Frederic Scott Archer (1813 - 1857) and P.W. Fry (? - 1860)²² take credit for developing this for commercial exploitation. Like daguerreotypes they cannot be reproduced except by re-photographing.²³

Wet collodion could also be used to produce glass negatives from which any number of positive paper prints could be obtained. This process was in force from 1851 to 1871 when it was superseded by the dry plate process.²⁴ The sepia tinted photographs synonymous with the Victorian era and which can vary a lot in shade, are mostly the result of either of these two processes.²⁵ Both the wet and dry plate processes were extensively applied in South Africa.²⁶

Photography for all

The glass negatives, being so fragile and inflexible, were eventually replaced circa 1888 by roll film which was the brain-child of George Eastman (1854 - 1932), the American founder of the Kodak company.²⁷ Now also, the film could be sent to a professional laboratory for development and printing, processes which up till then had been executed by the photographer himself. Eastman's cameras thus made it possible for anybody, no matter how untrained, to take photographs.²⁸ He paved the way for photography, and cinematography, as it is known and practised today.²⁹

Thus Kodak introduced the snapshot-age. The snapshot was to reflect a more relaxed approach to the photograph, and thousands of snapshots were to be collected in treasured family albums that were very different from both the old carte-de-visite albums and the newer picture postcard albums.³⁰

²² Date of birth unknown. M. Haller, Collecting old photographs, p. 48.

²³ C. Wills and D. Wills, *History of photography*, p. 20; P. Castle, *Collecting and Valuing old photographs*, p. 105.

²⁴ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. 111.

P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. 111.

A.D. Bensusan, Silver images, p. 14.

²⁷ C. Wills and D. Wills, *History of photography*, p. 23.

²⁸ A. Briggs, Victorian things, p. 134.

²⁹ C. Wills and D. Wills, *History of photography*, p. 23.

³⁰ A. Briggs, Victorian things, p. 135.



2. The use of photographs as source for study

The photograph as evidence

"A picture is worth a thousand words" may be a hackneyed saying but the truth of this is revealed when studying historical photographs - many books and documents contain page long descriptions of vehicles, dress, interiors and what more and none of them can come close to revealing what the photograph can.

Although time has caused a large distance between people of the late twentieth century and the Victorians and Edwardians, causing them to seem strange in terms of attitudes, behaviour and dress, they are still accessible. This is partly due to literature - be it in the form of books, journals, letters or any other written form - but also thanks to photography. Pictorial evidence of the people and their world abound. The camera is a crucial aid to our understanding of these people and their world which preceding periods in history are without. The visual impression is very important, especially as a record of a time when appearances were so highly regarded.³¹

Photography shows what the world looks like.³² This is true about the past as well. The Marks photographs show what their world looked like nearly a century ago. "The photographer's punctilio is his recognition of the now - to see it so clearly that he looks through it to the past and senses the future. This is a big order and demands wisdom as well as understanding of one's time. Thus the photographer is the contemporary being par excellence, through his eyes the now becomes past"³³

Photography by the very nature of the medium is representational of the realistic image formed by a lens. "I believe there is no more creative medium than photography to recreate the living world of our time. Photography is at home when it deals with realism, real life, the now".³⁴

To the Victorians and Edwardians it was important that they document their lives. Especially the Victorians were fond of facts and detail.³⁵ Already four years before Queen Victoria's death the National Photographic Record had been established "to obtain photographic records of all objects and scenes of interest in the British Isles, and to deposit them with explanatory notes in the British Museum, where they may be safely stored, and be accessible to the public under proper regulations".³⁶

This is mirrored in the Marks lives by Marks sending pictures to his children overseas and describing them. The camera was an incomparably appropriate instrument for them,

³¹ J. Calder, The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs, p. 2.

³² B. Abbott, It has to walk alone in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 14.

B. Abbott, It has to walk Alone, in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 15.

³⁴ B. Abbott, Photography at the crossroads in N. Lyons (ed.), *Photographers on photography*, p. 18.

³⁵ J. Calder, *The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs*, p. 8.

³⁶ A. Briggs, Victorian things, p. 127.



for it enabled them to record both quickly and authentically. A lot of domestic detail was incorporated by artists of the period into their pictures and books but it was the camera that was justly valued for its documentary powers and that was often used with the greatest care and deliberation.

P.H. Emerson (1856 - 1936), leader of the Naturalistic School of Photography, felt that the photograph was a "mechanically recorded reflection of Nature".³⁷ Objects that before the invention of photography had not been represented pictorially now become common property.

Photographs are perhaps the most important source for the appearance of all classes of society. It supplies a unique source for the study of all kinds of dress. Ginsberg's *Victorian dress in photographs* (1982) and Lansdell's *Fashion à la carte 1860 - 1900* (1985) are invaluable sources for the historian studying clothes of all kinds. They show clothes being worn, not displayed. They reveal, too, something of the extent to which fashions in dress percolated - or could percolate - through the whole of society. 'It is almost impossible to recognize working people when in their Sunday best' it was claimed in 1858,³⁸ and Lansdell believes that 'cartes-de-visite' bear this out, for it is not always easy to place the figures in the photographs in their level on the social scale.³⁹

Especially with studio portraits one must keep in mind that people wanted to look their best. People have an urge to perpetuate themselves by means of a portrait, and they put their best profiles forward for posterity.⁴⁰ After all, these portraits would be kept and looked at by all and sundry for years to come, so they took care to wear their best clothes.⁴¹ It is known that people even borrowed from others in order to look their best, while studios often had all kinds of fashionable articles at hand to be used as props.

One of the fascinating things about portraits is the way they enable us to trace the sameness of man. Man's continuity somehow comes through all the external things which constitute him. If the photographer is to have a chance of achieving a true reflection of a person's world - which is as much outside him as inside him - it is necessary that the subject of the portrait should be in a situation normal to him.⁴²

The comparative cheapness of photographs allowed the possibility of many people having several portraits of themselves.⁴³

N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 7.

³⁸ A. Briggs, Victorian things, p. 270.

³⁹ A. Lansdell, History in camera: Fashion à la carte 1860 - 1900. A study of fashion through cartes-de-visite, p. 58.

⁴⁰ H. Cartier Bresson, Introduction in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 45.

J. Calder, The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs, p. 5.

⁴² H. Cartier-Bresson, Introduction, in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 46.

⁴³ J. Maas, *The Victorian art world in photographs*, p. 9.

Since 1900, photographs were used widely to illustrate fashion. Eventually fashion photography was to develop as a completely independent and distinct branch of the photography profession. This provides a continuous and invaluable source of visual information on high fashion replacing the traditional fashion illustration. Like the older fashion illustration, the fashionable picture however has the disadvantage of stressing the ideal image often to a point of distortion at the expense of reality - they therefore need to be used with care, balanced by more straightforward images such as firmly dated professional studio and press photographs, amateur snapshots and family group portraits.⁴⁴

Studio pictures present fine quality with much detail which are sometimes lacking in snapshots and outdoor scenes but on the other hand the latter are much more true to life because they are of a more relaxed and informal nature, showing people in their everyday life and dress and not dressed up.⁴⁵ Pictorial evidence like fashion plates or furniture catalogues in turn present the ideal as created by imaginative designers, whereas photographs depict the real people and show how they looked in their real environment.⁴⁶ "One nineteenth century development favours the university student of past fashion - the invention of photography. Fashion plates flattered. Photographs sometimes did, sometimes did not.⁴⁷

Each picture, no matter what the subject, offers us a moment of truth. "Each picture, as well as often being a delight to the eye, gives us a clue, however minute, to the way we were". 48

Limitations

Unfortunately the camera and its children, the photographs, have got their limitations. One must always bear in mind that there are certain things, abstract in nature, that the camera cannot capture nor convey, though they play a large role in people's lives and are intimate.⁴⁹

In addition to this, fun and frivolity were rarely captured in old photographs, primarily because long exposures were necessary with subjects keeping very still, but also because they were mostly taken to record special occasions, which were formal in nature and therefore required an air of seriousness.⁵⁰ As a result the impression is often created of Victorian life as being confined and repressed but this is contradicted by photographs, few in number as they may be, showing liveliness, joy, life, activities

⁴⁴ A. Ribeiro and V. Cumming, The visual history of costume, p. 43; P. Byrde, A visual history of costume, p. 15.

⁴⁵ A. Ribeiro and V. Cumming, The visual history of costume, p. 43.

⁴⁶ J. Calder, The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs, p. 5.

⁴⁷ P. Byrde, A visual history of costume, p. 14.

⁴⁸ J. Calder, The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs, p. 8.

⁴⁹ J. Calder, The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs, p. 2.

⁵⁰ A.J. Lambert, Victorian and Edwardian country-house life from old photographs, p. nn.



and a great deal of hard work.⁵¹ The Marks photographs support this with pictures showing spontaneity and sheer joie de vivre (See e.g. Figure 122).

With the slow photographic plates in use for photography for most of the nineteenth century interiors were rarely recorded. ⁵² In the whole of the Marks photo collection there are only two snapshots of the interior and both of bad quality and hardly reproducible (See Figures 54 and 55). This is rather a pity because such pictures could have been invaluable for the reconstruction of the interior exactly as it had been, especially for detail such as drapes, fireplace ornamentation, placement of ornaments, etc. as well as determining what pieces are missing and what they looked like. The same goes for President Paul Kruger's house in Pretoria, today also a house museum, where only one photograph of the interior is known to exist.

According to Lambert, photographs showing any facet of the creation of country houses are also surprisingly rare.⁵³ The Sammy Marks Museum is fortunate in that there are a few photographs showing the creation of the dams and garden although none seem to exist of the actual alterations or enlargement of the house.

There also was a breakaway to pretence which was due to commercialism - a period of imitating the unreal with artificial props and phoney settings, which the researcher has to be on the look-out for.⁵⁴

Before 1925 there were rigid conventions, practised by commercial professionals and amateurs alike, about what was worth photographing. With rare exceptions, they did not photograph the aspects of life that researchers today, in retrospect, would like to have as images of the past, and researchers have had to learn how to supply interpretations to those conventions.⁵⁵ This makes many of the Marks pictures so much more valuable from a cultural historical perspective.

Photographs as documents

Researchers pursue the original document, i.a. photographs, the unpublished source material that will strengthen or prove a thesis. The great mass of papers and photographs (referring to the archives) ... has been gathered for a single purpose - to give historians the raw material of research.⁵⁶ Visual records which include photographs, have both aesthetic and historical value. They give perspective:

⁵¹ J. Calder, *The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs*, p. 6.

⁵² A.J. Lambert, Victorian and Edwardian country-house life from old photographs, p. nn.

⁵³ A.J. Lambert, Victorian and Edwardian country-house life from old photographs, p. nn.

B. Abbott, Photography at the Crossroads in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 19.

P. Vanderbilt, Evaluating historical photographs: A personal perspective, American Association for State and Local History Leaflet 120, History News 34(10), October 1979, p. 6.

⁵⁶ Introduction in G. McCoy, Reliable sources, p. nn.

It is generally agreed today that the writing of art history is not solely a matter of examining, comparing and analyzing paintings and sculpture. The more we know about the artist and his world and especially about the social and aesthetic influences affecting his life, the better we can understand what he was doing and why he was doing it. Describing the life from which it (=art) sprang, is its history.⁵⁷

Wherever the pioneers went, they left little hoards, little treasures of old photographs - invaluable archives for the historian today.⁵⁸ The same applies to the case of the Marks family. But what was the aim of the photographer(s) who took the Marks pictures? Surely very few were taken with the aim of creating works of art, but to record events and memorable moments. Briggs state that the director of the Pitt-Rivers Museum (no name mentioned) wrote 'Photo's I find are so important an adjunct to a museum that I try to buy all I can'. Photographs are not only used for representation, but to record as well.⁵⁹ (Unfortunately he gives no indication of his source.)

Are photographs then documents? The word **document** stems from the Roman word **docere** which means to teach.⁶⁰ It has been used by historians in different sense as it has been given different meanings by writers about the art of photography. Another word is **documentation**, which, as used by historians among others, signifies any process of proof based upon any kind of source whether written, oral, pictorial, or archaeological.⁶¹ The researcher would like to concur with Gottschalk's conclusion to use the word **document** in its most comprehensive meaning, becoming synonymous with **source**.⁶²

The question is whether photographs are a valid source on which cultural history could be based. Gottschalk, like most other writers on the subject distinguishes between primary and secondary source material. A primary source he describes as the testimony of an eyewitness, or of a witness by any of the other senses, or of a mechanical device like the dictaphone - that is, of one who or that which was present at the events of which he or it tells. A primary source must have been produced by a contemporary of the events it narrates. ⁶³ By this definition photographs qualify in two ways. On the one hand they are eyewitness accounts or at least the physical records of a person who was an eyewitness. On the other hand they are also the result of a mechanical device, the camera. (Actually it is not the mechanical device like the dictaphone itself which can be regarded as a primary source but the recordings thereof).

⁶⁷ G. McCoy, Reliable sources, p. nn.

⁶⁸ B. Abbott, Photography at the Crossroads in N. Lyons (ed.), *Photographers on photography*, p. 19.

⁵⁹ A. Briggs, *Victorian things*, p. 143.

⁶⁰ L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, p. 57.

⁶¹ L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, p. 57.

⁶² L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, p. 57.

⁶³ L. Gottschalk, *Understanding history*, p. 53.



Photographs form a record of and link with the past.⁶⁴ They freeze people and scenes from the past in time, thus can tell us more about and bring us closer to the event or person than almost any other medium.⁶⁵

Sahli sees historical documents as unique pieces of primary source material, regardless of medium, including among others correspondence, diaries, ledgers, oral history tapes and transcripts and photographs.⁶⁶ Bruguiére sees the documentary value of a photograph as immense, as is universally acknowledged, stating it is unnecessary to speak about such a self-evident value.⁶⁷ To this Castle adds that the subject matter of a photograph often bears no relation to its value or interest.⁶⁸

Historical documents can be created by an individual even without the intent. The photographs that are taken at family gatherings, family letters, personal diaries, oral history tapes are all historical documents. Letterwriting and the exchange of photographs were common occurrence and sometimes the only way of communication between relatives and friends separated by distance.⁶⁹

Ultimately the photograph is a statement, a document of the **now**. The term documentary is sometimes applied in a rather derogatory sense to the type of photography which to me seems logical. To connect the term 'documentary' with only the 'ash-can school' is so much sheer nonsense, and probably stems from the bad habit of pigeon-holing and labelling everything like the well-known 57 varieties. Actually, documentary pictures include every subject in the world good, bad, indifferent. I have yet to see a fine photograph which is not a good document. Those that survive from the past invariably are, ... According to Webster, anything "documentary" is: "that which is taught, evidence, truth, conveying information, authentic judgement". ⁷⁰

A photograph is usually looked at - seldom looked into. A fine print deserves far more than superficial scrutiny. It contains a wealth of information in detail, forms and values. Minute but vital significances are revealed exquisitely by the lens and they deserve exploration and appreciation.⁷¹ Maas reminds his readers that in any investigation,

⁶⁴ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. viii.

⁶⁵ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. ix.

N. Sahli, Local history manuscripts: Sources, uses, and preservation, American Association for State and local history leaflet 115, History News, 34(5), May 1979, pp. 1 - 4.

⁶⁷ F. Bruguière, Creative Photography in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 34.

⁶⁸ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. 16.

N. Sahli, Local history manuscripts: sources, uses, and preservation, American Association for State and local history leaflet 115, History News, 34(5), May 1979, pp. 1 - 4.

B. Abbott, Photography at the crossroads in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 21.

A. Adams, A personal credo in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 31.



whether historical, scientific or criminal, nothing is trivial - indeed, trivia are the parts of which the sum makes up the whole.⁷²

A distinction is made in literature between photographs as documents and documentary photography, which is rather confusing. Documentary photography records the social scene of our time. It mirrors the present and documents for the future. Its focus is man in his relation to mankind. It records his customs at work, at war, at play, or his round of activities through twenty-four hours of the day ... It portrays his institutions - family, church, government, political organizations, social clubs, labour unions. It shows not merely their facades, but seeks to reveal the manner in which they function, absorb the life, hold the loyalty, and influence the behaviour of human beings. It is concerned with methods of work and the dependence of workmen on each other and on their employers. It is pre-eminently suited to build a record of change. Advancing technology raises standards of living, creates unemployment, changes the face of cities and of the agricultural landscape. The evidence of these trends - the simultaneous existence of past, present, and portent of the future - is conspicuous in old and new forms, old and new customs, on every hand. Documentary photography stands on its own merits and has validity by itself. A single photographic print may be "news," a "portrait," "art," or "documentary" - any of these, all of them or none. Among the tools of social science - graphs, statistics, maps, and text - documentation by photography now is assuming place. Documentary photography invites and needs participation by amateurs as well as by professionals...⁷³

Some authors seem to see a difference between documentary photography and photographs as documents. The editors of the *Time Life Book* on this subject state that to be documentary a photograph must convey a message that sets it apart from a landscape, a portrait or a street scene. It may record an event, but the event must have some general significance, more than the specific significance of a news photo. It seems they require some general social significance in contrast to being personally revealing. The documentary photograph tells one something important about the world, causing one to think about it differently.⁷⁴

Time Life defines documentary photography as follows: "... a depiction of the real world by a photographer whose intent is to communicate something of importance - to make a comment - that will be understood by the viewer." It is a visual representation of a deeply felt moment, as rich in psychological and emotional meaning as a personal experience vividly recalled.⁷⁵

Family photographs are a record. Documentary photographs tell the truth and comment on that truth. Once this was realised it was realised that photographs could be used as

J. Maas, The Victorian art world in photographs, p. 15.

D. Lange, Documentary photography in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 68.

⁷⁴ Time Life Books, Documentary photography, p. 7.

⁷⁵ Time Life Books, Documentary photography, p. 12.



a mirror to let the world see its reflection and take notice of things they see everyday but don't really register.⁷⁶

In photography, documentary is the term used to describe a specific attitude which sees, in the ... use of photographs, a language for giving a fuller understanding of man as a social animal. The documentary photographer penetrates the surface appearances and reveals the world about us.⁷⁷

As we look through the major documentary works of the past 50 years, we find that each one, in order to fulfil this aim, has approached the problem through the analyses of a specific aspect of human life. Some works concentrate on a specific period, others on a place.⁷⁸

Photographs and the truth

Art idealizes, but photography can only state what is there. Photographs have an objectivity that lacks, e.g. in painting.⁷⁹ Right from the beginning photography documented not contenting itself with merely imitating art.⁸⁰ While this is true of many photographs, however, the researcher must keep in mind that photographs can be biased as well.

Therefore knowledge of who the photographer was could be handy to determine the motive and bias. A photograph is taken to record something for future reference for the photographer or his client. Many are posed specially for that purpose and thus conclusions could be dangerous and most likely to be wrong. On the other hand they are taken to show what the photographer wants to be seen. There are umpteen pictures of the Zwartkoppies house and how beautiful it looks but none of the ash-heap or the outhouse or even the servants' quarters.

Interpretations of two photographers of the same subject would be quite different. Which is the objective truth? Perhaps all of these photographers are telling the truth truth being "many things to many people". Up to and including the instant of exposure, the photographer is working in an undeniably subjective way. By his choice of technical approach (which is a tool of emotional control), by his selection of the subject matter to be held within the confines of his negative area, and by his decision as to the exact, climactic instant of exposure, he is blending the variables of interpretation into an emotional whole which will be a basis for the formation of opinions by the viewing public. 81

⁷⁶ Time Life Books, Documentary photography, pp. 12 - 14.

⁷⁷ A. Siegel, Fifty years of documentary in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 88.

A. Siegel, Fifty years of documentary in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 88.

⁷⁹ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, pp. x, xv.

⁸⁰ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. x.

W.E. Smith, Photographic journalism in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 104.



Gisèle Freund put it that 'The character of the image is determined by the photographer's point of view and the demands of his patrons.'82 It actually permits every possible distortion of reality.

We tend to romanticize the past, but sometimes our preconceived ideas are shaken by glimpses of the past as it really was, for photos capture reality.⁸³ (The movie business helps with the idealization and romanticising of the past with beautiful heroines and dashing fearless heroes.) On visiting an exhibition of old photographs in London, J. Wentworth Day, the writer, wrote in the *Daily Mail*:

Camera Kills some heroes

You believe in them, I believed in them. They were a gallant legend, an inspiring myth - those dashing, debonair, slim-waisted, frock-coated soldiers who served Queen Victoria in war and Quida in ink.

They forged the links of the Empire, won battles on champagne, in scented gloves and streamlined corsetry, talked of 'gentlemen's wars' because they dressed and looked like gentlemen. Or so we were told! ... But the camera cannot lie ... Baggy, concertina-ed trousers, untidy beards, straggling moustaches, wrinkled boots, bulging frock coats ... My faith in the past boggles. One officer looks like an out of work foreman of a navvying gang ... another resembles a disgruntled chef who has strayed into a pageboy's uniform ... thick waisted, dirty booted, with beards which could shelter whole flocks of bats ... it is a pity, but the camera does not tell lies. It records what it sees.⁸⁴

There also are certain things one cannot deduct from a photograph, keeping in mind that the information one does glean from a photograph is valid for the time it was taken as it catches the moment.

The function of a photograph may be of the simplest practical nature, or it may relate to a most personal and abstract emotion; the sincerity of intention and the honesty of spirit of the photographer can make any expression, no matter how "practical", valid and beautiful. What is required is an underlying ethic and sensitivity to the important and true qualities of the world in which we live. No man has the right to dictate to others what they should perceive, create or produce.⁸⁵

Another point the researcher has to keep in mind is that studios sported magnificent back-drops, making many an ordinary soul pose against a Corinthian column, walking-stick and top hat in hand, when most likely he had never entered a house that boasted a column, Corinthian or otherwise. 86 On the other hand the settings and 'propos' used

⁸² A. Briggs, Victorian things, p. 122.

⁸³ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. x.

⁸⁴ P. Castle. Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. x.

A. Adams, A personal credo in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, p. 26.

⁸⁶ J. Maas, The Victorian art world in photographs, pp. 11 - 12.



in studios and which appear on portraits can help to date photographs for they changed over the decades.⁸⁷

Known biographical information and single, sharp, passing aperçus can help us to interpret photographs. The discrepancy between the appearance of Walter Crane and his apparently true character has been noted; who would have guessed from his appearance in later photographs that Milais was regarded by all as an Adonis in his youth? The photograph does not reveal all.⁸⁸

The researcher must be aware of faking and alterations (about which more later on). It is possible for a good photographer to alter a photograph through certain techniques like double printing, ⁸⁹ or other techniques. It does not necessarily mean the photographer had some ulterior motive. Photographs could be faked for propaganda purposes e.g. a series issued in 1872 by the French Government purporting to depict atrocities committed by the Communards during the Paris Commune of 1871, made by superimposing the faces of well known victims of the Communard firing squads on to actors. On the other hand one finds the composite pictures produced by followers of the "Pictorial Photography" school. ⁹⁰

Captions add a lot to the information and increase the value thereof. However, these must also be subjected to critical examination in order to get to the truth.

The nature of early photographical equipment and processes made certain types of pictures more difficult to take and therefore much scarcer and more unusual. Snap shots were impossible so if the photographer did not happen to be in the right place at the right time and all set to go, he might miss out on an opportunity. Formally posed photographs taken in photographic studios are much more plentiful than spontaneous pictures of people in everyday life.

Kinds of photographs

With early photographs the size was dependant on the size of the plate used. Cartes-devisite became popular about 1859, rising to its height in the 1860s, still a few were produced in the '70s and '80s. 92 The small format 21/4" x 31/2", (90 x 140 mm) made them quite cheap (about 1/-). The idea originally seems to have been to replace the visiting card (from there the format and name) but it never took off. Even so cartes-devisite photographs were extremely popular and were feverishly exchanged. Pre-1871 most were made by the wet plate (collodion) process, thereafter the dry plate process

A. Lansdell, History in camera: Fashion à la carte 1860 - 1900. A study of fashion through cartes-de-visite, p. 12.

⁸⁸ J. Maas, The Victorian art world in photographs, p. 15.

H.P. Robinson, Paradoxes of art, science and photography in N. Lyons (ed.), Photographers on photography, pp. 86 - 87.

⁹⁰ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, pp. 89 - 90.

⁹¹ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. 94.

⁹² P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. 122.



was employed.⁹³ Quite a few examples are to be found in the Sammy Marks collection.

Collecting cartes-de-visite (Cartomania) of celebrities was a fad that started in the 1860s. Soon no drawing-room was complete without one or more albums, often in elaborately tooled leather bindings with ornate clasps. Hero worship and a quest for status were thus united, while the apparently large and varied range of acquaintances drew admiration from casual browsers. Hero worship and a quest for status were thus united, while the apparently large and varied range of acquaintances drew admiration from casual browsers. The back of the carte was used as the photographer's trade plate, and these, as time went by, became works of art in themselves. On them the photographers listed their achievements or their patrons; some included their prices. Many offered copies or enlargements 'up to life-size' and these could be coloured in oil or water colour.

Different other formats were available. Cabinet photographs made their debut in 1866, measuring 4" x 5½" (160 x 220 mm) and mounted on card a little larger. They superseded cartes-de-visites even though they cost twice as much. ⁹⁶ A large amount of these are among the Marks collection.

Stereoscopic photographs, viewed with a special viewer, was quite a pastime of the Victorians, 97 remaining until the 1920s. It is therefore to be deplored that no such pictures are among the Marks collection. It is possible, but unlikely, that they have been removed or given away. No record nor reference to either their existence or alienation exists and this makes one wonder whether Marks viewed them as frivolous or a waste of money for there are enough viewers and sets of pictures in other local collections to testify to their availability. Even so the Markses travelled extensively and could easily have picked them up. Due to lack of evidence one can unfortunately only speculate.

No home was complete without a family photograph album. 98 It is rather a pity so many have been dispersed, destroyed or thrown away. The fascination of old family albums lies in the fact that they reveal the Victorians as people who were known and loved by their families. History learnt through photographs becomes very real to the adult and child alike. 99

The whole thrusting Victorian scene was faithfully captured by the photographers of the time. All photographs have an interest, however small. Pictures were taken of public

⁹³ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. 117.

⁹⁴ J. Maas, The Victorian art world in photographs, p. 11.

⁹⁵ A. Lansdell, History in camera: Fashion à la carte 1860 - 1900. A study of fashion through cartes-de-visite, p. 10.

⁹⁶ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. 125.

⁹⁷ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, pp. 101, 112.

⁹⁸ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. xii.

⁹⁹ A. Lansdell, History in camera: Fashion à la carte 1860 - 1900. A study of fashion through cartes-de-visite, p. 59.

and important events, portraits of people, famous persons but also everyday subjects and commonplace occurrences, all fixed on paper. 100

All the Marks photographs are albumen prints or the later carbon prints (See p. 19) - there are no daguerreotypes, ambrotypes or calotypes. The result is that no photographic evidence exists of the family's early life.

Photographs and historical method

The researcher must always be aware and on the look-out for the possibility of error. For this reason he must employ historical method and must doubt every statement until it has been critically tested. With the study of any document as source for the writing of history firstly the authenticity and secondly the credibility has to be established. Proper examination will reveal the falsity of some statements and the dubious character of others. Others will emerge endorsed as **probably true** and some as true beyond a doubt. Only after these steps have been taken can the details be put together into a connected narrative or exposition.

Firstly, according to Gottschalk, one must collect the surviving objects and the printed, written and oral materials that may be relevant. 105 At the same time one must keep in mind that the objects are never the events themselves. Artifacts may be the results of events and written documents may be the result or records of events - both are raw materials out of which history may be written. 106

There is a difference between statements and facts. A statement is that which someone has said about a matter - it may be true or it may not. The question then comes to mind whether photographs pass as statements or as facts. Author is of the opinion that like any other source they must be regarded primarily as statements. After all they state what the photographer saw or wanted to see through the lens of the camera. Captions don't change this status because it is always possible, and in many cases true, that these were supplied at a much later date when confusion of people's faces and names, places or dates are possible due to failing memory. In the case of the Marks family for example some photographs had only been identified a few years ago with the help of the last surviving Marks child, then already an octogenarian. Each photograph must be studied for its statements and these must then be critically tested to get to the truth.

¹⁰⁰ P. Castle, Collecting and valuing old photographs, p. 16.

¹⁰¹ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 13.

¹⁰² L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, p. 27.

¹⁰³ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 13.

¹⁰⁴ L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, p. 27.

¹⁰⁵ L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, p. 28.

¹⁰⁶ L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, p. 43.

¹⁰⁷ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 13.



The historian must make such use of statements that through them he will arrive at facts which again form the basis of all conclusions or generalisations. 108

The basic elements and methods of historical criticism have to be applied to all source material although adapted to the medium. Books on the subject seem to deal mostly with the written document. The principles can and should be applied to all other sources for instance photographs.

The critical examination of statements involves two separate processes - external and internal criticism.

External criticism

External criticism boils down to all that can be learned as to where, why, when and by whom a document was written.¹⁰⁹

External criticism examines documents with the aim of obtaining all possible information of any significance about their origin and if need be, of restoring the original form or wording. Applying this to the photographs in the Sammy Marks collection for the study of a Victorian family's life in the Transvaal, each photograph had to be identified as to whether it is connected to the Marks family or whether e.g. it was sent to them by relatives or friends. Each also had to be dated to ensure it falls within the relevant period.

Examination of a document may reveal internal evidence of its origin, etc., which belongs under the head of external criticism e.g. dating of the photographs by looking at dress, while internal criticism often utilizes external evidence.¹¹¹

Hockett states the researcher should ask whether he is working with the original or a copy and in case of the latter whether it is a correct copy and if not whether its errors can be detected and eliminated and the original reading restored. In the case of photographs as documents all of them are copies because all have been printed from a negative which must be regarded as the original. It is difficult if not impossible to verify by comparison with the negative whether you have a correct or true copy because in most cases the original negative does not exist any more. Gottschalk puts it that it does not have to be original (in the legal sense of the word as it has different meanings) to be valid, quoting the instances like the Roman and Greek classics where seldom any but later copies are available to study. What matters is that the copies are first-hand in their testimony. Its

¹⁰⁸ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 13.

¹⁰⁹ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 14.

¹¹⁰ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 14.

¹¹¹ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 14.

¹¹² H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 14.

¹¹³ L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, p. 54.

Faked photographs do exist, e.g. photographs of the Loch Ness monster and UFO's, but the probability of finding any in an ordinary family collection is very slight. After all people take photographs in order to capture treasured moments to be able to recall them later on in their lives. It is more likely to have a picture posed as a send-up or for entertainment value which the people in the know would recognise for what it is, but which bears the danger that unless it was noted as such, could be interpreted at a later stage as being truthful statements or facts by later generations or researchers. In the collection there is a photograph of Marks's carriage with mules harnessed to it, bearing the inscription The Coach and Four. The statement made by the photograph is that the carriage was drawn by mules. The note could have verified it but for the inverted commas lending a sarcastic or tongue-in-the-cheek ring to it - nowhere else are they applied. It does not make sense that a man of Marks's wealth and standing, living in a society where the display of one's possessions was so important, would have his carriage drawn by mules. Seen in the light of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) when he lost all his horses, the photograph and the statement it makes, takes on its true meaning.

The events alluded to, i.a., bear significant clues as to the date of a document.¹¹⁴ The same applies to photographs. A picture showing an encampment of British troops must have been taken during the Anglo Boer War, indicating a date of 1900-1902 as the best possibility. Knowledge of other events or the place might narrow the choice of dates even more. The same goes for the presence of children whose birth dates are known or adults whose death dates are known. This technique had to be applied often during the course of the study.

Dress might suggest a rough indication of date but is dangerous for not everybody is fashionably dressed all of the time. Other indications are necessary to corroborate or point to a more specific date. The leg-o-mutton sleeves (see Figures 21 and 140) started appearing as part of high fashion female costume in 1893, growing in size till about 1896 after which they petered out, retaining a slight puff with decorations on the shoulders. A woman present in a picture might thus point to a date 1893-1898, but if Montie Marks is also present, it limits it to 1896 as the last possible date because that is the year he left for England. If an electrical light fitting is visible on the same photo, it limits the earlier date to 1896 when the house had electricity installed.

Even so some photographs are extremely difficult to date.

The study also made use of written documents where external criticism as prescribed could be applied to. The larger part of the correspondence was kept in the form of copy books. Some were typed and copied with the aid of carbon paper but many were handwritten and copied with a technique using moist blotting paper and a letter press. Both these make corruptions and falsifications or error whether due to negligence or on purpose very difficult. Apart from that, the fact that these were personal correspondence kept as a record for personal purposes, minimalises motif.

Part of the external criticism as applied by historians to documents is the ascertaining of authorship. In the case of photographs that will be the photographer. In the case of

¹¹⁴ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 26.



studio photographs this is in most cases easy to establish because the photographer used the back of the photograph, or rather of the card onto which the thin print had been pasted, as an advertisement embellishing it with his name, that of the studio and the address in fancy letters and motifs. Sometimes the information appears at the bottom of the photograph.

In the case of the snapshots and non-studio pictures it is another story. Marks himself refers to Mr (James) Potts (1859 - 1937), his carpenter and handyman at Zwartkoppies taking photographs and having a good collection.¹¹⁵

"I have already bought an album for you and will get Mr Potts to fill it with photos of Zwartkopje and surroundings. He has a good collection". 116

One of the albums, SM 1344, contains the inscription:

From Mr Potts & J McCracken July 27th, 1897.

This implies that the pictures contained therein were probably some of those Marks refers to.

However, anonymity in this case is of no importance, the significance of the statements made by the photos being what counts. As stated earlier the children had cameras and must have taken some as well. 18

Internal criticism

Internal criticism determines the meaning and trustworthiness of the statements, not the documents. 119 It is important to avoid reading into a statement meanings which the maker did not intend to convey. 120

It is possible that a reverse image can be obtained from the negative which can be illustrated with the following two modern copies, made from an original in the collection. The first one is the true copy.

James Potts came from the Orkney Islands (according to his death certificate) and by the end of his life lived on the corner of Park and Eastwood Streets in Arcadia, Pretoria. Transvaal Archives Depot, Estate 98561.

¹¹⁶ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town: SM/B2.17, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1901.05.08.

¹¹⁷ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 65.

¹¹⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town: SM/B2.17, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1901.05.08.

¹¹⁹ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 14.

¹²⁰ H.C. Hocket, The critical method in historical research and writing, p. 41.



TIGURE 1: Reverse image versus original copy.





(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria. SM nn.)



Figure 69 is an example of an original print in reverse in the collection. It shows the gate and pathway leading to the house, with the clipped hedges, a park bench and a tap. However, the physical evidence on the terrain shows that the statement made by the photograph is false and that the negative must have been printed the wrong way around. Another example of a false statement is evident in Figure 67 where the impression is created that the house curves to one side which it decidedly does not.

Internal criticism is aimed at establishing the credibility of the statements contained in a document. Some subjects are matters of indifference. Applied to photographs this means whereas a picture might be posed in the garden, there will be some information which can be deduced as facts because there is no logical reason on earth why somebody would have tampered with them e.g. the plants in the flower bed behind the posed group.¹²¹

On the other hand substantiation of statements by subjects which are well-known to the people who were likely to see the photographs, would make faking or alterations, i.e. lying difficult or impossible. For example adding someone to a picture who was not present when it was taken. If a photograph shows persons A, B and C it is very improbable that one of them was not actually present but added later for some purpose. (Not that it is impossible, but the nature of the photograph will proclaim the probability. It would also require considerable professional skill on the part of the forger). 122

Some statements are both incidental and probable to such a degree that error or falsehood seems unlikely. With photographs at least one does not encounter the problem of solving problems created by language as the information is in pictorial form. Even so they must be seen in context and against the background of other and general information. For example, a photograph of a girl in outlandish costume only states that person at some time - and for some purpose or another - wore that garb. One cannot generalise that such were the clothes she generally wore or that it was a specific form of fashion without other substantiating evidence (See Hockett, pp. 42 - 43). If there are captions, however, they of course have to be assessed for their meaning (See Figure 118).

Accompanying information

One of the main problems using historical photographs as source of study is the lack of accompanying information which limits the value of such photographs. The more information that accompanies it in the form of captions or other supporting information (as in the case of the Marks collection the correspondence and other documents), the more valuable a source it becomes:

¹²¹ L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, p. 161.

¹²² L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, pp. 161 - 162.

¹²³ L. Gottschalk, Understanding history, pp. 163 - 164.



Fransen has made a study of the work of a Cape photographer, Arthur Elliott (1870 - 1938). 124 He found that virtually the only evidence of Elliott's work as a recorder of history is contained in the nearly ten thousand negatives in the Elliott Collection. However, one of the shortcomings is the fact that they mostly bear only brief captions and no dates. Amongst them are tantalizing photographs of rare Cape furniture and silverware but unfortunately with no indication of owner or place. He puts it that Elliott apparently let his camera do all the recording for him. Much of the collection is rather boring material, most of it lacking references, but some of it may one day prove to be of some slight documentary value to researchers. Others have little value today and there even are some which he deems hardly to deserve a place on the shelves of the Government Archives. He sees the portraits especially of more value if only as a handy source of book illustrations. Even so, he reckons Arthur Eliott's photographs "will become ever more valuable as documents of a time that is forever gone". 125

Practical hints when using historical photographs

Picture research has become a profession in the USA with people specializing in finding the right pictures to be used in books, films and TV programmes, newspapers, designers and advertising agencies. 126

A picture researcher today has a professional obligation to make sure that no picture is used without a proper acknowledgement of its source. Credit lines for illustrations should be given the same attention as acknowledgements for passages of the text. This is of tremendous benefit for other researchers. 127

An important thing to remember when using photographic material, especially for publication purposes, is to obtain signed releases from people still living to prevent them from suing the author/researcher. At the same time all legal aspects of copyright should be cleared to ensure no contravention which could lead to immense problems. 128

Any cropping or changes made in the publication or copying of a photograph should be acknowledged either in the caption or the credit line. 129

No two filing systems or two organisations holding photographs are the same - each develop its own system best suited to the retrieval needs of its users. Computerised indexes might solve this problem.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ H. Fransen, A Cape camera, pp. 9 - 10.

¹²⁵ H. Fransen, A Cape camera, pp. 9, 10, 16.

¹²⁶ A. Novotny (ed.), Picture sources 3, p. 11.

¹²⁷ A. Novotny (ed.), *Picture sources 3*, p. xii.

¹²⁸ A. Novotny (ed.), *Picture sources 3*, p. vii.

¹²⁹ A. Novotny (ed.), Picture sources 3, p. xii.

¹³⁰ A. Novotny (ed.), Picture sources 3, p. xii.



A convenient aid to cataloguing is a small card that includes a small image of the indexed picture. Because of the expense, however, they are used in few collections. It does save on wear and tear of the original by diminishing unnecessary handling. Microfilm or microfiche is another option as is image retrieval by computer.¹³¹

Photographs and identification

One of the most daunting tasks in working with historical photographs is the matter of identification of people on it. Famous people of whom many pictures are around and who are well-known could be recognisable at first sight, e.g. Paul Kruger or Cecil John Rhodes and, depending on the researcher's knowledge, pictures of other prominent figures like Gen. Piet Joubert and his wife (See Figure 79).

If no caption or written indication is available one has to resort to comparison with other photographs or printed material where the people are identified. Again a keen memory is of the utmost importance. With the development of computer data bases and the gradual unlocking of photographic collections this process might become easier in future. However, it would mostly lead to help identify more prominent people except in the case of a large hoard of pictures in a collection like the Marks collection. Even so, it is better than nothing.

An example in hand is a photograph in the Marks collection signed "Leo and Co., Pretoria". In Kaye's book about A.H. Nellmapius (See Figure 89) a photograph is printed of Leo Weinthal (1865 - 1930), editor of **The Press** and founder of the **Pretoria** News. 132 This confirmed that the photograph in the Marks collection is indeed that of the Weinthal couple.

One must be careful though, for comparisons are not without pitfalls. In Helme's book on Irene there is also a group photograph on which Weinthal is present. However, the author indicated the wrong person. ("...fifth from the left, Leo Weinthal, with panama hat, ..." Weinthal is indeed wearing a panama hat, but is seated ninth from the left whereas the person seated fifth is wearing a light coloured homburg hat (See p. 47). The same photograph also appears in Kaye's book¹³⁴ with the right identification. This shows that criticism is of the utmost importance.

One stumbling block with the classification of photographs in chapters is the fact that a photograph is indivisible, with the result that it has to be placed in a particular section even though it contains information about another as well. Short references has been made in such cases at the bottom of such photographs to additional information.¹³⁵

¹³¹ A. Novotny (ed.), Picture sources 3, p. xii.

¹³² H. Kaye. The Tycoon and the President, Figure 24, opposite p. 80.

¹³³ N. Helme, *Irene*, p. 105.

¹³⁴ H. Kaye, The Tycoon and the President, Figure 28, opposite p. 105.

¹³⁵ J. Maas, The Victorian art world in photographs, p. 16.



IV THE SAMMY MARKS PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION

1. The Marks household

a. Family history and background

On 11 July 1844 a son was born to Mordechai Marks (1816 - 1908) and Miriam Marks née Cohen (dates unknown) in Neustadt, a small Lithuanian frontier town on the border between Russia and East Prussia. The boy, named Samuel Marks, was destined to play a gigantic role in a country situated thousands of kilometres away at the southern tip of the African continent.¹

Little is known of the boy's childhood. His father, Mordechai was an itinerant tailor who was forced by the nature of his occupation to travel in search of work, often leaving his wife and children alone.² Besides Sammy there were two other sons, called Joseph and Ellia and two daughters, Fanny and Krena.³

Marks attended the elementary Jewish school called the *cheder* where he acquired a basic knowledge of Hebrew. There seems to be no evidence that he went beyond that and he later expressed his regret about his limited schooling. There is however no doubt that he acquired a wealth of lessons and values from his environment and circumstances.⁴

He was fortunate to miss the dreaded conscription into the Tsarist army at the age of twelve, the cantonment system with its child recruitment being abolished six weeks after his twelfth birthday, but was left with a hatred of Tsarist Russia. In 1861, before his eighteenth birthday, he left his family and home and sailed for England. He had nothing to his name, nor did he possess any skills. A relative who was established as a jeweller in Sheffield, seems to have supplied him with a small amount of money with which he started peddling. When not travelling he stayed with Tobias Guttmann (no dates available), a Sheffield Jew variously described as a jeweller, hawker and cutler. Of Guttmann Marks later said 'he coached me how to succeed'. 5

Inspired by Guttmann, Marks embarked for Cape Town in 1868, his passage being paid for by his friend. As a parting gift Guttmann presented Marks with a large case of knives. These he summarily hawked about Cape Town on his arrival and reinvested the

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 1 - 2.; C. de Jong, Samuel Marks: Lewe en bedryf, Unisa Departement Ekonomie Studiebrief 301/87, p. 53.

² G. Saron and L. Hotz, *The Jews in South Africa - a history*, p. 69.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 2; G. Saron and L. Hotz, The Jews in South Africa - a history, p. 69. Their dates of birth and death, however, could not be ascertained.

⁴ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 2.

⁵ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 3 - 6.



profit in goods that he bought on the Parade, the city's open-air market. These goods he took out to the suburbs, continually buying and selling.⁶

Here he was joined by a relative, Isaac Lewis (1849 - 1927) who was a second cousin, and the two men formed a partnership around 1870, which soon prospered. They acquired a horse and cart and expanded their trade into the Boland. The discovery of a major diamond pipe, later to be known as the Kimberley Mine, led to a rush to that area. Marks and his partner decided to join as well. At Kimberley they eventually opened a general dealer's shop. They soon started dealing in diamonds and with a handful of other diamond dealers came to dominate the local diamond trade, acting as intermediaries between Kimberley and the great diamond centres of Europe.

Once on the roll it seems nothing could stop them and they kept on expanding, forever moving into new ventures. Isaac Lewis eventually returned to London where he settled to look after the international side of the partnership's business while Marks moved on to the Transvaal. They not only started a whole range of companies, but also held large quantities of shares in companies established by others.¹⁰

After having concluded a partnership with a Hungarian Jew by the name of Alois Hugo Nellmapius (1847 - 1893), (See Figure 89) who had obtained a concession from the government of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek to distil liquor, they bought Hatherley, a farm just outside Pretoria where the first factories in the Boer Republic, aptly named De Eerste Fabrieken in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (which was changed to De Eerste Fabrieken Hatherley Distillery Ltd. in 1892) were to be erected in 1882.¹¹

By this time already a well-to-do businessman and influential citizen, personally acquainted with all the leading figures of the day, ¹² he decided it was time to settle down and to do so in style. In 1883 he bought Christienen Hall, a large part of the farm called Zwartkoppies, adjoining Hatherley, for residential purposes. He paid the sum of £1 400 for it, taking transfer in March 1884. ¹³ It was 902 morgen (773 ha) in extent.

Central Deeds Office, Pretoria: 1884 - 221, Deed of Transfer.



⁶ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 7.

R. Mendelsohn, The Sammy Marks Collection, p. 1; P.J. van Winter, Onder Krugers Hollanders, p. 116; C. de Jong, Samuel Marks: Lewe en bedryf, Unisa Departement Ekonomie Studiebrief 301/87, p. 54.

H. Saron and L. Hotz, The Jews in South Africa - a history, p. 109; S.J.N. Maisels, Some notes for the Sammy Marks Museum (Unpublished), p. 2.

G. Saron and L. Hotz, The Jews in South Africa - a history, p. 109; R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 7 - 8.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 51, 52, 157, 158, 175, 220, 223, 39 - 40, 80, 84; C. de Jong, Samuel Marks: Lewe en bedryf, Unisa Departement Ekonomie Studiebrief 301/87, pp. 54 - 57; P. Meiring, Bane en baanbrekers, p. 136.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Trasnvaal', pp. 13, 23 - 26, 56; 0.J.O. Ferreira, Eerste Fabrieken: Die beginpunt van nywerheidsontwikkeling in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, Contree 15, Januarie 1984, pp. 17 - 23; C. van Onselen, Randlords and Rotgut, p. 10.

¹² G. Saron and L. Hotz, The Jews in South Africa - a history, p. 189.



(In 1893 and 1894 he bought two more portions of the farm.)¹⁴ This he did in his private capacity and promptly renamed it Zwartkoppies.¹⁵ It would seem the farm originally got its name from a little hillock or koppie, not far from Marks's house, which was called the *zwart kopje* - presumably a blackish colour was discernible at a distance, although it is not recorded if this was due to vegetation or geological formation. "It was on the Zwartkopje just near here that old Hans Botha received 5 bullets in his body."¹⁶

On this farm he set about erecting a mansion fit for a gentleman on the lines of the country houses he had seen in England. Here he brought his English wife, Bertha Guttmann, and raised his children. With the passage of time he added on to the house, gradually enlarging it to its present state, and transformed the untamed veld into a lush park.¹⁷

Later he acquired a company house in the fashionable suburb of Parktown in Johannesburg whereto the family moved in 1909¹⁸ and he also acquired a property in Muizenberg, Hatherley House, which served as a holiday retreat, but Zwartkoppies remained his favourite, so much so, that in his intricate will it was stipulated that Zwartkoppies was to 'be burdened with the entail of *fidei-commissum*' for three generations so that it could only be sold after the death of the last of his great-grandchildren and provided free residence in the mansion for the eldest legitimate male descendant in each generation.¹⁹

It was however the second son, Joe, who chose to live in the house. He died in 1975. His widow, Kirsty Marks, stayed on until 1977 when she took seriously ill, dying in January 1978.²⁰ It then became apparent that no members of the family wished to live in the house permanently. All but one of his grandchildren and all his great-grandchildren have left the country and are residing abroad.²¹

A suitable tenant had to be found for the buildings were aging and deteriorating. The house was offered to the Jewish community as an old-age home or school, to the army

¹⁴ Central Deeds Office, Pretoria: 1893 - 2491 and 1894 - 1231, Deeds of Transfer.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 33; S.J.N. Maisels, The life and times of Sammy Marks, p. 2.

¹⁶ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1901.02.13.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 103; Orpen, J., Sammy Marks's mansion is not touched by time, Sunday Times Magazine, 1969.04.27, p. 8.

This was actually company property in contrast to Zwartkoppies Hall and Hatherley House which were Marks's private property. R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 189.

¹⁹ S.J.N. Maisels, The Trust Estate of the late Samuel Marks and his heirs, p. 1; R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 254.

²⁰ S.J.N. Maisels. The Trust Estate of the late Samuel Marks and his heirs, p. 5.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 260; S.J.N. Maisels, The life and times of Sammy Marks, p. 4.



as a convalescent home and also to a hotel group but without success. In the meantime the National Cultural History and Open-air Museum of Pretoria was looking for land on which to develop a large open-air museum. At this stage the Marks Trust was approached to discuss the purchase of some forty hectares of Zwartkoppies land.²²

The chairman of the trust, Neil Maisels, Sammy Marks's oldest grandson, explained the entailed will. Realizing the potential of the house as a remarkable museum, Maisels suggested the purchase of the contents of the house and the leasing and restoring of the house and immediate grounds.²³

Incredible as it may sound, the Victorian and Edwardian content of the house, from furniture to bric a' brac, was basically still intact.²⁴ Even so, it is inevitable that some pieces are missing, having either been broken or damaged beyond repair and discarded or in some cases given away to some friend or organisation, like the organ that stood in the entrance hall. There is also a lack of the many small personal items which would have abounded in a house like this. Since the death of its original owners little had changed although some pieces were badly in need of skilful restoration. However, financing such an enterprise presented new problems. This was solved thanks to the generous offer of Mendel Kaplan, a Johannesburg businessman and philan-thropist, to contribute through his family foundation half of the cost of the movables to be purchased.²⁵

Finally in May 1984 an agreement for the establishing of the Sammy Marks Museum at Zwartkoppies Hall was signed. In March 1989 Zwartkoppies was declared a national monument. A large part of the house has already been restored to its original splendour, the original murals being carefully revealed by scraping of the layers of paint that subsequently covered them and painstakingly painted back by hand. Much of the contents have also received the necessary treatment, resuming their lost elegance. Large parts of the garden have been restored and visitors can stroll about or lounge in the shade and languish the tranquillity and beauty. Slowly Zwartkoppies Hall is being reborn.

The Museum bought the land immediately surrounding the house in 1995 after expropriation procedures. It plans to develop a whole complex of museums and enterprises, comprising not only the mansion and its garden, but also the original outbuildings like the coach house and stables, the farm manager's house, other structures and historical elements. The environment is also seen as extremely important

²² R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 255; S.J.N. Maisels, The life and times of Sammy Marks, p. 4.

S.J.N. Maisels, The Trust Estate of the late Samuel Marks and his heirs, p. 8.

Even in England where fifty-odd years ago such set-ups were still commonplace, most of them have by now been swept away by the accelarating pace of change, leaving only a few survivors like Linley Sambourne House in the London Borough of Kensington. S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 9.

²⁵ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 256; S.J.N. Maisels, The Trust Estate of the late Samuel Marks and his heirs, p. 9.

R. Fourie, Die mure van die Sammy Marks Museum, p. 2; R. Fourie, Mure van Sammy Markshuis, Museum Memo 17(2), Junie 1989, pp. 17 - 19.

and will be conserved and managed according to the principles of environmental management.

b. Family members

Large families was a matter of pride and duty and were the norm in Victorian society, Queen Victoria herself setting the example with a brood of nine.²⁷ It was only by the end of the century that four children were considered the maximum. By then the middle-classes had begun practising birth control and large families had become a subject for jokes and pitying glances.²⁸

Children were segregated from the rest of the household and cared for and brought up by servants. They normally lived in the nursery with the nursery staff in charge of the nurse, or nanny as she was affectionately called. In well-to-do houses with a few small children she would have been assisted by a nursemaid. The nursery was often in an upper storey with soundproof doors and bars in front of the windows for their safety.²⁹ At the Marks residence the children's rooms were right in the middle of the house, one actually opposite the front door and opening onto the hall where, according to the family, Marks was fond of receiving visitors informally. Even in 1934 on the valuation list of Bertha's assets these two rooms are referred to as the day and night nurseries.³⁰

The situation with children being looked after and reared by servants or in boarding schools made many an Edwardian parent formidable.³¹ Especially among the well-to-do, parents were often distant. Children would be handed over from infancy to the care of a nurse spending most of their lives in their nurseries and leading completely separate lives from their parents. In the late afternoon, after tea, children would be brought to the drawing room, scrubbed and dressed in clean clothes ("pressed and dressed")³² to spend some time, half an hour or so, with their mother. Children very rarely ate with their parents in the dining room before they were "of an age" which according to Smith varied from about twelve to fourteen.³³

Boys and increasingly girls, would be still further distanced by being sent to a boarding school. Contact then was limited to weekly letters and a visit once every three months.³⁴ These boarding schools ranged from renowned public schools to small and

A. Mial and P. Mial, The Victorian nursery book, p. 14.

²⁸ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 88.

²⁹ A. Mial and P. Mial, The Victorian nursery book, p. 14.

³⁰ Transvaal Archives Depot, Pretoria: Estates 1934/86653.

³¹ J. Smith, Edwardian children, p. 112.

³² Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 60.

A. Mial and P. Mial, The Victorian nursery book, p. 153; J. Smith, Edwardian children, p. 99.

P. Thompson, The Edwardians, p. 42; S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 95.



often dubious establishments, all of them likely to counteract any idea of cosy domesticity.³⁵ Marks was no exception to this rule either.

Where Victorian parents mostly left the children completely in the care of the nanny, seeing them for an hour or so a day just after tea, ³⁶ Bertha seems to have taken more interest in her children, even being reprimanded by the housedoctor for taking them out and causing them too much excitement. However one wonders at Teddy's "illness" which is not named anywhere (Mendelsohn refers to an emotional disorder and that he had fits and had become deranged)³⁷ and one gets the feeling from reading the pathetic letters of this frustrated little boy that he was in dire need of parental attention and love instead of being sped off to an asylum. Perhaps being born in the middle he was affected most by the Victorian way of rearing children.

... I should advise you to leave both Joey and Teddie at school in England... I do not wish them to be put to school out here in Africa for very good reasons. Firstly because there would be no settled education here for some time to come ...nearly 75% of the children who are educated in the Transvaal are devoid of two qualities essential in a well regulated Society, namely gratitude and straightforwardness, and I should not like my children to mix with others who may be deficient in these two respects. I pity children of strangers when I see them contracting bad habits and I certainly should be failing in my duty as father if I did not place my own children among good and straightforward companions. ³⁸

"I notice Montie made 6 runs at cricket and when you both come out here in a few years time for a holiday ..."³⁹

Too late Marks realised the implications.

After ripe consideration I have come to the conviction that children sent thousands of miles away from their parents to be educated cannot have that sympathy with their parents and relations which they should have, this is only natural because they are left almost entirely to strangers, are away from home influence and loose touch with the ideas and aspirations of their parents.⁴⁰

³⁵ J. Calder, The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs, p. 10.

³⁶ A. Mial and P. Mial, The Victorian nursery book, p. 78.

³⁷ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 181 and 195.

³⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1900.09.15.

³⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B. S. Marks - L. and M. Marks, 1896.09.13.

⁴⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.22, S. Marks - I. Lewis, 1904.09.23.



Parents provided financial support but emotionally these children were as likely to find support and friendship in a servant as a parent.⁴¹ There were some middle-class mothers, perhaps an increasing number, who spent much more time in the nursery, or encouraged their children to play throughout the house. The lower down one goes on the social scale, the more involved parents were with their offspring and the more the children had to help with household chores.⁴²

i. The parents

On a visit to England in 1884, Sammy Marks got married to the young Bertha Guttmann (1863 - 1934), daughter of his old friend, Tobias Guttmann. (See p. 39) The ceremony took place on 16 December 1884 in Sheffield. She was twenty one years old and he was already forty. According to the *South African Biographical Dictionary* she was a young widow, but no confirmation for this statement could be found. As there are no references of intentions in this regard in Marks's correspondence before leaving for London nor any letters to or from Bertha, the probability is strong that it was an arranged marriage. She must have been about six when Marks left England for South Africa. During the years that followed eight children were born.

P. Thompson, The Edwardians, p. 42.

⁴² P. Thompson, *The Edwardians*, p. 42; Molly Hughes is a good example. She grew up in the lower middle class in a closely-knit family. M.V. Huges, *A London family 1870 - 1900*, pp. 1 - 30.

⁴³ S.J.N. Maisels, Some notes for the Sammy Marks Museum, p. 1.

⁴⁴ W.J. de Kok (red.), Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek I, p. 540.

⁴⁵ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 33.

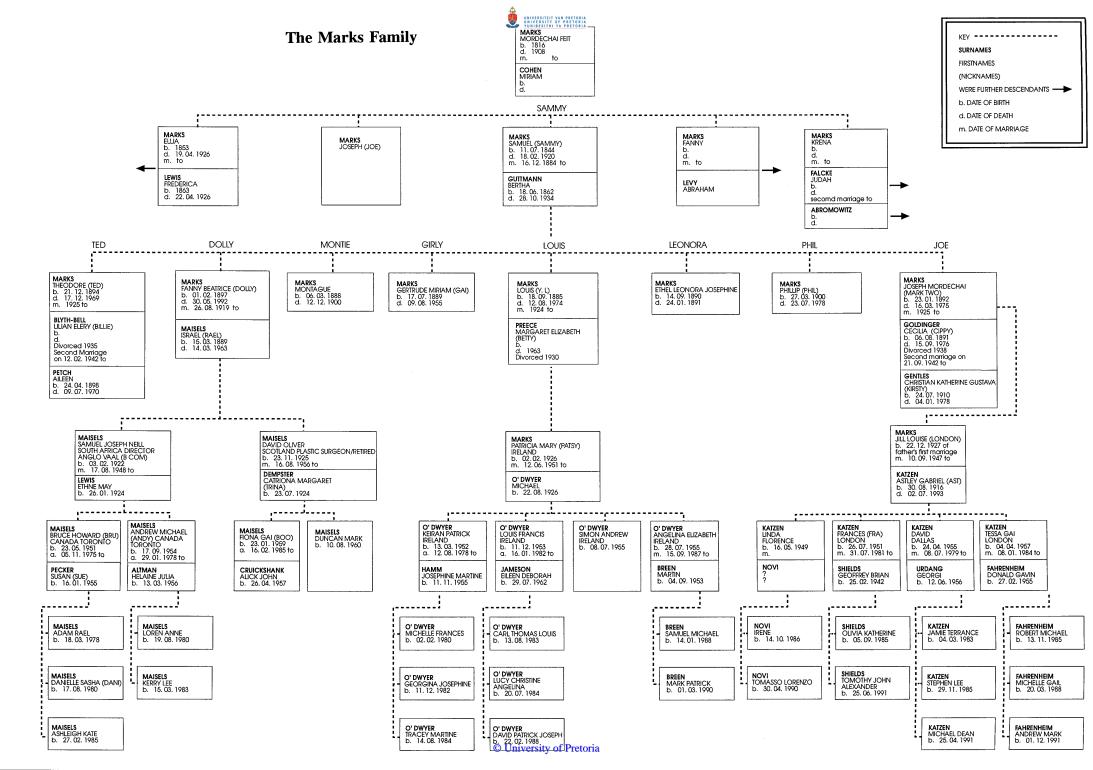






FIGURE 2: Samuel Marks (1844 - 1920).



(Photograph c. 1890: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M, Pretoria, SM 1063)

On most of his photographs Marks wears the Homburg, a felt hat very much like the Fedora, named after its place of origin and favoured by the then Prince of Wales, or Fedora style of felt hat which has a tapered crown with ribbon band and curled stiff brim. His second preference seems to have been the cap, mostly made of tweed, a speckled woolen fabric. In England this was the typical accompaniment to country-dress of a gentleman relaxing on his country estate (See Figures 38 and 85). He was also photographed wearing a pith helmet, so called because it is made from pith cork of the Indian spongewood tree which it is very light in weight, covered with white cotton and lined with green cloth. It is also known as topee or topi, the Hindu name (See Figures 188 and 206).⁴⁶

⁴⁶ R.T. Wilcox, The dictionary of costume, pp. 172, 346.



FIGURE 3: Bertha Marks (1863 - 1934).



(Photograph c. 1906: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1093-2)

This photograph is a good example of an evening dress of c. 1906. (One copy of the photograph is dated by caption as 16/6/06. However, another one of the same picture is dated 4.11.07, showing how careful one has to be with accepting the written word as foolproof. The dates merely indicate the date she made a gift of the photograph and not necessarily the date it was taken. It could even be a year or so older.) It shows the low neckline, the liberal application of sequince, lace and frills. The large artificial corsage is also evident, as is her jewellery. It does not wholly rhyme with Bertha's assertion in a letter after suffering some ill health which she wrote to Marks in 1906:

... as long as I don't get cold I expect I shall get better. I never go out at night nor do I wear low dresses so by obeying strict orders & not eating strawberries nor touching any wine or spirits whatever nor any water only Salutaris I hope I may long keep as I am.⁴⁷

This would indicate that her health had taken a turn for the worse and that she had to look after herself not to have a relapse.

⁴⁷ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1906.06.01.



See also Figure 153 for notes on her jewellery and Figure 144 for a picture of the same dress altered as a day dress.

ii. The children

Most of the children were never addressed by their proper given names but abbreviations or nicknames were applied. As these abbreviated and/or nicknames were used in the correspondence, they will also be applied in the text instead of the proper names.

FIGURE 4a, b and c: Louis Marks (1885 - 1974). His nickname was YL (see below) but he was never addressed like this by his parents.





(Photograph a c. 1887, Photograph b c. 1900, Photograph c c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - in album SM 3572, b - SM 100 and c - SM 39)



All three photographs are prime examples of studio photographs with props and painted backdrops in evidence. Figure 4a shows the fad for rustic garden furniture enhanced by the bird cage. Figure 4a also shows the dress little boys were subjected to (see chapter on fashion) with a tam-o'-shanter type of hat (See footnote 51) at the boy's feet. Figure 4c. shows Louis in a very formal morning suit, complete with top hat, cane and gloves. These could of course have been studio props, but in this case, given Louis' background, it is doubtful. The image confirms the suitability of the nickname "Y L", an abbreviation of "Young Lord" that Louis' cousin, George Falcke, had given to him, referring to Louis' view of himself as an English gentleman. He also wears a ring on the little finger of his right hand.

FIGURE 5a, b and c: Montague Marks (1888 - 1900). He was known as Montie. 50



According to Lansdell studio settings and the 'props' that went with them can help to date photographs because they changed over the decades. A. Lansdell, *History in camera: Fashion à la carte 1860 - 1900. A study of fashion through cartes-de-visite*, p. 12.

⁴⁹ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 191.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 105.



(Photograph a c. 1890, Photograph b c. 1891, Photograph c c. 1898: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - in album SM 3572, b - SM 105 and c - SM 140)



Figure 5b again shows the rustic studio prop in the shape of a tree trunk (See footnote 48). Figure 5a shows Montie in a boy's dress of velvet, elaborately edged with broad lace. He wears a sash of taffeta, a fine, stiff silk fabric with a plain weave around his waist and pantaloons, also edged with lace. The white socks are clearly visible as are the shoes with their ornate bows and the straps over the bridge of the foot. Figure 5b shows him wearing a velvet tam-o'-shanter⁵¹ with a sailor suit while Louis is wearing a wide-brimmed straw hat resembling a little sombrero. These straw hats actually appear on quite a few photographs of the young children. Figure 5c is the epitome of the English schoolboy, with the young Louis already sporting a watch chain over his waistcoat. Both boys are wearing the wide collared shirt of the schoolboy with the collar spreading over the short spencer jacket in the fashion of Harrow. (Harrow and Eaton were the two best public schools and always vieing with each other. They adopted different ways of wearing their collars as a way of distinction). Their boots have got buttons on the side.

FIGURE 6a, b and c: Gertrude Miriam Marks (1889 - 1955). She was called Girlie or Gai.⁵²



⁵¹ A jaunty cap named after a poem by Robert Burns, R.T. Wilcox, Dictionary of costume, p. 340.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 105; S.J.N. Maisels, The Trust Estate of the late Samuel Marks and his heirs, p. 2.







(Photograph a c. 1899, Photograph b c. 1904, Photograph c c. 1908: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM 964, b - SM 964, c - SM 2761)



Compare Figure 6a with Figure 7a The two pictures must have been taken on the same day, at least it is the same studio and the three boys are wearing the same clothes. The two girls, however, now look slightly different. The baby, Dolly, is now wearing a wide ruffled collar and Girlie has donned a bonnet and wrap over the shoulders.

The man in the picture is also represented in Bertha's album containing photographs of her relatives. If the assumption is correct that the older man in Figure 7a is indeed her father, Tobias Guttmann, then it would seem that this is one of her brothers. It is furthermore then highly probable that this is Philip Guttmann, the only brother about whom there is evidence of contact. In Figure 5b Girlie wears a large bow catching her hair at the back in the nape of the neck. The man in Figure 5a is wearing an unusual waistcoat. It is double-breasted and so high that the tie is all but visible. Furthermore it has a collar and wide lapel. The fob on the watch-chain is also in view. Figure 5c shows the fashionable soft draperies of c. 1908. The material is of a sheer kind like chiffon or voile and the neckline drawn in with a draw-string, creating a ruched effect. Around her neck she wears a short single strand of pearls. Her hair is waved and puffed out.

FIGURE 7a, b and c: Joseph Mordechai Marks (1892 - 1975), known as Joe. 53



R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 105.





(Photograph a c. 1899, Photograph b c. 1904, Photograph c c. 1918: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM nn, b - SM 498 and c - SM 788)



In Figure 7a Joe, seated on the floor, is wearing a smocked shirt with a bow knotted at his neck. Girlie's dress has an unusual collar with a flounced yoke and a long, free-flowing skirt, with deep pin-tucks at the bottom and puffed sleeves. The grandfather, Tobias Guttmann, wears a smoking cap. In Figure 7b Joe is attired very much like his older brothers in Figure 5c. Joe served in both World Wars (1914 - 1918 and 1939 - 1945) as an officer in the artillery. Identifying the men in Figures 7a and its mate Figure 6a presented difficulties. In June 1902 Marks asked Bertha specifically to go and see his father on her trip of the continent and to take Louis and Girlie with. We are going to see grandfather tomorrow night, ...we will take his photograph & if it is good you will have one", Girlie wrote to her father a month later. He received the promised copy in October: "I have received by post a photo of my father, taken with the three of you, and as far as I can judge it seems you are all looking your best, especially Louis, who looks like a very nice young man indeed". See Section 1.56

At a first glance it is easy to assume that this is the picture, however, by applying historical criticism it becomes clear that the assumption is wrong. In the first place there are definitely more than three of Marks's brood on the picture. In the second place Montie is also on the picture, but he died in 1900. If the picture is dated as 1899 it does tie in with Dolly's age, who was born 1897. Thirdly, photographs of the younger man in the matching picture are to be found in Bertha's album containing pictures of her relatives. This indicates that he was a close relative, probably a brother. When Bertha left for England in 1900, Montie was already ill (See p. 301) and would not have been fit to travel around to the continent, nor does it seem likely that he would have had his picture taken. Both pictures referred to were taken by the Artistic Photographic Co. Ltd. with studios at 72 Oxford Street W and 80 Kings Road Brighton. Another picture does meet all the requirements to fit Marks's reference (See Figure 13).

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1902.06.05.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., G. Marks - S. Marks, 1902.07.25.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1902.10.24.



FIGURE 8a, b and c: Theodore Marks (1894 - 1969). His name was abbreviated to Ted and Teddy.⁵⁷



⁵⁷ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 105.



(Photograph a c. 1900, Photograph b c. 1909, Photograph c c. 1915: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM nn, b - SM 2749, c - SM 2789)

In Figure 8c the collar pin, worn to help keep the collar down and at the same time lift the small knot of the tie up and out, is clearly visible.



FIGURE 9a, b and c: Fanny Beatrice Marks (1897 - 1992). In some earlier letters she was called "Tootles" but later "Dolly", a nickname which she got for having been very tiny and delicate at birth.⁵⁸



⁵⁸ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 105.





(Photograph a c. 1902, Photograph b c. 1904, Photograph c c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM 1058, b - SM 2788, c - SM nn)

Figure 9a shows Dolly wearing ringlets and a white bow on the one side. She also has on a little bangle. Her dress has the short yoke with gathered skirt, so typical of children's dress since the 1890s which allowed children more freedom and were no longer copies of adult fashion. Figure 9b was taken at the occasion of a Miss Evans's wedding in 1904, when Dollie acted as flowergirl. (Unfortunately nothing more is known about the occasion.)



FIGURE 10a, b and c: Philip Marks (1900 - 1978). He was called Phil for short.







(Photograph a c. 1901, Photograph b c. 1904, Photograph c c.1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM 2796, b - SM 2820, c - SA 1058)

There is no photograph of Phil on his own as a young man or adult in the collection. He only appears on group portraits (See Figures 14 and 15). In Figure 10b Phil is wearing a tunic style dress, very different from the dresses his elder brothers wore, with knickerbockers underneath and a pair of proper boots. In Figure 10c the collar pin (Compare with Figure 8c) is again clearly visible.



iii. Groups

FIGURE 11a: Marks with his family in London.



(Photograph c. 1903: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM 813)

FIGURE 11b: Isaac Lewis with his family in London.



(Photograph c. 1903: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, b - SM 1117)



Figure 11a is an informal group portrait of the Marks family. Ted is absent. From left to right are: Girlie, Joe, Dolly, Sammy, Louis, Bertha and Phil. Figure 11b is a photograph of Isaac Lewis and his family, taken on the same spot. The fact that the same three chairs appear on both photographs suggests that they were taken on the same day. The building does not resemble any of Marks's dwellings but the marbled walls and weathered balustrade suggest a place overseas. Given the facts of Phil's age and that Marks went to London in 1903, one of the few overseas trips he undertook, it is possible that this was taken in front of Lewis's house. Marks also visited his father on this trip and a life-sized, dated portrait of father and son hangs in the billiard room.

Through the window on the left a suspended bird cage is visible and a potted climber through the one on the right. It shows the drapes clearly but no inside or lace curtains. Note Joe's cap, the dainty cane Girlie is holding, Bertha's hair-do and Phil's dress and shoes.

FIGURE 12: Bertha Marks and the children.



(Photograph c. 1904: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1012)



A formal studio portrait of Bertha Marks with the children, taken just after the turn of the century. From left to right: Dolly, Louis, Phil, Ted (seated), Joe, Bertha and Girlie. It demonstrates the caution that has to be applied when dealing with written information. An enlargement of the same picture hangs in the billiard room, bearing a name and the date 1906. However, that would imply Phil is six years old which he does not look (See Figure 166 for notes on dress). It seems therefore more likely that the original was taken round about 1904 and the enlargement made at a later date in 1906.

Bertha is wearing a silk dress which is very wide at the hem, and obviously very full at the back. The whole skirt is intricately decorated with lace applications. In all probability the lace was first applied to a white/cream backing material before being applied to the dress because even in the folds the backing is clearly visible whereas, had the dark part behind the lace been cut away to allow a light petticoat to shine through the lace, it would have looked darker in the folds.

Girlie, being about 15 years old, wears her skirt long but not yet full length. A tie, complete with tie-pin, adds a touch of masculinity to the feminine blouse with its pintucks and high collar. Her hair is fashionably waved and rolled and caught at the back with a large bow.

Both the older boys wear tie-pins in the knot of the tie, serving more as ornament than having any function.

Phil is wearing the tunic type of dress of a young boy with buckled shoes with long tongues, virtually covering the bridge of the foot and reminiscent of seventeenth century footwear.

Ted sports the wide schoolboy collar worn over the jacket like his brothers used to wear (See Figure 5c). His jacket seems rather large for him and his pants are knee-length, fastening over the socks just below the knees. Bertha wears a single strand of pearls, a small brooch, studs in her ears, a wrist watch and rings on both the ring finger and middle finger of her left hand. The furniture are typical examples of ornate studio props while the painted back-drop completes the illusion of some grandiose interior.



FIGURE 13: Bertha Marks with her father-in-law, Girlie and Louis.



(Photograph c. 1902: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 35)

This must be the picture Marks referred to (See Figure 7) of Bertha, Girlie and Louis when they went to visit his father, Mordechai Marks (1816 - 1908), in 1902: "We are going to see grandfather tomorrow night, ...we will take his photograph & if it is good you will have one", Girlie wrote to her father a month after his request to Bertha to go and visit the old man.⁵⁹ He received the promised copy in October: "I have received by post a photo of my father, taken with the three of you, and as far as I can judge it seems you are all looking your best, especially Louis, who looks like a very nice young man indeed".⁶⁰

The elder Marks wears a smoking cap and old fashioned frock coat (See also Figure 17). Both women are simply attired, dressed suitably for travelling. Bertha is wearing three rings on her fingers, studs in her ears and a chain around the neck. It would seem that Louis is wearing boots with buttons fastening on the sides.

⁵⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5, G. Marks - S. Marks, 25.07.1902.

⁴⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1902.10.24.



FIGURE 14: Bertha Marks and children.



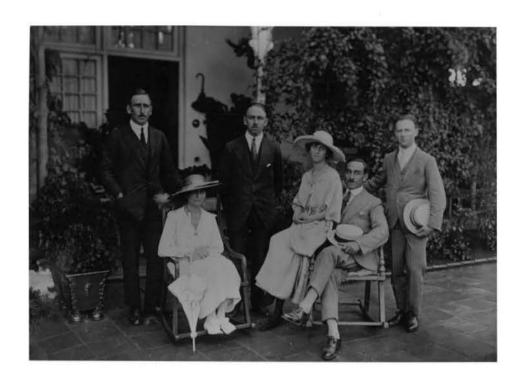
(Photograph c. 1918: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3449)

Bertha with some of her children and friends on the steps of Zwartkoppies Hall, c. 1918. It is very relaxed and informal, though posed. Some plants including a palm, are visible to the right. It is one of the few pictures where there is a demonstration of affection visible with Bertha having her hands on Joe's (?) and Phil's shoulders and Phil in turn having an arm around Dolly's neck. Both Dolly and the man next to her (Israel Maisels?)⁶¹ are smiling while Ted is up to something with an unsuspecting victim in the person of Louis in front of him. Joe, Ted and Louis are all wearing felt hats while Phil is wearing a helmet-like form of headgear. Dolly is wearing the short-skirted loose fitting dress typical of the twenties but Bertha is still wearing a blouse and skirt. Nobody seems to be in mourning so it is doubtfull that it was taken after Marks's death (1920) in the early 1920s and the age of the people won't allow a date of much later than 1923. However, they seem to be younger than in Figure 15 which was taken shortly before Marks's death in 1920.

Bolly was married to Israel Maisels on 26 August 1919, S.J.N. Maisels, Family Tree of Sammy Marks (See p. 71)



FIGURE 15: The Marks children as adults.



(Photograph c. 1920: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 3810)

The last photograph in the collection of the children together, taken in front of the Parktown (Johannesburg) house, c. 1920 (See Figures 16 and 213). From left to right are Joe, Dolly (seated), Ted, Girlie, Louis and Philip.

This picture contains interesting information on fashion. The First World War (1914 - 1918) had a tremendous impact on man and his life in general and indirectly caused hemlines of dresses to rise, bringing a freedom in dress unknown before. Both women wear wide-brimmed hats with deep rounded crowns. Dolly wears white stockings and shoes with large ornamental bows on top while Girlie wears black stockings and shoes. Dolly has a parasol, fringed with lace and neither lady is gloved.

Joe and Ted are dressed in dark suits and Louis and Phil in light suits but all the jackets seem to be ill-fitting and the trouser legs rather short. Louis and Phil also have straw boater hats which were still fashionable. Above the door-bell an umbrella of the fold-up type is hanging on the wall. The flowerpot in the left bottom corner of the picture is identical to some at Zwartkoppies Hall which still exist. The flower bed is edged with the same rope-topped kerbstones to be found at Zwartkoppies Hall. They were produced by Marks's own factory, Vereeniging Brick and Tile Company.



FIGURE 16: Sammy Marks with his wife and son-in-law.



(Photograph: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 384)

One of the last pictures taken of Marks and his wife, here with his son-in-law, Israel Maisels. The photograph was taken in front of the Parktown house (See also Figures 15 and 213).



FIGURE 17: Mordechai Marks (1816 - 1908).



(Photograph c. 1878: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3573)

This picture shows Marks's father, Mordechai Marks (1816 - 1908) with an unknown girl. Judging by the girl's dress it would seem the photograph was taken towards the late 1870s. A note of curiosity is added by the fact that the photograph was taken in Birmingham, England. According to both Mendelsohn and Saron he was an itinerant tailor, but struggling to make ends meet, which would have made a trip to England very difficult. Let would therefore seem quite possible that Marks, being a dutiful son and convinced Jew, was taking care of his father. On Figure 54 the life sized enlargement of Marks and his father, taken in 1903 is visible, showing Sammy and Mordechai Marks, which is the largest photograph in the collection.

He wears a smoking cap as do some other elderly gentlemen on unidentified family photographs (See also Figure 13). The girl is wearing a cape with two flounces. Adults wore a similar cloak called a reddingote but that was normally full-length. Examples of baby clothes which have survived in museum collections show that it was copied for babies as well.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 2; G. Saron and L. Hotz, The Jews in South Africa - a history, p. 69.



c. Servants

Servants were plentiful and cheap. Domestic service seemed bliss compared with most other jobs and occupations.⁶³ Masses of domestic servants, on whom society depended, were willing to be hired for absurdly small wages and, what is more important, considered it a privilege to serve such grand people, the nobility and gentry.⁶⁴

Servants were considered a necessity, not a luxury. It took quite a lot of physical strain to run and keep a large household without the aid of appliances. According to Joanne Smith a "rather modest country house" would employ a staff of fourteen servants. Even the poorer gentry and the unpretentious middle-class employed a considerable number of people. Given that Marks's house was in a colony far removed from a regular supply of well-trained and willing servants this could not have applied here.

Servants as such were not a Victorian phenomenon but the vast number of them were.⁶⁶ Due to the Industrial Revolution that brought about mechanisation of so many crafts traditionally done by women and the products being cheaper than the hand-made article, many women were forced into domestic service, having been deprived of their income. At the same time the number of potential mistresses increased thanks to the new prosperity in the wake of the expansion of trade, manufactures and the professions.⁶⁷

Towards the end of the period the picture changed as job opportunities in factories and shops opened up. The shorter work hours with better circumstances and a better chance of a private life after work attracted many a girl who a generation earlier would have gone into domestic service. The difficulty of finding servants became a stock joke in middle-class drawing rooms. There were many more mistresses than well-trained and willing servants.⁶⁸

The Victorian obsession with status and respectability made itself felt right through to the ranks of servants. To obtain a post a reference or 'character' as it was called, was necessary. Not only did this 'character' have to be a good one, but the status and standing of the person providing it had to be impeccable if the servant wished ever to obtain a similar post.⁶⁹

⁶³ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 227.

⁶⁴ J.B. Priestley, *The Edwardians*, p. 57.

⁶⁵ J. Smith, Edwardian children, pp. 33, 36.

⁶⁶ F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 7.

⁶⁷ F.E. Huggett, *Life below stairs*, p. 11.

⁶⁸ F.E. Huggett, *Life below stairs*, p. 70.

⁶⁹ L. Stanley (ed.), The diaries of Hannah Cullwick, p. 32.



Number of servants

In 1844 a writer on domestic isssues published a table recommending what servants should be kept according to income. Next to nobility he places the establishment of the second rate for people with and annual income of £4 500 to £5 000. These should have a butler doubling up as house steward, four other male and nine female servants. In the third rate establishment, with an income of £3 500 to £4 000 per annum, the butler should also act as valet and be assisted by two men and nine women.⁷⁰

In the big aristocratic households of Victorian England, though as many as three hundred servants were employed by some, forty or fifty was about the norm. The more distinguished one was, the more male servants one kept. There was no surer way to rise in people's estimation than to employ a staff of servants larger than most of your acquaintances thought you could afford, the size and composition of your establishment being an indication of your wealth.⁷¹ Even so, the male servants were usually outnumbered by female servants by about three to one.⁷² Being the prime status symbol and therefore expensive, male indoor servants were a rarity in middle-class homes but outdoors in the form of gardeners, grooms and coachmen they increased.⁷³

Hierarchy

A whole hierarchy developed 'below stairs' with senior servants enjoying certain priviledges and the less important ones having to wait upon them.⁷⁴ In less well-to-do houses the staff was smaller ever diminishing in size to the maid-of-all-work in a lower middle-class home with only a moderate income. Servants worked their way up the ranks aiming for the coveted positions of housekeeper, cook, nurse and house steward.⁷⁵

In some cases there was a lot of comings and goings with servants leaving posts for better ones or because of undesirable circumstances or being fired by punctilious mistresses. Some like Hannah Cullwick, who left a legacy of some seventeen diaries describing in detail her life and chores as domestic, not only changed employers but also positions without necessarily climbing the ladder.⁷⁶

The butler was a male servant in rank below the valet, the groom of the chambers and the house steward. Often, especially towards the end of the period the posts of butler

⁷⁰ F.E. Huggett, *Life below stairs*, p. 54.

F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 54.

F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, pp. 21, 31.

⁷³ F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 57.

⁷⁴ L. Stanley (ed.), *The diaries of Hannah Cullwick*, p. 42.

J. Davies, The Victorian kitchen, pp. 27 - 50.

⁷⁶ L. Stanley, *The diaries of Hannah Cullwick*, pp. 298 - 302.



and valet were combined whereas the other two mentioned could only be afforded by the very wealthy.⁷⁷

Duties and conditions

Household guides and magazines abounded with advice on how to hire and handle servants while also describing the different duties of the different servants. The duties of servants, published in 1894, states that it applies equally to both mistress and servant. The former would gather from its pages the actual services she was entitled to demand from each servant. The servant would learn what his or her duties entail.⁷⁸

Accomodation generally was very poor and most servants had to share their sleeping quarters, but at least they had a roof over their heads and were still in a much better position than most.⁷⁹

They were afforded very little leisure time except for a monthly day off and then many employers actually expected the daily chores to be finished first. 80 Servants lived in an environment in which their time was rigidly controlled and their activities confined to those sanctioned by employers.81

In addition to wages servants were entitled to certain perquisites and illicitly helped themselves to some others. 82 Huggett states that as a rule girls who went out to the colonies were better paid and lived under much better circumstances with opportunities for marriage galore. 83

The English lack of labour-saving devices, the insistence on household perfection and the emphasis on status meant that the size of staff, though not the total wage bill, was very often twice as big in Britain than it would have been elsewhere.84

At Zwartkoppies Hall

No house like Zwartkoppies Hall could have been run without a small army of servants. Even getting dressed was impossible for a lady to accomplish on her own. The number of servants kept probably varied from time to time. Like many contemporary well-to-do families Marks's affairs had ups and downs which influenced their lifestyle. In August 1902 Marks told Bertha: "As to the number of servants you are to engage, I shall not

F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 31.

Copper Beech Publishing, The duties of servants, p. 5.

F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 41.

F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 65.

L. Stanley (ed.), The diaries of Hannah Cullwick, p. 32.

F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 42.

F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 141.

F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 72.



interfere", 85 whereas in March 1906 he cautioned Bertha: "You must not bring out a whole regiment of servants with you this time. You must be content with half a regiment in these bad times." 86

To this Bertha replied in April:

... we cannot do with less than the following servants A Cook & Kitchenmaid a Butler & someone to help him 2 Housemaids & 1 Housemaid & not counting the necessary Kaffirs⁸⁷ to do all the childrens quarters & wait upon them at meals & then the laundry requires people & Mrs Mostert is not certainly able to see to Dairy & my Poultry as it will be required on my return. Then a Gov for Doll & a nurse for Phil & a maid for myself I have had enough inconvenience not having one with me all this time.⁸⁸

An interesting comment of Marks on the topic of servants' wages is contained in a letter written in 1901 to W.F. Bailey, a friend of Marks whom he had entertained at Zwartkoppies before the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1902) and a senior official in the Irish Land Commission in Britain:⁸⁹

With regard to wages; (sic) before the war broke out girls serving in private houses did not get less than £4 per month. Governesses averaged from £75- to £100 per annum. I do not know the wages paid to shop assistants but these cannot be less than £10 to £5 per month and the better class of shop assistant got very much more. ... Girls serving in houses have free borad (sic) lodging and washing, as have also Governesses; shop assistants will have to find themselves which in ordinary times would cost about £6 per mensum.⁹⁰

According to receipts in the back of Bertha's inventory book, the cook in 1887 was a woman named Annie Willis and she was being paid £3 a month - as was Lucy Willis (sister of the above?) whose occupation is not specified but who was still employed fourteen years later.⁹¹

Marks wrote to his wife on 31 January 1901:

The other day Lucy asked for her wages, she said that before you left you owed her 3 months wages @ £6 thus £18 which paid her to

⁸⁵ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1902.08.18.

⁸⁶ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.23, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1906.03.31.

Although this word is today banned from usage because of its derogatory and insulting nature, it was in common use till deep into this century and is therefore quoted in this context.

⁸⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1906.04.29.

⁸⁹ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 159, 184.

⁹⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - W. F. Bailey, 1901.03.15.

⁹¹ N.C.H.M., Sammy Marks Museum, Pretoria: SM nn, Book.



September 7th 1899. She asked for one year's salary, from 7th Sept'99 to 7th Sept 1900 @ £7 per month which I paid her. Let me know if this is correct. 92

(According to the household guide *The duties of servants*, a plain cook in Britain received £50 - £70 per annum in 1894.⁹³ The Duke of Richmond and Gordon paid his butler £45, the cook and housekeeper £60 and the housemaids £12 to £26.)⁹⁴

As for native servants Marks felt that people who employ black female servants would be very pleased to have respectable white girls in their stead⁹⁵ and expressed the following opinion:

Domestic servants, I think, will displace native girls if they come out. In the first place native girls are not trustworthy and their morals, as a rule, are not of a high standard. In the second place their wants are so few that they are very independent and if their demands are not met, they go away and live in their kraals. 96

He also seems to have had fixed notions about the master/servant relationship and behaviour. Marks wrote the following to Bertha on 21 Aug 1902:

If you engage any servants with the assistance of the Committee⁹⁷ appointed for the purpose, you must consult Mr Bailey⁹⁸ as to what wages you should offer them, and bonuses for good behaviour etc. You must explain to them clearly what you want them to do, and your ways of housekeeping in the country, and inform them that we are living about 12 miles from Pretoria and 2½ miles from the Railway (second class return fare to Pretoria being 4/6) if they should wish to go in to town, and that you will allow every servant to go to town once a month. Also, tell them, especially the house-maids, if we have anything special on Sundays, there should be no grumbling, as on weekdays we have no visitors or very few. Also that the women must all wear caps, and that they must not say they will not do this and that, after they had come out here. ... (on contracts). ⁹⁹ You can also have a clause put in your

⁹² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.01.31.

⁹³ Copper Beech Publications, The duties of servants, p. 16.

⁹⁴ F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 42.

⁹⁵ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 184.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - Mr Bailey, 1901.05.30.

Probably the South African Expansion Committee, a London-based organisation, endorsed by Sir Alfred Milner (See Figure 84), which helped recruit domestic servants for affluent households in the Transvaal. R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 184.

⁹⁸ A British friend of Marks who was a senior official in the Irish Land Commission.

This is quite in feeling with the general attitude towards servants. Household guides often advised exactly the same conduct to avoid misunderstandings and resulting unpleasantness. Copper Beech Publications, *The duties of servants*, pp. 10 - 12.



agreement, especially with regard to the women, that if they should wish to get married during the time their contract is in force, they must give you notice in sufficient time to enable you to replace them from Europe, and if they leave before their time is up, they will undertake to refund you all moneys which you may have spent for their benefit. 100

(Like the man who had some initiative could work himself up to rise from his born station in life, so a servant girl by emigrating and finding a husband could elevate herself to become mistress of her own household.¹⁰¹ Many a servant girl found a husband this way shortly after arrival in her new country. For this reason, emigrants who took their own servants with them to some other country, were advised to make them sign a contract with some kind of marriage clause.)¹⁰²

In the same letter to Bailey, mentioned above, Marks stated that the bringing out of English girls of all classes might help prevent marriages of British migrant men to Dutch women and should thus be encouraged, making no attempt to hide his Anglophilia.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1902.08.21.

¹⁰¹ F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 143.

¹⁰² F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 144.

¹⁰³ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - Mr Bailey, 1901.05.30.



FIGURE 18: The household staff of Zwartkoppies Hall.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 267)



The household staff, a total of thirteen, of Zwartkoppies in the 1890's. The butler seated in the middle was Mr J. McCracken (See Figure 20). The rest of the staff's names and positions unfortunately have not been recorded. According to Victorian hierarchy "below stairs" the two ladies seated next to Mr McCracken probably were the housekeeper and the cook, these being the most senior positions, worthy of this priviledge. The elderly gentleman in the middle seems to be the Austrian head gardener whose name was not recorded anywhere. On 26 September 1900 Marks wrote to Girlie: "Delia is back at Zwartkoppie again and very hard work she has to prepare all the big Sunday dinners." From this it sounds as if Delia was the cook but which one is she on the photograph can only be guessed.

In 1901 Delia, whose surname remains unknown, was earning £10 per month which Marks thought "is rather a high wage but then she works hard and looks after the house well." 107

The two girls wearing the aprons might be kitchenmaids. In a house like this the kitchen had to supply three meals a day: Firstly for the family and any guests they might be entertaining, secondly the nursery and thirdly the staff of servants. Delia must have had her work cut out for her if Marks compliments her that she looks after the house well. In a typical well-to-do Victorian household she would have been assisted by at least a scullery maid who was responsible for all the cleaning, not only of utensils, but also floors and shelves, the cleaning and peeling of vegetables and skinning of any game; a second kitchenmaid who had to clean the kitchen range and light it and get everything ready for the first kitchenmaid and cook; a first kitchenmaid who had to make up all the bread and bake it and do all the plain cooking as well as the meals for the nursery and the servants' food. The cook herself would be responsible for all the fancy cooking, making of creams and jellies, supplies and orders, menus and general supervision, especially with the dishing up for dinner. 108

The making of coffee and tea and the baking of cakes and biscuits as well as the making of preserves, jams and confectionery were normally the duties of the housekeeper and her staff to alleviate the burden of the kitchen staff.¹⁰⁹

The gentleman at the back looks as if he could be a footman, or butler's assistant while the other man in his shirt sleeves might well have been an assistant to the head-gardener. The other ladies could include two housemaids and Bertha's lady's-maid (See Bertha's remark about the minimum amount of servants she has to keep, Figure 19).

In his will Marks left bequests to Agnes Strachan and Molly McCarthy, two of the household staff and R.J. Willmer, his chauffeur. As this was already in 1920, the probability of any of them having been in service at the time this picture was taken is very small. R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 252.

S.J.N. Maisels, The life and times of Sammy Marks, p. 5; R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 187, also just refers to him like this in passing.

¹⁰⁶ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1900.09.26.

¹⁰⁷ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.04.03.

¹⁰⁸ J. Davies, The Victorian kitchen, pp. 27 - 50.

¹⁰⁹ J. Davies, The Victorian kitchen, p. 16.

In 1887 they had at least one housemaid by the name of Esther. ¹¹⁰ In 1895 Bertha had written to Cape Town for a good English parlour maid. ¹¹¹ At this time they seem to have had Coloured servants in the house as well, because Bertha mentions that if such a girl as she was looking for as a parlour maid, should object to sharing accomodation with Bertha's Coloured girls, Bertha would arrange separate accomodation for her. ¹¹² It is possible that one or more of the black servants were employed as scullery staff and that one of the ladies is a governess and the other one a nurse. Due to lack of supporting evidence it remains speculation.

Judging by their dress, even though they might have dressed up specially for the occasion of having their picture taken, they are all dressed in fashionable clothes for the early 1890s. However, comparison with Figure 19 which was taken on the same day and where the kitchen wing is visible, shows that it had to be deep into the 1890s. A light is also visible in the background hanging from the verandah roof suggesting a date of post 1896 - 1897.

The plants in containers on the verandah are visible as are the downpipes from the gutters. It would seem the picture was taken against the eastern side of the house against the steps leading up onto the verandah.

FIGURE 19: Household staff indoors and outdoors, Zwartkoppies Hall.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 287)

¹¹⁰ N.C.H.M., Sammy Marks Museum, Pretoria: nn, Inventory, 1887.

¹¹¹ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 183.

¹¹² R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 182.



The complete household staff of Zwartkoppies, c. 1896, counting 19 people, all unidentified except for the butler, Mr J. McCracken (See Figure 20) standing in the centre at the back. It includes the Indian man, seated on the ground second from the left, who was responsible for the fruit and vegetable garden. The aprons worn by the two black men seated in the middle suggest that they were employed in the kitchen.

A comparison with Figure 18 brings the following to light. Four of the women are wearing aprons and not only two which are visible in Figure 18. This implies their occupations were of such a nature as to run the risk of getting their clothes sullied. The caps on their heads are also clearly visible (See Marks's condition in his letter, p. 76). The woman who in Figure 18 had been standing behind the butler, now sits in the centre. Could this be Delia the cook? Her plain hairstyle in contrast to the rolled and puffed out hairstyles of her two companions beside her, might bear out this theory. If so, the ladies at her side are in all probability the housekeeper and governess. The other two apronless girls to the left of the picture could then very well be Bertha's lady's-maid and Joe's nurse. Unfortunately all this is deductive speculation based on circumstantial evidence, which is better than nothing at all.

This picture was taken on the eastern side of the house with the kitchen wing projecting at the back and the second storey clearly visible. The upstairs balcony with its wooden railing is in view but the so-called sleeping-porch (See Figure 39) does not exist yet. This dates the picture post 1893. If the kitchen wing were only added towards the end of the decade, it would mean their clothes are rather out of fashion (See also Figure 29). The reason for the flags and banners is unclear. They do however appear in quite a few of the pictures where some celebration or festivity was photographed (See for example Figures 127, 129 and 130). However, again no reference could be found to their usage and it would require some in depth research.



FIGURE 20: Mr J. McCracken, the butler.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3585)

Family memories just refer to the butler as Mr McCracken but one of the albums, SM 1344, presented by him and the carpenter, Mr Potts (See p. 34), bears the inscription "From Mr Potts & J McCracken July 27th, 1897". No estate could be found in the government archives although according to the family he died while in Marks's service. By 1904 Bertha was looking for a new butler (See Figure 37). Mendelsohn strangely refers to him as Maclaren.¹¹³

¹¹³ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 196.



According to literature servants had very little free time which makes one wonder if this picture of Mr J. McCracken, the butler, relaxing with a book in the garden, was posed (Re his successors see Figure 37). On the other hand (according to Huggett) servants quickly learnt managing to be on duty for many hours a day while actually shirking many a task. One recollection of an ex-man-servant was that 'Gentlemen's servants in some situations may have a deal of leisure upon their hands by a proper management of their business. I used to spend my leisure hours in reading and writing...' 114

This type of collar that he is wearing was reserved for his occupation and no professional man would be seen wearing it. 115 Note also the wide-cut waistcoat revealing the stiffly starched immaculate white shirt front and starched cuffs. Another subject very little is recorded about, is the pets. McCracken is shown stroking a young kitten. There are a few photographs of cats and dogs in the collection (See Figures 36 and 117) and Marks also mentions rabbits in a letter to Joe, dated 11 December 1900. The children also had ponies (See Figure 73). Pets were a common feature of Victorian households and there seems to have been very much the same variety of attitudes towards them as today, some people adoring them and spoiling them while others seemed indifferent or even intolerant. 116

FIGURE 21: One of the nurses of the Marks children, Nurse Bell with Joe and presumably Ted Marks.



(Photograph c. 1895: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1337)

¹¹⁴ F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 41.

¹¹⁵ R.W. Wilcox, The dictionary of costume, p. 79; N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 136.

F. Fraser (ed.), MAUD The diaries of Maud Berkeley, pp. 136 - 139, 144; S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 76; S. Harrison, The diary of Jack the Ripper, p. 36.



The small children in a well-to-do Victorian household were cared for by a nurse, a custom carried well into the twentieth century. She was known as "Nanny". In many families babies and children were virtually abandoned entirely to the care of the nurse, the parents only seeing their off-spring for half an hour before or after tea. "Nurse Bell, Joey Marks and Baby" appear on this picture taken on the verandah, "Baby" being presumably Ted Marks. Judging by the leg-o'-mutton sleeves (so called because of the shape with a large volume of material at the shoulder tapering down to elbow or wrist - See also Figures 35 and 91) of the woman's outfit the picture must have been taken about 1895.

FIGURE 22: Nurse Johnston with Dolly Marks.



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1337)

¹¹⁷ D. Hall (ed.), Memories of childhood, p. 65.

¹¹⁸ F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 76.



Fanny Beatrice's (Dolly's) nurse was Nurse Johnston, pictured here sitting on a cane chair with her charge on her lap, 1897.

The children also had governesses. The educational needs of especially the girls were catered for by this woman "snubbed, bullied, loving, and usually quite incompetent, ... a standby of Victorian pathos". 119 They were mostly gentlewomen, untrained as far as education went but with some training in what was considered the necessary accomplishments for a lady. 120 Governesses did not have it easy. Mostly they were from good background but had fallen onto hard times due to circumstances like bad investments or the failure to find a husband who could support them. Having few options open to them as far as employment went (up to the last two decades of the century) and being too genteel for domestic service, they used what little skills and education they had themselves to teach the children of the affluent. They were neither one of the servants nor part of the family but floated on a lonely level somewhere inbetween. At Zwartkoppies first there was a Miss Kretchmer and later a succession of English governesses: Miss Reid, Miss Louise Maria Lorimer, who married Julius Heymann, 121 (See Figure 109, also photographs SM 2, SM 258 and SM 31 in the collection), Miss Forsythe (SM 377 and SM 87) and Miss Loxton. They taught the children elementary skills, as well as German, French and music in a small schoolroom at Zwartkoppies. The boys left for boarding-school when they were eight years old, but the girls stayed with the governess till they were twelve. 122

The structure of the verandah with the little gate leading off it is evident, as are the plants. It was taken on the western side of the house.

¹¹⁹ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 99.

¹²⁰ G.M. Young, Portrait of an age Victorian England, p. 99.

¹²¹ Sometimes it did happen that a governess became involved with some relative or friend of the family, leading to matrimony as Miss Lorrimer was fortunate to do. According to her husband's estate documents she came from Surrey in England and was born in 1875. In 1963 she was still alive and 88 years old. Transvaal Archives Depot, Pretoria: Estate 62716. D. Read, England 1868 - 1914, p. 40. (It shows that it did not only happen in fiction as in Jane Austin's Emma).

¹²² R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 105.



FIGURE 23: Phil Marks with his nurse, Nurse Auret.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

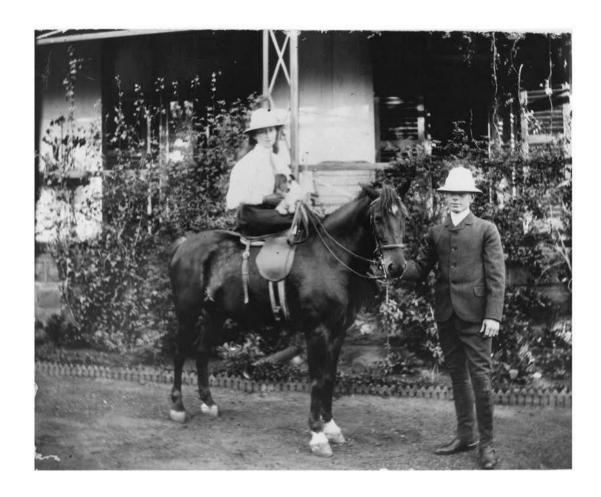
Nurse Auret was appointed to look after baby Phil after his birth in 1900. At this stage Bertha was staying with her children in Muizenberg out of harm's way due to the Anglo-Boer War and Phil was born here. Phil was to be 18 months old before seeing his father for the first time. However, in most families it was customary for parents to see their children only for half an hour or maybe a whole hour in the afternoon before or after tea, the children spending the rest of the day with their nurse. 123

The picture shows the rather ornate, ultra-long dresses in vogue for small babies. (See also Figure 163). The lace covering the doors is visible.

¹²³ D. Hall, Memories of childhood, p. 68.



FIGURE 24: Girlie Marks and the groom, one Smith.



(Photograph c. 1904: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 490)

Little is known about the man holding Girlie's horse except that he was the groom and had the surname of Smith. According to family reminiscences the chief groom was a Mr White. 124 Horseriding was a popular pastime and especially Girlie seems to have enjoyed it a lot as is indicated by more than one picture and references in the correspondence (See also Figures 98 and 156).

Both people are wearing pith helmets, (See Figure 2). Girlie also wears leather gloves. She is riding side-saddle (See Figure 156) as was considered proper for a lady and is holding a puppy on her lap. Also notable is the fact that Mr Smith is wearing leggings (trouserlegs of some durable material or leather worn to protect the trousers against abrasion and sweat) over his trousers, buttoned on one side and going over the instep of the shoe. The flower beds on the side of the house are visible, providing information

¹²⁴ S.J.N. Maisels, The Trust Estate of the late Samuel Marks and his heirs, p. 4.



about the plants and the way they were planted as well as how the beds looked with the pointed bricks forming a curb.

FIGURE 25: The estate workmen of Zwartkoppies Hall.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

This picture shows the estate workmen of Zwartkoppies Hall. The man with the bowler hat 125 and white shirt sitting right in the middle is probably Mr Daan Haumann, the farm manager. It was taken against the wall which runs in front of the farm manager's (later?) house (See Figures 41 and 42), the only place on the estate where such a wall is to be found. The roof of the house is just visible and it shows that tall shrubs, maybe even fruit trees, grew against the wall on the inside.

The can in the foreground is typical of the type of container used by workers to carry their lunch in. The black man standing on his knees in the middle row to the left of the picture is cradling a bottle in his arms as if proudly wanting it to be visible. The shape of the handle of some implement, probably a shovel (See Figure 31), is also visible, behind Mr Haumann's (?) right shoulder. It was not recorded how many workmen Marks had on his payroll. He did at one stage send to Durban for ten 'Madras Coolies' to work in the orchards and for two 'good, steady, reliable and trustworthy Zulu boys who can be thoroughly depended on for Night Watchmen'. 126

¹²⁵ A felt hat with a round crown and narrow brim, also known as a Derby.

¹²⁸ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 183.



FIGURE 26: Servants and labourers in front of the old homestead.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 294)

An informal photograph of servants and labourers in front of the original homestead of Zwartkoppies, 32 people in total! (plus a dog)

To the left of the picture in the background, the front of the stable and coach house is just visible, giving a clue as to where this old house had stood (Compare Figures 46, 47 and 48). It must be more or less on the same spot where the cow-house was erected later. To the right is another shed housing farm carts (See Figure 30a).



Figure 27: Another view of the servants and the old homestead.



(Photograph: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

Another view of the old house with again 32 persons (and the dog), two of whom are only half on the photo. Note the long handled ox-whip the man to the far left of the picture is carrying and the two men in the centre, one with a grass broom and one with a white bucket. Photographs of servants, on whom the whole of Victorian society depended, actually doing something or even having the tools of their trade with them, are extremely rare. 127

¹²⁷ A.J. Lambert, Victorian and Edwardian country-house life from old photographs, p. nn.



2. House and home

The home was held dear to the Victorian heart and to have a home that radiated care and happiness was the Victorian ideal. Family life was one of the basic institutions of the Victorian society and the centre of the family life was the home. 128

By the middle of the 1880s, the Victorian cornucopia (horn of plenty) had begun to run dry. The great tide of prosperity on which the country had been propelled for so long, was receding. A depression started which was to hit both agriculture and industry.¹²⁹

To counteract the instability and change the Victorians attempted to build up an environment of comfort and security, therefore the house had to be a place of safety, a refuge to which the family could retreat and forget about the world outside. It was the woman's task and role to maintain this refuge that home afforded and to be a show piece displaying as it were the man's success and wealth. The way your home looked was a way of demonstrating your economic and your moral worth, and both were at the heart of much of what we think of as typically Victorian. The Edwardians were more concerned with demonstrating an aesthetic sense, a different kind of worth, and to express personality rather than substance through their homes, but they were just as concerned with appearances. 131

Mass production made things cheap and easily available but William Morris (1834 - 1896), one of the founders of the Art Nouveau-style, called it soul-destroying for both the maker and the buyer. It also led to the Victorians having so many things in their homes because not only were there more of them, but they also became affordable. In the interiors of their homes they were fond of clutter because it gave a sense of security by being surrounded by the manifestations of your wealth.¹³²

In the early twentieth century the open display of wealth was an essential element in the upper-class style of life. Money was spent largely on country houses, personal servants and lavish entertaining. Visible comforts were considered important.¹³³

The Victorians saw the implementation and installation of gas as means of heating, cooking and lighting and by the end of the era, electricity and the many uses it could be harnessed for. This in turn led to the invention of many a labour-saving device e.g. the vacuum-cleaner. Plumbing brought running water inside houses leading to the installation of bathrooms. Hot water on tap became possible thanks to improved heating

¹²⁸ M. Hansen, Entertaining in the Victorian style, p. 15.

¹²⁹ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 110.

¹³⁰ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 110.

¹³¹ J. Calder, The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs, pp. 2, 6 - 7.

¹³² J. Calder, *The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs*, pp. 3, 7; N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, p. 60.

¹³³ P. Thompson, The Edwardians, p. 3.

¹³⁴ J. Calder, The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs, p. 3.



by gas or electricity. Proper drainage and sewerage systems were designed and installed for the first time which in turn improved health conditions.¹³⁵

Outside the house full-time gardeners tended extensive gardens. The Victorian era saw a return to classical and geometric garden lay-outs incorporating Italian-style ornaments, garden furniture and elaborate waterworks. 136

Zwartkoppies Hall

The building of Zwartkoppies Hall started in mid 1885 and was only completed in 1886. Marks's neighbour, Harry Struben (1840 - 1915) of The Willows, as his farm was called, ¹³⁷ reported it was neither Gothic nor Tudor in style but more of Colney Hatch or Newgate (See footnote 138) and that he had been told that Marks had drawn the plan on a plank with a piece of charcoal. ¹³⁸ A letter from Marks's grandson, Mr S.J.N. Maisels to the Director of the National Cultural History Museum indicates that research by Marks's biographer found evidence that the initial house cost him £1 500, but this could not be substantiated. ¹³⁹ Marks himself claimed in a letter that it had cost him 'thousands'. ¹⁴⁰

Electricity started to be used for lighting in the 1880s and the first modern power station was opened in 1889 at Deptford to supply parts of London. Although Pretoria got electricity in 1892, Was only towards the end of 1896 that Marks had electricity installed in Zwartkoppies Hall, the power generated by water. For this purpose a canal was taken out, following the contours and bringing water over a distance of 5 kilometres right past the house. This caused certain problems for "there not being much water in the river just now on account of the excessive drought we will not be able to make use of all the lights at one time for some time to come." A week later he writes: "We have had the electric light on, and it is a vast improvement, we play billiards now in the evening, but it is turned out at ten o' clock."

¹³⁵ J. Calder, The Victorian and Edwardian HOME from old photographs, p. 8.

¹³⁶ A.J. Lambert, Victorian and Edwardian country-house life from old photographs, p. nn.

¹³⁷ A present day suburb of Pretoria which was developed on this property still bears this name. It was a model farm in its day. D.W. Krüger (ed.), South African Biographical Dictionary III, p. 794.

¹³⁸ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 35. No definition of these two terms could be found in architectural reference books. Newgate could refer to the Newgate prison which was built 1770 - 1782 and was seen as a prime example of Georgian architecture in public buildings. It has since been demolished. B. Fletcher, A History of Architecture, p. 829.

¹³⁹ N.C.H.M., Sammy Marks Museum, Pretoria: S.J.N.Maisels - Director, N.C.H.M., 1985.02.14.

¹⁴⁰ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 35.

¹⁴¹ F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 157.

S.P. Engelbrecht, Pretoria - die eerste halfeeu in S.P. Engelbrecht e.a. (reds.), Pretoria (1855 - 1955), p. 26.

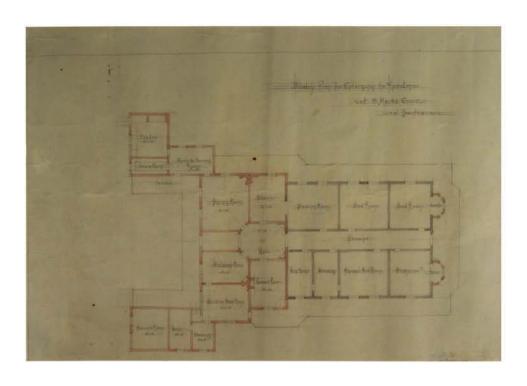
¹⁴³ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.12, S. Marks - L. and M. Marks, 1896.11.22.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.12, S. Marks - L. and M. Marks, 1896.11.29.



a. House plans

FIGURE 28: House plan 1890.



(Plan, 1890: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1348)

A letter from Marks to his friend A. H. Nellmapius (See Figure 89) reads as follows: You will greatly oblige me by seeing your architects, the Hollanders¹⁴⁵, and asking them if they would like to come out to my Farm and make plans for attaching a few rooms to my house. I shall give them £25 for the work i.e. for plans for carpenters & masons to work by. They can stay with me during the time. ¹⁴⁶

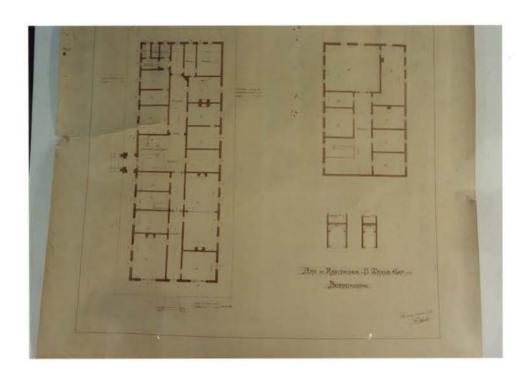
This set of plans dated 21 May 1890 must have been the result of Marks's request. The signature is difficult to read but seems to be AS 2 (?) v. Dyk, reputed to be a partner of W. de Zwaan, strengthening the proposition that the Hollanders referred to in the letter quoted were De Zwaan and Van Dyk (See Figures 29 and 35) and Van Dyk. It shows the original part of the house, in grey, as consisting of seven rooms and a passage. No reaction of Marks to these plans could be found but the fact that they were not executed implies he decided against them for reasons unknown.

¹⁴⁵ It is not mentioned who they are, but probably refers to De Zwaan who had built Nellmapius's house on his farm, Irene, just outside Pretoria in 1889. H. Kaye, The Tycoon and the President, opposite p. 56. Nellmapius also owned a house in Pretoria, Albert Lodge, which he had built in the late eighties on the corner of Vermeulen and Bosman Streets. H. Kaye, The Tycoon and the President, p. 46. De Zwaan was also responsible for other buildings like the former head office of the Nederlandsche Bank voor Zuid-Afrika and the National Bank on Church Square, Pretoria. J. Ploeger, Nederlander in Transvaal 1850 - 1950, p. 59.

¹⁴⁶ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 7, S. Marks - A.H. Nellmapius, 1890.05.05.



FIGURE 29: House plan 1893.



(Plan, 1893: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1348)

The plans for the first alterations to the house, adding rooms on to the ground floor and a second storey, March 1893. These just bear initials and the abbreviated title Arch (Architect) underneath. However, comparison with the signature on the drawing of the proposed porch (See Figure 35) shows it to be that of Willem de Zwaan (1867 - 1948), a Dutch architect of Pretoria. Interestingly enough the kitchen wing is not shown and no record exists, telling when it was added. It is possible that this was only done when the alterations to the front entrance of the house were done.

The alterations were executed by John Johnstone Kirkness (1857 - 1939), a Scottish building contractor who built a large part of Republican Pretoria. 147

¹⁴⁷ A.L. Meiring, Stadsbeplanning en boukuns in Pretoria: 'n terugblik in S.P. Engelbrecht e.a. (reds.), Pretoria (1855 - 1955), pp. 167 - 168.



b. The buildings and other structures

FIGURE 30a: The original homestead of Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 4301)

This is Mr Murray's [See Figure 184] old house before it was pulled down. I had this historical building pulled down because it was in a very bad condition as you will gather from the picture. The walls were cracked all round and the building could not have stood much longer. It was hardly an ornament to the Estate and was only allowed to remain so long on account of its historical interest, during the fight at Zwartkopje in 1881 several bullets entered the building. It was on the Zwartkopje just near here that Old Hans Botha¹⁴⁸ received 5 bullets in his body. The old man died about two months ago without the bullets ever having been extracted.¹⁴⁹

Figure 26 contains a clue as to exactly where this house was situated. To the left of the picture in the background, the centre part of the coach house and stables (See Figure 46) is clearly visible, complete with the low wall forming the little court yard and the sliding doors. This would place the old homestead more or less where the cow-shed was erected in 1907.

¹⁴⁸ Nothing more is known about him except that he appears on one of the photographs - see Figure 182.

¹⁴⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17 S. Marks - L. Marks, 1901.02.13.



When Marks returned from England in March 1885 with his young bride, they temporarily took up residence in this house. It must have looked a sight better than in this picture which was taken in 1896. It is a prime example that one can never be too careful of jumping to conclusions.

FIGURE 30b: The original homestead of Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM)

An enlarged and framed print of the same picture as Figure 30a hangs in the hallway and bears the words "Old Zwartkopje 1882" in the bottom right hand corner and "Rudolf Steger" in the left. Another small print of the same picture has the words "Back view of Mr Murray's house just before it was pulled down", written at the bottom and is dated 1896. Judging by the tools the crew exhibits - shovels, axes, pick-axes, saws, wheelbarrows and even yoked oxen, the picture must have been taken just before they set to work to demolish the place.

Until the picture dated 1896 and the information in the letter surfaced, it was taken for granted that the date on the enlargement was the date the picture was taken. It cannot have been the date of erection because it had already been standing in 1881 when it was damaged.

Rudolf Steger (no dates of birth or death could be traced) only started his studio in Pretoria in 1899. ¹⁵⁰ So this date presents a problem. The only possible explanation is that Rudolf Steger, who made the enlargement, meant to refer to its illustrious history

K. Roodt-Coetzee, Die Republikeinse Pretoria: kultureel en sosiaal in S.P. Engelbrecht e.a. (reds.), Pretoria (1855 - 1955), p. 140.



as being a relic from the war and made a mistake about the date. He had a reputation for making excellent reproductions of old photographs. ¹⁵¹ If he only set up shop in 1899 he could have taken neither the original photograph nor one in 1882, so it must have been taken by someone else, in all probability Mr James Potts, Marks's carpenter cum handyman (See p. 34). The enlargement was then probably ordered by Marks at a later date for sentimental reasons as Marks clearly considered the old homestead to have been of historical importance.

FIGURE 31: Another view of the old homestead.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1334)

Another view of the old homestead bearing the inscription "The original Zwartkoppies". Note the row of blue gum trees in front of it (See also Figures 26 and 30a).

K. Roodt-Coetzee, Die Republikeinse Pretoria: kultureel en sosiaal in S.P. Engelbrecht e.a. (reds.), Pretoria (1855 - 1955), p. 140.



FIGURE 32: Zwartkoppies Hall.



(Photograph c. 1894: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

Zwartkoppies Hall as it looked by 1894. Marks is holding Girlie and Montie, and Bertha relax on the verandah with some friends. The front porch and balcony have not been added yet, but the alterations and additions of the second storey are complete.

The flower beds are only roughly bordered with stones. Only a part of the bed in front of the house boasts with the pointed bricks which are visible in Figure 24 on the side of the house as well. It is the one picture that could have given an indication as to the date of the building of the kitchen wing. The house being very large it is not clear without a doubt that the kitchen cannot be seen on this photograph although it would appear absent (Compare with Figure 67 where the kitchen wing is quite visible).



Figure 33: Zwartkoppies Hall.



(Photograph c. 1894: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 865)

This was taken from more or less the same angle as Figure 32 but shows more of the back. This was done by taking two photographs and combining them. It is reasonably clear that the present kitchen is absent. However two small structures of corrugated iron are visible right at the back.

FIGURE 34: The original southern entrance.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1337)



Detail of the old southern entrance before the addition of the porch.

This picture is valuable for record purposes but of little use for restoration, because the existing porch and balcony had replaced this entrance by the turn of the century. However, the stoep furniture and types of plants are valuable information. The flower pots were also retained and re-used on the widened steps (See Figure 37).

FIGURE 35: Some friends on the old southern porch.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1337

This photograph is one of the best representations of the old southern entrance before the addition of the porch-balcony. It shows Bertha's sister, Rosie (Rosalie) Lavenstein (1876 - 1939)¹⁵² and Julius Nathan Heymann (1867 - 1927)¹⁵³ with friends and

She was married to Louis Henry Lavenstein but they separated in 1919. She eventually died in Nice, France, leaving her nieces Girlie and Dolly quite an array of jewellery. Transvaal Archives Depot, Pretoria, Estate 3999/39.

He hailed from Lithauania according to his death certificate, and at the time of his death was living in Melville Street, Sunnyside, Pretoria. He was extremely wealthy and married Louise Maria Lorrimer, one of the Marks children's governesses (See Figure 47). His grandmother was a sister of Sammy Marks's mother. He came to South Africa in the early 1880's with his brother Samuel Leopold Heyman where they joined Sammy Marks in Pretoria. M. Kaplan and M. Robertson (eds.), Founders and followers, pp. 118, 121; Transvaal Archives Depot, Pretoria, Estate 62716.

children. It is debatable but it would seem like a young Girlie sitting right in front with little brother Joe behind her to the right. Judging by their ages the photograph must have been taken 1895/6 as is supported by the leg-o'-mutton sleeved blouses (See Figures 21 and 140) of the ladies. Important is the fact that it clearly shows the front door as solid with panelling whereas it was replaced during the alterations with the same French windows and shutters which are to be found in the rest of the rooms. Presumably the porch which overshadowed the door, excluded too much light.

The wicker chairs with the little baskets on the sides and plant stands are also very clear. The ladies' hats are richly trimmed with feathers, especially ostrich feathers, in keeping with high fashion.¹⁵⁴

Also in the collection is a sketch plan for the proposed new porch designed by the Dutch architect Willem de Zwaan, dated 1894, which was added to the southern end of the house. Unfortunately it is in very poor condition, having been all rolled up, and brittle, resulting in pieces having gone missing. Montie commented in a letter to his father, dated March 1900: "Mr Murray also wrote ... about the orange trees you are planting in front of Zwartkoppie and the new portico which is being built at the front entrance which will, I am sure, look very nice". 155

The date of this letter causes a problem. The architect's drawing is dated 1896 and it has generally been supposed that it was erected shortly c. 1896. A newspaper interview with Joe in later years also reports Joe as stating that alterations were carried out in 1896, without describing what, and it was assumed he referred to the porch because of the similar dates. The first photograph of the porch appears to be when Lord Roberts visited Zwartkoppies Hall on 1 October 1900. He was Chief commander of the British forces in South Africa during the Anglo-Boer War, 1899 - 1900 (See Figure 85). It would therefore seem that the porch was only added somewhere during 1900. This must have been extremely difficult, the Anglo-Boer War having broken out in October 1899 and the whole country being a shambles. Marks himself refers to it in February 1901 as the "new" porch in describing it to Louis and also to Girlie in August of the same year 157 (See Figure 36). Surely if it had already been built in 1896 it would have been rather old news by 1901!

¹⁵⁴ N. Waugh, The cut of women's clothes 1600 - 1930, p. 299.

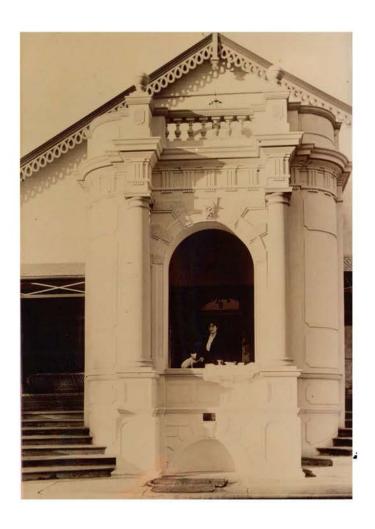
¹⁵⁵ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B5, M. Marks - S. Marks, 1900.03.30.

¹⁵⁶ J. Orpen, Sammy Marks's mansion is not touched by time, Sunday Times Magazine, 1969.04.27, p. 8.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1901.02.13; Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1901.08.21.



FIGURE 36: The new porch.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

The finished porch at the southern end of the house. The lady in the picture is Lady Maxwell, whose husband Major-General Sir John Maxwell, was the British military governor of Pretoria during the Anglo-Boer War, 1899 - 1902. A tea tray set with cups and things is clearly visible on the wall in front of her, the wall covered with a rather untidily thrown table-cloth. She is playing with a little dog (See Figure 20). Comparison with Figure 38 shows that Marks later had potplants placed on the wall the tray is resting on, as well as containers with plants at the bottom.

Marks was of the opinion that the porch improved the house considerably.

The new porch is here clearly showing and the country when viewed from the centre looks a veritable picture, the opening of the porch acting as a frame. From the top a beautiful view is obtained of the surrounding country. I intend putting up an awning there as soon as I can obtain canvas which is not to be had just now.¹⁵⁸

On no picture is any awning to be seen, so it is doubtful if that ever materialized.

¹⁵⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1901.02.13.



FIGURE 37: A group portrait taken against the backdrop of the new porch.



(Photograph c. 1904: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 361)

A larger view of the southern end of the house with the added porch. Bertha is seated on the right with Dolly next to her. The other lady is Bertha's sister, Rosie Lavenstein (See Figure 35), seated next to a gentleman, presumably her husband, Louis Henry Lavenstein. Louis Marks is seated on the left with his brother Phil on one knee and his cousin, Eric Lavenstein (son of Louis and Rosie Lavenstein), on the other knee. The other gentleman looks like A.N. Hoskins of whom an identified portrait was found in the collection but nothing else is known. The butler (See below) is standing at the back.

The original flower pots to the side of the first step have been retained. In the flowerbeds two large earthenware pots have now been placed and two glazed green pots which have survived are placed on the pedestal to the side of the last step. Plants also enliven the central arch.

Comparison with Figure 60b shows that the climbers against the verandah have been largely removed at this time. The presence of Louis on the picture proves that it must have been taken after the middle of 1904 when he returned for the first time to South Africa after having left for England in 1894 for his education. Combined with the style of dress and approximate ages of the people it is improbable to have been taken much later than 1905.

¹⁵⁹ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 191.

The rackets held by the men would suggest that they either had just finished a game of tennis or are on their way to play one (See Figure 109 for detail about tennis). Again flags and banners decorate the front and balcony but again there is no indication as to the occasion. The Union Jack hangs in the centre. Judging by Phil's age (born 1900) and what can be seen of the women's dresses, the picture must date to about 1905. This is one of the cases showing the importance of criticism. The butler is identified on the back of the picture as Mr McCracken, but looks quite different from other pictures of him (See Figure 20). Furthermore Bertha had interviews for the position of butler in July 1904 in Durban. (It is interesting to note that the engaging and dismissal of servants was arranged according to the size of the household. According to *The duties of servants*, in households of smaller dimensions - into which category Zwartkoppies Hall would seem to fall - the master of the house engaged and dismissed men-servants and the mistress women-servants, while if only one man-servant is kept, he is frequently engaged by the mistress of the house.)

I have been busy doing my best to try & get a Butler I need not tell you what a heap apply & as I have the time I see them all so that I shall know that I did my best. I have yet one man more to see tomorrow, but I have just seen one now (for the second interview) he seems a very likely man. I offered him £7 to begin with but told him I would give him his final answer tomorrow...¹⁶¹

No record was traced to his being appointed. Two years later Marks write to Bertha: "I have engaged the butler you wrote about and he has promised to come to Zwartkopje tomorrow". Surely it could not have been the same man, so it would seem that there was another butler appointed in 1906 as well.

Even so, if the picture dates post 1904, which it certainly does, it cannot be Mr McCracken on the photograph. According to the family Mr McCracken (See Figure 20) was succeeded by a Mr Winder after the former's death. Three pictures were taken on this day. The second one is reproduced in Figure 109. A third one (SM 258) is very similar to this one, but with Miss Lorimer (the governess: See Figures 22, 109) also present, the butler standing on the left and the little boys standing in front of Louis.

¹⁶⁰ Copper Beech Publications, The duties of servants, p. 8.

¹⁶¹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B8, B. Marks - S. Marks, 1904.08.01.

¹⁶² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1906.08.04.

¹⁶³ S.J.N. Maisels, The life and times of Sammy Marks, p. 4.



FIGURE 38: The new porch close-up.



(Photograph c. 1906: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

A close-up picture of the front entrance with Sammy Marks, his sister, Krena Abromovitz (she was abandoned for a while by her second husband and lived in Cape Town in a house bought for her by Marks)¹⁶⁴ and his brother, Ellia (Eli) Marks. Eli managed Vereeniging Estates, the mother company of Lewis and Marks's Vereeniging holdings, before and during the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 - 1902 and was married to Isaac Lewis's sister, Frederica.¹⁶⁵ Marks often provided for his siblings and also had their children educated.

The picture dates to about 1906. It clearly shows the addition of potted plants and the plants growing in the central arch. The carpet was obviously brought outside specially for the taking of the photograph. A shoescraper, used for cleaning one's shoes of any dirt that might cling to them before entering the house, is visible in the foreground (See Figure 37).

¹⁶⁴ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 207 -208.

¹⁶⁵ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 117.



FIGURE 39: Zwartkoppies Hall as seen from the south.



(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

One of the few pictures on which the so-called sleeping-porch is visible. According to tradition some of the children used to sleep out there on hot summer nights. Health reasons have been mentioned as well. It shows the southern entrance with the new balcony as well as the kitchen wing. Interesting is also the high chimney sticking out. It is possible that this was still from the original kitchen which was in the last room, the north-eastern corner of the house. Next to it is another black speck which is unidentified.

FIGURE 40a and b: One of the entrance gates to Zwartkoppies Hall.





(Photograph a c. 1897, Photograph b c.1894: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a in album SM 1344, b SM 865)

The caption of photograph 40a: "Russian gable entrance to Zwartkoppie Hall", c. 1897, would indicate Marks had not forgotten his roots. There are actually two identical sets of gates like this one, standing in line, one to the east and one to the west of the front (southern) entrance of the house. This is the eastern set and the photograph was taken from the outside looking towards the house.

Figure 40b shows the same gate but also part of the road and garden wall. From this it would also seem that the kitchen wing was still non-existent in 1894 when this picture was taken (See Figure 32). The watertanks are visible but none of the other structures. The small white building to the east (See Figure 60), shows faintly.

Seeing as Louis was sent to London early in 1894, aged eight, ¹⁶⁶ the boy in the photograph probably is Montie who was then six years old. Positive identification unfortunately is hampered by the quality of the photograph and the hat concealing the child's face.

¹⁶⁶ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 106.



FIGURE 41: Mules being driven to the stables.



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1344)

Another of the photographs from the Potts/McCracken album (See p. 34) which is dated 1897. It strengthens the supposition put forward at Figure 47 that the present farm manager's house was only built at about the turn of the century. Comparison with Figure 42 shows:

- The wall between the coach house and the gate had been a stacked stone wall and was later replaced by the built one. It seems to have been built in line with the wall of the coach house, forming a straight line with the built wall and gateposts, whereas the present built wall runs at an angle to the coach house but in a straight line with the wall of the manager's house.
- The gate had three plastered brick posts which were very tall. Later one must have been taken away with the rest of the stacked wall and the gate moved to its present location. A wall was then built connecting the remaining gate post with the new back wall and creating an enclosed garden for the manager's house.
- The mules are facing and thus heading west. If they were being driven to their stables it would imply that the building just visible on the left could have been their stables. If so, it means that this was either demolished and replaced by the present house or more probably that it was later adapted and altered for residential purposes. It is also possible that they were being taken to the building just west of the one showing in the picture (See Figure 201).
- The sliding doors of the coach house are well visible.



FIGURE 42: The gate at the coach house.



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1335)

This photograph shows the gate between the house and the coach house and stables. It consists of a large gate for vehicles and a small one for pedestrians. To the left the corner of the farm manager's house can be seen with part of the garden wall and gate giving access to it. The wall to the left of the gate and the wall at the back still stand but the one combining the two has been replaced with a metal fence. To the left of the gate is a hitching-rail where visitors could tie their horses. It is the only part of the garden wall that is built and plastered, the rest being enclosed with a stacked stone wall (See Figure 44). The same wall is repeated at the coach house and joins the two wings of the building to form a little court yard.

Another white wooden gate with white, masoned gate posts is situated more or less opposite this one to the north of the garden boundary, giving access to the property from that side.



FIGURE 43: The house as seen from the back.



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria SM 248)



"View of back of house" reads the inscription on this picture. This was one of the pictures of which Marks sent Louis a copy and about which he elaborated as follows:

This shows: "Jubilee Park". Since this was taken the trees have grown considerably especially the oak trees on the fringe of the lawn. The trees in the centre are planted in this shape (See sketch). The lawn is very nice just now and the spot is delightful in the evening. I have a tent which can be fixed here and garden seats are placed around the park. 167

The sketch shows a diamond shape. One of the garden seats can be seen to the right of the picture. Jubilee Park also suffered during the war: "One man carried off the seat around the old willow tree where the swing was..." Marks wrote to Joe on 19 March 1901, while another lot stole all the oranges though they were still green. 169

This picture creates the impression that there was not yet an entrance to the north of the house at the time it was taken, although gate posts to the west are visible. However, the present gate posts are duplicates of the Russian gable entrance in Figure 40a. The wine cellar is also still absent but there are two white structures with ventilated tops, purpose unknown. A dirt road is faintly discernable in the foreground (See also Figures 44 and 194). "The trees around Zwartkoppie are growing very big and a new drive is being made which will be very pretty and will not be necessary to go over that nasty little hill near the big stones". ¹⁷⁰

FIGURE 44: Another view of the back of the house at a later stage.



(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 265)

¹⁶⁷ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1901.02.13.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - J. Marks, 1901.03.19.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - J. Marks, 1901.04.17.

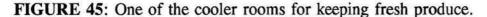
¹⁷⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.12, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1895.09.23.

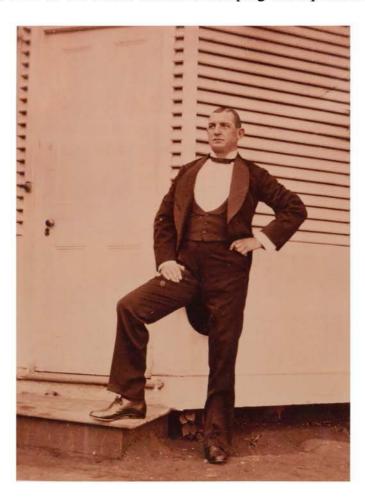


This picture must have been taken early this century, showing the wine cellar, water tanks and other outbuildings as well as the stacked stone wall with which Marks had the whole of the garden surrounded.

Comparison with Figure 43, also a view of the back of the house, shows quite a few differences, which implies that most of the improvements visible in this photograph, must have been brought about at the turn of or early this century. The little brick building with the chimney (a smoke house??) does no longer exist nor is it known what its purpose was, but the toolshed in front of it does. The servants' bathroom, the corrugated iron "salt-box" structure, still stands, but the huge watertanks are lying in the veld behind the house. To its left a tower-like structure, seemingly with louvred walls, is visible, but no longer exists either except for the floor and foundations. Its function is also obscure. The wine cellar is still standing and has been restored but the three structures of which the roofs are visible present a problem. The two smaller ones also appear on the older picture and could have been cooler rooms. The larger one in the middle, however, remains a mystery.

Outside the wall a wooden barrel and some other stuff seem to have been dumped (See also Figure 194).





(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3585)



Mr J. McCracken, the butler, (See Figure 20) standing in front of one of the cooler rooms, which were used to keep fresh produce. Two of these structures have survived and are presently standing to the east of the kitchen. Unfortunately the photograph being taken so close-up, it does not show the location of this one.

The photograph shows the butler wearing the stereotyped outfit of his occupation.

FIGURE 46: The stables and coach house of Zwartkoppies Hall shortly before the turn of the century.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1344)

"The new stable is now nearly finished [1896] and is a splendid place. There is room there for about 14 horses and the coach house will hold more than 5 carriages". Mendelsohn states that Marks said it looked quite like a mansion, which seems appropriate. 171

A young man is standing next to an implement which looks like some cutting implement or mower¹⁷² (See Figure 51) while another is sitting on a chair in front of the eastern (right) wing of the building. As this building has deteriorated very badly, this photograph is of extreme importance for the restoration thereof. The staircase and the irongates as well as the landings of the lofts and the sliding doors have all disappeared.

¹⁷¹ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 103.

¹⁷² Personal interview: Mrs E. Judson, Curator Willem Prinsloo Agricultural Museum, 30.08.1995.



FIGURE 47: The stables.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 240)

The following description was sent by Marks in a letter to Louis in 1901:

This is a picture of my stables, you can just get a glimpse of Mr Haumann's house on the extreme left of the picture so you will know the exact situation of this stable, a slight ... [?] was flowering at the time this was taken so the reflection of the stub in the water is very clear. 173

The buildings in front of the stables housed black farm labourers.

The only photograph in the collection which corresponds to this description is this one though where the reflection referred to is, is uncertain. There are actually a few copies thereof, indicating that Marks must have set store by it.

Another anomaly is the fact that Marks specifically states that the house on the extreme left of the picture which can just be glimpsed, is that of Mr Hauman, the farm manager. Oral tradition has it that his house was the one to the left (west) of the coach house (See Figure 42) and the one referred to in the picture was the dairy cottage. The explanation might lie in the fact that the cow house was only erected in 1907, the same period from which references to the dairy activities hail. It is therefore possible that Mr Hauman first occupied this house and later moved to the larger one next to the gate in the early years of this century. It infers that the house on the left is much older, for Marks expects Louis to know where it was. The old clay homestead is just visible in

¹⁷³ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1901.02.13.



front of the stables. Between these two the two buildings discussed at Figure 41 are partly in view as well.

FIGURE 48a, b and c: The cow-house.







(Photograph c. 1907: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM nn, b - SM 295, c - SM nn)

References to this building, which was only completed in 1907, call it the "cow house" or "cow shed". Girlie already wrote a letter in 1903 enquiring about it. 174 It would seem to have been erected more or less on the site of the old clay homestead. At the back one of the old blue gum trees still stands while on the left the shed, housing some of the carts and implements, is in view (Compare Figure 25). As pictures of actual construction are very rare these photographs are of great importance. It gives a glimpse of the way scaffolding was erected. Figure 48c shows the finished building as well as the addition of the dairy (Compare Figure 201). To the right a labourer stands in front of a roller while three wagons are in sight. The stacked stone wall in front of the house and dairy no longer exists.

¹⁷⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B5, G. Marks - S. Marks, 1903.12.09.

FIGURE 49: The kraal.



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1344)

This photograph shows Marks's cattle in the neat cattle kraal which is fashioned from packed stone walls. However the buildings at the back are of interest because they no longer exist. It hails from the Potts/McCracken album dated 1897 (See p. 34).

FIGURE 50: A picture of the carpenter shop and dynamo room.



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1344)



This is another photograph from the Potts/McCracken album, 1897 (See p. 34). The exact location of these buildings, which don't exist any more, has not been pinpointed yet.

FIGURE 51: Another view of the dynamo room, carpenter and blacksmith's shops at Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1335)

This is one of the few photographs where people are actually busy. It does not seem to be posed. The two men are at work repairing a plough. Two cutting implements or mowers and a rake are standing against the fence.¹⁷⁵ These are all still animal drawn models. To the left a large valve is visible, probably part of the equipment for controlling the waterflow to the dynamo room. A similar one still exists. It is not clear what the function of the long thin pole in the left of the pictures is - a conductor for lightning?? A willow tree unfortunately obscures the centre part of the picture.

Personal interview: Mrs E. Judson, Curator Willem Prinsloo Agricultural Museum, 30.08.1995; Advertisement, The South African agriculturist and stock breeder IV(23), September 1910, pp. 1518 - 1519.



FIGURE 52: The fowl run.



(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 299)

Bertha was a keen poultry farmer and her chickens, of which she had about 2 000 at one stage, won scores of prizes at different agricultural shows. It was called Hatherley Poultry Farm and must have been a model of its kind. Mendelsohn erroneously refers to the Zwartkoppies Poultry Farm, ¹⁷⁶ but all the certificates are made out in the name of Hatherley Poultry Farm. This name is also used in an article in *The South African agriculturist and stock breeder*. According to this Bertha must have started this enterprise early in this century but for some time did not make any headway. In about June 1909 she appointed H. Hollings, a graduate of the St. Columbia School of Agriculture specializing in poultry-farming, as manager. ¹⁷⁷ Some of the prizes (dating from 1910 to 1913) and trophies won by their entries to agricultural shows are still to be seen inside the house. Marks jocularly claimed that each egg that was produced cost him £1. ¹⁷⁸ Here is a view of the fowl run and house. It was destroyed by fire over one week-end and never resumed.

¹⁷⁶ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 189.

¹⁷⁷ The beginning of a great industry, The South African agriculturist and stock breeder IV(23), September 1910, p. 1535.

¹⁷⁸ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 189.



FIGURE 53: The new tennis court with the summer house in clear view.



(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3407)

This photograph is of extreme importance for the reconstruction of these two structures. At the back in the middle a gate with a flight of steps are evident. A comparison with Figure 111b. shows neither structure on the latter.

c. The interior

Furniture

When Marks brought his wife out in 1885, they brought with them furnishings for their house. Some of the shipping invoices have survived. In December 1884 three cases were dispatched containing a walnut couch covered in green morocco (a fine soft leather originally made in Morocco from goatskins), a gent's chair to match, a lady's chair to match, and six chairs, (which 9 pieces had cost £30.16s), a walnut 5 foot 6 inch (165cm) sideboard with carved panels in the doors and with shelves and glass in the back, a pair of blankets, two morocco hassocks (i.e. thick firm cushions), a set of loose covers made of brown holland (a type of linnen or cotton cloth) for the couch, two easy chairs, six chairs, two hassocks.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ SM/F8 Invoice: Willm. A. & S. Smee, December 1884.



The invoices of March 1885 mention thirteen cases of furniture being dispatched. This contained an oak couch, two lounge chairs, six black and gold chairs, six oak chairs in leather, two black and gold lounge chairs, a centre ottoman (a type of upholstered couch), a mahogany towel horse, an oak sideboard, an ebonised (a technique of changing the appearance of some cheaper wood to that of ebony which was extremely expensive) cabinet, a mahogany toilet table, a mahogany washstand frame with marble top, a chamber pedestal, a mahogany wardrobe (consisting of a centre part, two wings and a cornice), 4 lengths of well seasoned floorcloth, a mahogany chest of drawers, 3 squares of Brussels carpet made up to sizes, 4 mahogany bedroom chairs, a black and gold settee, an oak dining table, a black and gold octagon centre table. 180

All the above was purchased from William A. & S. Smee, Wholesale & Export Cabinet Makers, Upholsterers and Bedding Warehousemen in London. 181

A receipt dated 3.12.84, was also kept for a 5 foot X 6 foot 6 inches (150 x 165cm) 'Massive Brass French Bedstead' (costing £30.10s) with a 'Patent Woven Wire Matress' (£3.15s), a 'Horse Hair Matress' (£5) and a 'Feather Bolster' (a long narrow pillow), all of the 'best', issued by a brass foundry, R.W. Winfield and Company of Holborn Viaduct, London. This is presumably the bed in the main bedroom (See Figure 219).

On 2 December 1886 Philip Falcke wrote Marks a letter informing him that he sends him an **enterpeon** which they had bought as a bargain for £200 (the original cost was over a £1 000) and which Marks could either sell at a profit, which was then to be shared, or could reimburse them for. A bill for the cost for having it repaired (calling the instrument an orchestrion - see footnote)¹⁸³ and six new barrels made for it, was enclosed, coming to £140. This was carried out by the London firm Imhof and Mukle, 'Self-acting Musical Instrument Makers'. Falcke added that it would make a great addition to Marks's house being quite equal to a full band.¹⁸⁴

On the letterhead of a letter by the same firm to Falcke a drawing of an orchestrion appears. It looks like an organ with pipes on top and a rectangular bottom into which the barrels are placed. A letter from Bertha confirms that the 5 cases 'containing

¹⁸⁰ SM/F8 Invoice: Willm. A. & S. Smee, December 1884.

¹⁸¹ SM/F8 Invoice: Willm. A. & S. Smee, December 1884.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/F 8., Receipt; R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 34, 268.

A few works of reference were consulted but none contains the word enterpeon. Orchestrion is described by *The Oxford Dictionary* as 'a mechanical instrument resembling a barrel organ, intended to imitate the effect of an organ', which confirms Falcke's description.

The 1911 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* mentions three different kinds of instruments being called by this name, namely a chamber organ, a kind of pianoforte with organ pipes and a mechanical instrument, automatically played by means of revolving cylinders, invented in 1851 by F.T. Kaufmann of Dresden which comprises a complete wind orchestra, with the addition of kettle-drums, side-drums, cymbals and triangle which concurs with the above.

¹⁸⁴ N.C.H.M., Pretoria: Sammy Marks Collection nn.: Letter, P. Falcke - S. Marks, 1886.12.02.

¹⁹⁵ N.C.H.M., Pretoria: Sammy Marks Collection nn.: Letter, 1mhof and Mukle - P. Falcke, 1886.09.23.

organ' had arrived on 4 February 1887.¹⁸⁶ On the 1906 inventory of household effects at Zwartkoppies it is mentioned that there is an organ in the vestibule. Presumably this must be the orchestrion. There are still eleven huge barrels bearing the labels of Imhoff and Mukle in the attic, which bears this out. It is on record that Joe Marks donated the organ that used to stand in the vestibule to the Dutch Reformed Church in Silverton, but it could not be confirmed that this was indeed the orchestrion. Reverend Anderssen, who was the minister of this congregation in the 1960s, called it a German barrel-organ with mechanical contraptions,¹⁸⁷ making it highly probable that this was Falcke's orchestrion. There is also a photograph in the collection,¹⁸⁸ apparently taken in the 1960s, of the organ installed in the Dutch Reformed Church in Silverton.

Falcke also mentions a very fine musical box, 'something out of the common way', with extra barrels that he also sent. This is still in the house. For this Falcke had paid £50¹⁸⁹ (See Figure 222).

A letter dated 15 December 1890 from C. Hahn & Co in Durban mentions sending particulars about marble chimney pieces available there as well as printed designs for grates etc. (?) In pencil someone added "This has not come to hand", but it could have been delayed in the mail.¹⁹⁰

For the new enlarged residence (See p. 94) Marks asked his cousin, Joe Lewis, to order him furniture of which 15 cases were dispatched. On 14 October 1895 Marks wrote him a letter of thanks:

I must thank you for the trouble you have taken with the furniture but think that the Hall Furniture was not purchased by you. Anyhow I have decided to make a present of it to a Dutchman but before doing so I would like you to order me a fresh set including a couch for the Hall.

I want the Hall stand & furniture to be of English oak (Light color) (sic) the Hall stand to be 6' 8" wide, the height of the Hall is 14' & width 8' so you can get the stand in accordance with these sizes. If possible I would like a sort of arrangement for hanging mackintoshes & overcoats as well, a sort of cupboard on each side. The chairs must be of the very best quality & I would like it something similar to what Isaac Lewis has in his Hall but as mine is far larger of course it can be in proportion. ¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ N.C.H.M., Pretoria: Sammy Marks Collection nn.: Letter, B. Marks - S. Marks, 1887.02.04

¹⁸⁷ S.J. Kritzinger, Rustig vloei die Moreletta, p. 41.

¹⁸⁸ N.C.H.M., Pretoria, Sammy Marks Museum: SM 457, Photo.

¹⁸⁹ N.C.H.M., Pretoria, Sammy Marks Museum: nn., Receipt: Unsigned - P. Falcke.

¹⁹⁰ N.C.H.M., Pretoria: Sammy Marks Collection nn.: Letter, C. Hahn - S. Marks 1890.12.15.

¹⁹¹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.23, S. Marks - J. Lewis, 1895.10.14.

FIGURE 54: The billiard room.



(Photograph c. 1898: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3407)

One of the two photographs showing interior scenes of Zwartkoppies Hall. Although the quality is bad, it shows the exact location of several pieces of furniture and portraits as well as the carpet strip surrounding the table. A cork strip with a decorative border is to be found underneath it. In the right hand corner an upright piano is discernable, supporting the oral tradition that Bertha liked playing music in the billiard room.

FIGURE 55: The drawing room.



(Photograph c. 1898: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)



The other picture of the interior, namely the drawing room or lounge. It shows the overmantel looking glass with its ornaments. The clock (now stolen and lost) with its matching vases are clearly visible. The mantle top was draped, seemingly with plush velvet which was fashionable, edged with a fringe. To the left a Japanese style screen was placed in the corner with a standing lamp with fringed shade in front of it. A wingback chair next to a side table cluttered with framed pictures is evident. In the foreground two more chairs and a fancy table with framed pictures are visible. An interesting feature is the lamp which is reflected in the mirror showing a three-pronged structure with glass shades. This must have been replaced at a later stage with the present crystal chandeliers. The walls seem devoid of any ornamentation which would indicate a date prior to 1901 when the house was painted (See below).

Marks wrote to Hugh Crawford, manager of Lewis and Marks's Pretoria office, on 23 June 1890: "I asked the Hollander architect [See Figure 28] who was here last week if he knew of a good Painter of from £4 to £5 a week". Like the 1890 plans there is no evidence that this was ever carried out, but this was about the time that wall decor became fashionable. 193

Above the French windows the pelmet can just be made out, but it is too indistinct to make conclusions.

Paintwork

There are a few references to the paintwork which was done by an Italian craftsman whose name was not recorded. There is a suspicion that it could be Alfredo Polvanni who had a studio in Pretoria at that time. ¹⁹⁴ The main bedroom was done towards the end of April 1901. ¹⁹⁵ On 12 June 1901 Marks wrote to Bertha in England: "... the new oven is completed and has already been used. I am having some rooms painted this week." The music room was done towards the end of June:

The front spare room which in future will be the music room is now being painted and will look very pretty when finished. Panels are being painted on the walls which looks just like satin. I shall have the dining room done too. 196

Parts of the house were repainted at a later stage in a simpler style and executed faster. The earlier paintwork, however, is throughout technically the same and seems to have been executed by one person.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.12 S. Marks - H. Crawford, 1890.06.23.

¹⁹³ R. Fourie, Die mure van Sammy Markshuis, p. 1.

¹⁹⁴ R. Fourie, *Die mure van Sammy Markshuis*, p. 2; R. Fourie, Mure van Sammy Markshuis, *Museum Memo* 17(2), Junie 1989, p. 16.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.04.25. Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.06.12.

¹⁹⁶ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.06.26.

¹⁹⁷ R. Fourie, Mure van Sammy Markshuis, Museum Memo 17(2), Junie 1989, p. 16.

Carpets



In the same letter he asked Bertha to find carpets for the house:

You will see that the rooms starting from where Mr Murray used to sleep and ending at Georges room are exactly the same size as those below... What is badly wanted is 140 yards of passage carpet for the hall and new carpets for the dining room and the music room and the carpets which will be taken out of these two rooms can be used elsewhere...¹⁹⁸

It would seem the search for carpets had already been going on for some time because a letter dated 26 December 1900 and addressed to a Mr Hird in London, instructed the latter as follows:

I am going this week to ask you to do a little more for me. You have in your possession a plan of my house at Zwartkoppje giving the dimensions of the different rooms, Mrs Marks before she left said she wanted a few new pieces of carpet for some of the new rooms. If you supply her with the dimensions she can pick out exactly what she wants and you will be able to get them at a price 40 or 50% lower than we can purchase here. 199

Bathrooms

The bathrooms were given immediate attention with the alteration of the house:

Will you kindly let me know if you can obtain me some tiles for a Bathroom to cover a space of 42 f & 6ft high [126m x 1,8m]. Full particulars as to price, colour etc will oblige I would also be glad if you would furnish me with prices & sizes of good iron enamelled baths, with all necessary fittings, shower, and hot & cold water.²⁰⁰

Household effects

In August 1901 Marks requested his wife to bring out some bath and other towels as well as glass and china, the quantities left to her discretion.²⁰¹ A month later she was also requested to buy some new furniture for the music room as that which was there was rather shabby.²⁰² Barely a year later, he reprimanded her for buying too much:

Regarding your coming out, it makes very little difference to me, but in regard to your buying so many things, I think the only way to stop you

¹⁹⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.0 6.26.

¹⁹⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - Mr. Hird, 1900.12.26.

²⁰⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 7., S. Marks - Messrs. Hansen and Shruder,

²⁰¹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.08.09.

²⁰² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.09.19.



buying will be to ask Lewis not to accept your drafts any more. The things which you bought some time back are still lying at East London. Do you expect to open a retail shop at Zwartkoppies, or are you afraid that the manufacturers will cease making more things...²⁰³

By 1906 Bertha informed Marks by letter that she wanted to get:

...a few pairs of new Lace curtains a small quantity of Household Linen, I know we are very short of a few necessary things & we are short of a little of the best glass It is not very much we need & 1 case of fish knives & forks as we have only 1 set of 12 then we are always more than 12 on a Sunday²⁰⁴

The Victorians loved ferns and indoor plants and caring for these was thought to be a very suitable occupation for ladies.²⁰⁵ Plant stands and containers are still to be found in the house, so Zwartkopppies Hall must have had its share.

Inventory

The Museum is very fortunate to have in its possession an inventory that was compiled of the contents of Zwartkoppies Hall. This is very handy in discovering not only what had been in each room, but also to establish what has gone missing over the years. It starts with a list of the "solid silver" and electroplated silver, which compiled in 1899 and checked at intervals. ²⁰⁶ It was customary to keep such an inventory which was handed to the butler on his appointment as he was responsible for all the silverware. He had to see to the taking out of pieces needed, the cleaning and the putting away. Should anything disappear he was held answerable. ²⁰⁷ This explains the regular checking.

In 1902 a new inventory was compiled. This is followed by a list of the crockery. The 1899 supply was supplemented in 1902. Next are lists of all the books in the house, which by 1906 counted 1089. In 1906 a detailed list of the contents of each room was drawn up.

The nursery

One anomaly in the set-up of the house is the fact that the nursery or children's apartment, was downstairs. In most Victorian houses the nursery was at the top of the house, even in the attic, and any noises from the children were not heard. The room would however be simply and cleanly furnished, often with old furniture no longer

²⁰³ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1902.10.04.

²⁰⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., S. Marks - S. Marks, 1906.06.08.

²⁰⁵ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 24.

²⁰⁶ It contains some intriguing articles like a "Servants Cruet Mustard, Salt & Pepper", 3 sets of Morning Tea Service and 1 Afternoon Set, 18 Asparagus eaters(?)- later described as asparagus holders.

²⁰⁷ Copper Beech Publications, The duties of servants, p. 54.



fashionable for the rest of the house²⁰⁸ as seems to have been the case at Zwartkoppies Hall as well.

d. The garden

References to the garden and the work that went into creating its parklike grandeur abound in the correspondence. Marks at first called it Victoria Park but later changed the name to Jubilee Park. This name change also presents a puzzle for it does not coincide with Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations. The park was created in 1897 - 1898. Given the fact of Marks's Anglophilia one can understand the naming of it as Victoria Park. The year 1897 was however the year Queen Victoria (1819 - 1901) celebrated her Diamond Jubilee. By December 1900 he still refers to it as Victoria Park in a letter to Dolly, but two months later he refers to Jubilee Park.

A fancily engraved glass²¹¹ bearing the inscription "Lewis Marks" and "Jubilee" does nothing to help solve the problem as it bears no date. Lewis and Marks participated in the festivities of Queen Victoria's golden Jubilee in 1897 (See Figure 124). The glass could however suggest a celebration of the partnership's jubilee. No reference could be found to such an aoccasion, but it could offer an explanation. In 1900 the partnership was 30 years old.

On the eastern side of the house stood a huge flagpole from which sailed the national flag. There was a formal little garden around the flagpole with neat flower beds and gravel pathways. Between this and the house was the maze. The maze like so many other features of Jubilee Park were typical of the Victorian English garden, ²¹² indicating that Marks expressed his Anglophilia even to the extent of trying to recreate a piece of England around his mansion. It was formed by clipped hedges which also lined the driveways. ²¹³

In 1906 Bertha made a formal rose garden in front of the house, on the western side. Benches were dispersed all over the garden. In one corner was a huge pear orchard, while mention of other fruit trees is also made.

A fountain with terraced garden graced the terrain in front of the main entrance, while lofty blue gum trees, which were later replaced by pine and beefwood, provided plentiful shade. The entire garden was enclosed with a wall of stacked stone.

²⁰⁸ D. Hall (ed.), *Memories of childhood*, p. 66.

²⁰⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., M. Marks - S. Marks, 1898.04.29.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - D. Marks, 1900.12.11; Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - D. Marks, 1901.02.06.

²¹¹ Sammy Marks Museum, Pretoria: SM 3313, glass, c. 1900.

²¹² S. Harrison, The diary of Jack the Ripper, p. 36; F. Fraser, MAUD The diaries of Maud Berkeley, p. 164.

²¹³ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.26, S. Marks - D. Marks, 1906.08.13.



Montie wrote to his father on 29 April 1898 from Gravesend: "I am glad to hear that the Victoria Park is finished. Have you put up the Summer House yet and when will the drive through the Avenue be finished."²¹⁴

His letter some two years later proves the abundance of fruit produced by the extensive orchards. "I suppose the sick and wounded were very glad to receive the fruit you took them and that they appreciated the grapes and peaches". From his correspondence Marks seems to have been pleased with his efforts:

Do you remember the springbok I had? One of them was shot but the others are very well and are growing very big. Victoria Park is looking very pretty and when you come back you will be able to play there. 216 and: ".. when we can go for some nice ... walks together. Jubilee Park is looking very beautiful and will make a pretty playground for you all."217

FIGURE 56: Preparations for the new garden.



(Photograph c. 1898: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 297)

"Clearing ground for new garden", reads the inscription on this picture. It must have been a mammoth task creating the park-like garden in the middle of a wilderness. Old photographs like these of people at work are extremely rare. Note the waggon with its special wheels, loaded with rocks.

²¹⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., M. Marks - S. Marks, 1898.04.29.

²¹⁵ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., M. Marks - S. Marks, 1900.03.30.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - D. Marks, 1900.12.11.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - D. Marks, 1901.02.06.

Remarkable is the telephone pole in the centre of the picture. It is known that Marks had a telephone installed but not precisely when. President Kruger also had one in his house in Pretoria, with the number 1.²¹⁸ Marks's name does not appear in the *Longland's Pretoria Directory for 1899*, although that of the firm's office building on Church Square does.²¹⁹ With the occupation of Pretoria in 1900 by the British forces, the telephone at Hatherley was used by Boer commanders.²²⁰ If there was a phone at Hatherley already at that time, then it is probable that Zwartkoppies would have had one too. The photograph is not dated either. Recalling Montie's letter about the completion of Victoria Park it would imply that the photograph must have been taken round about 1897 - 1898.²²¹ If this is true it would mean Marks had a telephone at Zwartkoppies as early as 1898.²²² A decision of the Executive Council dated 26 July 1892 made it possible for the public of Pretoria to apply for telephones although the government offices already had a telephone system installed in 1890.²²³

To the extreme left of the picture the gates to the north of the house are clearly in sight. It also shows the double row of beefwood trees that fringed the original formal garden. The house can just be glimpsed through the trees behind the cart in the centre of the picture.

FIGURE 57: View towards the south.



(Photograph c. 1894: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 865)

Longland's Pretoria Directory for 1899, Staatsbiblioteek, (Faksimilee Herdruk), p. 247.

²¹⁹ Longland's Pretoria Directory for 1899, Staatsbiblioteek, (Faksimilee Herdruk), p. 247.

²²⁰ O.J.O. Ferreira, Eerste Fabrieken: Die beginpunt van nywerheidsontwikkeling in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, Contree, Tydskrif vir Suid-Afrikaanse Stedelike en Streeksgeskiedenis 15, Januarie 1984, p. 19.

²²¹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., M. Marks - S. Marks, 1898.04.29; Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - D. Marks, 1901.02.06.

The telephone came into use in England towards the end of the 1870's. D. Read, England 1868 - 1914, p. 67.

²²³ R. Peacock, Die geskiedenis van Pretoria, 1855 - 1902, p. 227.



This photograph, dated 1894,²²⁴ clearly shows the row of blue gum trees that used to stand south of the house. It also shows that there used to be a vineyard where the pear orchard was planted later on. Right in the background the old homestead can be seen.

FIGURE 58: The removal of the blue gum trees in front of the tennis court.



(Photograph c. 1899: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 277)

Like any other garden this one was forever subjected to change. Here labourers are cutting down blue gum trees in front of the original lawn tennis court which was later replaced by the croquet lawn (See Figure 101). The court can be seen in the background, fenced by a wire mesh supported by white painted wooden poles, supporting vines (See also Figure 73).

Marks described the picture in 1901 to Louis as follows:

There the natives are busy cutting down the big gum trees in front of the house. The trees were growing very big and became somewhat of a nuisance. I have had some small pines planted along the road down.²²⁵

The little summer house is also visible to the left (See Figure 61). Notable is the clipped hedge which ends at the beginning of the curve. The question arises whether it ended there as would be indicated by the neatly clipped shape, or was the rest cut down to allow room for the fallen trees. On later photographs it is clear that the hedge followed the curve unbroken - right past the summer house.

²²⁴ It is one of nine photographs framed together and bearing the caption "Zwartkopje hall (sic). 1894. Souvenir of visit of Mr and Mrs H. Lincoln Tangye."

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1901.02.13.



FIGURE 59: The building of Hoffman's dam.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 305)

Another special picture that captures the labour spent in transforming nature, in this case the building of Hoffman's dam on Zwartkoppies - the only visual record of this gigantic undertaking. It depicts not only the labourers at work but also the use of several ox-drawn carts.

One of the problems encountered in the use of historical photographs as study source is demonstrated here - poor quality. It has already been postulated that action photographs are extremely rare which does not leave the researcher scope to pick and choose the good ones and ignore the poor ones. Enlarging the picture is an expensive process to start off with and though it provides a larger picture, it does not enhance it in any way, nor remove the blurriness evident in this one. The researcher making use of historical photographs often has to be content with what he gets, being only too thankful that at least it does exist. Weinberg does suggest a researcher always have a magnifying glass on hand to be able to distinguish finer detail. 226

²²⁶ R.A. Weinstein and L. Booth, Collection, care and use of historical photographs, p.41.



FIGURE 60a and b: The garden around the fountain.





(Photograph a c. 1896, Photograph b c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM nn, b - in album SM nn)



The terraced garden around the fountain in front of Zwartkoppies Hall. View 60a shows the fountain spouting in c. 1896/7 and the terraces with the plants still small. While on the subject of fountains, the beautiful cast iron fountain at present in the Pretoria Zoo is also a bequest of Marks to the city of Pretoria. One wonders why he did not order something similar for Zwartkoppies Hall. Note the front entrance on the southern side of the house, still without the porch and balcony, but with electrical light fittings visible.

View 60b shows more or less the same spot about five years later. The porch and balcony have been completed. The woman is Lady Maxwell, wife of Major-General John Maxwell, British military governor of Pretoria during the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1901). She often week-ended at Zwartkoppies after joining her husband in the Transvaal. "Mrs Maxwell, wife of the military Governor has been staying at Zwartkopje and last Sunday we had a very large party to dinner including the Governor himself." In Britain the artistocracy had for long been used to giving so-called house-parties where friends were invited over to the great country houses. Such visits lasted at least a month. Increased speed and comfort in travelling made visits of a fortnight possible and soon the weekend break became fashionable. It was not restricted to the aristocracy any longer either, but had become part of the social life of whoever could afford it. 228

The plants are shown to have grown considerably since Figure 60a was taken. The fountain is not working. The wheel-like object on the outer wall, presumably a valve for controlling waterflow through the pipe running along the wall, is lying to the other side as in Figure a. A man drinking from a cup is just visible on the verandah inside the arch of the porch. Note that there are no ceramic flower pots in the flower beds in front of the porch yet (See Figure 37). This would indicate that they date from between 1901 - 1904.

All information point to the rose garden being laid out in 1906. However, on the older photograph (Figure 60a) to the left, a square white framework, covered with a climber, is clearly visible, with obviously a little path running through it. The later photograph shows the start of the pathway, and just a piece of the framework (See also Figures 64, 91 and 176).

Enlargement of Figure 60a might give some detail of the lace curtains at the French windows opening onto the verandah, as well as more particulars about the three people peeking from the open doors of the music room. On the eastern side of the house stood a row of beefwood trees visible in Figure 60b. However, it would seem that the outbuilding containing the butler's room and boiler room had not been built at the time Figure 60a was taken, though a small white structure (an outhouse or cooler room?) can be distinguished.

²²⁸ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 122; D. Read, England 1868 - 1914, p. 31.



²²⁷ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1901.03.20.



FIGURE 61: The road to the stables.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

Another view of the garden around the fountain, showing the road leading down to the stables. Also evident are the clipped hedges flanking the road and a little summer house next to the croquet court on the right. Montie enquired if the summer house had been completed in 1898.²²⁹

After the completion of the new tennis court in 1903 another summer house was built. Sammy Marks wrote to Dolly:

When you come back to Zwartkopje you will seea (sic) very pretty Summer House at the end of the Tennis Court in the Park which I had made for you and Phillie, where you will be able to play in the shade, and have afternoon tea.²³⁰

The roof of the stables can just be glimpsed through the trees in the top left hand corner. It also shows the fountain, still not working, and the square formation of rocks in its centre. Bordering two sides of the fountain island, young conifers have been planted to form the same hedge as those flanking the road (See Figure 62).

²²⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., M. Marks - S. Marks, 1898.04.29.

²³⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.23, S. Marks - D. Marks, 1906.07.30.



FIGURE 62: The garden at the fountain by 1915.



(Photograph c. 1915: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3449)

The garden around the fountain as seen from the stables in 1915. The clipped hedges are still there but the one on the fountain island has grown considerably, as have the trees.

FIGURE 63a and b: Dolly and Phil photographed against Bertha's roses in the rose garden on the western side of the house.





(Photograph c. 1906: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 266)

Figure 63a shows Dolly and Phil in the centre bed of the rose garden. In Figure 63b they are standing against one of the climbing roses flanking the first half of the centre path. Notable is the apparent absence of the wrought iron arches. On Figure 63b the last pole is clearly visible showing no extension or dome of any kind (See also Figures 60, 64, 91 and 176). It could be that it was only added when the climbers reached the top. Curb stones with a twisted top which were manufactured at Vereeniging by Marks's firm Vereeniging Brick and Tile Company (which was established in 1893), 231 edged all the flower beds.

Louis Marks wrote in 1901:

Mother writes that you have now two gardeners at work at Zwaartkopjie [sic]. It struck me that one man was not sufficient for all the work, that had to be done. I am very anxious to know how the laying out of the rose-beds in front of the house is progressing. I suppose that is completed, and you have set another big piece of work on foot.²³²

These pictures show the importance of dating photographs, especially where they are intended to be used as aids for restoration or reconstruction to a certain period.

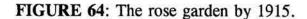
Figure 60a is definitely post-1896 but pre-1900 as are indicated by the presence of the electrical light fitting on the verandah but the absence of the porch-balcony. Figure 60b must date to 1901-2, the period when General Maxwell was in office and his wife

²³¹ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 54.

²³² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., L. Marks - S. Marks, 1906.03.01.

week-ended at Zwartkoppies Hall. The new porch has been completed. Figure 63 judged by the ages of the children, must have been taken 1905-6. Figure 91 which can be dated 1895-6 because Montie left for England in 1896, a date supported by the lady's dress. Figure 176 however is difficult to date because of the lack of clues. It is inscribed **The Coach and Four, Zwartkoppies**, the inverted commas lending a sarcastic or at the very least tongue-in-the-cheek ring to it. Marks was a wealthy man with stables to house 14 horses and he did have the best. It was a status symbol to have your own carriages and matching horses to draw it. This one is drawn by mules! From the correspondence we know that by February 1901 he did not have any horses left, due to the war and that he depended on mules for transport. A year later the mules were raided as well.²³³

From these pictures it is evident that the garden in front of the western side of the house had undergone significant changes during the years the house was occupied.





(Photograph c. 1915: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3449)

Dolly (seated) and Ted (with the striped jacket) with some friends underneath the metal archway in the centre of the rose garden, c. 1915. The of row trees behind the rose garden parallel to the house is quite clear. It is a pity so little of the garden itself is visible due to the bad quality of the photograph.

They either have played or are on their way to play tennis.

²³³ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 135.



FIGURE 65: The arches in the rose garden.



(Photograph c. 1915: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

On this photograph the central archway, covered with its climbers and the two flanking arches are visible. It could not be ascertained when they were erected but it must have been post 1906 (See Figure 63).

FIGURE 66: The Marks children gathering flowers.



(Photograph c. 1899: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 475)

When the garden was in full bloom it must have been quite picturesque as this picture of the children (Ted, Dolly, Girlie and Joe) gathering flowers proves. Dolly was born in 1897 which would date this picture to about 1899. Unfortunately it is not known where exactly this was taken, it might not even be at Zwartkoppies. Could this be the original garden in front of the western side of the house? Figure 38 substantiates this theory. However, even if they were taken elsewhere, similar scenes must have been witnessed at Zwartkoppies. Mr F. Peterson, presumably the gardener by 1918, reported to Bertha: "...and the sweet peas are extra good for this time of the year I think you will find everything satisfactory on your return. As for Bulbs (sic) I have bought some and planted them."

Bertha seems to have been the one interested in the flower gardens. They had an Austrian head gardener²³⁵ at one stage though little more is known of him. Orders for plants, bulbs and seeds were placed regularly with a nusery in Kent and these were sent out in batches week by week in accordance with the season.²³⁶ Flowers and plants represented many things to the Victorians.²³⁷ There even was a recognised language of flowers which meant that one had to be careful when inviting guests.²³⁸ The Victorians loved having flowers all over the house, both fresh cut flowers, dried arrangements and potplants.²³⁹ No wonder that even after the Markses had moved to Johannesburg in 1909 Bertha still had flowers sent there from Zwartkoppies in a laundry skip.²⁴⁰

The children's costumes are splendid examples of typical Victorian dress with the two boys dressed similarly in sailor's suits with straw hats and Girlie, some ten years old, wearing a dress already incorporating some of the fashionable elements popular for grown-up women. The two pull-carts are remarkable and must have provided hours of joy for the children.

²³⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 8., F. Peterson - B. Marks, 1918.05.02.

²³⁵ S.J.N. Maisels, *The life and times of Sammy Marks*, p. 5.

²³⁶ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 188.

²³⁷ M. Hansen, Entertaining in the Victorian style, p. 20.

²³⁸ N. Robinson, Collier's Cyclopedia of commercial and social information, p. 636.

²³⁹ M. Hansen, Entertaining in the Victorian style, p. 20.

²⁴⁰ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 188.



FIGURE 67: The verandah.



(Photograph c. 1915: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

By 1915 the southern part of the verandah was quite overgrown, providing a wealth of shade. The western part is decorated with potted plants suspended from the beams while on the ground an orderly row of plants in fancy ceramic pots and conifers in half barrels graced the whole length of the verandah (See also Figure 65).

At a first glance this group was or were going to play tennis but closer inspection reveals at least three croquet mallets as well. This is an example of an illusion that could be created by photography. Note the rounded effect created by the lens of the camera, showing the house, flower bed and road curving to the right, whereas in reality it's all in line with the left part! The shoe-scraper (See Figure 37) at the entrance is still in existence and evident.

FIGURE 68a and b: The earlier garden.





(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1337)

This photograph bears out the evidence of Figure 60 that prior to the 1906 rose garden there had been another garden with a square archway in the centre and at least an extension to the right to form a T. It was taken at Zwartkoppies. The row of trees at the back is also evident in Figures 127 and 176 and grew in a line parallel to the house, just beyond this front (rose) garden. This would mean that the photograph must have been taken in the late 1890s. Figure 68b, probably taken on the same day, shows Isaac Lewis (1849 - 1927), Marks's cousin and business partner²⁴¹ standing in front of the same garden. The caption with Figure a reads **Garden path at Zwaartkopje Hall.** Lewis came to South Africa on business trips and stayed at or at least visited Zwartkoppies. Figure 140 shows him on board a ship in July 1897 and Figure 91 in front of Zwartkoppies 1895/6. The album dates from 1897.

²⁴¹ According to the Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek II, p. 408, Lewis was actually a second cousin of Marks.





(Photograph: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 263)

The avenue leading east from the house was lined with lofty pine trees. Benches were scattered around providing seating for guests strolling around the park and wanting to enjoy the peace and tranquillity. Right in the centre the gate is visible.

This photograph presents another distortion of reality for it was printed the wrong way around i.e. what is the left should be the right. This is manifested by the tap which is shown in the picture to the right, but is actually to the left. Whereas it is true that the tap could have been moved at a later date this seems improbable not only from a logical and practical viewpoint, but the hedge on the picture circling the path bears this out because the path goes around the fountain-island which should be to the right of the picture.



FIGURE 70: Sammy Marks on the porch.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 253)

This picture, with Marks himself standing on the steps of the southern entrance with two unidentified military officers and two unknown ladies, gives a view on the ground to the east of the house. It must have been taken during the Anglo-Boer War, c. 1900. At this stage this piece of the garden seems to have been uncultivated. A row of pine trees stood parallel to the house, providing shade from the morning sun. Around their bases some lily-like flowers are planted, seemingly in an oblong flowerbed. Nothing is growing in the pot on the corner of the flight of steps and the bed to the right is also quite bare.



FIGURE 71: Marks with friends on the eastern side of the house.



(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

Judging by the lady's dress this photograph must have been taken round about 1905. It shows part of the garden to the east of the house. By this time the hedges are in place and an oblong flower bed has been made in the centre. Flanking this are two rows of citrus trees bearing fruit. The ground is covered with some type of short grass.

Marks already had orange trees during the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1902) and complains in a letter about the fruit being stolen.

The trees at Zwartkopje are growing nice and the little orange trees show a lot of fruit, I only hope they will not be picked before they are ripe. Last season I had some soldiers inside the stone wall who picked all the oranges while they were green...²⁴²

It is uncertain where these orange trees stood, as Figure 70 shows that it was not to the east of the house, at least not at that stage.

²⁴² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - J. Marks, 1901.04.17

FIGURE 72: A frozen spectacle.



(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1420)

An icy spectacle was captured in this photograph. A sprinkler (visible on the companion photograph SM nn) seems to have been forgotten on with the water freezing in the highveld winter cold. It shows the southern apex of the fountain-island.

FIGURE 73: Two of the Marks boys inside the tennis court.



(Photograph c. 1899: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)



This photograph shows two of Marks's sons, Joe and Ted on their ponies in the garden at Zwartkoppies. Comparison with Figure 58 shows that this must have been taken at the old lawn tennis tennis court. The proximity of the trees in the background with no indication of another fence would state that the boys were actually inside the court. It would make sense because it was the only enclosed area where boys of their very young age would be safe from the dangers of a run-away pony. It clearly shows the vines, visible in Figure 58, to which Girlie refers in one of her letters. The crookedness of the white poles suggests they were wooden.

FIGURE 74: An orchard at Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph c. 1894: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 865)

Marks had extensive orchards at Zwartkoppies and later on the adjoining farm Pienaarspoort as well.²⁴³ He was very proud of the fruit grown on his farms and overnight guests were often treated to Zwartkoppies' finest products. This photograph was taken in 1894 by guests he had entertained, Mr and Mrs H. Lincoln Tangye, of whom nothing else is known, and framed with some others as a memento of their visit.

²⁴³ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 102.



FIGURE 75: Part of the garden



(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3407)

This photograph presents a puzzle to the researcher. The accompanying caption "Swaartkopje" leaves little room for doubt that it is some part of the garden. The photographs in this particular album are dated here and there and would all seem to have been taken round about 1910. A white framework supports large vines. The tall poles are interspersed with short ones. Comparison with Figure 101 shows that this must have been the croquet court. To the back are standing what looks like fruit trees, possibly the pear orchard opposite the croquet court.

e. A home away from home

FIGURE 76: 5 St David's Place, Parktown, Johannesburg.



(Photograph c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

By the beginning of the twentieth century the company Lewis and Marks had set up their headquarters in Johannesburg where Marks's presence was required more and more. At the turn of the century Eerste Fabrieken, the company's industrial complex on Hatherley, the farm adjoining Zwartkoppies, was closed down by the British authorities. From 1903 to 1908 he lived in Johannesburg during the week and only returned to Zwartkoppies for week-ends. Eventually he acquired a residence in Parktown at 5 St David's Place, which was owned by the company and which was much smaller than Zwartkoppies. From then on they constantly moved back and forth, spending mostly week-ends at Zwartkoppies. After Marks's death Bertha moved permanently to Zwartkoppies, where she stayed when not travelling, before retiring to the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg. This picture of St David's place dates to 1912. It has unfortunately since been demolished.

²⁴⁴ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 189.

²⁴⁵ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 254.

²⁴⁶ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 189, 254.



FIGURE 77: Hatherley House in Muizenberg.



(Photograph c. 1900 : Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

The other property they liked to visit was the holiday home in Muizenberg, called Hatherley House. Marks acquired it by the end of the 1890s and it was to this house that he sent his wife and children just before the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1902). At the end of the war he got Herbert Baker, later Sir Herbert Baker (1862 - 1946), the architect, to alter the house.

After the renovations it had three rooms for white servants, one for black servants, a pantry, a larder and a scullery, a large hall, two dining-rooms, one for adults and one for the children downstairs and upstairs three bedrooms for the family plus rooms for the governess and lady's maid as well as a day nursery and separate night nursery.²⁴⁷ It was sold after his death for £4 250 to help meet the liabilities of the estate. It still exists, albeit in slightly altered state.²⁴⁸

I am not sure if I mentioned anything to you about the house at Muizenberg as I was down there for a few hours. I went there to see what they were doing & I saw several things which I am sure after the place was quite finished you would not have been pleased with. I think it a great pity that Mr Baker did not send a plan as the porch looks <u>large enough for a castle</u> & quite out of place anyhow I daresay when the place is done it will be allright (sic).²⁴⁹

The day nursery was usually a room where the children could play and also had their meals while they slept with the nurse or nanny in the night nursery. In wealthy houses the nanny might have had her own bedroom. D. Hall (ed.), Memories of childhood, pp. 68, 100.

²⁴⁸ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 156 - 7, 253.

²⁴⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B8., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1902.06.13.



3. Everyday life

a. Friends and countrymen

Sammy Marks must have known everybody who was anybody in the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.²⁵⁰ Signatures of almost all the elite of his day appear in the guest books. He often went to see the state president, Paul Kruger, to discuss business matters and later even politics. His nephew, George Falcke, even went so far as to describe him as a counsellor of Kruger, as Saron and Hotz in their history of the Jews in South Africa.²⁵¹

Marks naturally had to get Kruger's goodwill because he wielded so much power so he lavished much attention on the president. In 1895 he offered the city of Pretoria £10 000 for the erection of a statue of Kruger, which was to be another first for the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek. No other leader had been honoured in this way. The young Dutch sculptor Anton van Wouw (1865 - 1945), (See Figure 90) was commissioned for the task and the result today stands on Church Square. In the hallway at Zwartkoppies a huge portrait of the President adorned the wall.

Many of the Boer leaders were friends of his and were entertained at Zwartkoppies. When the Anglo-Boer War broke out in October 1899, he decided to stay neutral and soon befriended many high ranking British officials, some of whom stayed over at Zwartkoppies at intervals.²⁵³ One of these was Major-General John Maxwell, Military Governor of Pretoria, responsible for all civil administration throughout the Transvaal excepting the Witwatersrand, and his wife (See Figure 60b). In later years Maxwell mentions in correspondence his riding over on Sundays for dinner at 'hospitable Schwartzkoppies' (sic).²⁵⁴

M. Robertson, Die Sammy Marks-dokumente - 'n skatkis vir historici, Buurman, Desember 1984 - Februarie 1985, p. 17.

H. Katzew, The remarkable Sammy Marks, Jewish Affairs, April 1950, p. 25; G. Saron and L. Hotz, The Jews in South Africa - a history, pp. 69, 150, 189.

²⁵² J.H. Breytenbach, Die geskiedenis van die Krugerstandbeeld, pp. 1 - 13.

²⁵³ H. Katzew, The remarkable Sammy Marks, Jewish Affairs, April 1950, p. 26.

²⁵⁴ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 131.



FIGURE 78a and b: Stephanus Johannes Paulus (Paul) Kruger (1825 - 1904), State President of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, and his wife Gezina Susanna Frederika Wilhelmina Kruger née du Plessis (1828 - 1901).





(Photographs c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM nn; b - SM 1119)

At least two visits by Paul Kruger to Zwartkoppies are recorded in the Marks papers while Marks frequented the presidential home regularly. Marks even refers to the president fondly as the "Old Man" and to Mrs Kruger as "the good soul". 255 On their birthdays he sent them gifts, for example a set of razors from Sheffield, containing a razor for every day of the week, with ivory handles and the President's name on each blade for the President and a large bottle of Hatherley eau-de-cologne to his wife. He also ensured that his children in England send their congratulations:

May it please your honour

Many happy returns of your Birthday and I hope God will grant you many more. I trust you Mr President and Madame Kruger are very well

I am, Mr President Your little friend Montie Marks²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 86 - 87.

²⁵⁸ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 86 - 100.



FIGURE 79: General Piet Joubert (1831 - 1900), commander of the Boer military forces at the start of the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1900), standing second from the left with his wife Hendrina née Botha (1830 - 1916) sitting in front of him, and other Boer notables.



(Photograph c. 1883: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 485)

Standing next to Joubert is Gen. N.J. Smit (1837-1896). The picture must have been taken in the 1880s. The six draped **Vierkleur** flags lend an official and patriotic flavour to the scene. It is possible that this was the send-off party organised by Nellmapius for the presidential deputation to England on 18 August 1883 at Erasmusspruit (Hennops River) just outside Pretoria, which was attended by several dignitaries and Boer notables. ²⁵⁷ At the back, tables can be seen inside the tent.

General Joubert died early in 1900 and in November of the same year Marks wrote a letter to General Louis Botha appealing to him to make an end to the war. The letter was conveyed to the Boer leader by Mrs Joubert and her daughter, driving in Marks's spider. A letter from Marks to Abe Malan (who was a son-in-law of the Jouberts), dated 22 November 1900, leaves little doubt about his sentiments: "... I yield to none in my respect and admiration for both our departed General and Mrs Joubert". Description of the same year Marks wrote a letter to General Louis Botha wrote a letter to General Louis Botha appealing to him to make an end to the war. The letter was conveyed to the Boer leader by Mrs Joubert and her daughter, driving in Marks's spider. See See Louis Botha appealing to him to make an end to the war. The letter was conveyed to the Boer leader by Mrs Joubert and her daughter, driving in Marks's spider. See Louis Botha appealing to him to make an end to the war. The letter was conveyed to the Boer leader by Mrs Joubert and her daughter, driving in Marks's spider. See Louis Botha appealing to him to make an end to the war. The letter was conveyed to the Boer leader by Mrs Joubert and her daughter, driving in Marks's spider. See Louis Botha appealing to him to make an end to the war. The letter was conveyed to the war. The letter was conveyed to the Boer leader by Mrs Joubert and her daughter, driving in Marks's spider. See Louis Botha appealing to him to make an end to the war. The letter was conveyed to the war.

²⁶⁷ H. Kaye, The Tycoon and the President, p. 44.

²⁵⁸ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 127.

²⁵⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - A. Malan, 1900.11.22.

This picture shows the Boer elite, especially the women, in fashionable finery and bustle dresses. Even the little boy is fashionably dressed in a velvet Little Lord Fauntleroy suit, (See Figure 165) complete with Van Dyck lace collar (so called because of the resemblance to the seventeenth century collars evident on the portraits painted by Anthony Van Dyck, court painter to Charles I) and cuffs. Mrs Joubert is the only woman preferring a bonnet (as did Queen Victoria and most elderly females) to the more fashionable hat. All the women are gloved. The small lapels of the men's jackets and the way of fastening them with only the top button is notable. Another feature is the pieces of corrugated iron placed on the ground, presumably to protect the dresses of the seated ladies. It is an open question how effective a measure that could have been.

FIGURE 80: General Christiaan de Wet (1854 - 1922).



(Photograph c. 1907: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

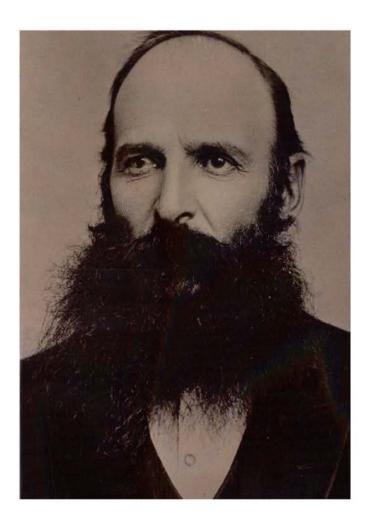
The name of General Christiaan de Wet was known to almost every British soldier fighting in South Africa during the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1920). Being a regular Houdini he continually managed to escape capture. This framed picture of the renowned general and his family, dated 16 February 1907 and signed "C R de Wet Zwartkoppes" (sic), hangs in the hallway. After the war Marks lent him £3 500 as he did to several other Boer generals. When De Wet took part in the ill-fated Rebellion of 1914 Marks however insisted on immediate repayment. ²⁶¹

²⁸⁰ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 141.

²⁶¹ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 228.



FIGURE 81: General Koos de la Rey (1847 - 1914).



(Photograph c. 1895: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

A letter by Marks to General Koos de la Rey written 6 October 1900 leaves no doubt about their relationship. Addressing him as 'My dear old friend' and 'my dear Koos' Sammy pleads with De la Rey for the cessation of hostilities. Before the war De la Rey had been the local representative of Lewis and Marks in the Lichtenburg district and Marks's farm superintendent and rent-collector. He also did some transport riding for Marks. He became one of Marks's most prized and cherished Boer friends. De la Rey himself is on record as describing "the old Jew" as "the best friend I have ever had, and he saved us all". This refers to Marks's financial aid after the Anglo-Boer War.

²⁶² H. Katzew, The remarkable Sammy Marks, *Jewish Affairs*, April 1950, p. 25.

²⁶³ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 61, 141 - 143.



FIGURE 82: General Louis Botha (1862 - 1919).



(Photograph c. 1904: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

General Louis Botha, Commandant-General of the Boer forces of the Transvaal, is another notable of whom Marks possessed pictures. During the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1900), Marks once visited Botha with Botha's wife, Annie, to persuade him to lay down arms. Failing to do so they returned to Zwartkoppies where Mrs Botha was treated to breakfast after which Marks's driver took her home to Pretoria. A short while after leaving they landed up right in the middle of a battle and a Long Tom round actually fell close to the cart. A British officer helped her to find cover, or else she could easily have been killed by her own husband's artillery. Louis Botha, shown here on the occasion of the wedding of one of his daughters, probably Helen who became Mrs De Waal, is seated on the left with his wife, Annie, to the right.

Obviously no expense was spared for the wedding as is evident from the picture. It is highly probable that all the dresses were imported, at least those of the bride and Mrs Botha, as wealthy people were apt to do.²⁶⁵ It is a fascinating picture to study for wedding fashions.

²⁶⁴ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 121.

A. Malan, Victorian weddings in South Africa: Evidence from personal recollections, letters and photographs, South African Journal for Cultural History 7(1), 1993, p. 5.



FIGURE 83: Cecil John Rhodes (1853 - 1902).



(Photograph c. 1895: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 833)

Marks met Cecil John Rhodes when they both were still quite young and without fame or fortune. Through the years he remained on good terms with Rhodes and in the early 1890's during his term as premier of the Cape Colony, Rhodes came to stay at Zwartkoppies while on a visit to Pretoria. After Rhodes's death in 1902 Marks even ordered a portrait and a marble bust of him from the studio of Thackeray Edwards in Cape Town, both of which are still to be seen at Zwartkoppies Hall. It was on Marks's suggestion that Rhodes bought land and set up his fruit-farming operations. ²⁶⁶

H. Katzew, The remarkable Sammy Marks, Jewish Affairs, April 1950, p. 26; R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 100 - 102.



FIGURE 84: Sir Alfred Milner (1854 - 1925).



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

Sir Alfred Milner, British High Commissioner to South Africa and later governor of the Transvaal from 1902 - 1905, spent 1 June 1902, the day after signing the treaty of Vereeniging which concluded the war, with Marks at Zwartkoppies. Marks thought him a 'very nice gentleman' and always held him in high regard. Milner in turn was fond of Marks referring to him as 'not a bad little fellow'.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 140, 146.



FIGURE 85: Lord Frederic Sleigh Roberts (1832 - 1914), Lady Nora Henrietta Roberts née Bews (dates unavailable) and their daughters at Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 312)

The first day of October 1900 was a special day for Marks. On that day he received Lord Roberts, chief commander of the British forces in South Africa during the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1900), his wife and their two daughters at Zwartkoppies. The Roberts family had ventured out especially to go and see the grave of Lord Roberts's brother, The Earl of Airlie, who was killed in action and buried at Diamond Hill, not far from Zwartkoppies. Before departing they first breakfasted and on returning Marks provided lunch for the party. This photograph shows Marks in conversation with Lord Roberts on the verandah of Zwartkoppies with Lady Roberts and their daughters on the right²⁶⁸ (See also Figure 172).

Both girls are wearing riding habits although - according to Mendelsohn - one escorted her mother in Marks's carriage while the other (probably the one with the riding crop and gloves in her hand) rode on horseback with their father. The vase noted in Figure 37 on the pedestal is not yet in place.

²⁶⁸ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 124.



FIGURE 86: British dignitaries at Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph c. 1904: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 279)

On 8 November 1904 the Markses received another visit from Lord Roberts, this time in the company of other dignitaries. It has not been recorded what the occasion was. Standing are from left to right General Sir J. Hilyard, General Jeffreys, an aide-decamp, Captain Hilyard, Mrs Jeffreys, Sammy Marks, General Lord Roberts, Major Enshoven, Miss E. Marks (Marks's niece), Mrs Frederika Marks née Lewis (his sister-in-law, wife of his brother Eli), Miss Dolly Marks. Seated are from left to right Lady Solomon, Lady Hilyard, Phil Marks, Bertha Marks and Captain Piers.

Young Dolly has had her hair cropped short like a boy's leaving her a far cry from the pretty long haired angel in Figures 9b and 12. It was general practise in order to break a high fever to cut off a girl's hair which might offer an explanation, though nothing of the kind is on record. The plants in the open arch are clearly visible. It is also one of the best photographs of the chairs which were used on the verandah, glimpses of which can be seen in several other photographs. The ladies are dressed rather plainly in what looks like riding and travelling outfits, indicating that their visit was probably of short duration.



FIGURE 87: The Crown Prince of Portugal (c. 1890 - 1908).



(Photograph c. 1907: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 827)

Another person of eminence entertained by Marks was the Crown Prince of Portugal, Don Luiz Felippe, Duque de Bragança (Luís Filipe - according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*) for whom a hunting party was arranged in August 1907 on Marks's estate at Vereeniging on the Vaal River. This signed picture in a sterling silver frame has always had a place of honour in the house. Tragically enough the prince was assassinated with his father, King Carlos I on 1 February 1908 while travelling in an open carriage through Lisbon.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ Encyclopaedia Britannica 14, p. 872.



FIGURE 88: General J.C. Smuts (1870 - 1950).



(Photograph c. 1916: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 816)

General J.C. Smuts, another Boer leader, destined to become Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa and Field Marshal of the British Empire, also counted amongst Marks's friends. This photograph was signed by him and addressed to Marks.



FIGURE 89: Alois Hugo Nellmapius (1847 - 1893) with his family.



(Photograph c. 1892: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM nn)

Another unidentified photograph which turned out to be identifiable after some research round Marks and his contemporaries. It had escaped notice for a while which accentuates the necessity for researchers using historic photographs to work through his pictorial material over and over to minimalize oversights. It proved to be a photograph of Alois Hugo Nellmapius and his wife Corlydia Hoffmann with their children Alexander, Irene and Bertie. Nellmapius was an erstwhile partner of Lewis and Marks in the Hatherley Distillery. Later he settled on a portion of the farm Doornkloof and renamed it Irene after his daughter, from where the presentday village took its name. After Nellmapius's death Marks was involved with his estate and did a lot in aid of Mrs Nellmapius.

²⁷⁰ H. Kaye, The Tycoon and the President, p. 49.

²⁷¹ N. Helme, *Irene*, pp. 12, 25, 32.



FIGURE 90: Anton van Wouw (1862 - 1945).



(Photograph c. 1898: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 207)

Anton van Wouw (1862 - 1945), a young Dutch sculptor from Pretoria, destined to become one of the foremost South African sculptors, was commissioned by Marks to create a statue of President Paul Kruger which he donated to the city of Pretoria. It created quite a stir and due to the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War in October 1899 led to a long drawn-out battle before it was finally erected on its intended place. This signed photograph of Van Wouw in his studio in Rome, where he carried out this assignment, is one of the photographs sent by him to his employer to show his progress. It is dated 10 February 1898.

The pedestal designed for the monument was removed in 1906 from the centre of Church Square to Princes Park and replaced by a cast iron fountain, which Marks also donated to the city of Pretoria, where it stood till 1911 when it was removed to the Pretoria Zoo.²⁷³

J.H. Breytenbach, Die geskiedenis van die Krugerstandbeeld, pp. 39, 41, 45,47, 49, 61.

²⁷³ L. Dunston, Young Pretoria 1889 - 1913, pp. 44 - 45.



b. At leisure

Thanks to the Industrial Revolution and a more humane attitude about working hours, resulting in legislation, spare time was not a luxury accorded to the rich alone any more. Improved and quicker means of transport opened up the country and even the working man could afford a holiday even if this meant only a day trip.²⁷⁴ (The unemployed and extremely poor are excluded from this generalisation.) Many and diverse then were the options available to Victorian gentility as to what to do with spare time.

Apart from shelter, food and clothing, and politics aside, the Victorians were mainly preoccupied by two considerations: employment and the means of spending their leisure. For the common man, however there was much less leisure time than today. Free time was a luxury ill afforded by the normal working people who had to be content with a day off now and then, but with the rich classes it was another story. Here again Marks deviates from the rule because his wife, Bertha, chides him for never taking time off to relax.

You need not have told me that you went to Delagoa <u>not</u> for pleasure. that (sic) I am quite aware of and sometimes I think it is a great pity for yourself that there is really nothing in this world that you do take a pleasure in; outside Business (sic). After all one has one life only ... there is not one man in a million who does not sometimes enjoy a little mild recreation which is one of the very best nerve tonics.²⁷⁶

He contradicts her statement in a letter to Girlie on 21 August 1901: "I certainly am a great sportsman as you know and would like to learn the new games you speak of. I am having flannels made for the game of 'ping-pong'".²⁷⁷

It would seem that Bertha made up where Marks lacked as far as leisure is concerned.

Billiards became popular in the 1860s resulting in billiard rooms being included in most grand houses.²⁷⁸ Here Marks followed suit when building his mansion. When the house was enlarged in 1893, a billiard room was added on as part of the second storey (See Figure 54).

Formal dinner parties, both the giving of and the attendance of, were considered obligatory. There were processions of food and drink from eight in the morning until late

²⁷⁴ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 108.

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, pp. 56, 266.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B5, B. Marks - S. Marks, 1907.07.08.

²⁷⁷ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B2.17, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1901.08.21.

²⁷⁸ N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, p. 60.

²⁷⁹ N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, p. 106.



at night. The Edwardian breakfast alone would make one of our Christmas dinners look meagre." ²⁸⁰

Week-end parties, organised like small expeditionary forces, were the rage and a woman invited for such a week-end to one of the country houses would take along several trunks containing her wardrobe to enable her to change as much as six times a day in order to always look her best.²⁸¹

The Victorians enjoyed dressing up and welcomed the opportunity to create outlandish costumes. Plays or amateur theatricals were often staged at home by family members and often servants for amusement.²⁸² Masked and fancy dress balls were popular in the 19th century - balls being the most elaborate and formal entertainment offered by country-house life²⁸³ (See Figures 119, 129). However, no reference to balls being held at Zwartkoppies could be found nor was there a ball-room. Dancing is mentioned by Bertha and the children in their letters. Phil wrote to Marks on 12 July 1910 from The Marine Hotel, Durban:

"As there is a dance in this Hall tonight all the little children myself included are staying up a little later than usual to see the pretty girls dance." 284

Music formed an integral part of everyday life and was heard everywhere. Public performances were held and well attended, band stands in the parks provided shelter for the band entertaining the crowds, at home the piano and other instruments were always being put to use and many an evening was spent entertaining one another with song or instrumental renderings in the privacy of home-entertainment.²⁸⁵

Tea gardens offered music, dancing concerts, theatrical entertainment and a circus as well as food and drink. Another popular place was the music-hall. In addition there was a horde of taverns and pubs where many an hour was spent, not to mention money.²⁸⁶

Improved transport combined with improvements in social and economic conditions generally, eventually brought about a decline in the popularity of tea gardens and circuses because people could now go on excursions and seek entertainment farther afield instead of depending on local places.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁰ J.B. Priestley, *The Edwardians*, p. 65.

²⁸¹ J.B. Priestley, *The Edwardians*, p. 58.

²⁸² A.J. Lambert, Victorian and Edwardian country-house life from old photographs, p. nn.

²⁸³ A.J. Lambert, Victorian and Edwardian country-house life from old photographs, p. nn.

²⁸⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B5, P. Marks - S. Marks, 1910.07.12.

²⁸⁵ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 87.

²⁸⁶ N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, p. 268.

²⁸⁷ N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, p. 278.



There was a lot of rough and sometimes illegal pursuits either watched or participated in like bare-knuckle prize-fighting or rat-catching by terriers. This contrasted sharply with the innocent pleasures of the bourgeoisie like the At Homes, dinner parties, musical evenings, sewing bees and sports.²⁸⁸

Leisure was also devoted to self-improvement for which the Victorians had a passion. Semi-educational establishments had no difficulty in filling their lecture rooms. Free libraries were established by about 1852. The thirst for knowledge is reflected in the vogue for public lectures which were attended by men as well as women. It was an age of marathon talkers and instinctive listeners.²⁸⁹

Interesting is also the feeling amongst a large part of the population that certain pastimes, no matter how innocent, were sinful and bred idleness and other negative characteristics. Leisure time should be put to use in improving the character resulting in stoical endurance of boredom and discontent caused by the preference to spending hours in discussing trivia or listening to the reading of some improving book or doing some form of needlework. In other circles these frowned upon activities like dancing and card-playing were enjoyed thoroughly.²⁹⁰

Bicycling was a fad that came in and by the nineties was a well-established male activity, but because it offended the Victorian sense of propriety by revealing too much of her shin, it was not considered proper for ladies. By the nineties ladies, however, started to show a startling desire to reach equality with men. In the end the bicycle did its bit to help the cause of female emancipation.²⁹¹

In the letters from the children mention is made of bathing, a gymkhana at the polo ground, going to the bioscope (as early as 1910 in Durban), dancing, card playing, sailing (toy)boats on water, ice skating on an ice rink, ping pong and going to the theatre. Dr James A. Kay, ²⁹² the family physician, frowned upon the last mentioned:

She (Bertha) ... does not rear her children in a commendable manner; when (sic) quite young, even (sic) four and five years of age they are taken to theatres, and (sic) any excitement that is likely to amuse them, and (sic) they have their evening meal as late as six o' clock and generally have meat immediately before going to bed. ²⁹³

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 284.

²⁸⁹ N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, pp. 148, 278, 284.

²⁹⁰ N. Bentley, *The Victorian scene*, p. 286.

N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 261.

He was born in Plymouth in 1849 and studied medicine in Scotland but without completing his studies. After a lengthy period as medical officer on whaling ships he landed in Durban in 1879 and joined the Royal Army Medical Corps. He was stationed in Pretoria for a while and returned to Britain when the Transvaal regained its independence after the First War of Independence, 1880 - 1881. However, he had taken a liking to Pretoria and returned somewhat later to set up as general practitioner. He lived in a house in Pretoria called Jellalabad Villa, where Dolly Marks was born in 1897. R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 194.

²⁹³ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 143-4.



It is not recorded in so many words, but from the following excerpt from a letter from Bertha, would seem that Marks had something to say about her amusements: Bertha to Sammy 4 July 1907 from The Marine Hotel, Durban:

I cant (sic) understand how it is you could have been misinformed I have as it happens only <u>one</u> Evening Dress & that I left at home & <u>where it will</u> remain PG. untill my return. What I sent for was my warm cloak which I stupidly forgot to bring down with me. Re my going out of an evening surely I know I have gone thro (sic) enough sufferings already to risk if possible another turn Dont be afraid nothing will make me do two things down here dance or play Bridge or in fact any Game of Cards for money. It would be hard lines for me if I am never to go to a concert & so of an evening & both Dr Kay & Dr MacKenzie have given me permission I shall not do anything rash & even if I go & I find I suffer any ill effects. I certainly should not go a <u>second time</u>. ²⁹⁴

Once a year the family would ride into Pretoria for an annual treat, eagerly awaited - the Christmas pantomime.²⁹⁵ Does it sound familiar that the children were threatened, when not behaving, that the trip would be cancelled?²⁹⁶ They also went to circus performances.

"So you enjoyed the circus. There is no such form of enjoyment here just now, plenty of horses but the performances are sometimes very nasty." 297

The one activity no photograph exists of, is billiards. At least the room itself was photographed (See Figure 54) and Marks remarked on it in his correspondence.²⁹⁸ According to his daughter, Dolly, his own game was rather shaky and he preferred watching, though Bertha quite enjoyed a game. It seems not to have been unusual for the ladies of the later part of the Victorian era to play billiards. Maud Berkeley, a Victorian who kept concise record of her comings and goings in her diary, for one, while dwelling often on wondering if certain acts were proper or might be construed as fast, mentions being taught how to play and later enjoying the game without any such doubts.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1907.07.04.

It sounds like a typical Victorian pastime which was just as popular then as it still is today. Maud Sambour-ne for instance also relates in her diaries how she took her children to pantomimes and plays and how delighted they were. S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 45.

²⁹⁶ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 187.

²⁹⁷ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - J. Marks, 1900.09.26.

²⁹⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.12, S. Marks - L. and M. Marks, 1896.11.29.

²⁹⁹ F. Fraser, MAUD The diaries of Maud Berkeley, pp. 21, 88, 111, 165.



FIGURE 91: Afternoon tea at Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph c. 1895: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1337)

For the Victorians afternoon tea was an institution rather than a habit.³⁰⁰ Here Isaac Lewis, Marks's cousin and business partner, is having tea at Zwartkoppies with friends and Montie Marks is standing at his knee. The unidentified lady is fashionably dressed for 1895, providing a first clue as to the date. Montie was sent to England in 1896.³⁰¹ If the date of Lewis's stay could be ascertained it would pinpoint it more definitely. The picture seems very posed in contrast with Figure 92.

The lady is wearing a bodice with leg- o'-mutton sleeves (see Figure 21) of rather large proportions, and the new bell-shaped skirt of the mid 1890s. The same cane table, called a five o'clock tea table, 302 is visible in other photographs, e.g. Figure 32, 199. Behind the group a long stemmed plant is visible. This must have died a year or so later because in subsequent photographs like Figure 60 it is gone but its mate on the right is still growing, much taller and visible on several photographs. It testifies to the symmetry practised in formal garden lay-out. The framework discussed at Figure 63 is faintly discernable.

³⁰⁰ F. Fraser, MAUD, The diaries of Maud Berkeley, pp. 117, 123, 136, 149.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 107.

³⁰² R.H. Langbridge, Edwardian shopping, p. 46.



FIGURE 92a and b: Afternoon tea in the garden.





(Photographs c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM 408, b - SM 501)



A lot of care went into the presentation of afternoon tea. These are two rather unique pictures taken at Zwartkoppies around 1905. In Figure 92a the maid stands dutifully aside, waiting for any orders or requests. On the left a gramophone is clearly visible while on the right a butler's tray is resting on its trestle legs. Although faint, a large bouquet of flowers can be seen in the middle of the table. There also appears to be flowers and a wine bottle on the butler's tray. Note that all the people are wearing hats.

The second photograph of the same occasion and taken from a different angle shows the table with the white table cloth, just visible behind the butler's tray on Figure 92a; from closer by, revealing crockery, cutlery and a glass jug. Miriam Levy (Marks's niece - See Figure 118) is just bringing her fork to her mouth, while Girlie has a tall glass in her hand and the unidentified gentleman is sipping wine from a wine glass, holding it by the stem. The arrangement in the centre of the table is quite visible, as are the toast rack and cruet set. All this for three or four people!

Many a lady held so-called AT HOMES when friends were invited over for a quick cup of tea.303 Most of them established a certain day once a week which was known to their friends who would record it. 304 These were governed by a whole set of rules and were social occasions not to be missed lightly. 305 In most middle-class establishments "At Homes" were mostly modest affairs where a clutch of local ladies and a few gentlemen came together for 15 minutes or so between three o' clock and six o' clock. It was not the length of the visits that mattered but the presence or absence of personages.³⁰⁶ The visits being so short meant that it did not matter if two ladies had their At Homes on the same day as ladies could fit in a few such visits in the same afternoon.³⁰⁷ Marion Sambourne, another Victorian woman who kept a diary of her daily life, mentions making twelve calls in one afternoon.³⁰⁸ Bertha wrote to Sammy on 22 June 1906 from Hyde Park Hotel: "I went to Sara's 'At Home'. We were none keen on going but I do not wish to give her a chance to have a dig at me". 309 This was by no means an uncommon attitude as in many cases these visits took the nature of a social obligation. Molly Hughes, a Victorian who committed her memories to paper in later life, recalled that "To give a tea-party was bad enough, but to go to one was worse".310

³⁰³ K. Roodt Coetzee, Die Republikeinse Pretoria: kultureel en sosiaal in S.P. Engelbrecht e.a. (reds.), Pretoria, (1855 - 1955), p. 141.

³⁰⁴ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 53.

J. Davies, The Victorian kitchen, pp. 133 - 138.

³⁰⁶ F.E. Huggett, Life below stairs, p. 89.

³⁰⁷ J. Davies, The Victorian kitchen, p.

³⁰⁸ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 100.

³⁰⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1906.06.22.

³¹⁰ M.V. Hughes, A London family 1870 - 1900, p. 112.



FIGURE 93: Tea at Mr Potts'.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

Even in the more humble home of the carpenter, Mr James Potts, having tea with British soldiers was worthy of photographing. The possibility exists that this was also posed but one would think it was done on the spur of the moment. There does not appear to be anything served to eat unless it has been cleared already. The white picket fence and abundance of plants enhance the cottage atmosphere. The lady must be Potts' wife, Isabella née Anderson who died in 1924.³¹¹

FIGURE 94: Afternoon tea in Parktown.



(Photograph c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

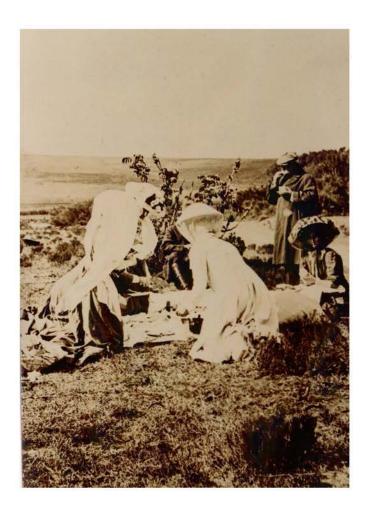
³¹¹ Transvaal Archives Depot, Pretoria: Estate 98561.



By 1912 tea was more informal although the table is still laden with refreshments. This picture was taken at the family's residence in Parktown, Johannesburg (See Figure 76).

The lace trimmed shade of the window is clearly visible. Similar blinds were used at Zwartkoppies Hall. Louis seems to have injured his arm, wearing it in a sling. Once more a pet, this time a Dachshund, is captured on film.

FIGURE 95: Picnick at Caledon.



(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3407)

Although it is common knowledge that the Victorians loved picnicking,³¹² comparatively few photographs of them exist. Girlie and her father visited the baths at Caledon in 1910 for health reasons and this was one of their outings. The women are wearing heavy veils over their hats as was the fashion,³¹³ born of necessity, when travelling any distance, especially by motor car. It seems they all are wearing dust coats as well, worn to protect the clothes when travelling.

J. Davies, The Victorian kitchen, p. 127; F. Fraser (ed.), MAUD The diaries of Maud Berkeley, pp. 83, 93, 165.

³¹³ N. Waugh, The cut of women's clothes 1600 - 1930, p. 294.



"... we are going to have a very large picnic at Zwartkopje tomorrow. All the children of the Miriam Marks School³¹⁴ are coming out, and I think there will be about 180 of them," Marks wrote to Ted on 23 December 1905.³¹⁵

FIGURE 96: Girlie Marks and a friend relaxing.



(Photograph c. 1909: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3407)

This photograph is especially interesting because finding old photographs where the subjects actually are laughing or even smiling are very rare. Girlie and her unidentified companion seem highly amused. There is an open umbrella to the left of the photograph. A gramophone is visible between the two people indicating that this must have been a planned outing, probably a picnic. It was taken at Vereeniging in 1909.

Girlie wears the fashionable large hat-veil (see Figure 95) while her companion wears a straw boater and white trousers - with dark socks!

³¹⁵ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.19, S. Marks - T. Marks, 1905.12.23.



The ground for this school and the building cost thereof, valued at £7 000, were provided by Marks and after its opening the running expenses were carried by Marks as well, which he estimated at £600 per annum. It was situated on the corner of Beatrix and Vermeulen Streets, Pretoria, where First National Bank today has its Arcadia branch, and after its demolition moved to South Street in Hatfield. The school was named after Marks's mother. (J. Ploeger, Onderwys in Pretoria, in S.P. Engelbrecht (red.), Pretoria, 1855 - 1955, pp. 216, 217.)



FIGURE 97: A cocopan ride.

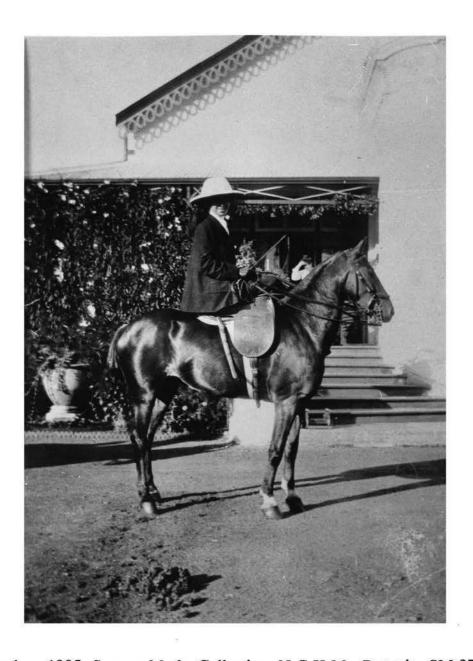


(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

Girlie and a friend amusing themselves in a cocopan. At Pienaarspoort, the farm adjacent to Zwartkoppies which Marks acquired at a later stage, Marks had huge orchards. Cocopans were used to transport the fruit from the orchards.



FIGURE 98: Horseriding.



(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 370)

Horseriding was not only the most common form of transport, it was also an enjoyable pastime, especially on an estate like Zwartkoppies. For a lady side-saddle riding (See Figure 156) was compulsory while a special riding habit had to be worn.³¹⁶

Girlie seems to have taken a keen interest in this at an early age, for her father already wrote to her in Sepember 1902: "I suppose you will still come and talk over the business about the horse-farm, and the groom for the horses, etc. when you arrive". 317

³¹⁶ M.V. Hughes, A London family 1870 - 1900, p. 399.

³¹⁷ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.19, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1902.09.20.



Marks remained the concerned father and after Bertha had an accident with her carriage in 1904, wrote to Girlie: "After this I cannot sanction your learning jumping. Tell the people who look after you that your Daddy says you can take exercise but not racing or jumping", 318 and to Louis, already nearing his twentieth birthday in December of the same year: "I note that you wish to go in for riding and have no objection to your doing so ... Whatever you do when you go out riding, do not try and do any circus riding by making the horse clear gates, fences, etc. but keep it at a canter, which will keep your liver in order". 319

FIGURE 99: Group "playing" in the river.



(Photograph c. 1920: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3449)

One cannot help but wonder what these people are doing. The picture seems to have been taken about 1920 by which time the Victorian era had long since passed. Even so they must have been Victorian children and rolling up your trousers and frolicking in the river would not have been approved of then. But times change. Marks had two swimming pools made at the house in addition to the large dams which he also thought lovely for swimming.

³¹⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.19, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1904.01.02.

³¹⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.19, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1904.12.03.



Marks wrote to Montie on 1 November 1896: "We are having a swimming bath made at Zwartkoppies and in a week or two will be able to go for a swim, it is just at the side of the tennis court". 320

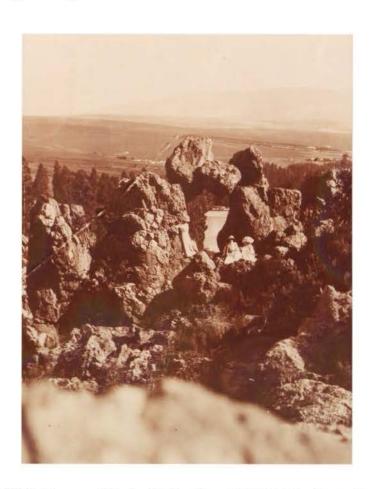
On 26 September 1900 he wrote to Joe:

I have made a very nice swimming bath [he is referring to the dam] at the back of the house, it will contain about three million gallons of water when it is full so bring yourself out a nice bathing costume.³²¹

A while later he informed Ted on 11 December 1900: "I have got a very large pond at the back of my house which is nearly as big as the English channel so you can have some good swimming when you come back". 322

It seems the gentleman seated on the rocks to the right, holding his hat in his hand, is also clutching a camera.

FIGURE 100: Sightseeing at Caledon.



(Photograph c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

³²⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.12, S. Marks - L. and M. Marks, 1896.11.01.

³²¹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - J. Marks, 1900.09.26.

³²² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - T. Marks, 1900.12.11.



Sightseeing, then as now, was part of a holiday. This was taken at Caledon in 1912 during a second visit. Long skirts, tight sleeves, hoops and bustles, hats and gloves, nothing seems to have deterred the ladies from participating in hiking and even mountain climbing.

FIGURE 101: Playing croquet at Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3407)

Croquet was one of the first sports to be enjoyed by one and all and was popular for a long period until it was eventually replaced by lawn tennis. Wimbledon had originally been a croquet court. 323 At Zwartkoppies a court and equipment was available for the recreation of guests. According to the picture the setting with six hoops and two pegs was followed. The same court had originally been used for lawn tennis (See Figure 58) but when the new tennis court was built in 1903, this one became a croquet court. It is the only photograph in the collection of people actually playing this game, though the mallets are visible in some others, e.g. Figure 110. The summer house still stands today. The vines covering the metal framework are visible. To the right a telephone pole shows as well.

³²³ Encyclopedia Britannica 18, p. 131.



FIGURE 102: Golf on the lawn.



(Photograph c. 1915: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

Back home from the front the boys relax, putting on the lawn of the Marks mansion in Parktown, Johannesburg, 1915. Golf was played in Scotland already since the fifteenth century but only took popular hold in England since 1860. The first club in South Africa was formed in Natal in 1884.³²⁴

FIGURE 103: The Marks children and friends on the beach at Muizenberg.



(Photograph c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

³²⁴ Encyclopaedia Britannica IV, p. 614.



Improved transport facilities made travelling easier and quicker. A holiday spent at the seaside became possible. Marks bought a house in Muizenberg (See Figure 77) and the family spent a lot of time there, although Marks himself did not always accompany them. The Marks children and some friends were photographed on Muizenberg beach in about 1912.

FIGURE 104: Phil Marks buried in beach sand.



(Photograph c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3407)

"The kiddies spend much of their time on the beach & they love it..", 325 Bertha wrote to her husband and judging by this picture of Phil buried in the Muizenberg beach sand, taken in 1912, one can believe her. Some things seem not to change with the passing of time.

³²⁵ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 8., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1904.08.01.



FIGURE 105: Children with surf boards.



(Photograph c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

This interesting picture of children on the beach with wooden surf boards of different sizes, was taken at Muizenberg in 1912.



FIGURE 106: Girlie Marks in a typical bathing suit.



(Photograph c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

Girlie Marks in a typical bathing suit of the time with her wooden surf board, c. 1912.

FIGURE 107: Postcard of Margate.



(Postcard c. 1903: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)



An interesting post cart of Margate in the collection, postmarked 1903, showing all the bathing machines. These were used to convey ladies into the sea where they could in all modesty wade in the water away from peering eyes. Bathing was considered healthy but it was improper for a lady to swim.³²⁶ The sexes were segregated and it was only at the turn of the century that mixed bathing started.³²⁷ The picture itself was probably taken a few years earlier before being mass-produced (See also Figure 157).

There were bathing machines, drawn down into the water by a horse. I remember the thrill of the smell of those bathing machines. They were perfectly clean but they smelt fusty and seasidey and there was straw or sawdust on the floor. You dressed and undressed in the bathing machine and came down some little steps into the water. The horse was brought in as the sea receded, when the tide was going out, to tow your bathing machine back into the sea. It was a wonderful idea.³²⁸

FIGURE 108: Bertha Marks with some friends and children.



(Photograph c. 1898: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 500)

Lawn tennis became a very popular pastime in the late Victorian era, replacing croquet in many instances. By 1880 it had become very fashionable and soon clubs were formed. Maud Berkeley for example mentions playing tennis in several inscriptions in

³²⁶ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 108.

A. Malan, Victorian weddings in South Africa: Evidence from personal recollections, letters and photographs, South African Journal for Cultural History 7(1), 1993, p. 1; M.V. Hughes, A London family 1870 - 1900, p. 352.

³²⁸ J. Smith, Edwardian children, p. 119.



her diaries against one mention of croquet.³²⁹ The shape of the racquets are clearly visible, even the little girl having a small one. From left to right are Bertha Marks, Pauline Lavenstein (sister-in-law of Bertha's sister), Dolly Marks, an unknown woman, Rosalie Lavenstein (Bertha's sister; See Figure 37), an unknown man and Joe Marks peeking from behind an unknown girl while Girlie and Ted recline on the ground. Judging from the clothes and the children's ages it must have been taken c. 1898.

Right in the foreground a pruned stub of a rose bush is just visible. However this picture was taken before Bertha had the formal rose-garden laid out (1906). In that case it would show that she already had roses planted in the front garden. The kerb stones that surrounded the later beds are also absent but it is clear that the beds were flanked with strips of lawn (See Figure 63). The tennis court, which later became the croquet court, is visible in the background. It clearly shows the clipped hedges flanking the road separating the court and the garden and the parallel rows of trees. To the right two handles, presumably of a wheelbarrow are visible. Note the befrilled pinafore the girl is wearing, protecting her dress.

FIGURE 109: Group of friends with Bertha Marks and children in front of Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 31)

³²⁹ F. Fraser (ed.), MAUD The diaries of Maud Berkeley, pp. 86, 90, 91, 126, 127.



Standing at the back in this picture are Miss Louise Maria Lorimer, who was a governess (See Figure 47), and two unknown gentlemen. The one to the right looks like the butler, probably Mr Winder who according to the family succeeded Mr McCracken after the former's death (See Figure 37). The other looks like Julius Heymann (See Figure 35) who married Miss Lorimer. Bertha Marks, with Phil on her lap, and her sister Rosalie Lavenstein (see Figure 63) are seated while Louis Marks, Eric Lavenstein, their cousin and Dolly Marks with a Mr A.N. Hoskins (about whom nothing else could be found) are sitting on the ground. The picture was taken at Zwartkoppies about 1905. Judging by the similarity of the clothes this photograph must have been taken on the same day as Figure 37 and at a spot directly opposite that of Figure 37. The flagpole is just visible in the background, showing three flags flying.

FIGURE 110: Young people relaxing after a game of tennis.



(Photograph c. 1915: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 76)

This group of young people with Girlie, Louis and Joe in the middle and Ted to the right, were caught relaxing after a game on the new tennis court that was built in 1903 just north of the house. Note how the shape of the racquets had changed by 1915. There are also croquet mallets on the ground.

Girlie commented in 1903: "Home must look very nice, I am glad they are building a new tennis court tell Dad to not forget and have grapes put round it like the old one". 330 It seems that Joe is nursing his left leg.

³³⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., G. Marks - B. Marks, 1903.12.15.



FIGURE 111a and b: A tennis match under way.





(Photograph c. 1911: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - in album SM 3450, b - SM 1361)



Two very rare action shots of a tennis match under way in 1911 at Zwartkoppies. Of the surface of the court Marks remarked that it was: "...like the floor of Kaffir huts" - indicating that it must have been of hardened earth. 331

FIGURE 112: Phil Marks and his school's cricket team.



(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 78)

Little is known about the boys' participation in sports at school but this picture proves that Phil, second from the left in front, played for his school's cricket team.

Marks encouraged them, stating that "Cricket and football are very healthy exercises and moreover tend to bring a boy into closer friendships with his schoolfellows...", but warned that they must play sporting games steadily like young gentlemen should do. 332

³³¹ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 103.

³³² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1901.07.19.



FIGURE 113a and b: A cricket match in Johannesburg.





(Photograph c. 1911: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)



Two pictures taken about 1911 in Johannesburg of a cricket match. Unfortunately the names of the teams or the occasion was not recorded.

Two Sundays ago our Police went down to play a cricket match against Hatherley, they were badly beaten. During the match some Boers were on top of the hill near Mr Roxburgh's house and were watching the game, rather funny do not you think so.³³³

FIGURE 114: Ladies at the Zwartkoppies lake.



(Photograph c. 1907: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3407)

Have these three ladies with Dolly and Phil Marks just finished a boat ride on the lake or are they waiting for some gallant gentleman to do the rowing? "I suppose Mother wrote you all about the New Dam and Canal at Zwartkopje, there are two boats on the water now, and Mother often goes for a row, and I think she rather likes it". 334

After Queen Victoria's death there was a vogue for white and light colours while at the same time a new femininity emerged. Dresses were made of soft, flowing materials, very wide at the hem and elaborately decorated. While the high stand-up collar still held its own, sleeves were very often elbow length. By 1905 hats started growing in size, resting on rolled and puffed out hair-do's. Phil is wearing the ever popular sailor suit (See Figure 166). According to his mother he got his first one in 1907, indicating the earliest possible date. He looks very young and the fashions had changed considerably by 1910, so it could not have been taken much later than that year.

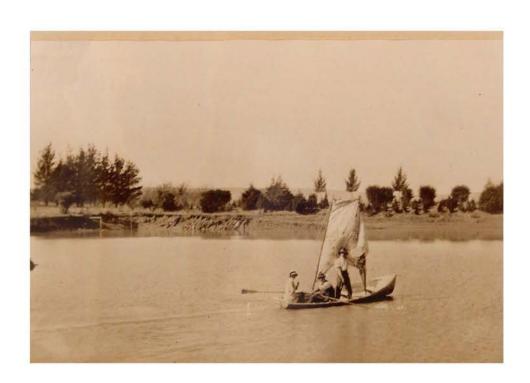
³³³ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - J. Marks, 1901.04.03.

³³⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.19, S. Marks - J. Marks, 1905.12.11.



FIGURE 115a, b and c: Boating on the Zwartkoppies Lake.







(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM 329, b - in album SM 3449, c. ??)

Boating on the Zwartkoppies lake must have been great fun and quite popular judging by these three photographs. "Although I am not a Navy man I have three fine boats on my lake and nine beautiful English swans. That will tell you we are getting a little civilized ...", 335 Marks boasted to a friend. This was clearly another attempt on Marks's part to recreate an English estate in Africa as these features were not uncommon in Britain. 336

³³⁵ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 150.

The garden of Battlecrease, a mansion in Liverpool which housed James Maybrick, the latest and most likely Jack the Ripper suspect, and his family had grounds some 5 - 6 acres in extent. These contained large trees and luxuriant shrubberies and flowerbeds. There were summerhouses and garden seats scattered all over. Running through the grounds was a small natural stream of water which had been broadened and deepened to form a small lake. This had been stocked with fish, and swans and ducks swam on the surface. S. Harrison, The diary of Jack the Ripper, p. 36. It actually sounds like a description of Jubilee Park.



FIGURE 116: The hunting trip with the Crown Prince of Portugal.



(Photograph c. 1907: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 941)

Although he did not allow shooting on his farm³³⁷, Marks took a party of distinguished guests, including General Smuts and Don Luiz Felipe, the Crown Prince of Portugal, (See Figure 87) to make a hunting expedition to his Vaal River Estate in August 1907. Here he stands with the results of a day's hunting. The prince shot buck from a spider at a distance of about 300 yards (270m) and Marks arranged to have two of the buck-heads cured and mounted at the museum in Pretoria. However, the prince never received them as he was assassinated a few months later.³³⁸

That he was not quite opposed to shooting as an amusement shows in a letter to his eldest son:

I shall be glad if you will have time to spare if you will get a good and competent man, just for amusement, to teach you how to shoot well, for as you know in this country one can always get a lot of amusement out of a gun, although I would not encourage you in this when you were here as the time was so short and I was also always too busy to go out with you. ... and shooting will therefore be a useful amusement for you. ³³⁹

[&]quot;I allow no shooting on my farm and the consequence is that when these birds are fired on elsewhere they make straight for my farm", Marks wrote, noting the increase in guinea-fowl and blesbuck on the estate. R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 104. Even so, contradictory to this statement, he wrote to one Henry on 16 August 1896: "I have now about 200 guinea fowl, and I have myself seen some buck among the trees behind the house so that you will have some sport when next you come out." Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B2.12, S. Marks - Henry, 1896.08.16.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 150 - 151.

³³⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.19, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1904.10.30.



FIGURE 117a and b: A hunting expedition.





(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album 3407)



This group of unidentified men are hauling a load of pheasants, guinea fowls, hare and two small buck, clearly the result of a hunting forage. The pictures were pasted into one of the family albums but unfortunately no information about them has been recorded. Pheasants were considered quite a delicacy and often featured on Victorian menus. "The pheasants you kindly sent me from your Estate reached me on the last day of 1900 and were highly appreciated by myself and my friends to whom I sent some. The birds were in excellent condition and tasted quite fresh". 340

FIGURE 118: Girlie Marks and friends in fancy dress.



(Photograph c. 1899: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1339)

³⁴⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - I. Lewis, 1901.01.04.



Home entertainment was part of Victorian family life, especially where theatres were few and far between. These three are described as "Three little girls from school are we"³⁴¹ with Girlie, seated in front as "Madame Li Hung Ching, the Japanese ambassador's wife". It was taken at Muizenberg towards the end of 1899. It is interesting to note that Maud Berkeley, a Victorian lady who recorded her day to day life in a series of diaries which have been preserved, also refers to a friend dressing up as one of the three little maids from school but for the occasion of a bazaar at which there were different stalls according to certain themes.³⁴²

Plays or amateur theatricals were often staged at home by family members and often servants for amusement.³⁴³

Last Saturday night we had a concert at Zwartkopje, which passed off very well indeed. It was got up for Mother, and I think she enjoyed it very much. Girlie, Dolly, Phillie, Miriam Levy, & Phil Levy were the performers also Joe Levy³⁴⁴ who amused the audience immensely with a recitation entitled "THE BASHFUL MAN".³⁴⁵

Apart from such home performances there were also amateur theatrical companies staging plays and concerts.³⁴⁶ Programmes of such performances have also survived but there is no indication that any of the Markses ever belonged or participated in any.

The reference is probably to the popular song "Three little maids from school are we" from the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta, *The Mikado*.

³⁴² F. Fraser, MAUD, The diaries of Maud Berkeley, p. 32.

A.J. Lambert, Victorian and Edwardian country-house life from old photographs, p. nn; M. Hughes, A London family 1870 - 1900, p. 5.

The Levys were the children of Marks's sister Fanny who was married to Abraham Levy, a diamond buyer and speculator who first lived in Kimberley and later in Cape Town. Marks assisted her in rearing the children and Miriam actually lived for quite a while at Zwartkoppies. R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 207, 208, 209, 252.

³⁴⁵ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.19, S. Marks - J. Marks, 1905.11.13.

³⁴⁶ F. Fraser (ed.), MAUD, The diaries of Maud Berkeley, pp. 27, 47, 50.



FIGURE 119: Dolly and Phil Marks in fancy dress.



(Photograph c. 1903: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 428)

It illustrates one of the pittfalls of making deductions based on circumstantial evidence. At a first glance the costumes seem theatrical, but another photograph (See Figure 129) showed that this was actually for a party. However, none of the guests seem to be dressed up. The Victorians enjoyed dressing up and welcomed the opportunity to create outlandish costumes. Masked and fancy dress balls and parties were popular in the 19th century - balls being the most elaborate and formal entertainment offered by country-house life. Many women's magazines and pattern books published designs and ideas for fancy dress and there were recognised characters, often in romanticised versions of working costumes. However, no reference to balls being held at Zwartkoppies could be found nor was there a ball-room.

³⁴⁷ A.J. Lambert, Victorian and Edwardian country-house life from old photographs, p. nn.

³⁴⁸ A.J. Lambert, Victorian and Edwardian country-house life from old photographs, p. nn.

F. Fraser (ed.), MAUD, The diaries of Maud Berkeley, p. 44; A. Lansdell, History in camera: Fashion à la carte 1860 - 1900. A study of fashion through cartes-de-visite, p. 85.



FIGURE 120: Boy in fancy dress, probably for some performance.



(Photograph: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

It is difficult to identify the person but the eyes look unmistakably like those of one of Marks's sons, probably dressed and made up for some theatrical production.



FIGURE 121: Girlie Marks and a friend.

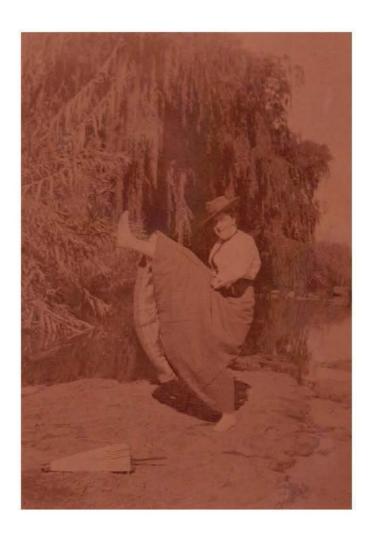


(Photograph c. 1915: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3449)

Girlie Marks and a friend in fancy dress photographed at St David's Place, Marks's Parktown residence in Johannesburg in 1915 (See Figure 76).



FIGURE 122: A friend in an unladylike pose.



(Photograph c. 1908: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3585)

It would seem not all the Victorians were behaving rigidly, at least not all of the time. This unknown lady must have been enjoying herself tremendously - a very unladylike pose (See also p. 22).



FIGURE 123: Siesta.



(Photograph c. 1909: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3407)

"Vereeniging 1909" reads the caption accompanying this photograph. The gentleman on the left is wearing gaiters. It also shows the habit of wearing dark coloured socks with light pants. Umbrellas are employed to help avert the sun which could not be too hot as Louis is lying underneath a blanket. Both Louis and the gentleman next to him have large pillows underneath their heads.

c. In festive mood

The Victorian era was a highly social time with entertaining, conspicuous consumption and display of wealth to the order of the day. Entertaining ruled supreme and being invited to such events assured one's social desirability. Non-compliance with society's prescribed conduct could lead to social ostracism.

A lot of entertainment was done at Zwartkoppies over weekends, especially on Sundays³⁵¹ and references to this abound. When Marks asked Bertha in 1906 to cut back on the amount of servants employed, she retorted:

³⁵⁰ M. Hansen, Entertaining in the Victorian style, p. 11.

³⁵¹ H. Katzew, The remarkable Sammy Marks, Jewish Affairs, April 1950, p. 27.



Do you happen to remember that 3 years ago when you were in England you always spoke about the great expenses at Zwaartkopje & that when we got back you would take good care that you would not entertain a lot of people on Sundays I must say you kept well to your word. as I don't consider my home there has ever been my home it has always been an Hotel & I have been the Housekeeper which is a good billet for a Wife. I myself am sick of those Sunday Parties, as few of them were of any interest to me but it meant work worry & plenty of extra money to Pay at the end of the month which you do not take into consideration Re the servant question that is my reason for alluding to the above, as if we are to keep less servants less weekend entertaining must be done As we have lived hitherto That place with all the extra work those Sundays make re extra Silver taken out, Glass, China & Linen used, all that has to be put in order for the next week end. 352

Dinner parties were a social obligation and in middle-class homes were held at least once a month (in some more frequently) the guests taking great care with their appearance.³⁵³ Both the giving of and the receiving of invitations to attend parties and events of all kinds were indications of one's social standing. Equally important was the attending of these occasions and displaying correct behaviour.³⁵⁴ Dinners normally started between 20:00 and 20:30 but at Zwartkoppies it seems elaborate lunches in the afternoon were the rule. This might be explained by the distance from Pretoria which required a drive by carriage of more or less two hours.³⁵⁵

Originally dinner, the main meal of the day, was served in the afternoon, but as man started working in the town or city, it became impractical to go home for dinner and dinner was moved to the evening. Only on the farm did the original way of eating persist for much longer.³⁵⁶

Apart from private entertainment there was the normal amount of birthday parties, weddings and public occasions which were celebrated.

³⁵² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1906.04.29.

³⁶³ F.E. Huggett, *Life below stairs*, p. 94.

³⁵⁴ M. Hansen, Entertaining in the Victorian style, p. 11.

³⁶⁶ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 187.

³⁵⁶ M. Hansen, Entertaining in the Victorian style, p. 10.



FIGURE 124: Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebration, Johannesburg.



Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1342)

A procession during the celebration of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897, going through the streets of Johannesburg is watched by a crowd in festive spirit. The waggon in the right bottom corner bears a banner reading LEWIS AND MARKS COAL AND FIREBRICK INDUSTRIES and testifies to the company's participation in the festivities.



FIGURE 125: Opening ceremony.



(Photograph c. 1885: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 413)

Judging by the clothes worn by the people in this picture it must have been taken somewhere to the mid-eighties of the previous century. The rope and arranged seats would suggest a formal gathering. It is possible that this was taken during the opening of the Eerste Fabrieken Hatherley Distillery which took place on 6 June 1883. Apart from a few studio portraits of relatives this is the oldest photograph in the collection.

³⁵⁷ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 31.



FIGURE 126: Meeting of Presidents Kruger and Reitz at Vereeniging.



(Photograph c. 1892: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1335)

The caption at the bottom of this photograph reads: "Meeting of President Kruger + President Reitz on the occasion of the Union of the Transvaal + Free State by Railway May 21st 1892." President S.J.P. (Paul) Kruger (1825 - 1904) stands in the centre wearing a top hat and holding his one hand on his chest with President F.W. Reitz (1844 - 1934), State President of the Republic of the Orange Free State 1889 - 1895 on his right also wearing a top hat. J.C. Smuts (See Figure 88) is visible between them and A.D.W. Wolmarans (1857 - 1928), a member of the Volksraad of the South African Republic, on the President's left. This event, which took place at Vereeniging, had important repercussions for Marks and his coal mining enterprise. On the picture Marks stands fourth from the right. Behind him are Mat Spence and Ed Burke (no more information available). 359

³⁵⁸ H. Katzew, The remarkable Sammy Marks, Jewish Affairs, April 1950, p. 26.

³⁵⁹ R.L. Leigh, Vereeniging, p. 28.



FIGURE 127: Children's party at Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 255)

This picture is just inscribed "Miss Marks with best wishes Mr + Mrs Potts". This would indicate that this is one of the photographs taken by Mr James Potts, the carpenter-cum-handyman employed by Marks on Zwartkoppies (See p. 43). It is a children's party and was held behind the rose garden. It is not wholly improbable that this is the occasion of the large picnic for the pupils of the Miriam Marks school that Marks referred to in a letter to Ted in December 1905 (See Figure 95). However, if Bertha only had the beds laid out in 1906, this picture would be of a slightly later date. An interesting feature is the absence of any roses. All that are visible are rows of flowers looking like zinnias and rather long tufts of grass. Right in the corner at the bottom, left, a shrub-like plant is just in view. One probability is that the beds had been laid out beforehand and were waiting for the roses which were ordered from England. The photograph also shows that there had been a double row of beefwood trees beyond the rose garden in a line parallel to the house. This conclusion is drawn from the shape of the beds which are clearly shown. Again flags are used as part of the decoration. The children are seated on makeshift benches.

³⁶⁰ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 188.



FIGURE 128: "Dolly's birthday party 1 Febryary 1902".



(Photograph c. 1902: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 281)

Dolly is seated at the head of the table with her sister Girlie and cousin Miriam Levy (See Figure 118) standing behind her. The table depicts a typical Victorian setting but the quality of the photograph is not good enough to identify the dishes. A flower arrangement adorns the centre of the table. It looks like some pies are stacked to the front of it and to the right of them the moulded shape of a cake or desert can be distinguished. The picture was taken against the eastern side of the house with the projecting kitchen wing visible. One of the lace-edged blinds is also visible in the window of the housekeepers office. The plants against the verandah are clear but not so the round white object between the leaves. Right at the back the stacked stone wall that surrounded the garden can be seen.



FIGURE 129a and b: Dolly's party in 1903.





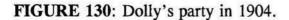
(Photograph c. 1903: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM 286, b - SM nn)



A table set in the garden for some children's party with Dolly as guest of honour. Again there is an abundance of flags being used, even to drape Dolly's chair with. The bentwood baby chair was to be occupied by Phil. Fruit seem to form the main table decoration and/or fare, a pine-apple and grapes being clearly visible. Reading the reminiscences of other Victorians like Roy Sambourne's, son of Marion Sambourne referred to above, shows that this was typical of Victorian entertaining.³⁶¹

Picture b shows the party in progress with Dolly seated at the head of the table in the place of honour. No indication is given as to the occasion, but it could have been her birthday party in 1903, when she turned six, at which stage Phil would have been nearly three years old. Bertha's sister, Rosie Lavenstein (See Figure 37) and Julius Heymann (See Figure 21) are on her right. Girlie is standing to the left of the picture holding a plate. The birthday cake, barely visible in Figure a is better visible. The table seems to be a rough trestle type but the chairs were brought from the house. Too little of the environment can be seen to pinpoint the location (Also see Figure 119).

Shirley Nicholson states that according to Marion Sambourne's diaries her two children were regularly invited out to juvenile parties. Sometimes they were required to wear fancy dress and some were very fancy affairs, even reported on in the press.³⁶²





(Photograph c. 1904: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 285)

[&]quot;Oh! how lovely the table looked, such flowers, such fruit, such crackers...", he wrote, remembering Christmas 1896. S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 44.

³⁶² S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 44.



Another birthday party for Dolly, this time in 1904. Again it is taken against the eastern side of the house with the kitchen wing projecting at the back. However there is no sign of a table as in Figure 128. It is remarkable that there are no photographs of birthday parties held for any of the other children. Again one finds the use of flags strung on a line (See Figures 19, 37).

This is an important photograph for restoration purposes of the building. It clearly shows the top balcony or porch which adjoins the billiard room. At present it is completely glazed and decorated with patterns of stained glass panes, all set in metal frames. Here it is quite clear that it was an open porch repeating the same pattern of wooden railing that is to be seen on the bottom verandah. The so-called sleeping-porch which joins this balcony on the eastern end, does not exist yet.

FIGURE 131: Dolly and the guests of her 1904 party.



(Photograph c. 1904: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 280)

"Dolly's birthday party". Dolly is seated right in the middle of the picture with little Phil in front of her. It is not dated like Figure 130 but presumably this must also have been taken in 1904. Comparison with Figure 130 shows that the same children wearing the same clothes are present on both. It must have been taken on the eastern side of the house in front of the dining-room, judging by the steps and the two drains visible in the foreground. Interestingly enough, the structure of the veranda railing differs from its present state.



FIGURE 132: Labourers in festive mood.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1344)

A very unusual picture presumably of labourers and inscribed "Zambesi Band New Year 1896". It is one of the photographs in the album given to Marks by Messrs. Potts and McCracken and therefore probably taken by Mr Potts (See p. 43). It contains interesting information on dress of workers of the time.

FIGURE 133a and b: Christmas celebrations at Hatherley.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3586)



Being Jewish seems not to have deterred Marks and his family from enjoying the Christmas celebrations. This picture was taken in 1896 during Christmas celebrations at Hatherley with Bertha seated fifth from the left. Seeing as Dolly was born 1 February 1897 she must have been seven months pregnant!!

The following amusing if somewhat contradictory remarks of Marks re Christmas are contained in his correspondence. On 9 January 1905 he chides Louis:

I ... regret to see that you have been asking her (Bertha) for some money. It is nonsense for a boy or rather I should say a man of your age wanting Christmas boxes. You surely do not want me to buy you a whistle and a ball to play yourself with like a kiddy.!!³⁶³

but at Christmas of the same year:

"... your younger two brothers are much more thoughtful than you are. Mother, Girlie, Dolly, Phillie, and even myself have all received nice Christmas presents from the two youngsters, but I have not seen anything yet from my oldest son". 364

The ladies in the front row clearly belong to the more affluent part of society, their dresses showing a variation of fashionable styles, including accessories like the umbrellas, handbags and hats. Note the spotted hat veil³⁶⁵ covering the whole face worn by some of the ladies, e.g. the lady third from the left.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3586)

³⁶³ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.19, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1905.01.09.

³⁶⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.23, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1905.12.23.

One contemporary lady reminisced: "I hated the veils that, worn twisted into a squiggle under my chin, dotted my vision with huge spots like symproms of liver trouble. They flattened even my short eyelashes." N. Waugh, The cut of women's clothes 1600 - 1930, p. 294.



"Pavillion Christmas 1896" (Hatherley) shows the same view as Figure 133a but from a larger distance. An interesting feature is that three men are holding small children.

"I wish you all a Happy Christmas & a Merry New Year. We here have begun to celebrate Christmas splendidly. Last night we gave the town a display of Fire Works." 366

The flag mast is evident though not the reason why the flag is hanging half-mast.

FIGURE 134: Reception for the Crown Prince of Portugal.



(Photograph c. 1907: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 562)

An interesting and scarce photograph of an interior set for a reception. In this case it was the "Mess Hall at Gremio Militar" where a reception was held for the royal party of the Portuguese Crown Prince. It is unclear whether Marks attended but probable, as he is pictured on another photograph of the same set, identified as "At Marraquene" which is close to Lourenço Marques (Maputo). Both form part of the series of photographs commemorating the royal visit (See Figures 87, 116 and 171). In a letter from Bertha, dated 8 July 1907, she refers to his going to Delagoa (present day Maputo). 367

³⁶⁶ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., L. Marks - S. and B. Marks, 1902.12.25.

³⁶⁷ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B5, B. Marks - S. Marks, 1907.07.08.



FIGURE 135: A wedding reception.



(Photograph c. 1926: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 771)

Many of the late Victorians lived to see the roaring twenties. This picture taken on 4 February 1927 bears only the inscription "with Mr & Mrs Solly Joel's³⁶⁸ best wishes" but no indication as to the occasion. It has been suggested that the room is the ball room of the old Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg on the occasion of the Joel wedding. The woman seated on the floor second from the right bears remarkable resemblance to Bertha (See Figure 151). Could it be?? The woman standing third from the left looks like Louis' wife, Elizabeth Preece (? - 1963) whom he had married in 1924. Solly Joel and his wife Phoebe stand in the front slightly off centre to the left. The girl seated in the centre with the feather stole looks like Eileen Joel with one of her brothers, probably Dudley, next to her.

The photograph is a good source of information on evening dress of the late twenties. Rows of fancy lights are strung overhead with bouquets of flowers hanging from the chandeliers, still very much in late Victorian taste. It is an open question whether the corsages worn by some of the guests have any significance or were just fashionable.

This photograph again serves to point out the importance of historical criticism. Solly Joel's first wife, Nelly Ridley, had died in 1919, ruling out any aniversary. They had been separated at that time. He then married Phoebe Carlow in 1920. His eldest son died in 1923 and his eldest daughter had married in 1912-13 and he broke all connection with her in 1918 after a row. Another son, Stanhope Joel, got married in

³⁶⁸ Solomon Barnato Joel (1865 - 1931) was another prominent figure in Kimberley where he was a junior partner in his uncle's (Barney Barnato, 1852 - 1897) company. He was director of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. from 1901 to 1931, operating from London.

1926, while the remaining two children, Dudley and Eileen only married after their fathers' death in 1931. Solly was renowned for the parties he gave, so this could have been any of a number of them. The date doesn't coincide with any birthday of any of his children, but as neither his nor his wife's birthdays are revealed by his biographer or the S.A. Biographical Dictionary, it could be a birthday celebration of either. Given the fact that he lived in London and the knowledge that Bertha frequently went overseas, it could just as well have been taken there, but the flimsy summery dresses of the women would bear out a South African venue if the photo was taken in February. Comparison with pictures of the ball room of the Carlton Hotel hotel. The curtained doors and skylights of the back wall and the panelling in between also seem to be identical. It is a pitty that the ceiling is not at least partly visible. Even so it seems highly probable that it is the ball room of the Carlton Hotel.

d. Fashion

A passion for respectability reigned throughout the period, which was not confined to the middle class, but was also embraced by a large part of the working class. Part of this was the necessity to look respectable, forcing many women to spend hours of candle-burning in repairing and altering old clothes. Many were intensely interested in clothes and fashion - for many it was a permanent preoccupation.³⁷¹ Middle-class fashions reflected the stiffness and formality of the middle-class mind.

Children's literature created some fashions in children's dress, e.g. Mrs F.H. Burton's Little Lord Fauntleroy (See Figure 165b). The illustrator, Reginald Birch, acted on a verbal description by the authoress: "What the earl saw was a graceful childish figure in a black velvet suit with a lace collar, and with lovelocks waving about his handsome, manly little face". Many a boy was dressed up in imitation. These costumes were mostly designed for party wear, often accompanied by a large feathered Cavalier hat 373 (See Figures 79 and 165a).

Similarly simple frocks and pinafores, fashionable for girls, were inspired by Tenniel's illustrations for Lewis Carrol's *Alice in Wonderland* (published in 1865). Kate Greenaway's illustrations were also very influential.³⁷⁴

Sailor suits originated with the Royal family - the Prince of Wales was depicted in 1846 by the court painter, Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1805 - 1873), wearing an exact replica

³⁶⁹ S. Joel, *Ace of diamonds*, pp. 59, 117, 119, 130, 160, 167, 186; Personal Interview: S.J.N. Maisels, Johannesburg, 1994.08.21.

³⁷⁰ E. Rosenthal, *Meet me at the Carlton*, pp. 38, 115.

³⁷¹ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, pp. 126, 115.

³⁷² A. Mial and P. Mial, *The Victorian nursery book*, p. 120.

³⁷³ A. Mial and P. Mial, *The Victorian nursery book*, p. 123.

³⁷⁴ R.T. Wilcox, The dictionary of costume, p. 154.



of the suit worn by a sailor. The prince had worn it on deck of the royal yacht and it became a hit. As with most fashions he was imitated instantly although the amount of accuracy in comparison with the real thing is sometimes doubtful³⁷⁵ (See Figures 5b and 166). A painting of one of the Marks boys show an amasing resemblance in composure to the Winterhalter painting.

We used to go to a shop, Peter Yapp I think it was called, in Sloane Street, where there were splendid sailor hats with a ribbon round them which said HMS Victory: there was also a star on the top, no doubt as worn in the Royal Navy.³⁷⁶

Victorian women provided colour in clothes while the men went about in sombre and dark coats and suits of austere black, grey and brown. (At the beginning of the period fancy waistcoats of rich materials were still in vogue but they faded out by the 1850s) Synthetic dyes in the form of aniline (Phenylamine, an organic base for dyes, drugs, explosives and plastics) dyes were discovered in 1860, providing textile manufacturers with a whole range of new and vivid colours which were often employed in sharp contrasts. From the mid 1860s to the end of the century female dress sought to emphasize and even to create curves.³⁷⁷ The sixties was dominated by the crinoline, or hooped skirt which developed into the bustle in the early 1870s. Bustle styles remained in favour in some shape or another till deep in the 1880s. Dresses were trained especially for evening wear. The mid-nineties saw the emergence of leg-o'mutton sleeves (so called because of the similarity in shape caused by bulkiness at the shoulder which tapered down to wrist or elbow) and bell-shaped skirts while the emancipation of woman was reflected by tailor made costumes. At the turn of the century a new femininity emerged manifested in soft and flowing matrerials with lots of frippery. Everybody wore hats. "Nobody, however young or old, went out without a hat".378

Going through the albums and photographs one can virtually follow the whole history of middle to late Victorian and Edwardian fashion up to the short dress of the twenties. Being well-to-do Bertha could afford to indulge in fashion and she received enough pictures from friends and relatives to know what the current trends in Europe were. There is also a fashion journal or two in the collection. Apart from that she frequently journeyed overseas, putting her in a position of not only keeping abreast of but even being a little ahead of local fashion.

Women, if they could afford to, went to a professional dressmaker who, if she was good and in demand, charged very high prices for her creations. Alternatively readymade clothes could be bought from a store since the 1880s. In Pretoria shopkeepers

³⁷⁵ A. Mial and P. Mial, *The Victorian nursery book*, pp. 117 - 118; E. Ewing, *History of children's costume*, p. 87.

³⁷⁶ J. Smith, Edwardian children, p. 29.

³⁷⁷ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 39.

³⁷⁸ J. Smith, Edwardian children, p. 29.



kept catalogues of ready-made clothes which could be ordered. The other option was home-made clothes which most women made to some degree or another.³⁷⁹

Already in March 1885 Marks ordered through his agents a treadle-operated sewing machine with all the accessories, including a 'liberal supply of spare needles' which could not be obtained in Pretoria.³⁸⁰ However no record could be found giving any indication whether Bertha or her daughters ever indulged in home sewing. One reference by Marks does point to it being possible:

In Paris girls are only taught to dance and jump about, and to dress. These things are very nice for a time, but when girls grow up, and have to make their own blouses, and mend their own dresses, instead of having them fixed up with pins, as I have seen some young ladies at Zwartkopje doing sometimes, but which habit I cured them of, then it is not best for them. ... you can also shew Miriam the part about pins.³⁸¹

Marks did not approve of slavishly following fashion as is evident from remarks in his correspondence. Even to his sons he sent admonitions in this regard:

I also see from your letter that you are going to have some clothes made for the coming season. You must not have more clothes made than you actually require, and must not allow your tailor to talk you over, as you know he will naturally be anxious to do as much business as possible out of you. Besides if you have too many suits made they will perhaps be out of fashion, before you have worn them out.³⁸²

and in a later letter: "Tailors and bootmakers do not die, and you can always renew your stock when required". 383

With regard to himself, the letter he wrote to Bertha on 8 June 1906 is quite revealing:

I have just received a debit note from the London Office for a navy blue dressing-gown costing £10.10.-, and thank you very much for sending it, but a gown costing 50/ would have answered the purpose just as well. Please do not go and buy things for me at those fancy places as you know that I am not a fancy man.³⁸⁴

A hurt Bertha replied apologetically:

³⁷⁹ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, pp. 84 - 85.

³⁸⁰ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 34.

³⁸¹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.23, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1906.04.07.

³⁸² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.19, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1903.03.28.

³⁸³ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.26, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1906.08.03.

³⁸⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.23, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1906.06.08.



I am very sorry that <u>Barnett Lewis ordered</u> you such a gown. I certainly should not have paid more than £5.5.0 that was the price of the one I got you before & which you have had in wear for <u>years</u> at Zwaartkopje (sic)

. . .

I think when you were born God forgot to give you your proper allowance of feeling.³⁸⁵

About Bertha he seems to have been more tolerant, writing to Girlie:

I have received your letter ... and am considering whether or not I should show it to your Mother, as I can see you have let the cat out of the bag about her dresses and hats, however as they have already been paid for, I expect there is no use crying over spilt milk. Now you will see something of the trouble of a husband with an extravagant wife...³⁸⁶

In similar vein he responded in a letter to Bertha that he had received the clothes she had sent from London, but that he had not worn the overcoat, preferring his old one: "I do not at all like the colour and would not wear it even in far off Africa."³⁸⁷ Quite a few receipts for clothes bought, dating from 1884, have been kept, listing items like satin Queen Anne shoes³⁸⁸ with Louis XV heels;³⁸⁹ silver silk hose; patent Molière shoes;³⁹⁰ a Berlin³⁹¹ Frock coat; Bedford cord³⁹² Trousers; a homespun³⁹³ suit and others.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁵ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1906.07.06.

³⁸⁶ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.26, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1906.11.08.

³⁸⁷ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.07.17.

This term does not feature in any of the reference works on shoes or fashion consulted, but must refer to a style popular in the time of Queen Anne who ruled over England from 1702 to 1714.

³⁸⁹ A heel of which the front surface is covered by a downwards extension of the sole, introduced c. 1600. The shape and height have varied considerably. J.H. Thornton and J.M. Swam, *A glossary of shoe terms*, p. 13.

³⁹⁰ This term does not feature in any of the reference works on shoes or fashion consulted, but must refer to a style popular in the mid seventeenth century when Molière, a French dramatist, lived (c. 1622 - 1673).

³⁹¹ A material made from a fancy-work yarn, spun from the wool of Merino sheep, mostly of Saxony. R.T Wilcox, *The dictionary of costume*, London, 1969.

³⁹² A worsted fabric first made in New Bedford, Massachusetts, USA, made with raised rounded cords or ribs running lengthwise, made of any of a variety of fibres. R.T. Wilcox, *The dictionary of costume*, p. 26.

³⁹³ Cloth woven from yarn spun at home or material made in imitation of this. C.T. Onions (ed.), *The shorter Oxford English dictionary I*, p. 977.

³⁹⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/F8, Receipt.



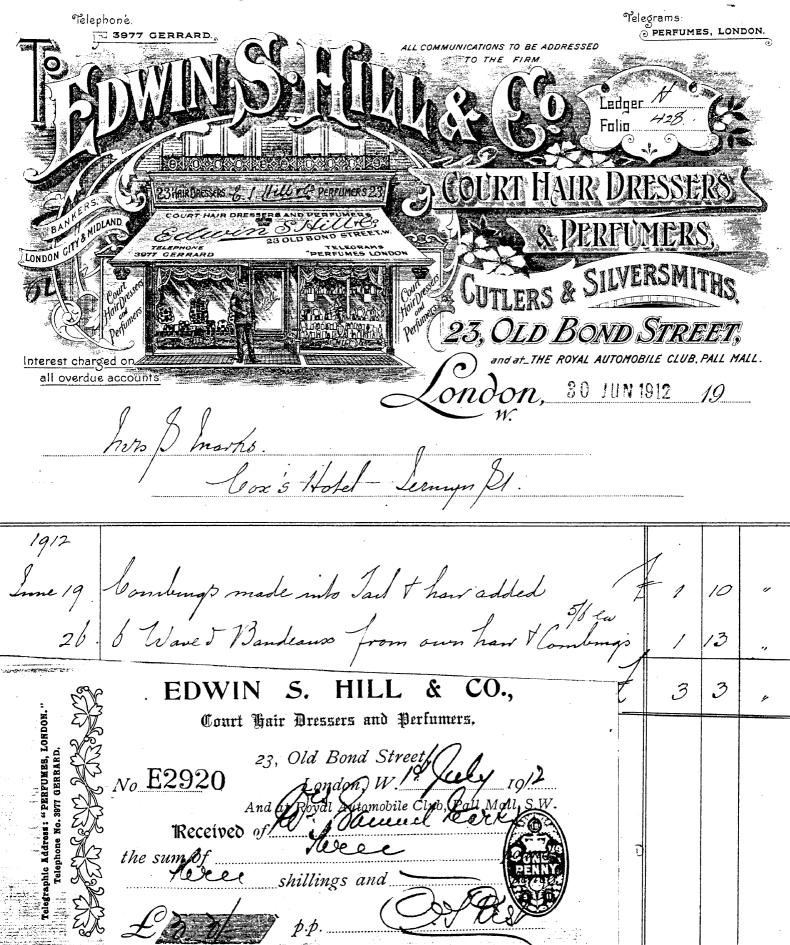
FIGURE 136a: The elaborate hair-do of the 1870s.



(Photograph c. 1875: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3572)

A relative of Bertha in about 1875 sporting the elaborate hair-do fashionable at the time. For this an abundance of false hair was used. According to statistics of the time 102 900 kg of false hair was sold in France alone!³⁹⁵ The draped effect of the bustle at the back is just visible. She wears a rather large loop ear-ring and a velvet ribbon around her neck. Extraordinary large buttons decorate the whole front of the dress.

³⁹⁵ N. Waugh, The cut of women's clothes 1600 - 1930, p. 221.



On the subject of hair, the above account and subsequent receipt were also found amongst the documents showing that although the hairstyles had changed a lot, the use of hair-pieces persisted. In this case Bertha had a tail and six waved bandeaux made from her own hair combings. Marks remarked in a letter to Nellmapius:

I am sending you and Miss Hoffmann³⁹⁶ each 1 (Bottle?) Eau de Cologne some spirits of wine. Perhaps the latter will surprise you, but my reason is that I have made a discovery. Mrs Marks uses it for her curling tongs & I believe it has the desired effect.³⁹⁷

FIGURE 137: Lady in fashionable dress of late 1870s.



(Photograph c. 1878: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3572)

³⁹⁶ Nellmapius's wife was Johanna Corlydia Hoffmann. H. Kaye, The Tycoon and the President, p. 42.

³⁹⁷ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 7., S. Marks - A.H. Nellmapius, 1892.12.10.



This lady is dressed to the fashion of the late 1870s with a tightly draped and tied back skirt. The velvet bodice is tight fitting with narrow sleeves and extends below the waist. The bustle has virtually disappeared, but the skirt would have lots of draperies and folds and end in a train. The row of small buttons down the front is typical. The ostrich feather fan she is holding might be a studio prop. The hair-do has become much simpler.

FIGURE 138: The reborn bustle of c. 1883.



(Photograph c. 1884: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

By the time Bertha married Sammy Marks in 1884 the bustle had been reborn. The bodice often had an insertion in front accentuated by two rows of small buttons or as in this case lapels and is still very tight fitting. The high standing collar appeared on the fashion scene. The skirt would be asymmetrical, draped and for day wear without a train. It was not worn over a crinolette like the 1870s bustle, creating a completely different silhouette. Hats resembled flower pots.



FIGURE 139: Lady Jane Eliza Sivewright (née Page) in evening dress.



(Photograph c. 1895: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1039)

Pictures of people in evening dress are as a rule quite scarce. This one portrays Lady Sivewright, wife of Sir James Sivewright (1848 - 1916), a dear friend of Marks and one time Minister of Railways in Cecil John Rhodes's (See Figure 83) cabinet of the Cape Colony. The dress has voluminous short sleeves and is décolleté (cut low to reveal the neck and shoulders). She wears a long thin chain around the neck, a brooch on the centre of the bodice and a chain bracelet. Again the fan could be a studio prop, but would have been a normal accessory for evening wear.



FIGURE 140: Isaac Lewis and family on board ship.



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 86)

Isaac Lewis (1849 - 1927) and his family had this portrait taken on board the "First class Tug of War Norman" on 13 July 1897. The ladies are all wearing leg-o'-mutton sleeved (See Figure 21) bodices or jackets as was the fashion at that time. It was the beginning of the emancipation of women and this is reflected in the masculine elements that have crept into female costume.

FIGURE 141: Bertha Marks by 1897.



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 2783)

The ever tight fitting bodice is still alive and well by 1897 and the collar is still the stand up type but the sleeve suddenly collapsed retaining a slight puff at the shoulder and sometimes emphasized by shoulder decorations. The skirt had by now changed its shape from tubular to bell-shaped as Bertha's outfit shows here and is more often than not very plain.



FIGURE 142: Bertha Marks by 1905.



(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 2767)

After the turn of the century a new femininity emerged with soft flowing material made up in voluminous trained skirts with masses of lace and flounces and pin-tucks (decorative stitched-down pleats) and insertions. The pinched waist was accentuated by a pointed bodice or belt. The hair is done in French rolls with a top knot.



FIGURE 143: Jeanette Kaninsky, a friend.



(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 426)

Jeanette M. Kaninsky, supposedly a friend of the family, but nothing more could has been recorded about her, dressed in an example of the fashion of around 1905 showing the then popular feather boa as well. In August 1915 Marks received two bills for white boas from K. Sieradski & Sons, feather merchants in Johannesburg, respectively costing £2.15.0 and £4.4.0.³⁹⁸ The hair at this stage was done up in rolls with a knot on top (Compare Bertha's in Figure 96).

³⁹⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/F8.



FIGURE 144: Bertha Marks c. 1906.



(Photograph c. 1906: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 245)

This picture serves as comparison with Figure 3, showing how one outfit could be changed with a few accessories into another one suitable for completely another purpose. Often one skirt had two bodices, making it serviceable for both day and evening wear. She wears the same dress as in Figure 3, but with a collar and yoke piece converting it into a day dress, the outfit finished off with a large hat. In 1907 Bertha alleged that she had only one evening dress. It was also quite usual to dye a dress to another colour or to have dresses altered as time passed to newer styles, cutting on the cost of dressing fashionably.

³⁹⁹ D. Langley-Moore, The woman in fashion, p. 76.

⁴⁰⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1907.07.04.

⁴⁰¹ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 85; N. Waugh, The cut of women's clothes 1600 - 1930, p. 222.

FIGURE 145: The new simplicity post-1908.



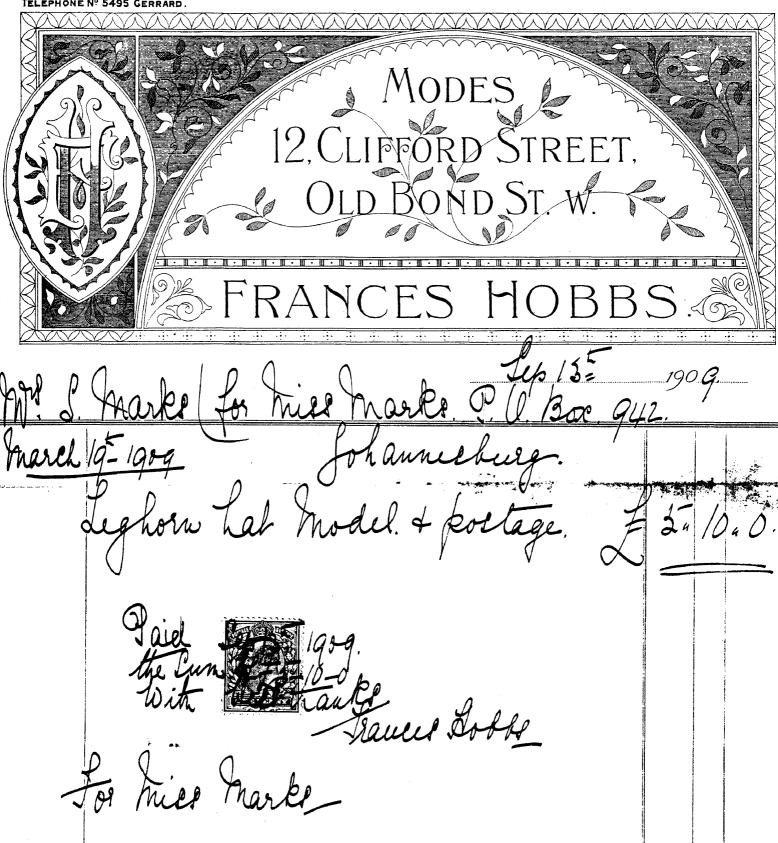
(Photograph c. 1908: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 2763)

By 1908 a new simplicity was introduced, creating a very elegant figure. Skirts slimmed down while the waistline rose a little above its natural position. The abundant decorations made way for exquisitely cut garments. Dresses, instead of separate bodices and skirts, are back. Furs were becoming very popular. The high standing collar is still prominent despite the more informal, shorter length of the sleeves. Hats started becoming larger resting on the still voluminous hairdo to which they were attached with large hatpins.



FIGURE 146: A bill and receipt for a hat for Marks's daughter in 1909.402

TELEPHONE Nº 5495 GERRARD.



 $^{^{402}}$ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/F8., Receipt.





(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 823)

Bertha Marks photographed about 1910 in a short sleeved dress with slightly raised waist and draped bodice. These dresses often had an overskirt of lace or some diaphanous material over a heavier skirt of satin or the like. The skirt was extremely long, actually falling in folds on the floor and trained at the back. This must have hampered movement considerably. She holds a closed fan in her right hand and must have set great store by these. In her testament she actually makes bequests of some of her fans, two of which have survived and are in the museum's possession. It would seem like an afternoon or dinner dress.

FIGURE 148: Girlie Marks with friends at Caledon, 1912.



(Photograph c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

By 1912 the gored or bell shaped skirt was back in fashion but the trains were left off. Hats have become quite large as Girlie Marks and a few friends at Caledon show in this picture. Note the veil with which the large hat is tied down for outdoor wear and especially motoring (See also Figures 95, 96 and 158).



FIGURE 149: Ladies of fashion in 1915, Johannesburg.



(Photograph c. 1915: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 417)

This large group of fashionably dressed ladies were photographed c. 1915 against a rather wild looking background. It is difficult to plot exactly as it could have been taken on any of Marks's properties. It seems to have been taken on the same spot as the one of Phil's cricket team (See Figure 112). Even so, it makes a marvellous fashion statement, reminiscent of a scene from the musical "My Fair Lady", especially as far as the hats are concerned. Although children's dress as a rule were much more free and followed a style independent from that which their mothers wore, in contrast with a decade earlier, quite a few are wearing hats similar to their adult counterparts.

FIGURE 150: Girlie Marks



(Photograph c. 1917: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

This photograph of Girlie Marks was taken at Zwartkoppies during the years of the First World War (1914 - 1918) and shows the immense change effected by the war with a masculine feel about it and clothes becoming more practical.



FIGURE 151: Bertha Marks by 1928.



(Photograph c. 1928: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1050)

One of the last photographs of Bertha Marks, taken in 1928, shows that she cut her hair as the fashion dictated, quite in contrast to most elderly women who had been brought up and lived in the Victorian era. Unfortunately little of her dress shows but one can be sure that it was loose-fitting and long waisted. She wears her pearls in long strings, with drop earrings and a bracelet (See also Figure 135 for ladies in evening wear in the late 1920s).



FIGURE 152: Girlie Marks with some friends.



(Photograph c. 1920; Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3449)

One can only wonder at the occasion when this group, with Girlie second from the right, was photographed. However it shows a group of fashionably dressed girls just after the First World War (1914 - 1918) wearing the daring new short skirted dresses. The dresses seem to be made all on the same pattern but may be of different colours.

FIGURE 153: Bertha Marks.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 2998)

The hairdo and bodice Bertha is wearing here suggest a date for this picture of around the turn of the century. What makes it interesting is that Bertha is wearing a wrist watch. The wrist watch for ladies appeared on the scene at this time but the fad was still-born. Heavy criticism caused the wrist watch to have to wait another twenty years for general acceptance.



"I am glad to see that the custom of ladies wearing a watch on a leather band on the wrist is becoming a thing of the past, there was a decided masculine appearance about it", ⁴⁰³ a fashion writer stated as early as 1899. Untill then a watch pinned to the chest, (See Figure 141) normally on the left side of the bodice, tucked into a tiny pocket at the waist or worn on a watch chain, was the rule (See Figure 163).

A separate chapter could be devoted to jewellery. In typical Victorian patriarchal manner, Marks wrote to his wife on 1 May 1901:

You wrote me in one of your letters that you are going to ask something of me. I can think of two things ... The other I think must be a nice piece of jewelry (sic). With reference to the latter you can buy something and pay for it, but select it carefully but do not let it be something that is not suitable for the country and see you get something that I like or else I will not have you wear it.⁴⁰⁴

She did not let the grass grow under her feet, for two months later he wrote: "I am glad that one cause of worry has now been removed and that you are in possession of the jewelry (sic) you so wished to get". 405

In Figure 3 Bertha is wearing a pearl necklace of five strands with matching studs in her ears. In addition she wears a diamond brooch in the shape of a spray and a round brooch in the centre of the dress bodice. Her left hand is invisible but on the right she wears a single ring with a solitaire stone on the ringfinger.⁴⁰⁶

In 1907 she corresponded with a Mr Smith about the insuring of the more expensive pieces for £1 350. 407 There also are receipts dating from 1884 for pieces bought. In her testament she bequeaths them to her daughters, relatives and even servants while a complete, impressive list spanning two pages, of all her jewellery was compiled for assessment to finalise her estate. The total value then was estimated at £3 755. 408

⁴⁰³ D. Strutt, Fashion in South Africa 1652 - 1900, p. 385.

⁴⁰⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.05.01.

 $^{^{405}}$ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.07.10.

⁴⁰⁶ N.C.H.M., Sammy Marks Museum, Pretoria: SM 1093-2, Photograph: Bertha Marks.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., B. Marks -J. Smith, 1907.05.21; R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 182.

⁴⁰⁸ Transvaal Archives Depot, Pretoria: Estate 86653.



FIGURE 154: Tennis players 1911.



(Photograph c. 1911: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

The development of sport aided the simplification of dress. Even so, for a long period people participated in sport in their everyday clothes. This group of tennis players was photographed at Zwartkoppies in 1911 (See also Figures 108, 109 and 111).

FIGURE 155: Playing tennis 1915.



(Photograph c. 1915: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 2822)



By about 1915 the picture still had not changed much as far as comfortable sports clothes were concerned. The lady's tight fitting skirt might be fashionable, but could not have been very comfortable for playing tennis.

FIGURE 156: For horseriding ladies rode side-saddle and wore riding habits.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 226)

A lady who liked horseriding had to have a special riding habit for such occasions. Ladies used to ride side-saddle and never astride. For this purpose a specially designed saddle was used to allow the lady to have both legs on the same side of the horse. The saddle had two hooks, the top one facing upwards for hooking the right leg over and the bottom one facing downwards, fitting over the left leg that was pressed against it. The skirt therefore had to be specially cut, to allow for the positioning of the right leg (See Figures 85, 24, 98 and 173).

⁴⁰⁹ M.V. Hughes, A London family 1870 - 1900, p. 399.



FIGURE 157: Swimming costumes 1912.



(Photograph c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

Even when swimming a lady's body had to be covered and the costume was skirted as the attire of Girlie and her friend attest. Special shoes and cap completed the outfit. The picture was taken at Muizenberg in 1912.

At first men and ladies bathed separately, but after the turn of the century mixed bathing became common. As a contemporary Pretorian on honeymoon in the Strand wrote to his mother: "Everybody is bathing together and to be in count we have to too" (See Figures 103 - 107).

⁴¹⁰ A. Malan, Victorian weddings in South Africa: Evidence from personal recollections, letters and photographs. South African Journal for Cultural History, 1993, 7(1), p. 4.



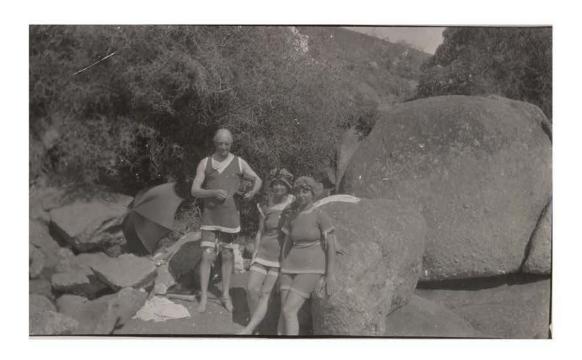
FIGURE 158: On the beach.



(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

Even if you did not want to bathe you could still enjoy a day on the beach, but that meant collar and tie and full dress with large hats tied down with a scarf or veil if you were a woman. Note Phil in front wearing his school hat (See Figure 112).

FIGURE 159: Swimming costumes 1920.



(Photograph c. 1920: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

By 1920 a little more body was allowed with the street of the vogue for both men and women. Little difference is noticeable except that the man's top is sleeveless and has a V-neck. Still the bathing suit had a long way to go.

FIGURE 160: Servant's dress.



(Photograph c. 1896: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

The servants of the house seem to have worn clothes in line with the general fashion as this nurse with her leg-o'-mutton sleeved (See Figure 21) blouse prooves. It dates the picture to about 1896, the year Dolly was born. As protection she wears a long apron with full bib and typical cap. Marks insisted that all female servants wear caps, without explaining why⁴¹¹, but no other indication could be found of any special apparel like a uniform being required.

⁴¹¹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1902.08.21.



FIGURE 161: Travelling dress.



(Photograph 1913: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

Bertha and Girlie Marks travelling abroad were pictures of fashion. Here they are with some friends on deck on board the HMS Smp (Southampton?) Castle in 1913. Dress for travelling were as a rule simpler in design and somewhat more practical. Victorian ladies usually did not travel in ordinary clothes but had special travelling costumes.

FIGURE 162: Mourning dress.



(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 2776)

Mourning was dictated by severe rules in Victorian times412 and was never so strictly followed as by Queen Victoria herself who went into mourning on the death of her husband, Prince Albert, in 1861, sticking to it till her own death in 1901.413 This example proved contagious and many women devoted themselves to widowhood as to a career. One of the requirements was the wearing of mourning dress, a typical example of which is sported by the woman on the far right of this picture taken outside the main entrance of Zwartkoppies Hall. Widows had to wear crêpe, a peculiar stiff silk stuff with a crisp feel and crimped appearance produced by heat. At the start of the mourning period the whole dress was covered with it, but later only pieces of it were sewn onto a black dress. Accompanying it was the widow's bonnet and veil, the length of which varied according to the stage of mourning. 414 No picture of Bertha in any recognisable stage of mourning exists in the collection, but some examples of the mourning stationery which was in common usage, do. This was used by the bereaved family and the width of the black border around the writing paper and envelope expressed the nature of their bereavement. People writing to them would also use similar stationery but with a narrow black border. 415

FIGURE 163: Babies' wear.



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 71)

⁴¹² Etiquette of Mourning in Cassel's household guide, pp. 627 - 630.

⁴¹³ J. Morley, Death, heaven and the Victorians, p. 14.

⁴¹⁴ J. Morley, Death, heaven and the Victorians, pp. 63 - 79; R.T. Wilcox, The dictionary of costume, p. 33.

⁴¹⁵ Death in the Household in Cassel's household guide III, p. 345.



Babies were dressed in elaborate gowns like the one on the photograph, reaching to far beyond their little feet, mostly of the finest white cotton with plenty of lace and small ruffles and pin-tucks⁴¹⁶ (See Figure 142), so that many are today wrongly thought to have been christening dresses. Only at a certain age were the skirts shortened (See also Figure 23).

Bertha's watch, pinned at the waist, with its long delicate chain is notable. The dress and hairstyle would suggest a date towards the late 1890s, which means that the baby must be Dolly who was born in February 1897.

FIGURE 164: Dolly Marks.



(Photograph c. 1902: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

This little girl, a young Dolly Marks, shows the finery of a young girl complete with feathered bonnet, tied down with a huge bow under the chin, and short coat over a frilly white dress.

⁴¹⁶ D. Hall (ed.), Memories of childhood, p. 67.



FIGURE 165a: Little Lord Fauntleroy.



(Photograph c. 1895: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 309)

Many little boys must have hated Mrs F.H. Burton for ever writing the book *Little lord Fauntleroy* (1886) (See Figure 165b) or rather Reginald Birch, the artist who illustrated it, because it created a fashion for little boys that almost every boy of the time had to wear. Even in far away South Africa, among all parts of the population, it was common, as a young Louis shows. The hair was worn in long curly locks and the body covered in a velvet suit with frilly lace collar aping the sketches and descriptions of the fictional little hero⁴¹⁷ (See also Figure 79). In Victorian times small boys were often dressed in skirts till the age of five. This custom only changed towards the end of the century in favour of short trousers.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁷ A. Mial and P. Mial, The Victorian nursery book, p. 120.

⁴¹⁸ D. Hall (ed.), Memories of childhood, p. 67.



FIGURE 165b: Illustration plate from Little Lord Fauntleroy.



(Book, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, HG 13793)

One of the illustration plates from a 1903 copy of Little Lord Fauntleroy. It was first published in 1886.





FIGURE 166: Phil Marks in his sailor suit.



(Photograph c. 1907: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1121)

Another popular form of dress for young boys, and often girls as well, was the sailor suit. Here young Philip Marks sports such an example, right down to sailor cap and boots. "Today Phil is very proud, he has a Proper Boys Sailor Suit on for the first time", ⁴¹⁹ Bertha wrote to Marks on 2 June 1907 and Philip himself wrote to his father: "I am quite a sailor boy now and I like the suits much better than tunics" (See also Figures 5b, 108, 114 and 130).

It should be noted that another popular style of dress was inspired by literature. A Sunday newspaper started featuring a comic strip with a character called Buster Brown in 1908. He wore a distinctive costume which was soon copied, leading to many boys sporting knee-length bloomers, double-breasted belted jackets and white collars with black bows, topped with straw boaters. However, no picture of Phil, who would have been eight by then and therefore might have had such a suit, could be found.

⁴¹⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1907.06.02.

⁴²⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., P. Marks - S. Marks, 1907.06.12.

⁴²¹ D. Hall (ed.), Memories of childhood, p. 67; R.T. Wilcox, The dictionary of dress, p. 48.



e. Transport

Transport was one of the fields that saw the most remarkable change and progress during the Victorian era. For centuries since the discovery of the wheel, the horse and horse-drawn vehicles (and to a lesser degree the ox and other animals) performed the task of conveying man and his belongings from one place to another. Due to the Industrial Revolution (See p. 6) and the resulting mechanisation, the 19th century was, in many countries, destined to be the last for this way of transport. 422

Transport was revolutionized, starting off with horsepower, then harnessing the power of steam and by its close motor cars were driving on the roads and daredevils were experimenting to get aeroplanes off the ground. According to Joanne Smith, author of *Edwardian children*, one of her informants alleged though that not that many cars were about even before the First World War (1914 - 1918). You wouldn't get ordinary people having a car before 1914". Coaching was gradually replaced by railway. This transformed the travelling habits of the entire population and changed the physical landscape. South Africa, and Transvaal in particular, saw the same thing happening in the nineties. Sammy Marks himself often made use of the train, using Hatherley station as departure point and being fetched by cart or buggy.

Improved and quickened transport had a dynamic effect on trade and industry as well as the speed of communication, in fact it affected all aspects of life in general, making many more things possible. The invention of the electric telegraph also played a large roll in the speeding up of communication. 426 Pretoria was connected by means of the telegraph to the outside world in 1879. 427

The Marks family, like most other Victorians, lived to see and experience this transformation, starting off with the horse.

With regard to buying a carriage We have so many here and none of them have been used during your absence or one or two of them have been used once or twice cannot see therefore why you want to buy another Do not buy one.⁴²⁸

⁴²² R.H. Johnston, Early motoring in South Africa, p. 15.

⁴²³ G. Perry and N. Mason, Rule Britania - the Victorian world, p. 50.

⁴²⁴ J. Smith, Edwardian children, p. 41.

⁴²⁵ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 16.

⁴²⁶ N. Bentley, The Victorian scene, p. 19.

R. Peacock, Die geskiedenis van Pretoria 1855 - 1902, p. 227.

⁴²⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.04.11.

According to Marks's daughter, Dolly (See Figure 9), they possessed a Cape cart⁴²⁹ which was for general use, an imported American carriage (a family vehicle for special occasions), a Sefton Landau⁴³⁰ (also a family vehicle used for high days and holidays) and a ladies' phaeton⁴³¹ which was Bertha's own vehicle (See below).⁴³² Mendelsohn mentions that Marks had acquired no fewer than eight spiders⁴³³ and carriages by 1896.⁴³⁴ Among the correspondence is a letter to the carriage-makers Milburn Manufacturing Company of St Louis, Missouri, ordering a catalogue and stating that he required only the very best make and quality.⁴³⁵

In England owning a carriage was a sure sign of one's status and affluence and all the middle-class aspired to reach this height. It is estimated that one had to earn at least £600 a year to maintain a modest two-wheeler. Public transport however was very good and one did not really need a personal vehicle. The Sambournes, See p. 7, a typical middle-class family, for example only acquired a carriage after having been married for more or less ten years and then it was only used for special occasions.

In the correspondence Marks himself mentions a Cape saloon carriage, a spider (i.e. luxuriously finished), a cart and a spring waggon, e.g.

Write Bertha that the Spider & cart will be in town on Friday night for her & her luggage.

Try and see if you can hire 6 horses or mules to take us to the Albert mine I can use my own harness & springwaggon...⁴³⁹

⁴²⁹ A two-wheeled, two-seater cart covered with a collapsible hood, mostly drawn by two horses. The name is South African and was derived from the Afrikaans *kapkar*. F.S. Snyman (red.), *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal V*, p. 297.

⁴³⁰ The Landau was a four-wheeled vehicle, shaped like a coach with a hood designed to open in the centre. With the hood closed it was a closed coach and when it was down it was transformed into an open carriage. It was named after the town in Western Germany where it was first built. The Sefton Landau, named after the Earl of Sefton who had the first one of this pattern built, was a variation with curved lines, causing the body to take on a boat-like shape. M.V. Wall, Catalogue of vehicles, pp. 23, 25.

⁴³¹ Phaeton is a name given to a whole family of four-wheeled vehicles. It is said to come from the fabled car of the Greek God who drove the Chariot of the Sun. (Actually Phaeton was the impetious son of Helios, the sun-god, and Clymene. He once tried driving his father's chariot through the sky with disastrous results). Groups within it were given distinctive names indicating mechanical differences, names of designers or the kind of material used for the body as well as miscellaneous others. One characteristic is that the body-frame is built higher under the seat than any other vehicle. It is an owner-driven carriage, mostly drawn by two horses. M.V. Wall, Catalogue of vehicles, p. 28.

⁴³² J. Malan, Waens en rytuie van Sammy Marks, p. 1.

The spider (phaeton) was a light four-wheeled vehicle of American design, often used for horse show work.

M.V. Wall, Catalogue of vehicles, p. 30.

⁴³⁴ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 103.

⁴³⁶ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 103.

⁴³⁶ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 63.

⁴³⁷ D. Read, *England 1868 - 1914*, p. 62.

⁴³⁸ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 73.

⁴³⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.12, S. Marks - J. Guttmann, 1893.03.29.



A journey from Zwartkoppies to Pretoria in those days would have taken roughly an hour or more⁴⁴⁰ in a horse-drawn carriage or 1½ hours on horseback.⁴⁴¹

Even in those days accidents were common occurrence and often people were killed, although not to the same extent as in today's road accidents. Bertha started 1904 off badly as Marks reported to Girlie on 2 January 1904:

Mother will no doubt write to you that she is confined to her room owing to her having had an accident by falling off the seat of the victoria⁴⁴³ (sic) as she was driving herself, and if she had not been a good driver she would have had a more serious accident.⁴⁴⁴

Towards the close of the century the horseless carriage, the motor car, was invented. The first one in South Africa, and probably the southern hemisphere, arrived in December 1896. It belonged to John Percy Hess, a Pretoria merchant who had been obliged to personally go to Karl Benz of Manheim, Germany, to purchase it because he could not find anything similar in Britain. It was shown and demonstrated publicly on 4 January 1897 at the Berea Park in Pretoria to a gathering of Pretoria citizens. The event was so important that President Paul Kruger honoured the occasion with his presence and even had a memorial medallion struck, but declined an offer to take a ride in it.⁴⁴⁵

South Africa's second petrol-driven vehicle, a single-cylinder De Dion, only arrived in October 1898. At this stage it in turn was the only one around as the earlier Benz had been destroyed by fire late in 1897, less than a year after its arrival.⁴⁴⁶

According to Mendelsohn close to two hours - R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 187.

⁴⁴¹ J. Malan, Waens en rytuie van Sammy Marks, p. 1.

⁴⁴² S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 74.

A Victoria was a low, light, four-wheeled vehicle which was favoured by Queen Victoria (1819 - 1901), hence its name. The body was built over the rear axle and it had a folding top, but it was designed to be driven by a coachman who sat on a raised seat. This raises a question whether the vehicle in question actually was a Victoria or a phaeton (See above). Dolly Marks said that her mother's own vehicle was a lady's phaeton (See above) but it is also possible that it was a buckboard phaeton which resembles the Victoria to some extent. M.V. Wall, Catalogue of vehicles, pp. 24, 31 and 33.

⁴⁴⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.19, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1904.01.02.

⁴⁴⁵ R.H. Johnston, Early motoring in South Africa, p. 15.

⁴⁴⁶ R.H. Johnston, Early motoring in South Africa, p. 17.



FIGURE 167: Sammy Marks on horseback.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1337)

When Marks arrived in the Transvaal, riding was about the fastest way to travel but horses caught ill very easily and a salted horse (i.e. immune against the prevalent horse disease) was a treasure. He later recalled that on his first visits to Zwartkoppies he found the land "so swampy in parts that my horse sank up to the saddle". This mode of travel had its own drawbacks. Marks once wrote to his son that he had been obliged to spend the previous night in town as he was afraid he would not be able to negotiate the river. 448

⁴⁴⁷ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 33.

⁴⁴⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1901.04.03.



During the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1902) horses were commandeered so that Marks wrote in exasperation to Bertha in February 1901: "I am now travelling about with mules and if they go I shall perhaps have to resort to the bicycle." By April he told her not to bother to get him a bicycle yet: "I may take to cycling when I am a little older at present I am content to drive" (See also Figure 190).

The white frame for the vines around the tennis (croquet) court can be seen to the right in the background (See Figure 101). To the left the arm of a man can be seen. He is obviously wearing a short-sleeved upper garment, which is rather unusual. Working men often had their shirt-sleeves rolled up, but only undergarments had short sleeves (Compare Figure 26).

FIGURE 168: Coach Ticket.

| KIMBERLEY, | PRETORIA, AND | | | MAIL COA | |
|-----------------------------|--|--------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|
| | DOW & COMP | PANY, PRO | PRIETO | RS. | |
| No./ | | | 18 de | cember | 18 |
| | PASSEN | GER TIC | | | |
| I hereby cer | rtify that Mr | Sellank | f | | |
| has engaged a Se | eat in the Coach | from need | 1-116-11-01 | poort | |
| to apretaped | And the second s | subject to t | he regulat | tions print | ed at th |
| for nound | has paid the Fa | re for the sa | ime, toget | her with £ | 8 |
| for pound carried at the so | le risk of the ow | gage (20 ID ner | s. being | anowed), | which |
| Passage | | | | | , , |
| Excess Lug | | | | | Sellas |
| | £Max | | | 9. | |
| 11 · 10 · | | | | | |
| Opphytha na | . | 10 | | | Ager |

(Ticket: Marks Collection, Kaplan Institute, University of Cape Town)

⁴⁴⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.02.29.

⁴⁵⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.04.25.



Public transport was mostly in the form of coaches usually simultaneously carrying the mail. Two such companies operating in the **Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek** (South African Republic) were the Zeederberg coach line and the one run by George Heys (1852 - 1939), owner of Melrose House in Pretoria. This ticket was kept and preserved.

The first was founded by the brothers C.H. Zeederberg (? - 1907) and R.A. Zeederberg (1852 - 1944) in 1887, operating the first regular mail-coach service between Kimberley and Johannesburg. The other was known as Heys and Co.'s Saloon Coaches which was started around 1882 and operated four different routes. 452

FIGURE 169a and b: The condition of the roads.



⁴⁶¹ D.J. Potgieter (ed.), Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa II, p. 578.

⁴⁵² C.J. Beyers (red.), Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek IV, p. 246.



(Photographs c. 1895: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM 777; b - SM 865)

In 1884 Marks travelled to the Eastern Transvaal to have a look at the gold fields. He travelled by post-cart to Lydenburg and then onwards on horseback "...as travelling there in a conveyance is almost an impossibility, the roads when there are any, being very stony..."⁴⁵³

Picture 169a serves to verify the bad condition of many of the roads of the time, not that that was the only trouble with the roads. Marks took his own precautions: "I have had a new water cart made so that we shall not have so much dust at Zwartkopje (sic)". 454

Picture 169b shows one of the roads on Zwartkoppies as it looked in 1894.

⁴⁶³ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 39.

⁴⁵⁴ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - T. Marks, 1901.09.12.



FIGURE 170: The ox waggon.



(Photograph c. 1911: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

Even by 1911 when this picture was taken, the ox waggon was still in popular use especially for hauling freight. This one is being pulled through a drift in the Pienaars River on Zwartkoppies. However, already in 1894 Marks remarked that:

... at the end of next month we shall say goodbye to waggon transport, and as all our goods will be taken from here to Johannesburg & Pretoria by rail it will be interesting to see how far the Iron horse will benefit us. 455

⁴⁵⁵ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 7., S. Marks - I. Lewis, 1894.01.07.



FIGURE 171: A railway station.



(Photograph c. 1907: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 652)

"Leaving for Transvaal" is written on the back of this photograph. It is part of the set given to Marks commemorating the visit of the Portuguese Crown Prince to the Transvaal and Mozambique in 1907 (See Figures 87, 116 and 134). Unfortunately it does not state the place of departure but it does show what the railway stations looked like in general. Transport by train was a common way of travelling by the turn of the century and one of which Marks made good use. 456

⁴⁵⁶ J. Malan, Waens en rytuie van Sammy Marks, p. 1.



FIGURE 172: The departure of Lord and Lady Roberts.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1335)

On 1 October 1900 Lord Frederic Sleigh Roberts (1832 - 1914) and Lady Nora Roberts (née Bews - dates unknown) with their daughters stopped over at Zwartkoppies Hall on their way to see the grave of Lord Roberts's brother, the Earl of Airlie, who had been a casualty of the Anglo-Boer War, at Diamond Hill (Donkerhoek) not far from Zwartkoppies. Lady Roberts and one of their daughters went in Marks's Landau, a fancy and expensive four-wheeled horse-drawn vehicle with a boat-like body supplied with doors and collapsible top, but their other daughter preferred going on horseback with her father (See Figure 173). They were met at the station at Eerste Fabrieken by Marks's carriage, taken to Zwartkoppies Hall for breakfast from where they departed for their excursion, returning to Zwartkoppies for lunch. In a letter to Louis, Marks describes the picture as being taken with the Robertses on the point of starting for the Eerste Fabrieken Station (See also Figure 85). On the page beneath the photograph it reads: "Lord and Lady Roberts leaving Zwartkoppies Hall on their visit to the Earl of Airlie's grave."

⁴⁵⁷ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 124.

⁴⁵⁸ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1901.02.13.



It is not clear, but possible that the second vehicle is Marks's other carriage, which features in Figures 174, 175 and 176.

FIGURE 173: Miss Roberts riding side-saddle.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

"Miss Roberts & escort returning to Zwartkoppie Hall from Diamond Hill", is the accompanying caption to this photograph. She was one of the two daughters of Lord and Lady Roberts, who accompanied her parents to the grave of her uncle, the Earl of Airlie, who fell at the Battle of Diamond Hill in June 1900 (See Figures 85 and 172). Her sister went by carriage. Their only brother was also a casualty of the Anglo-Boer War. She is riding side-saddle as ladies were expected to (See Figure 156).

This photograph provides a clear picture of the garden around the fountain. Note how small the conifers planted as a border still are. Three Indian men are standing in the left corner. The one nearest to the camera is wearing puttees, a long strip of cloth which is wound spirally around the leg, covering it from ankle to knee.



FIGURE 174: A mule-drawn vehicle.



(Photograph c. 1911: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3407)

An outing to Marks's farm, Pienaarspoort, which adjoined Zwartkoppies to the east, was undertaken in c. 1911 in this vehicle drawn by a team of six mules. It is difficult to identify but looks like a type of sociable. Horses were a scarce and expensive commodity in the Transvaal, especially if they were so-called salted, because of the ever prevalent horse disease.

The canopy is not collapsible like that of the Landau (See Figre 172) but has a framework to which the canvas is attached (See also Figure 175 and 176).

The sociable was a four-wheeled vehicle driven by a coachman and with the two seats facing each other, hence the name. However, its canopy was collapsible. J. Malan, Rytuie van weleer, p. 40.



FIGURE 175: The coachman.



(Photograph c. 1911: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3449)

Presumably the same vehicle as in Figure 174, illustrating the strength of the roof. Note the coachman, wearing a suit and rather shabby felt hat.

"Who have you got for a coachman now & is he black or white?" Girlie enquired from her mother in 1903. The picture was also taken at Pienaarspoort, but in 1915.

FIGURE 176a and b: The Marks coach.



⁴⁶⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., G. Marks - B. Marks, 1903.12.09.





(Photographs c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a = nn, b = in album SM 3407)

Figure 176a is identified as "The coach and four, Zwartkoppies". It shows the rose garden and its pergola and two arches clearly. The cupola was covered in wire mesh (See Figure 64). Picture 176b shows Sammy Marks (second from the left) and his son, Louis (second from the right) in conversation with visitors. Could this be the American carriage which according to Dolly was all white?⁴⁶¹ It is the same vehicle as in Figures 174 and 175, but with the detachable sideflaps in place.

Behind the mules the rope-top kerbstones, manufactured by Marks's company Vereeniging Brick and Tile Co., flanking the flowerbeds are sticking out and a few rose bushes are visible as well.

To the extreme left the white poles of the croquet court are just discernable.

⁴⁶¹ J. Malan, Waens en rytuie van Sammy Marks, p. 1.



FIGURE 177: Unharnessed vehicle.



(Photograph c. 1914: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3449)

Another vehicle difficult to identify is this one which seems to be something between a spider (See p. 87) and a phaeton (See p. 87). It was taken at Zwartkoppies in front of the western side of the coach house in 1914. The high single driver's seat is most unusual, as are the angled mud guards.

FIGURE 178: Ted Marks going for a drive.



(Photograph c. 1903: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 204)



"You must always let the groom hold the reins when going downhill, as you might let the pony fall and get an accident. You must hold little distances on a level road", 462 Marks warned Ted in January 1903.

This shows the young Ted Marks in his little pony cart. The iron wheels have been coated with rubber. This photograph has a double, but on the companion picture the nurse and Ted have changed places and she holds the reins.

Girlie enquired from Bertha on 9 December 1903, writing from Highfield: "Have you used your new carriage yet I should not think the india-rubber wheels, would do very well on those road (sic), but I forgot they have been remade." 463

FIGURE 179: Eli Marks and company.



(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1373)

Marks's brother, Eli (See Figure 38), sitting on the front wheel of a spider (See above) with the side flaps in place, and companions.

⁴⁶² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - T. Marks, 1903.01.31.

⁴⁶³ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., G. Marks - B. Marks, 1903.12.09.

FIGURE 180: Two unknown gentlemen with another spider.

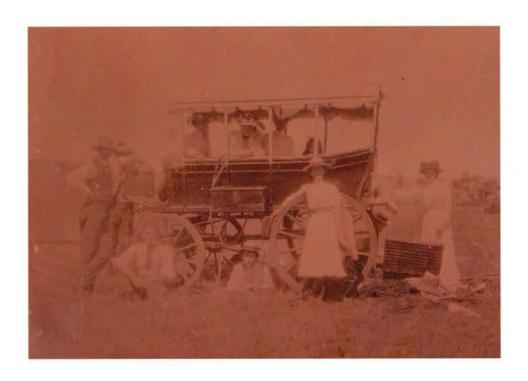


(Photograph c. 1905: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 181)

The upholstery of the seats and the fancy spatterboard of this spider is noteworthy. The horses seem to be a matched pair, quite a status symbol.



FIGURE 181: A pleasure trip.



(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3585)

For pleasure trips, like this picnic expedition, spring waggons were very popular, especially when a number of people had to be transported. The wicker picnic basket leaves little room for doubt as to the purpose of the outing.

FIGURE 182: A spring waggon.



(Photograph c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3407)

Another spring waggon loaded with its passengers on its way to some unknown destination near Caledon in 1910. Both Marks and his eldest daughter, Girlie, visited the mineral baths at Caledon.

FIGURE 183: A dog-cart.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1337)

This vehicle, seen here in front of Zwartkoppies Hall, was called a dog-cart. Originally it was used on hunting expeditions and the dogs were conveyed in a slatted box beneath the seat. It gained much popularity for everyday use and lost its original purpose, but retained the name. The gentleman on the right is "Old Hans Botha" the gentleman to whom Marks referred as having been hit by five bullets during the First War of Independence (1880 - 1881), carrying them to his grave (See p. 127). Unfortunately that is all that is known about him.

FIGURE 184: John Murray with his Cape cart.



(Photograph c. 1901: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1335)

John Murray (1834 - 1905), a friend and permanent guest (and according to Mendelsohn Marks's gentleman companion) at Zwartkoppies driving his Cape cart (See above), was a well-known sight (See also Figure 216). On a Sunday afternoon he would often take the younger children for a drive, securing some peace and quiet at the house.⁴⁶⁴ Of Murray's mules Marks remarked to Louis in 1901:

The animals are nearly as old as Mr Murray although they are not bald yet and apparently have a long life before them yet. These two animals must know the road between Zwartkopje & Hatherley very well and if old age should unfortunately render them blind, they will still be of service to their owner. Their speed is not very great. Their appetite is

⁴⁶⁴ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 193.



good and they pull Mr Murray to Hatherley and back once a day excepting as a rule Sunday. 465

About this picture he commented to Girlie: "Mr Potts took a photograph of him (Mr Murray) with his two mules and a picturesque group they make, they would look well at Madam Tossauts(?)"466 [The famous wax museum in London]

FIGURE 185: An open cart.



(Photograph c. 1910: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

This type of open cart was used for conveying light freight. It also seems to have been drawn by mules.

⁴⁶⁵ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1901.02.13.

⁴⁶⁶ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1901.03.20.

FIGURE 186a and b: A caravan.





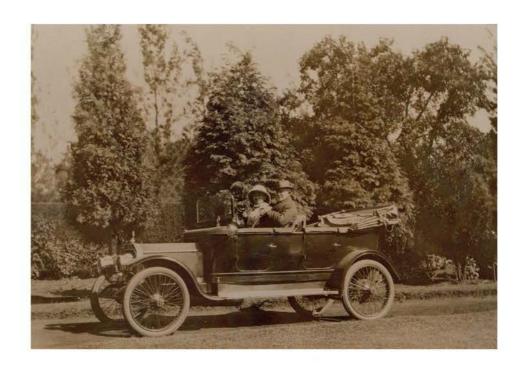
(Photograph c. 1911: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - in album SM 3450, b - SM nn)

A very unusual caravan type of waggon, probably custom made. A chimney is clearly visible indicating the presence of a coal stove inside while the large box between the wheels probably housed the water supply. The picture is described as taken at Vereeniging in 1911.



Another view of the caravan waggon, this time showing a canvassed extension at the back.

FIGURE 187: The motor car.



(Photograph c. 1912: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

Marks was fortunate enough to live to see the crowning glory of the Industrial Revolution, the combustion engine. While the first motor car in South Africa arrived in 1896 (see above), it is unknown exactly when Marks bought his first car. This picture, showing Marks and his son Louis, was taken in c. 1912 in Johannesburg (See also Footnote [266] Figure 190). He had a chauffeur, R.J. Willmer, to whom he left a small bequest in his testament.⁴⁶⁷

Already in July 1901, halfway through the Anglo-Boer War, Marks wrote to Girlie:

I am still without good horses and think I shall have to take Ted's advice and get a motor car, I see that in the great motor car race some cars went at an average speed of 46 miles per hour, if they could travel at that pace along the roads here I should get to town in a little over a quarter of an hour.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁷ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 252.

Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 7., S. Marks - G. Marks, 1901.07.

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Motor cars played little part in the Anglo-Boer War though a few officers did manage to obtain some but these were used mainly for amusement.⁴⁶⁹

A few years later, on 21 June 1906, Marks wrote to Louis:

Regarding your motor car

I do not agree with you, I think the best thing is before you have a Motor car you should earn on-e (sic) for yourself, then you will be more careful in using it, and see it is properly taken care of, so I have not yet ordered one. 470

It would seem that Louis got his wish, for Marks wrote to Dolly in Durban on 31 May 1907: "So you all went for a motor drive last Friday, Well I hope it went better than Louis' (sic), and that you did not have to get out and push the car home.!"⁴⁷¹

FIGURE 188: Bertha Marks in a sedan chair.



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1337)

⁴⁶⁹ R.H. Johnston, Early motoring in South Africa, p. 19.

⁴⁷⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.23, S. Marks - L. Marks, 1906.06.21.

⁴⁷¹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - D. Marks, 1907.05.31. According to Johnston discomfort in the early days of motoring was taken for granted, but motoring was fun. R.H. Johnston, Early motoring in South Africa, p. 152.



An interesting way of conveyance is this sedan chair. Here Bertha is seen being carried around at Sheba House at the Sheba Mine near Barberton, c. 1897. The people in the background are identified as Mr G. Fraser, Sammy Marks, Mrs A.A. Blow and Mr S. Evans but nothing is recorded about who they were.

FIGURE 189: The Marks children and friends on tricycles.



(Photograph c. 1898: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1334)

Girlie, Joe and Ted Marks with the Potts children riding around on their tricycles. Marks wrote to one Harry (?), 12 August 1893 "... and Monty and Louis ride races on their tricycles round the tennis court". 472

⁴⁷² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.12, S. Marks - Harry (?), 1893.08.12.



FIGURE 190: Bicycles



(Photograph c. 1897: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 381)

Bicycles were very popular especially amongst the young people. It was not only a form of transport, but also a popular pastime. In Pretoria people cycled out to either Silverton or the Wonderboom on a Sunday for a picnic. Some complained about the habit as morally decadent.⁴⁷³ Here Louis (on the right) is seen on his. An interesting link between photography and bicycles was found in a comment by A. Stieglitz, a photographic enthusiast, made in 1897:

Photography as a fad is well nigh on its last legs, thanks principally to the bicycle craze. Those seriously interested in its advancement do not look upon this state of affairs as a misfortune, but as a disguised blessing, inasmuch as photography had been classed as a sport by nearly all those who deserted its ranks and fled to the present fad, the bicycle.⁴⁷⁴

I received my bike yesterday it is a beuty (sic) it is a free weal (sic), silver-plated rims, clencher tyres, two beutiful (sic) brakes, a beutiful (sic) sadel (sic) & fits me beutifuly (sic). And alltogether is a very good

K. Roodt-Coetzee, Die Republikeinse Pretoria: kultureel en sosiaal in S.P. Engelbrecht e.a. (reds.), *Pretoria* 1855 - 1955, p. 145.

⁴⁷⁴ A. Stieglitz, The hand camera, its present importance. The American Annual of Photography in N. Lyons (ed.), *Photographers on photography*, p. 18.



bike & I think my self (sic) a jolly lucky boy to have such a good father and mother as to give me such a nice present, 475 was the grateful comment of a young Joe in a letter 476 dated 20 November 1903.

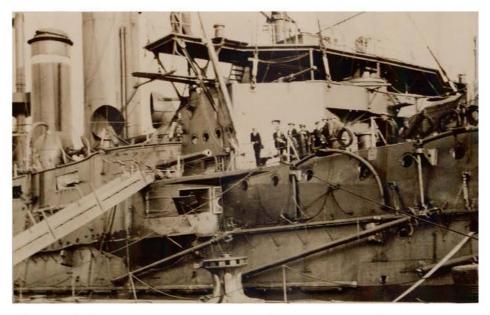
However Marks did not consider this mode of transport fit for a lady and wrote the following to his wife about the subject:

I wrote to Girlie that I do not wish her to go in for cycling and I hope you will not allow her to. She can get horseriding later on but at present she is better without it. I shall never consent to her riding a bicycle so she can banish the idea.⁴⁷⁷

Maud Berkeley only took to cycling in 1895 and deplores not having discovered it earlier though one of her friends had been urging her for years. Her husband also advised caution and expressed fear for their safety.⁴⁷⁸

Here Louis Marks (on the right) and a friend are seen with their bicycles. The horn hooters are clearly visible on the handles. It is also interesting for fashionable dress of teenage boys towards the end of the century. Note the boater (a flat crowned, stiffened straw hat) which Louis is wearing and the cap, which looks as if it is made of tweed material, of his friend. The friend is wearing a double-breasted jacket, while Louis' one is single. Both are high-buttoned.

FIGURE 191: The steamship.



Photograph c. 1913: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3450)

⁴⁷⁵ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., J. Marks - S. Marks, 1903.11.20.

⁴⁷⁶ By the end of 1909 Joe requested Marks to buy him a motorbicycle which Marks in reply promised to consider. It seems Joe got impatient and bought one out of his own pocket.

⁴⁷⁷ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 7., S. Marks - B. Marks, 1902.07.10.

⁴⁷⁸ F. Fraser (ed.), MAUD, The diaries of Maud Berkeley, pp. 113, 168.



The only way of getting to England or Europe was by ship. Bertha and the younger children regularly travelled overseas. In 1913 Bertha and Girlie again went to England and took this picture of their ship.

Sea travel held its own share of woes and miseries as is clear from Bertha's letters. On 13 June 1902 on board the Union Castle RMS "Saxon" she wrote to Marks: "We had a very bad day Yesterday so rough nearly every passenger sea sick, today it is calmer." 479

On arriving in Brindisi on 27 March 1906 on board SS Bohemia she wrote to Marks:

...we were delighted to see Lewis and Mr Blades awaiting us. as (sic) what with our small amount of luggage & we had to go the Customs House. Today we have been busy all the time, trying to sort out our luggage. as I have made them all repack & divide up our luggage & I am sending on as much as I can by Cooks to London as with so many people & so many Packages (sic) it is maddening.⁴⁸⁰

Re the "small amount of luggage" Louis wrote his father:

All her [Bertha's] time, I expect is taken up by packing, because judging from the amount of stuff that accompanies her on her trips to this part of the world, the whole of Zwaartkopjie (sic) must be head over heels in boxes months before she takes her departure.⁴⁸¹

FIGURE 192: Bertha Marks seated in the back of a small vessel.



(Photograph c. 1913: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 3585)

⁴⁷⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B S., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1902.06.13.

⁴⁸⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., B. Marks - S. Marks, 1906.03.27.

⁴⁸¹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., L. Marks - S. Marks, 1906.02.22.

f. War

What gay old time we had during the war, some few days - the roar of big guns, the rush of deadly projectiles overhead, the bursting of the shells in the distance, the clouds of red dust arising when the shanpenel (sic) struck the ground, the ping ping & the tack tack of the Lee Metfords & the Mausers, it was a fine sight to look upon at safe distance, the lines of mounted infantry away in front, string columns of infantry stretched out to the right, left, in their khaki uniform they soon became invisible, in position in the rear stood the naval guns covering the advance of the troops away in front, it lasted nearly the whole day, the real fighting took place upon the range of mountains distant east about four to six miles from here, consequent we were horrified with sight of dead & wounded men. It was not nice when the Boers began to plunder, when your Mother opened the side door staring her in the face was three revolvers held by Boers, & a crowd of them behind, they were after food & clothing. 482

Sammy Marks himself lived to experience at close hand three major wars: the First War of Independence (1880 - 1881), the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1902) and the First World War (1914 - 1918). He always advocated peace and from his correspondence it is clear that especially during the Second Anglo-Boer War, he tried his best at first to prevent an armed confrontation and later acting as mediator to negotiate peace between the warring factions.

You can do no possible good by prolonging the struggle, whereas you can save your people much misery by yourself submitting and advising others to do likewise. A continuance of the war cannot benefit anyone but a cessation of hostilities will avert much misery and ruin,⁴⁸³ he wrote to Gen. Koos de la Rey (See Figure 81) in October 1900.

Like most foreigners he took precautions for the safety of his own family. He sent the pregnant Bertha and small children to their residence in Muizenberg (See Figure 77) although it meant that he would not see his youngest child, Phil, before he was already 18 months old. Marks stayed behind at Zwartkoppies while keeping neutral and receiving and assisting both sides. At intervals troops were even stationed on his property and more than one shot passed over it.

I saw some of the fighting and shells were passing over my house on their way to Pienaarspoort and back to Koedoespoort. It was a very exciting time. Not very much damage has been done to any of my property, if I except fences, every fence on every farm over which the troops passed has been destroyed and the poles used for firewood.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., J. Murray - L. Marks, Undated.

⁴⁸³ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - K. de la Rey, 1900.10.06.

⁴⁸⁴ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 115.

⁴⁸⁵ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - P. Levy, 1900.10.07.



Despite his neutrality his property was not left unmolested. In April 1901 he wrote to Joe:

The trees at Zwartkopje are growing nice and the little orange trees show a lot of fruit, I only hope they will not be picked before they are ripe. Last season I had some soldiers inside the stone wall who picked all the oranges while they were green...⁴⁸⁶

After the war he claimed compensation from the British government for damage to his different properties.⁴⁸⁷

In February 1902 and again in March Boer soldiers cleaned him out of all the clothes and blankets he possessed and raided the pantry, forcing him to write to his partner in London to urgently send him new clothes:⁴⁸⁸

Will you please on receipt hereof order for me 3 or 4 suits of clothes, 3 or 4 pairs of boots, 2 dozen socks & about a dozen changes of underlinnen, ½ dozen suits of pyjamas & ½ dozen night shirts, 2 dozen ties and 2 dozen handkerchiefs. 489

A letter from Marks to Girlie, 31 January 1901, testifies about the difficulty of travelling around in the war torn country: "It is very difficult to get in and out of town but I have a special pass and manage alright so far". 490

Living on a farm and being left in relative peace, food did not present a problem as Marks wrote to Bertha on 31 January 1901:

You ask if I manage to get food. At the present I have plenty and to spare, we are not as badly off in that respect as you seem to think but it is sometimes difficult to get provisions to Zwartkoppje (sic) all traffic in and out of town being suspended, except military traffic of course. Things are pretty dear as you will gather from the fact that Mr Murray got £3-5-0 per bag for potatoes sent in.⁴⁹¹

He even sent fruit to the patients in the military hospital. "I suppose the sick and wounded were very glad to receive the fruit you took them and that they appreciated the grapes and peaches", 492 Montie wrote to his father.

⁴⁸⁶ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - J. Marks, 1901.04.17.

Transvaal Archives Depot, Pretoria: T281 Archives of the Central Judicial Commission 1902 - 1906, Pretoria claims: Volume 458 File 614; Pretoria claims: Volume 1070 File 1963.

⁴⁸⁸ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 135.

⁴⁸⁹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - I. Lewis, 1902.02.07.; Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - I. Lewis, 1902.03.26.

⁴⁹⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1901.01.31.

⁴⁹¹ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - B. Marks, 1901.01.31.

⁴⁹² Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 5., S. Marks - S. Marks, 1900.03.30.



After the war Marks admitted to Lewis:

Although I never told anybody about it, every night when I went to rest in my house, I used to put my clothes very nicely together, so that I could dress myself very quickly in case anything should have happened, and you can imagine how nice and comfortable I used to feel.⁴⁹³

Note that many persons are identified but no more information about them is available or could be traced.

⁴⁹³ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.18, S. Marks - I. Lewis, 1902.06.05.

FIGURE 193: Passes and Permits.

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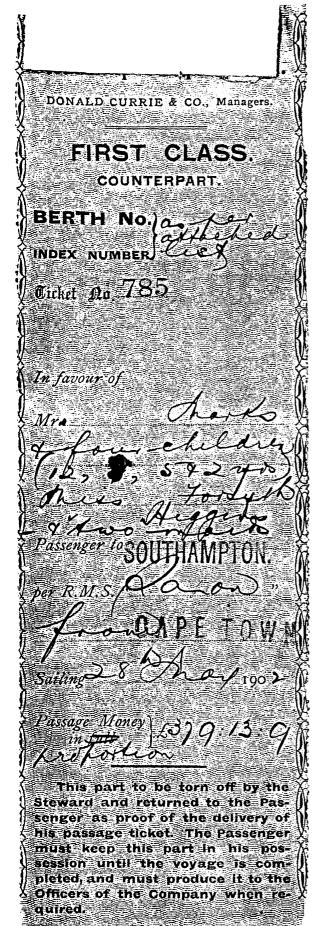
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(Passes and Permits: Marks Collection, Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town.)

Some of the passes and permits issued to Marks and his family during the Anglo-Boer War 1899 - 1902.



FIGURE 194: British troops, Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 976)

British troops marching over Zwartkoppies with Marks's house clearly visible in the background (Compare this with Figures 43 and 44).

FIGURE 195: "Captain Morley with detachment SAC⁴⁹⁴ stationed at Zwartkoppie Hall".



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

⁴⁹⁴ This abbreviation is used quite a lot and probably refers to the South African Constabulary.



FIGURE 196: "The Argyle + Sutherland Highlanders Escort to Naval Guns at Zwartkoppie".



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1334)

The outside lamp in the shape of a lantern is clearly visible above the louvred doors of the balcony (See Figure 172).

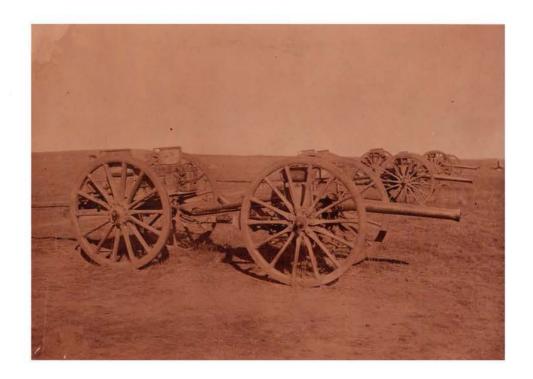
FIGURE 197: "Naval Gun crossing Pienaarsriver at Zwartkoppie".



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 250)



FIGURE 198: "4 guns of 83rd Battery stationed at Zwartkopje for 6 weeks".



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 435)



FIGURE 199: "Scout Crawley, 1st Canadian Congt (sic) wounded near Pienaarspoort with nurse Stanbury at Zwartkoppie".



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 278)

The same table that was used for tea in Figure 60 now serves to hold a potplant.



FIGURE 200: "Twelve Boer prisoners with escort of SAC passing Zwartkoppie".



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1335)

FIGURE 201: "The SAC Morning Stables at Zwartkoppie".



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1335)

This was taken at the buildings just west of the farm manager's house, the corner of which is just visible on the left (as explained it is debatable whether it was used for this purpose at this stage). It would seem that the building on the right was used as a stable. Was this where the mules in Figure 41 were being driven to? It has by today undergone slight changes, having been plastered and the windows having been enlarged. The electricity pole on the right is still standing. In the background the other cottage, today known as "Dairy Cottage", is visible in its original form. This has also undergone alterations, some of them already executed in 1907 (See Figure 48), but is still recognisable.

Telephone poles and wires would indicate the existence of a telephone at Zwartkoppies Hall (See also Figure 56).

FIGURE 202: "The Hospital Corps with Naval Brigade at Zwartkoppie".



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1334)

This picture presents the researcher with information on dress, cooking and eating habits of the British troops stationed in South Africa during the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1902), (See Figure 203).



FIGURE 203: "Volunteer Company of 1st Welsh Regt (sic) camped at Zwartkoppie".



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, in album SM 1334)

This picture also contains valuable information concerning dress, food and eating habits of the British troops during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902).



FIGURE 204: A blockhouse during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902).



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

This one is loyally named "Princess Louise's" after one of Queen Victoria's daughters and decorated with white-washed stones and potted plants forming an ironical contrast to the sandbags and rifles. The exact location is unknown but it probably was part of the string of similar structures erected all around Pretoria at (ir)regular intervals and probably on or close to Zwartkoppies or Hatherley.

FIGURE 205: "Four of SAC Marching order Zwartkoppie".



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)



FIGURE 206: Sammy Marks with British officers.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 950)

Marks, middle front, relaxing outside his house with some of the officers stationed at Zwartkoppies. To his right is Lord Chenham, ASC and to his left Colonel Hamilton. In the back row are Capt. Morley, SAC and Capt. Trevor, W G's.⁴⁹⁵ "His Lordship (Lord Chenham) arrived at 8 o' clock, had breakfast at 9 and returned (from the Earl of Airlie's grave) in time for lunch. (He was accompanied by Colonel Hamilton and Captain Morley)"⁴⁹⁶

At least three of the Englishmen are wearing mourning bands around the left upper arm, although for whom they are mourning is unclear, presumably for relatives or close friends lost during the war. On contemporary photographs from other sources, eg. one of General Maxwell, military governor of Pretoria, and his staff in Engelbrechts book on the history of Pretoria, they can also be seen. 497 Collier's Cyclopedia of Commercial and social information states that the band of crèpe around the arm is the mark of mourning adopted by those in the services who have to wear uniform and that it is not proper apparel for ordinary citizens. 498 The picture shows the flower bed on the side of the house very well. Although it is hard to tell which side of the house it is, the probability is that it is on the eastern side onto which verandah the dining and drawing-room doors open, from where the chairs they are sitting on would have been taken (See Figure 207).

⁴⁹⁵ These abbreviations are quoted from the captions on the photographs.

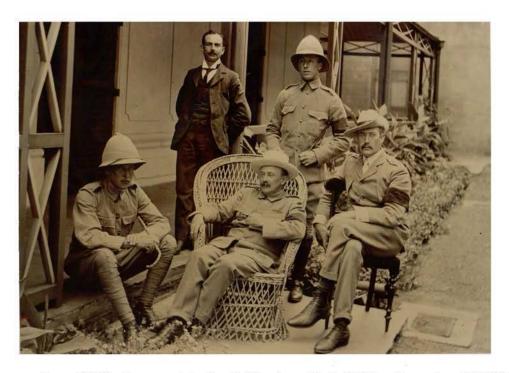
⁴⁹⁶ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - G. Arthur, 1901.05.15.

⁴⁹⁷ S.P. Engelbrecht, *Pretoria* (1855 - 1955), p. 104.

⁴⁹⁸ Etiquette of mourning in N. Robinson, Collier's Cyclopedia of commercial and social information, p. 627.



FIGURE 207: British soldiers at Zwartkoppies.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 259)

Another picture of military guests at Zwartkoppies. In the front are Lt. Mc Naulty, ASC, Major Wayne 1st KSOB and Capt. Morley, SAC. In the back George Falcke, Marks's nephew and Lt. Harris, RHA.⁴⁹⁹ Compare with Figure 206.

There are a nice lot of Canadians out at Hatherley and I have the officers up to dine with me very often. They are busy digging trenches in Mr Murrays fields, much to his chargrin (sic), but otherwise he likes them, 500

Marks wrote to Girlie in September 1900.

This picture was definitely taken on the eastern side of the house as the kitchen wing is visible at the back. Again three of the officers are wearing mourning bands around their left arms (See Figure 206).

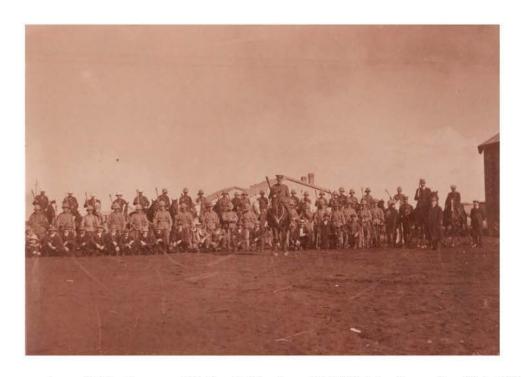
The officer on the left wears tight fitting riding breeches and he has a cane riding crop in his hand. In a studio photograph this could have been a prop but in an amateur photograph like this, taken on the spot, it would show that the man either had just returned form riding or was on his way to go riding.

⁴⁹⁹ These abbreviations are quoted from the captions on the photographs.

⁵⁰⁰ Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, Cape Town: SM/B 2.17, S. Marks - G. Marks, 1900.09.26.



FIGURE 208: Marks with British soldiers at Hatherley.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 437)

A company of British soldiers at Hatherley with Marks himself to the right. The row of men in civilian dress are probably employees at Hatherley.

FIGURE 209: A British encampment in the veld near Zwartkoppies Hall c. 1900.



(Photograph c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)



FIGURE 210: Louis Marks, 1917.



(Photograph c. 1917: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 754)

Louis Marks in uniform during the First World War, 1917. Louis, Joe and Ted all joined the Union forces and saw active duty.

FIGURE 211: Louis Marks.



(Photograph c. 1917: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 1148)

Another picture of Louis in uniform, standing to attention.

g. The last post

Although being born only seven years after Queen Victoria started her reign in 1837, Marks managed to outlive both the Victorian and Edwardian eras and to see the start of modern times. He died on 18 February 1920 at the Lady Dudley Nursing Home in Johannesburg of a stomach ailment. He was 75 years and 7 months old.⁵⁰¹

Like all people his family was not spared the suffering of losses within the family. Death was no stranger to the Victorians. Especially at the start of the Victorian period, c. 1840, the mortality rate was extremely high, diminishing as living conditions

⁵⁰¹ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 249.



improved and the standards were raised.⁵⁰² Marks himself wrote after the death of one of his children:

It is terribly hard to loose one's children but we must submit to the inevitable ... We are not the only people who have lost a dear child; many parents in England and in this country are in the same sad position as ourselves.⁵⁰³

His remark is very true because the medical science was virtually still in its childhood. Knowledge was limited and few medicines were available. Few families, even the wealthy, escaped from loosing at least one child. Bertha and he lost two of their children. The first was a baby daughter, Ethel Leonora Josephine, who lived only a short few months during 1890. She lies buried in the old Jewish part of the cemetry in Church Street West. No record could be found about their reactions at the time.

Their second child, Montague (Montie), born in 1888, died on 12 December 1900 in England where he had been attending the Jewish preparatory school in Gravesend. Bertha had hurried to her son's bedside during his illness, but Marks could not leave the Transvaal. The has not been recorded exactly what caused his death. Lady Maxwell, wife of the British military governor of Pretoria during the Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1900), Major-General John Maxwell, had assured Marks at the time Montie became ill, that as a child she had recovered from the same malady. Marks himself just refers to the "wretched illness". Solve the same malady. Solve the same malady the same malady. Solve the same malady. Solve the same malady the same malady the same malady. Solve the same malady the same malady the same malady the same malady the same malady. Solve the same malady the same mala

On receiving the shocking news of Montie's death he cabled to Bertha: "I need not tell you how terribly grieved I am. I hope you will bear up bravely under the circumstances and remember that we have other children whom we must look after". Nothing has been recorded about the funeral but one wonders in Marks's absence whether Bertha would have defied the Victorian custom for the ladies to stay at home during the funeral service and subsequent burial. It was customary for only the men to go out and attend except among the working class. 510

⁵¹⁰ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 48; L. Stanley (ed.), The diaries of Hannah Cullwick, p. 36.



⁵⁰² J. Morley, Death, heaven and the Victorians, p. 7.

⁵⁰³ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 128.

⁵⁰⁴ S. Nicholson, A Victorian household, p. 99.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 105.

⁵⁰⁶ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 128 - 129.

⁵⁰⁷ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 131.

⁵⁰⁸ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 128.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 128.



To Louis he wrote: "Our loss is very sad and has upset me very much, but it was God's will that Montie should be taken from us and we must submit to it..." 511

It is to be noted that on no picture is there any evidence of any of the direct family in mourning. In feeling with the rest of the age and its trappings the external signs of grief were placed upon the women whose persons were also used to bear the signs of wealth or servitude. A whole cult arose around mourning with a myriad of rules governing dress and behaviour⁵¹² (See Figure 162).

Bertha passed away in Johannesburg where she had been staying in the Carlton Hotel, on 28 October 1934 at the age of 72 years. Sammy and Bertha Marks are buried side by side in the old Jewish cemetery in Rebecca Street in Pretoria. 513

FIGURE 212a and b: Two graves.



⁵¹¹ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 128.

J. Morley, Death, heaven and the Victorians, pp. 63 - 79.

⁵¹³ R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 254.



(Photographs c. 1900: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, a - SM 268, b - SM 246)

Two photographs of graves in the collection. Unfortunately neither bears any information. Although some wreaths bear cards they are illegible for identification purposes. Remarkable however are the differences in the wreaths, both in the shape and in the flowers used. The latter could be explained by different seasons but the shapes would indicate a fashion. Also Figure 212a has many more wreaths than Figure 212b. Could either one be the grave of Montie Marks or Tobias Guttmann?

Nothing has been recorded regarding the actual funerals of the children, nor any other funeral for that matter. As a rule funerals were costly and grand affairs for as with so many other things Victorian, appearances had to be kept up. The funeral was a manifestation of the deceased's status in life.⁵¹⁴ Cassel's household guide of about 1870 actually spells out the different classes of funerals, what they entail and the cost of each.⁵¹⁵ For children however things would have been less elaborate than for an adult.

⁵¹⁴ J. Morley, Death, heaven and the Victorians, p. 11.

⁵¹⁵ Death in the Household in Cassel's Household Guide III, p.



At the start of the period the use of flowers at funerals and the grave had disappeared from general use, surviving only in the 'most distant and retired places of the kingdom' but was revived in genteel society in the Victorian period.⁵¹⁶

FIGURE 213: The Marks family.



(Photograph c. 1920: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 4299)

This is the last known picture of the Marks family together, shortly before Marks's death in 1920. At least two other photographs were taken on the same day - one of the children alone (See Figure 15) and one of Marks and his wife with their son-in-law, Israel Maisels.⁵¹⁷ A comparison with the photograph of the Marks house in Parktown shows that this was taken in front of that house (See Figure 76).

⁵¹⁶ J. Morley, Death, heaven and the Victorians, p. 30.

^{8.} Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 262.



FIGURE 214: Grave of Ethel Leonora Marks.



(Photograph: F. Dreyer, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, 1995.06.21)

No identified photograph exists of Marks's second daughter, Ethel Leonora Josephine Marks born on 14 September 1890. She died four months later. It is possible that one of the unidentified baby photographs is that of this girl, but it is doubtful. Surely a bereaved parent would have made some effort to identify such a photograph. The only physical evidence of her brief sojourn on earth is the grave in the Jewish part of the old Church Street cemetery in Pretoria.



FIGURE 215: The Marks grave in the Rebecca Street cemetery in Pretoria.



(Photograph c. 1925: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM 235)

At the time of his death Marks's widow and children had seven graves earmarked next to Marks's so that the family could all be buried together. The area was surrounded by a wrought iron fence made by the workmen of Union Steel in honour of their late boss. In the end only Marks and his wife were buried here.⁵¹⁸ In a codicil to his will he stipulated that he wished to be buried at Pretoria and that the funeral should be as simple as possible, without wreaths or flowers as he wished to be buried as he had lived, without ostentation or parade.⁵¹⁹

Louis died in 1974 in London aged 89 and was cremated.

Girlie died in 1955 in Johannesburg aged 66 and was buried on Zwartkoppies.

Joe died in 1975 in Pretoria aged 83 and was cremated.

Ted died in 1969 in London aged 75 and was cremated.

Dolly died in 1992 in Johannesburg, aged 95 and was cremated.

Philip died in 1978 in London, aged 78 and was cremated. 520

⁵¹⁸ S.J.N Maisels, The Trust Estate of the late Samuel Marks and his heirs, Unpublished notes. Johannesburg 1991.

H. Katzew, The remarkable Sammy Marks, Jewish Affairs, April 1950, p. 27.

⁵²⁰ S.J.N. Maisels, The Trust Estate of the Late Samuel Marks and his Heirs, Unpublished notes, Johannesburg, 1991.



FIGURE 216: John Murray's grave.



(Photograph c. 1908: Sammy Marks Collection, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, SM nn)

The grave of Marks's friend and house-guest of 23 years, John Murray, who died in 1905 aged 71. Interestingly enough the inscription clearly states that he had been living at Zwartkoppies for 23 years. This would mean he arrived there in 1882, which was before Marks bought the farm. The question is when and by whom the stone was erected. Surely Marks would not have made a calculation error as could have been expected from somebody less intimate with Murray. The relationship between Marks and Murray, whom Mendelsohn describes as Marks's gentleman companion and whose company Marks enjoyed so much that he invited him to take up residence at Zwartkoppies, must have been very special. The grave is in the old cemetery in Church Street West, Pretoria, Wesleyan Block D, row B, no. 90.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', pp. 193 - 194.



V REBORN SPLENDOUR

After Kirsty Marks, Marks's daughter-in-law's death in 1978, none of his descendants opted to occupy the house. Being encumbered by the testament with a fidei-commissum (a testamentary clause leaving the assets to a later generation than the first) it was also inalienable.¹

It seems the greater the distance in time between the observer and the past, the greater the appreciation for that which had been becomes. For some reason the immediate past is often treated with disregard and even contempt, perhaps because of own involvement, perhaps because man tends to remember that which was good and beautiful, forgetting the darker side as time lapses, with the result that the past eventually becomes romanticised.

During Joe's lifetime the dictates of fashion and modern trends caused changes to be made to the house like the covering of the hand painted murals with layers of paint and the replacing of the rose garden with lawn. The sun played havoc with the textiles like the blinds with their wide lace borders and the silken embossed velvet and brocade upholstery.

Different times bring about different life styles and attitudes. A swimming pool was dug where the croquet lawn used to be, replacing Marks's pools. The tennis court fell in disrepair and of many of Marks's improvements only traces remain. Weakened water supply due to changes in rainfall and the building of so many dams in the Pienaars River caused the drying up of the furrows and dams.

After the National Cultural History Museum of Pretoria had taken charge in 1984, restoration was started. The walls are all being scraped systematically to remove the top layers of paint and to reveal the underlying murals which are then painstakingly restored or repainted.

In this way it was discovered that in many places a second mural had been painted on top of a predecessor. Being of a later date, probably the 1920s, it has been decided to thoroughly document this layer and even leave traces thereof in places, but to go back to the bottom or original layer with the restoration.²

The furniture have been restored piece by piece and even broken ceramics pieced together. At immense cost the curtains and household textiles are being replaced. The roof was in dire need of repair and the woodwork on the verandah had to be replaced. Research led to the replanting and restoring of the rosegarden, pear orchard, croquet lawn, orange grove, maze and formal beds around the flag pole.

Much still remains to be done. However, slowly but surely, like the phoenix rises from its ashes, Zwartkoppies Hall is regaining its lost grandeur.

R. Mendelsohn, Sammy Marks 'The Uncrowned King of the Transvaal', p. 254.

² R. Fourie, Mure van die Sammy Markshuis, *Museum Memo*, 17(2), Junie 1989, pp. 16 - 20.



FIGURE 217: The main entrance.



(Photograph: C. Jansen, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, 1989)

The main entrance on the southern side of Zwartkoppies Hall as it looks today.



FIGURE 218: The dining room table.



(Photograph: F. Dreyer, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, 1989)

The dining room table set as if for a formal dinner with the utensils bought by Sammy and Bertha Marks. All the cutlery, silverware and china bear the intertwined initials S, B and M. Interestingly enough on some the S dominates a much smaller B, but on others the reverse is true. The table can expand to a total length of eight meters, large enough to seat 26 people comfortably. The damask table cloth with its drawn thread border is original as well. The epergne set is exquisite and comprises two small glass flower bowls on silver stands, two silver candelabra with electric bulbs and a silver centre piece with one large and three smaller glass flower bowls and three branches fitted with electric bulbs. Complete sets like these are very rare.



FIGURE 219a and b: The main bedroom.



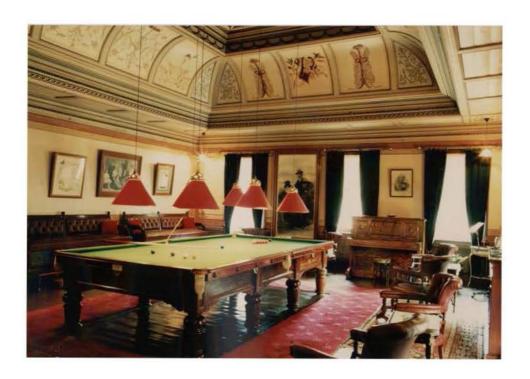


(Photograph: F. Dreyer, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, 1990)



The main bedroom was situated at the end of the corridor on the bottom floor. It is furnished with the suite veneered in olive wood which Marks brought out in 1885 and the massive French brass bedstead (See p. 121). It is incredible to behold all the mirrors that formed an inseparable part of Victorian furniture and to think of the distance and conditions in which they travelled to land at Zwartkoppies in one piece.

FIGURE 220: The billiard room.



(Photograph: F. Dreyer, N.C.H.M., Pretoria 1990)

The billiard room where Marks and his family and friends enjoyed many a leisure hour. Even the original ivory balls are still to be seen. It is the one room in the house that escaped the paint brush of later years that covered the rest of the murals in the house with layers of monochrome paint when fancy painted walls went out of fashion. The vaulted ceiling is decorated with painted silken panels. The upright piano in the corner is strictly speaking not standard furnishing for this type of room but according to tradition Bertha liked to have it there (See Figure 54).



FIGURE 221: Bathroom.



(Photograph: C. Jansen, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, 1982)

The bathroom en suite to the dressing-room and main bedroom. The bath is fitted with an array of pipes and taps.

FIGURE 222: Music box.



(Photograph: C. Jansen, N.C.H.M., Pretoria 1982)

This magnificent music box with its matching stand was acquired by Marks in 1886. Metallic cylinders studded with hundreds of tiny projections supplied the music by picking the teeth of a metal comb. Additional cylinders could be ordered, just like records or compact disks today (See p. 121).



FIGURE 223a and b: Light fittings.

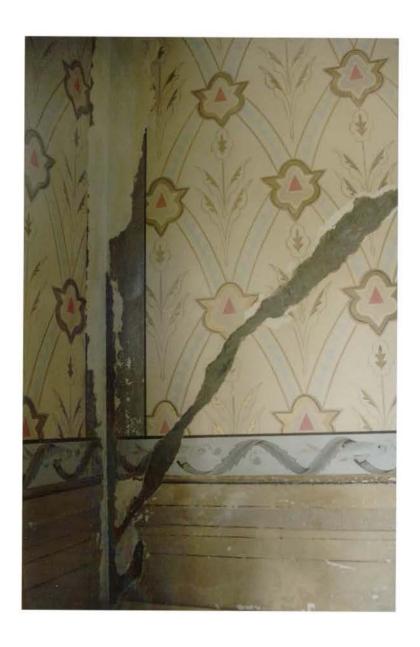


(Photograph: F. Dreyer, N.C.H.M., Pretoria 1990.07.20)

Two of the ornate light fittings in the house. The first one with six branches hangs in the centre of the music room's ceiling with a single one in each corner. The shades are formed by tiny glass beads on a string and the whole has an Eastern European look to it. The second is one of the crystal chandeliers that hang in the centre of the dining room and lounge ceilings. Exact miniature copies adorn the corners of both rooms.



FIGURE 224: Louis' bedroom.



(Photograph: F. Dreyer, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, 1990.07.20)

One of the walls in Louis' bedroom after the covering layers of subsequent paint had been removed, before the restoration process.



FIGURE 225: Louis' bedroom.



(Photograph: F. Dreyer, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, 1996.10.17)

Louis' room after restoration.

FIGURE 226: The rose garden.



(Photograph: C. Jansen, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, 1988)



The rose garden reconstructed and replanted after excavation and research had revealed its shape and size. A list of roses that Bertha ordered from England is still among the many documents which were preserved in the safe and served as a handy guide although not all the varieties are available anymore. The historical photographs played a key role in the reconstruction of the rose garden as well as other parts of the garden.

FIGURE 227: The dove cote.



(Photograph: C. Jansen, N.C.H.M., Pretoria, 1989)

The restored dove cote in the garden again serves a purpose in providing accommodation for the feathered inhabitants of Jubilee Park.



CONCLUSION

The human race inevitably leaves behind traces of his sojourn on this planet. Even though in some cultures it is customary to destroy everything belonging to a person with such a person's body on his death, some signs remain, be they rudimentary.

The Western tradition of gathering material possessions as an indication of wealth and standing, and to make life more convenient, on the other hand, results in a tangible legacy in numerous forms. It is as if some people have a yearning, maybe unconsciously, to leave behind a stamp or mark, reminding their descendants and others of their existence at some point in time, or gaining a kind of immortality.

Simultaneously modern man is interested in finding out more about his ancestors and predecessors, who they were, what they looked like, how they lived and coped. The reasons given are legion. Archaeologists dig out remains of ancient, sometimes forgotten cultures, piecing together images of their makers and their lives from scattered and fractured buried artifacts. Similarly, though following other means, the cultural historian studies the people of the past trying to form an understanding of these people and their ways.

The cultural historian in a sense also digs up his evidence about the people of the past. He has a variety of sources at hand, ranging from the written document to the physical object, each with its own inherent advantages and problems. Pictorial evidence, ranging from the primitive and naive to the artistic realistic, is but one source testifying to the existence of people from the past.

In the Western world, until the invention of photography, scenes from life and portraits of the people who lived them, were captured on canvas by painters. However, it was the privilege of the rich, a small exclusive group, who could afford hiring the services of skilled artists, to commission and possess paintings. These often are tainted by the artist's or the patron's viewpoints resulting in idealized, romanticized and glorified versions of reality which have to be subjected to severe criticism before drawing conclusions. Furthermore they sometimes were created over a period of time or from memory, which can be a fallible instrument, and even fantacy.

Photography changed the whole picture in more ways than one. Coming in an age when more people than ever before enjoyed a high standard of living and as a rule were more affluent, and being such an affordable commodity, only the poorest of the poor were excluded from obtaining pictures. You did not have to have any specific talents either to be able to take photographs - only the necessary equipment.

Thanks to a host of enthusiastic photographers, the Victorian world, especially the later part of the period, and its successor, the Edwardian world, were recorded pictorially like never before in history.

Because of its nature photography is also a reliable witness, capturing the reflecting rays of light on photosensitive material to preserve the image of a certain moment in time. On the whole it has little of the subjectivity of the painting or drawing except in the choice of subject matter by the photographer.





However, willful deceit, like in specially posed photographs, superimposing and alterations, remains a possibility to be kept in mind. Instances of this kind fortunately are limited and the probability rate low, especially in collections of family photographs. The nature of the photograph and the motivation for its being taken are indicative of the possibility that the statement which it purports to make, might be untrue, for example, propaganda photographs against family mementoes.

There are a number of pitfalls that the researcher has to be aware of and which i.a. necessitates the application of historical criticism. Wrong information like dates and identification of people, not necessarily willful, remains a possibility that has to be borne in mind.

Limitations are inherent. Abstract matters for example cannot be photographed. Though moods and feelings might seem to be apparent, one has to be cautious against making unfounded deductions.

The physical characteristics of the photographic material can cause problems like deterioration. The quality of the picture is important. Faded, discoloured, vague or dim photographs make identification of important subjects like people and objects difficult. Wrong conclusions can easily be drawn.

The usefulness of historical photographs depends on a number of factors. A lot depends on the nature of the problem posed to the researcher, whether or not historical photographs are going to be an aid or source. It also determines the importance of the photographs being identified or not and dated or not. It cannot be disputed though that the more is known or can be ascertained about a historical photograph the more valuable does it become.

The use of a single unidentified photograph with no accompanying or substantiating information, is extremely limited, but then again the subject under investigation plays a large role. The addition of the name of the photographer and where he had his studio makes it more valuable as does dating even if it is deducted from the little information gleaned from the photograph.

This accentuates the fact that the researchers has to possess a wide framework of reference. In most cases the researcher will need a certain amount of background knowledge to be able to make the most of historical photographs as a source of information.

On the whole photography created a whole new range of documents which are there for the researcher, not only to serve as illustrations for his arguments or statements, but as a source of information in own right. In a time when visual communication is becoming more and more important it is not surprising that in the last few years quite a few photographic records of life in the past have been published. This makes valuable information about the past available to researchers and the general reading public alike.

By the turn of the century the moving picture developed from still photography leading to the silent film. This was followed by sound, colour pictures, television and the video, all of which brought about a whole new dimension to the use of photographic material as a source for the study of people and their culture.



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SUMMARY

TITLE : The use of historical photographs as source for cultural

history: The Sammy Marks photograph collection.

CANDIDATE : André Malan

DEGREE : M.A. (Cultural History)

DEPARTMENT: History and Cultural History, University of Pretoria.

DATE : 1996

SUPERVISORS : Mrs E.E. Pretorius

Prof. O.J.O. Ferreira

During his sojourn on earth man leaves traces behind. Subsequent generations can follow these traces through research in order to find out more about his forebears. The term **document** can be interpreted much wider than referring to written material so that different types of material can serve as source from which this knowledge can be drawn. Pictorial sources is one subsection underneath which photographic material in turn resorts.

This study looks at the use of historical photographs as source from which the cultural historian can draw information. Historical photographs are often merely seen and used as illustration material while they are sources in own right. It is the only source which captures and eternalises a moment in time visually.

Unfortunately it is still a human with all his faults and deficiencies who stands behind the camera. That means that although the photograph as source is generally speaking very reliable and objective, historical criticism still has to be applied. To err is human, over and above wilful misrepresentation. Furthermore there are certain pitfalls and limitations inherent to the photograph.

At the Sammy Marks Museum just east of Pretoria, a large collection of photographs has been preserved which shows the everyday life of the Marks family over a long period of time. By examining these photographs a clear picture can be formed of the everyday life of a well-to-do Victorian family in the Transvaal during the period 1890 to 1920. The actual images captured by the camera tell the story of these people's weal and woe like words cannot do.

No source can be all-revealing on its own. The photographs and the information drawn from them, are supported and confirmed by references and quotations from the personal correspondence of the family of which much has also been preserved. It is kept at the University of Cape Town. The biography of Sammy Marks by Richard Mendelsohn (Cape Town, 1991) as well as other literary sources has been studied and applied.

The study also contains a broad background sketch of the period and its spirit. By making comparisons between the findings about the lives of Sammy Marks and his family and what is known generally about the people of the time, one can see to what degree they conformed or differed. The development of photography itself is also briefly discussed.



The historical photographs which were preserved by the Marks family, serve as example of how valuable such photographs are for our knowledge and the eventual reconstruction of the past. Without them the task of the physical restoration of the house, outbuildings and garden to their original shape would have been much more difficult. At the same time and even more important, they breathe life into the house through the information they contain about the people who used to inhabit it.

Key Terms:

Anglo- Boer War Architecture Collection Cultural history Gardens Marks, Sammy Photographs Pretoria Recreation Social life Source material Transport Victorian



OPSOMMING

TITEL: Die gebruik van historiese foto's as bron vir kultuurgeskie-

denis: Die Sammy Marks fotoversameling.

KANDIDAAT : André Malan

GRAAD : M.A. (Kultuurgeskiedenis)

DEPARTEMENT: Geskiedenis en Kultuurgeskiedenis, Universiteit van

Pretoria.

DATUM : 1996

STUDIELEIERS : Mev. E.E. Pretorius

Prof. O.J.O. Ferreira

Tydens sy verblyf op aarde laat die mens spore agter. Latere geslagte kan deur navorsing op hierdie spore terugloop en meer omtrent sy voorsate te wete kom. Die term **dokument** kan heelwat wyer geïnterpreteer word as bloot geskrewe materiaal sodat verskillende tipes materiaal as bron kan dien waaruit hierdie kennis geput kan word. Pikturale bronne is een onderafdeling waaronder op sy beurt fotomateriaal resorteer.

Die studie kyk spesifiek na die gebruik van historiese foto's as bron waaruit die kultuurhistorikus inligting kan put. Historiese foto's word dikwels bloot as illustrasiemateriaal beskou en aangewend terwyl dit 'n belangrike bron in eie reg is. Dit is immers die enigste bron wat 'n oomblik in tyd sigbaar vasvang en verewig.

Ongelukkig is dit nog steeds die mens met al sy foute en gebreke wat agter die kamera staan. Dit beteken dat alhoewel die foto as bron oor die algemeen as betroubaar en objektief beskou kan word, historiese kritiek nogtans toegepas moet word. Bo en behalwe opsetlike wanvoorstelling, is dit menslik om te fouteer. Verder is daar slaggate en beperkinge inherent aan die foto.

By die Sammy Marks Museum net oos van Pretoria, is daar 'n groot versameling foto's wat behoue gebly het en wat die Marks-familie se doen en late oor 'n wye periode toon. Deur die foto's te ondersoek, kan 'n duidelike prentjie van die alledaagse lewe van 'n welgestelde Victoriaanse familie in die Transvaal gedurende die tydperk 1890 tot 1920 gevorm word. Die daadwerklike beelde wat deur die kamera vasgevang is, vertel die storie van die mense se wel en wee soos woorde dit nie kan doen nie.

Geen bron is op sigself allesopenbarend nie. Die foto's en die inligting daaruit bekom, word ondersteun en beaam deur verwysings na en aanhalings uit die persoonlike korrespondensie van die familie waarvan heelwat ook behoue gebly het. Dit is in bewaring by die Universiteit van Kaapstad. Die biografie van Sammy Marks deur Richard Mendelsohn (Kaapstad, 1991) asook ander letterkundige bronne is bestudeer en bygewerk.

Die studie bevat ook 'n breë agtergrondskets van die tydperk en tydsgees. Deur vergelykings te tref tussen die bevindings aangaande Sammy Marks en sy gesin se lewens en dit wat in die algemeen bekend is aangaande die mense van die tyd, kan gesien word in hoe 'n mate hulle gekonformeer of afgewyk het. Daar word ook kortweg aandag gegee aan die ontwikkeling van fotografie self.



Die historiese foto's wat deur die Marks-familie bewaar is, dien as voorbeeld van hoe waardevol sulke foto's is vir ons kennis en die uiteindelike rekonstruksie van die verlede. Sonder hulle sou die taak van die fisiese restourasie van die huis, buitegeboue en tuin na hulle oorspronklike vorms aansienlik moeiliker gewees het. Terselfdertyd, en amper belangriker, laat hulle die huis lewe deur die inligting wat hulle aangaande die mense wat daar gewoon het, bevat.

Sleutelterme:

Anglo-Boereoorlog Argitektuur Bronmateriaal Foto's Kultuurgeskiedenis Marks, Sammy Ontspanning Pretoria Sosiale lewe Tuine Versameling Vervoer Victoriaans