

Memorial complexity and political change: Paul Kruger's statue's political travels through space and time

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For more than a century the statue of Paul Kruger has served as a focal point of political uncertainty and change in South Africa. Since Paul Kruger's statue was first brought to Pretoria after its completion just before the Anglo-Boer War it has been moved from location to location in a process of political manipulation until its eventual positioning on Church Square in the city centre. However, in post-apartheid South Africa it seems the political process of forced relocation is to be perpetuated, but this time as part of the post-colonial reconstruction process. The article aims to investigate the aspect of memorial complexity and its relationship with the underpinning political change in South Africa and the prospect of the statue's relocation sometime in the future. The importance and effect of a nexus between a statue and its location on the possible relocation of Paul Kruger's statue, is also highlighted.

Keywords: Paul Kruger, Paul Kruger's statue, Church Square, Prince's Park, Station Park

Gedenkkompleksiteit en politieke verandering: die politieke migrasie van Paul Kruger se standbeeld deur ruimte en tyd

Die standbeeld van Paul Kruger het vir meer as 'n eeu as die 'opvanger' van politieke onsekerheid en verandering in Suid-Afrika gedien. Sedert die standbeeld voor die Anglo-Boere-oorlog na sy voltooiing na Suid-Afrika gebring is, is dit as deel van 'n proses van politieke manipulasie van standplaas na standplaas verskuif. In post-apartheid Suid-Afrika wil dit voorkom of die proses van politieke manipulasie geperpetueer gaan word, maar hierdie keer as deel van die proses van post-koloniale rekonstruksie. Die artikel ondersoek die verskynsel van monument kompleksiteit in sy onderlingende verhouding met politieke verandering in Suid-Afrika. Die ondersoek word met spesiale verwysing na Paul Kruger se standbeeld se moontlik hervestiging in die toekoms gedoen. Die belangrikheid van 'n nexus tussen 'n standbeeld en sy plasing word in die artikel beklemtoon en die effek wat dit moontlik op die moontlike herplasing van Paul Kruger se standbeeld mag uitoefen.

Sleutelwoorde: Paul Kruger, Paul Kruger se standbeeld, Kerkplein, Prince's Park, Stasiepark

The ongoing process of post-colonial reconstruction in South Africa has developed into a political campaign to rename streets, towns and cities, but has also extended to reconstruction and relocation of memorials and statues of previous eras. Sometimes there is historical justification for the construction and reconstruction of monuments and even for the replacement of "colonial names" with more indigenous ones. However, it seems problematic that the whole reconstruction process is apparently happening on an ad hoc basis, with little or no broad coordinated planning. This feeds an impression that political motives are the main drivers, with little or no historical and logical justification. In the longer term this will blur reflections of historical developments of the past. Such a one-sided mindset about monuments and statues produces few dividends for the nation building project. The strong political undercurrents of the present reconstruction process confirm the dictum that politics will always be the "right to decide who gets what, when and how" (D. Jackson & R. Jackson 2003: 115).

The capital city, Pretoria, has not been immune to this (political) post-colonial reconstruction process, as illustrated by the erection of Freedom Park and the statue of Chief Tshwane in front of the City Hall, both of which embody the new regime's symbols and values. Although the addition of the monument and the statue has been welcomed, both have a questionable historical

basis with little or no anthropological nexus between them and their present placements. In the broader political context, the motivation for their placement and the pressure to erect them seems predominantly a matter of post-colonial reconstruction, ignoring broader historical, anthropological and nation building realities. However, for the moment the existing statues and memorial from the “colonial” era in Pretoria remain untouched in their present locations.

Yet prevailing optimism may be premature in the light of the dramatic demographic changes in Pretoria’s central business district and in and around the city centre. The demographic changes at the city centre have already resulted in the first calls for the removal of the statue of Paul Kruger on Church Square to make way for a statue of a fallen struggle hero, Chris Hani (R. Ntshingila 2010: 1). So the “untouchable” status of the existing monuments and statues in Pretoria seem threatened: it’s highly unlikely they will retain their status in the future. In view of the demographic changes in Pretoria’s city centre, it is understandable that a statue of a struggle hero may be more acceptable to the current youth structures of the ANC Youth League in Tshwane, who clearly lack an understanding of the magnitude and complexities of history.

In the light of currently unfolding events, it’s unlikely that Paul Kruger’s statue will escape party politics and the urge to speed up the process of post-colonial reconstruction. Memorialising will always be a contested endeavour in a volatile and ever-changing political environment such as South Africa’s. However, within the historical context of Pretoria, this anticipated relocation of Paul Kruger’s statue is nothing new, with its chequered history in the face of the freakish, opportunistic and volatile nature of politics. Therefore, if Paul Kruger’s statue is relocated, it will be its fifth and (hopefully) its last migration in a long historical process of political manipulation. It is doubtful that any other public statue in South Africa’s history has had to endure the same travels from venue to venue and exposure to the volatility of short-term party politics.

The history of the Paul Kruger statue is one of travels in space and time in a sea of political instability. It is a tale of initial political alienation, followed by a period of gradual political acceptance and then again a further period of partial political alienation. In an illogical, bizarre manner, the Paul Kruger statue seemed perpetually doomed to be the focus for political controversy, pressure and instability in a hostile political environment.

The migration of Paul Kruger’s statue started more than a hundred years ago when it arrived at Delagoa Bay from Italy on the eve of the Anglo-Boer War. For political reasons the British occupiers did not want the statue to cross the border into South Africa, for they feared inflaming emotions in an already volatile situation. When the war ended, the statue was allowed to be brought into South Africa, but banished into political obscurity to the open grounds of Prince’s Park on the western outskirts of Pretoria. The statue remained at the park until the political climate calmed to such an extent that it could be welcomed back into the city’s welcoming political fold. However in 1925 the statue was moved again, to another perimeter of the city, the Railway Station, marginally within the city boundaries. Although the statue was now closer to its symbolic heart and intended locus, Church Square, it was still alienated from the political warmth of the city.

The political climate improved for those who valued the symbolic values embodied by Paul Kruger and the doors of the inner city opened for the statue as they took the reins of power. Although the statue was destined to travel one more time, this time it was into the welcoming core of the city, Church Square, the same spot that saw Paul Kruger’s first inauguration as President on 9 May 1883 (D.W. Krüger 1961: 272). But the idea that this last move had finally

completed the statue's political encircling manoeuvres around the fringes of Pretoria has not been realised. In the light of recent political events, and in the context of uncoordinated post-colonial reconstruction of monuments unfolding all over post-apartheid South Africa, it seems the final chapter on the migration of Paul Kruger's statue has yet to be written.

The objective of this article is to investigate the broader issues surrounding Paul Kruger's statue with a view to explaining present political developments. The investigation will not only be in relation to the statue's historical background, but also with reference to its symbolic memorialisation of the past and the volatility of politics resulting in its insecurity. The migration of the statue will be described with specific reference to the specific locations where it was erected, the reasons underpinning the decision to erect the statue at that specific venue, and also the nexus between the statue and the various sites. In the concluding section the factors presently threatening the statue's location on Church Square will also be explored and a possible alternative location proposed for the statue in the event of relocation.

Memorials and statues in an ongoing world of political transformation and change

Obviously the erection of new memorials and the continued presence of existing memorials will remain a contested endeavour in an unpredictable and ever-changing political environment. E.A. Maré (2007: 36) states: "Memory has always had political or ideological overtones, but each epoch has found its own meaning in memory."

In post-apartheid South Africa the current volatile and changing political climate ensures that the symbols and memorials of the previous regime will not escape the persistence of shifting values and changing meaning. It is an inescapable reality that the values and history symbolised in Paul Kruger's statue, for example, remain a world apart from the disposition of today's new generation who spend their leisure time in its shadow and on the lawns surrounding its plinth.

It is also inescapable that the memorialisation of past events in today's post-apartheid South Africa, such as the struggle against apartheid, will be a powerful driving force to memorialise and honour a new generation of political heroes and their triumphs. S. Ware (2008: 1) emphasises that the etymological roots of "monuments" (statues) and "memory" are linked, because both evolve from the meanings of "be reminded" and "be mindful". Therefore, in emerging and consolidating nations such as South Africa, new memorials will continue to play an important role for the memorialising of a new regime's heroes and values in an effort "to be reminded and to be mindful" of what underpinned the process of building a new political hegemony.

From a post-colonial vantage point, Maré (2007: 37) points out how new incoming societies, with their own cultural and ideological identities, establish monuments and memorials to create their own rallying points. However, from a broader post-colonial perspective, the process could also be taken a step further to serve to "correct" those political and historical inequalities of the past which present the greatest challenge to the new system.

In South Africa this phenomenon of post-colonial reconstruction has already gained momentum, recently giving strong impetus for most of the monuments and statues that have sprung up in city centres, on hilltops and in open city squares with a view to memorialising the values of the new regime. However, this is no new phenomenon in the ebb and flow of politics: when the Voortrekker Monument was built its *raison d'être* was also challenged. In response M.C Botha (1952: 15) legitimised the building of the monument with the assertion that the impressive structure should primarily "force" Voortrekker descendants to think about the

sacrifices made by their forebears in order to create an independent nation. “When entering the Monument the visitor must be overwhelmed with gratitude towards God.” He emphasised that the Monument should remind descendants that they should be mindful of and thankful for past sacrifices. Here memorials play an important role to unite the past with the present and to weld ancestors and their descendants into one cohesive unit.

No fault should be found with political construction of new monuments as long as there is historical justification and a historical nexus with location. However, this process of memorialisation should be distinguished from the political reconstruction process, which is underpinned by the fact that it does not add to, but removes, past manifestations of the memorialisation of previous regimes. When memorialisation is based on the notion of honouring past heroes who were not honoured for their sacrifices in the past, then the motivation is at least understandable. However, if the aim of reconstruction is to remove and replace the previous regime’s symbols then the process gets contaminated, because it sets the stage to perpetuate change and instability into the future.

Furthermore, memorialisation should be done on the basis of compelling historical evidence which supports the erection of the new monuments or statues. In addition, there should also be a legitimate nexus between the location (such as a historical heritage site) and the memorial, so as to legitimise the erection of that memorial. As Ware (2008: 1) emphasises, memorial design is always invested in specificity and local concerns, within a context of national preoccupations. The design must therefore have specific significance and in terms of space and location should form a reciprocal interrelationship with its location that could strengthen and legitimise its presence. Paul Kruger’s statue on Church Square illustrates this intrinsic value of the relation between a statue and its location, because of its specific historical and political meaning within its spatial environment.

The geographical position of Paul Kruger’s statue and its spatial relation to the location and the buildings strongly reinforce its intrinsic values and meaning. The statue reflects the former President as a forceful presence with an air of steadfast resolution, the eyes cast slightly downward as though directed at a crowd gathered below, perhaps suggesting his demeanour during his inauguration or his stance standing on the steps of the old Raadzaal across the street. The statue, larger than life-size, embodies the authority of the state and political dominance, reflected in the sash displaying state symbols and the staff signifying authority. The four armed burghers on a lower level, forming a small protective laager around the plinth, represent the “volk” who are prepared to protect their sovereignty. The four Boer sentries portray a strong sense of loyalty --- but also of despondency, following the loss of their Republic (H. Heydenrych & A. Swiegers 1999: 120).

At the height of ZAR power the three sources of authority and power were reflected by three buildings that formed a quadrangle of state power around the square. The Raadzaal building reflected political authority, while judicial authority was represented by the Palace of Justice, and the church radiated religious authority. In a mutual, reciprocal manner these symbols interacted with Paul Kruger’s statue for many years, although the church was dismantled in later years. However, it should be remembered that, from 1954 when Paul Kruger’s statue was erected on Church Square, subsequent political events culminated in the formation of a Republic which legitimised the values that Kruger stood for. It was therefore no coincidence that the formalities for the establishment of the South African Republic took place on Church Square on 31 May 1961.

The history of Paul Kruger’s statue is therefore one of migration through space and time as dictated by the volatility of politics. In the next sections the underlying political currents that spearheaded the migration will be outlined; this will enable the discussion to offer a prognosis on what the future holds for this symbol of former Afrikaner independence.

It started as a gift

It was Sammy Marks (1884–1920), a Jewish entrepreneur, who set the whole process in motion. He was very prominent in the local affairs of the ZAR and enjoyed enormous financial benefits from a close relationship with President Paul Kruger and his extended family, including Frikkie Eloff, the President’s son-in-law. Marks, flush with funds after his firm’s stock-market success in August 1885, offered the city of Pretoria 10 000 pounds for the project to erect a marble statue of Paul Kruger at a site to be chosen by the President himself (Mendelsohn 1991: 89).

Marks’s gesture to demonstrate his loyalty to the ZAR by honouring the President with a statue was not untypical of an age when Queen Victoria was memorialised on city squares and other locations throughout her extended empire. While Kruger’s statue was certainly validated by his impact and contribution to the ZAR, this step was a radical departure for a Republic which had not previously chosen to honour its leaders in a specific way. The nature of Boer society and Kruger’s informal presidential style certainly did not create the need for the elevation of a living president in the form of a statue, which smacked of the monarchical (Mendelsohn 1991: 89).

The modest reaction to the decision to honour Paul Kruger as a statesman of those in the President’s residence is illustrated by his wife’s response when FW Reitz and his son, Denys, visited the President shortly before the Anglo-Boer War. They were looking at a picture of the statue as she offered them coffee, when she suggested that they could at least have considered hollowing out the top hat so as make a drinking fountain for the birds (D. Reitz 1990: 9). In a similarly modest gesture, Kruger had earlier indicated to Marks that the less important square of Burgers Park was his preferred location for his statue.

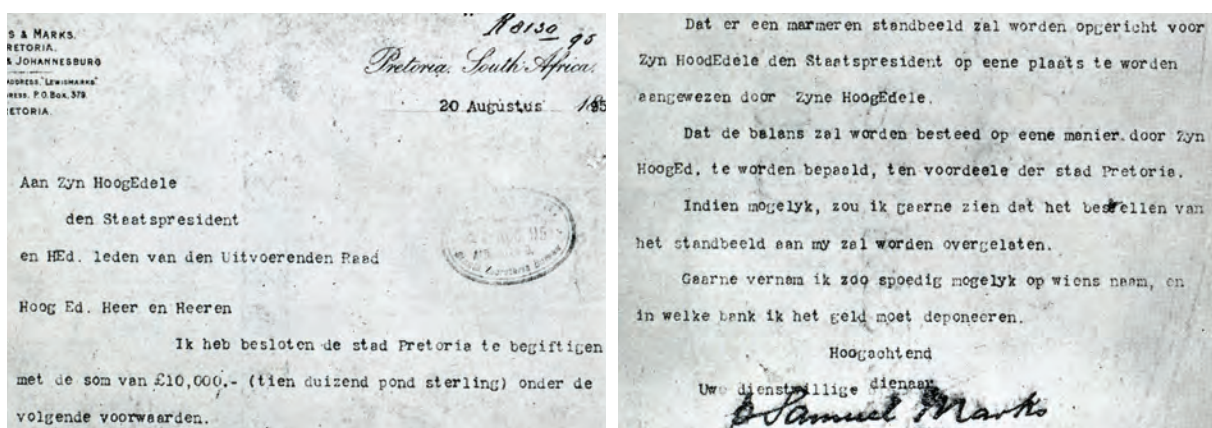


Figure 1

Sammy Marks letter to the ZAR in which he donated the money for the erection of Paul Kruger’s statue (scanned from SP Engelbrecht [ed.] 1952:98).

In spite of Kruger’s objections, Marks persuaded the President that Church Square, right in the heart of the capital, would be a more appropriate place for the statue, in order that “every visitor to the capital [may] view the statue”. Anton van Wouw, relatively inexperienced at that stage,

had been chosen as the sculptor to complete the work in Europe. (The Kruger statue ultimately became the most famous of Van Wouw's public works.) In the interim Marks had erected a base of red Scottish granite for the statue on Church Square where, as a result of political events, it was destined to remain solitary and unadorned for many years.

In mid-1899, barely months before the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), the statue, the four bas reliefs (depictions of landmarks in Kruger's career) and four Boer sentries were completed and despatched to South Africa. However, Marks's tribute became an early casualty of the War: the statue ended up in a Delagoa warehouse where it remained to the end of hostilities (Mendelsohn 1991: 90). It was said that Lord Milner made sure the statue remained in Delagoa Bay to prevent Krugerism from returning to the country in any form. In the meanwhile Marks had lost his enthusiasm for the project and opportunistically started to hoist the Union Jack at his Zwartkoppies residence, just outside Pretoria. How sad that such a magnificent artwork was kept from the public, but that is the mercurial nature of politics.

Paul Kruger's statue and the move from Delagoa Bay to Prince's Park: allowed back, but not in!

In a climate of peace and reconciliation after the war, widespread pressure brought Paul Kruger's statue back to Pretoria. However, although the political climate had become more favourable, the time was still not right to place the statue at its original intended location on Church Square. Instead a fountain financed by Marks was erected on the spot before this was moved to the Zoo four years later (*Record* 2007: 27).

It soon transpired that although the Paul Kruger statue would be allowed back to Kruger's former capital, it would not be allowed into the square at the city centre. In accordance with the political climate an open piece of land, partly used as a racing track, was identified as another locus for the statue. This open piece of land, south of Church Street and opposite the old cemetery, was first known in 1892 as Volkspark but was later renamed Westpark. In 1894 there was another change of name to Nieuwe Park, followed by yet another, during the Anglo-Boer War, to Westeinde Park. The last name change occurred in 1904 when the park was rechristened to its present name, Prince's Park. The name was given when Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, a sister of Edward VII, visited Pretoria to see the grave of her son, a member of Lord Roberts's staff who died of enteric fever during the war and was buried in the cemetery opposite the park. She planted the first tree in the park, described by the local press as "... a vigorous-looking miniature oak tree – and arboreal symbol of Britain's might (Peltzer in S.P. Engelbrecht 1955: 331). The park's outer section was still part of a horse racetrack, but the whole area was known thereafter as Prince's Park (T. Andrews & J. Ploeger 1989: 52–3). The base of red Scottish granite that was originally intended as the plinth for Paul Kruger's statue was removed from Church Square to Prince's Park.

During the first few years after the formation of the Union in 1910 the political climate was unstable. General L. Botha reshuffled his cabinet in an effort to stabilise government, excluding General J.B.M Hertzog after a clash with a cabinet colleague. In response to the harsh treatment of Hertzog, H.S. Webb and Tielman Roos organised a mass meeting at Prince's Park. Their decision to hold the meeting at Prince's Park was certainly influenced by the presence of the Kruger statue (still covered and yet to be unveiled). The statue had certainly raised the symbolic status of the open park and prompted the decision to use it for such an important political meeting (Geyser 1975: 113).

When Webb was inspecting Prince's Park beforehand to decide whether a stage was needed for the speakers, he noticed large heaps of soil that had been dumped at the park, and immediately cancelled the trolleys planned as a makeshift stage, thinking the heaps would serve the purpose. However, the heaps were later discovered to be compost and not soil, which inspired General De Wet's impromptu, clever remark, immortalised in years to come. Indirectly referring to General Botha, in England at the time, he observed he would rather find himself standing on a heap of dung among his people than on a glittering platform among strangers (Geyser 1975: 113)! More than 5 000 supporters gathered at the Park to show their support for Hertzog and his views on the position of the Afrikaner within the 1910 Union.

Paul Kruger's statue, without the four figures at the base of the plinth that "disappeared" during the war, was inaugurated a few months later. Botha decided to keep his distance from proceedings for political reasons and he asked Beyers to do the honours (Engelbrecht 1955: 99). The statue remained at Prince's Park for the next 12 years, but those supporters who aimed to bring the statue to Church Square were still actively campaigning for its erection closer to the symbolic heart of the city.



Figure 2

Paul Kruger's statue in Prince's Park, but without the four figures around the plinth (scanned from SP Engelbrecht [ed.] 1952: 98).

The political climate changed favourably when Hertzog and the National Party took over government. The South African Women's Federation was relentless and put pressure on

government to move the statue to a more prominent location. This opened the way for removal of Paul Kruger's statue to a more prestigious location, although still not to the most elevated position on Church Square.

From Prince's Park to Station Park

Exactly one century after his birth on 10 October 1925, Paul Kruger's statue was unveiled at its new location at Station Park on the southern perimeter of Pretoria (Engelbrecht 1952: 99). For the first time the monument included the four burghers on the lower section of the plinth. General Smuts played a major role in locating them and negotiating their return from Lord Kitchener's estate in England and from the war memorial at Chatham's College, in order to take their rightful place on the plinth (P. Joyce 1989: 98–99).

The migration of the statue to Station Park was the result of political flux, ending in an almost 45 percent encircling movement around the city to the southern entrance. The prevailing political situation in 1925 did not allow the statue to be erected any closer to the symbolic political power centre of the city and the country.

Paul Kruger's statue was erected on a square directly in front of the Railway Station, facing directly into the north axis line of Market Street, which led to the political heart of the city, Church Square. The Square was just out of sight from the statue, hidden within a quadrangle of buildings which included the Palace of Justice and the old Raadzaal.



Figure 3
Paul Kruger's statue in front of the Station, displaying the four burghers around the plinth
(scanned from SP Engelbrecht [ed.] 1952:98).

The lawn around the statue in Station Park Square was later replaced by a lavish Italian garden with small fountains to form an outer perimeter. On a deeper political and symbolic level, the

placing of the statue in Station Park had a variety of hidden meanings. One meaning associated with the new location was that there was a change in the political climate in the country, and that gradually more and more past icons were being welcomed back to the administrative and political fold of the new South African state.

The station area also had further significance, because it initially served as a triumphal place on 1 January 1893 when for the first time the former Boer Republic gained a rail connection with the outside world. However, it also signalled a sad moment for the ZAR, because Kruger left Pretoria by rail (though not from the railway station) when the British forces approached the capital.

Although the political climate had improved, the statue was still not at its rightful location. Many individuals and many cultural organisations were unhappy with the site and determined to see the statue moved to Church Square (Heydenrych & Swiegers 1999: 120). The city fathers were under persistent political pressure to move the monument to its rightful place on Church Square. In 1939 the city fathers eventually succumbed and voted for removal of the monument to Church Square (Engelbrecht 1952: 99). However, the Second World War (1939–45) and its aftermath were to delay this final migration of Paul Kruger's statue for more than a decade.

From Station Park to Church Square

The National Party's victory under Dr DF Malan in 1948 spearheaded the next migration of Paul Kruger's statue, this time directly into the political, symbolic, hallowed heart of the city, Church Square. From a historical and architectural perspective, it seemed the statue had at last reached its final resting place when it was lifted from its plinth in front of Station Park and transported down Market Street to Church Square. Predictably the Nationalists capitalised on the event when prime minister Dr DF Malan unveiled the statue on 10 October 1954 (Joyce 1989: 98–99).

This act concluded the long travels of Paul Kruger's statue through space and time which started at Delagoa Bay, then moved to Prince's Park and Station Park and finally to Church Square. In symbolic terms, the last migration to Church Square established a harmonious balance between the statue's symbolic value and the historical significance of Church Square as a true heritage site, spanning the history of the former Boer Republic (1855) to the present modern state.

Pretoria may be named after the Voortrekker leader, Andries Pretorius, but for most of its existence the city's strongest association has been with only one man, Paulus Stephanus Johannes Kruger (1825–1904) who, as President of the ZAR (1883–1900), dominated the military and political events of Pretoria and the ZAR. To this day his presence in the city remains real and lingers with tangible reminders, such as his unpretentious one-storey house in Church Street, in street names and, most importantly, his statue on Church Square, with its constant shadow in the heart of his city.

As for the architectural splendour of Church Square, it should be remembered that these buildings were the legacy of the distinguished men whom Kruger appointed during his four terms as President. They included Sytze Wopkes Wierda, Willem de Zwaan and Frans Soff, all of whom made a profound impact on Church Square with their architectural skills (E. Meiring 1980: 9).

Over the years, Paul Kruger's statue on Church Square has become an icon symbolising the

history of the city, the former ZAR and a bygone era. This symbolic political quality influenced subsequent political events as Afrikaner prowess gained strength.

One of the most significant events at Church Square was as a venue to symbolise the new state's pinnacle of political power. C.R. Swart was sworn in as President (symbolic position) of the Republic of South Africa in 1961 on the same balcony of the Raadzaal where Lord Kitchener addressed his troops on 5 June 1900. The sombre, imposing statue of Paul Kruger "witnessed" the event, "looking down" at the large congregation assembled around its plinth.



Figure 4
Paul Kruger's statue on Church Square in the city centre
(scanned from Heydenrych & Swiegers 1999: 120).

City centres, Church Square and changing times

Traditionally, city centres have always been the most inspiring and architecturally imposing parts of a city (G.M. de Waal 1977: 16). Old city centres represented the birth of the city, and their architectural gravitas enabled town fathers to display their political prowess in the grandeur of the public buildings. From the centre of the square, the rest of the town and city developed outwards incrementally, like the spokes of a wheel.

However, the square remained the focal point, the heartbeat and the core of the city in spite of the development outwards. In his novel *Die mugu* Etienne le Roux wrote about the importance of a city and city centres, when he described a city as a neo-cosmos of its citizens.

Even the English poet Robert Browning could in those days before the advent of inner city decay enthusiastically declare “O, a day on the city square, there is no such pleasure in life” (W. Jordaan 2010: 19).

The unfortunate reality is that city squares have changed dramatically since the idyllic days when they gave a city its heart. In the modern era of urban decay the phenomenon of the upper middle class and the wealthy migrating to the sprawling leafy suburbs, and subsequent withdrawal into suburbia, has largely sucked the life out of city centres. The affluent spend their leisure time in gated communities and in luxurious shopping centres in wealthy suburbs, hardly ever setting foot elsewhere, let alone in the city centre. This aloof absence means city centres have largely lost their symbolic significance. Ossip Zadkine’s grotesque statue in Rotterdam ably reflects the notion that cities in the modern era have become structures without soul (Jordaan 2010: 19).

Pretoria has not escaped that fate, and the migration by the predominantly white middle class away from the city centre has resulted in the influx of a community whose demographic values do not align with the history, symbolism and values of Church Square. Therefore, although the Paul Kruger statue still occupies the dominant position on the square, the spaces around and perimeters of the square have undergone a dramatic transformation over the last few decades. The buildings around Church Square, once the political, judicial and religious power centre of the state and the city, have been drained of their political gravitas. The old Raadzaal building now houses municipal offices and the Palace of Justice no longer forms the centre of judicial activity.

The generation of predominantly white people who once shared and valued the same political objectives and values as Kruger has retreated and disappeared into suburban laagers on the fringes of the city. The new generation of city dwellers who have moved into the city centre and those who spend their time on Church Square every day share few of the values represented by the statue and see very little justification for its further presence on the square. This reality raises an urgent question about the nexus between memorial or statue and heritage site as a location that justifies and legitimises the presence of that memorial or statue.

To fully understand the place, meaning and underlying values of a monument requires an understanding of the location in terms of its anthropological and historical nexus. The challenge for the placement of monuments and statues is to understand their value and meaning and to search for an applicable nexus with historical or political events and/or sacred and religious places, which could provide the contextual framework to underpin these values.

The reasons for the original intention to position the Kruger statue on Church Square have already been explained. However, before the statue could take its place on Church Square political motives were to force its migration to a variety of locations, some with little or no nexus as a heritage site or any historically underpinning reason for having the statue there.

Historically, Church Square formed the symbolic heart of Pretoria and for more than 150 years has witnessed dramatic and critical political and historical events. Historically, it was critically important for the statue to remain at a place where a strong nexus exists which has been symbolically institutionalised in the collective mind of the people of the city and the country. The nexus and the integration of the two are so strong that a separation will almost inevitably also mean surrendering their interrelated intrinsic meaning.

As Maré (2007: 36) reminds us, memorials and statues inevitably cast a specific memory

in stone and the structure cannot be modified; but, unfortunately, meaning can be reinterpreted. Paul Kruger's statue was erected to honour an exceptional statesman during a specific political and historical period of the existence of a Voortrekker or Boer Republic. The symbolic meaning of the statue was reinforced and legitimised within its specific location, space and spatial positioning on Church Square, at that juncture the ZAR's political, judicial and religious focal point, so that the statue was intrinsically woven into the symbolic fabric of Church Square.

The status of a heritage site cannot be imposed or invented because it is a product of a long historical process that gradually adds a certain value to the location. Maré (2007: 42) refers to a heritage site as a "chief focus of patriotism" but then questions how the location of a memorial could be called a heritage site "if nothing of historical importance ever happened there". In the case of Church Square it acquired the status of an Afrikaner heritage site, consistently reinforced for decades before 1994.

However, when the nexus between a statue and its heritage site is severed, the meaning of the statue will also be compromised, because the removal of its nexus negates the legitimisation provided by its historical context.

Conclusion

Quo vadis Paul Kruger's statue? What is the prognosis for Paul Kruger statue's continued presence on Church Square in the present volatile political climate, fuelled as it is by political opportunism and historical ignorance? Clearly, with the increasing pressures of political opportunism, the statue may well be facing the prospect of yet another move to yet another venue.

Another move would completely sever the symbolic link, the intrinsic harmony and the delicate balance between the statue and the heritage site that Church Square has provided until now. In isolation from one another, both statue and square will lose their symbolic significance and intrinsic value.

A historical nexus between a struggle hero such as Chris Hani and Church Square as a heritage site is an impossibility, the two as incompatible as *volkspele* in Kliptown near Soweto. However, with the present mindset of irrational memorialisation, the importance of a nexus with the location is considered insignificant. This mindset will cost the country dearly, symbolically, historically and culturally, because degrading art, heritage and history to make them subservient to a political agenda is tantamount to draining a nation of its cultural status.

If the statue does indeed face another move in the future, where would be the most obvious and appropriate location for Paul Kruger's statue? Most likely is the Voortrekker Monument's Heritage terrain where a number of similar outcasts have already migrated to spaces available on the terrain around the Monument close to Fort Schanskop. The statue would be welcomed by the silver statue of the master Boer spy Danie Theron, who kneels at the entrance to Fort Schanskop. So Paul Kruger's statue would not be alone; it would be surrounded by friends, although the loss of a historical nexus with a heritage site will have been lost forever.

In the final analysis the point should be made that if Paul Kruger's statue, one of the most prominent of all statues in South Africa, is not immune to political opportunism, then no other monument can be safe from similar treatment. The most likely outcome is the migration of the majority of Afrikaner memorials and statues to little enclaves where they can be valued and

protected. Will the War Museum of the Boer Republics in the Free State fulfil the same rule as Pretoria's current catchment area for uprooted memorials and statues in future? The danger is that South Africa will lose its creditability as a cultural and historical destination and become a state without a soul.

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