



Exploring an Unmapped Physical Culture Landscape in Colonial South Africa

Francois Johannes Cleophas

Department of Sport Science, Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, Republic of South Africa

ABSTRACT

Physical culture is a health and strength training movement that originated during the 19th century. This area of study has been neglected within the South African context. This was because the dominant view in South African academia, expressed by the physical educationist, Claude Smit, centred around an entrenched belief that physical culturists regarded strong muscles as the sole outcome of physical activity. Therefore, Smit argued, they only concerned themselves with the physical aspects of physiology and anatomy without taking into account any educational principles. Further, its main concern was with programmes of physical training, sold to the broader public, on the pretext that it had certain health benefits.¹ This study shows otherwise and that physical culture in circus, theatres and Eugen Sandow's visit to South Africa was part of a (mostly invisible) web between pedagogy, entertainment and colonial prejudices.

KEYWORDS

Physical culture; theatres; colonial society; South Africa; circusses; Eugen Sandow

Physical culture emerged as a distinctive concept and practice in South Africa in the wake of mineral discoveries in Kimberley in the Cape Colony and the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) (later the Transvaal) from the 1860s onwards. It was part of social Darwinist and eugenic thought that gripped the imagination of European life reformers who promoted a wide range of practices including vegetarianism, fasting, reducing or high-fibre diets, skin care, sun- and air bathing, nudism, breathing exercises, mental exercises such as meditation and auto-suggestion, dress reform and sex reform. It entailed new forms of leisure time activities that included weightlifting, boxing, wrestling, gymnastics, Indian club swinging (later bodybuilding was added) and occasional drama performances in gymnasiums, theatres, circuses and private homes. On occasion, Capetonians were also entertained with acrobatic performances by non-Anglo Saxon performers. An emerging physical culture environment, seen as entertainment in circuses and theatres on the one hand and stimulated largely by Eugen Sandow's 1904 South African tour - that combined pedagogy and showmanship and is representative of the kind of promotional and

CONTACT Francois Johannes Cleophas  fcleophas@sun.ac.za  Department of Sport Science, Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, Republic of South Africa.

© 2020 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

definitional work being done by circuses and theatres - points to the richness and complexities of this notion.

The emergence of health entrepreneurs selling all kinds of goods, from pills to electrical belts, added to the burgeoning field of physical culture. The term began to be used for a set of holistic health practices that encompassed nutrition, fresh air, proper digestion, adequate sleep and other tenets of what was referred to in earlier times as the 'Laws of Health'.² As in Britain, the closing decades of the nineteenth century in South Africa, marked the advent of professional strength athletes in forms of popular entertainment.³

During the 1890s there were gymnasiums for physical culture in Buitengracht, Canterbury and Loop Streets in Cape Town.⁴ The publication *Cape Town* points out that at these gymnasiums "notions about appropriate leisure pursuits disseminated from Britain that were slowly diffused to lower classes, transforming older pursuits".⁵ When the Cape Town Gymnastic Society held its first exhibition in the presence of the governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, on October 14, 1881, the programme included 'exercises with dumbbells ... and a boxing melee'.⁶ By 1883 Indian Club Swinging was well established in Cape Town and was exhibited in shows alongside wrestling and inter-racial boxing under the direction of 'Professor' James Couper who had opened a 'Boxing Academy' in Plein Street in 1881.⁷ The following year, Couper, a white boxer, defeated John Coverdale [Coverwell], a coloured [mixed race in South African racial categorizations]⁸ boxer, in a match in Kimberley to settle racial a dispute.⁹ Parallel to these pursuits, grew strongman culture, introduced to South Africans largely through circuses and theatres.

Physical Culture and Circuses

The birth of the modern circus can be traced to 1768.¹⁰ It was not in the scope of this study to trace strongman circus culture in the eighteenth century but many nineteenth-century strongmen in Europe, such as Charles Sampson, started their careers in circuses.¹¹ Strongman culture was also showcased in circuses in the Cape Colony. The historian Floris van der Merwe reported that evidence of circuses in Cape Town exist since at least 1810.¹² This research however could locate evidence of physical culture in circuses only from 1863 when the Cape Volunteers regiment advertised 'The Battle Jump and Somersault over a Company of Thirty Soldiers with fixed bayonets and firing at the same time'.¹³ Circuses, like other forms of public entertainment, were known for their cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism – at least in terms of the troupes, not the ownership. The *Cape Argus* thus reported on a group of Japanese acrobats in 1878 whose stay in South Africa was "neither pleasant nor remunerative".¹⁴

Bell's Circus operated in Cape Town from at least April 12, 1879 under the proprietorship of Richard (or William H.) Bell, initially as Bell's Circus but from August that year, as 'Bell's National Amphitheatre'.¹⁵ Bell provided participation opportunities in traditional English games (foot race, throwing the hammer, greasy pole climbing, putting the stone, grand steeple chase, sack race), equestrian events (buggy trotting, donkey races) and a velocipede race. In keeping with segregation

practices of the time, three events were organised separately for Cape Malays: one-mile flat race; cart race and four-in-hand horse racing.¹⁶ Bell also segregated seating arrangements and reserved third class seats 'for natives only'.¹⁷ Some 60 years later the issue of segregated seating at circuses was still raised in the media.¹⁸

On October 11, 1879, Bell advertised his circus as a 'Grand Fete Gala and English Sports' event at Mr Welch's Grounds in Wynberg, one minute from the Toll Bar. The programme included a hurdle pony race; a foot race for a prize open to the public; a Roman Equestrian race for a silver cup (each rider standing on two horses); gymnastic entertainment; an equestrian flat race for gentlemen; sack race for the public; an equestrian trotting match for the public (winner gets five pounds); throwing the hammer – for the public; vaulting over eight horses by Bell's company; donkey race – for the public; putting the stone – for the public and a grand steeple chase – for the public. The circus event also included balloon ascents and dancing in 'Bell's Magnificent Marquee'.¹⁹ After Bell died in Kimberley on October 1, 1881, Frank Fillis based his newly acquired circus on what was left of Bell's National Amphitheatre.²⁰ Fillis, an Englishman, who grew up in Wales, arrived in South Africa on August 19, 1880. Initially, he performed in Bell's Circus from mid-September 1880.²¹ Fillis appeared in the final stages of Bell's Circus in August 1881 as the "Inimitable Nine Horse Act [alongside the strongmen] Messrs Leonardi and Ala, the most powerful gymnasts in the profession".²² He opened his own Grand Circus, later known as Fillis Circus on June 5, 1883 in Durban for a segregated audience and arranged a special performance for blacks on June 20.²³ Fillis Circus also became a space where colonials could pit displays of strength against one another and in February 1897, a tug-of-war competition was advertised for three military regiments.²⁴ Tromp van Diggelen, a nineteenth- and twentieth-century South African strongman remembers the close connection between the Van Diggelen family and Frank Fillis. Van Diggelen suffered from pneumonia as a child and was visited regularly by Fillis while the Van Diggelen family always had a free box at the Fillis Circus.²⁵

By 1896 many strength athletes in the Anglo-Saxon world were competing to see who could claim the title of world's strongest man or woman.²⁶ Strongmen, in Fillis's circus had to display acts that bordered on the bizarre and they competed with performances such as 'Mrs. Kilpatrick, a lady cyclist who performed wonderful tricks with her husband who possess only one leg'.²⁷ Early in December 1896, Fillis Circus advertised T.B. Milo as 'the strongest man on earth' on his programme.²⁸ Milo's feature act included lifting two full sized horses mounted by two fully equipped guardsmen.²⁹ Later, he was billed as performing 'supporting on his chest a merry-go-round, holding the machine and all its accessories and 10 people going round full swing'.³⁰ His accompaniment, Miss Charlotte, was billed as the 'wonder of the nineteenth century and the finest and strongest lady ever seen in South Africa'.³¹ By then Milo had established himself as a strongman and was billed as 'The Sensation of the nineteenth century'.³² A gold medal was offered to any person who could remain standing against him in a 15 minute wrestling bout.³³ Another strongman in Fillis Circus was the 'champion' light-weight wrestler of South Africa 'Professor' Edward Lake who was billed for a six night Graeco-Roman wrestling bout in 1896.³⁴ In 1895

he marketed himself as Hercules, South Africa's champion strongman and he frequently performed weight-lifting tricks in Fillis Circus. In Port Elizabeth he took on Mansor, the Arab, in a weightlifting competition, including lifting weights with his teeth.³⁵

Fillis Circus also staged boxing events.³⁶ In January 1897, Charles Kid McCoy, the 'World Middle Weight Champion' was billed to give an exhibition of ball punching and anybody who could stay four rounds with him stood to win four pounds.³⁷ The following month a four round boxing contest between McCoy and Bill Doherty was advertised as part of the circus line-up.³⁸ This included a boxing match between McCoy and Ms Kilpatrick.³⁹

A newspaper account also indicates that Fillis donated a floating trophy for the Western Province Coloured Cricket Board through the efforts of a prominent coloured sport administrator and politician at the turn of the twentieth century – John Tobin.⁴⁰ The heightened English patriotic fervour in Cape Town during the last four years of the nineteenth century, with a looming war between Britain against the two Boer republics, was reflected in his circus. Throughout his four month stay in Cape Town, the circus always featured items with a flavour of British national culture such as Maypole dancing.⁴¹ Another British patriotic item was an 'Imposing March for young boys and bayonet exercises who ... [must] fight for your country and queen'.⁴² Fillis, at times, did not shy away from political controversies, especially in the wake of the failed Jameson Raid in 1896. This was an armed expedition under Leander Starr Jameson who attempted an invasion of the ZAR under the sponsorship of the Cape Colony Prime Minister, Cecil John Rhodes.⁴³ What Fillis did was to present an item in one of his shows: The 'heroes of the hour ... Cecil Rhodes'.⁴⁴ On another occasion, Fillis donated half of the gate takings at a four hour performance to the Indian Famine Fund.⁴⁵ This Fund was launched on February 11, 1897 in Cape Town from a meeting of eminent Capetonians under the direction of the mayor, Sir John Woodhead, in aid of the worst famine in India during the 19th century.⁴⁶ Fillis was possibly sensitive to the financial plight of non-whites and it is reported, at least once, that Malay and coloured children had different admission fees to performances.⁴⁷

Circuses also featured club-swinging events with glamour and spectator appeal. In March 1904 the *Cape Times* carried an advert that announced Fillis's last circus performance before he undertook his 'departure for his St. Louis exposition'.⁴⁸ This advert read in part: 'Tom W. Burrows, the World's Champion club swinger, will give a 6 minute exhibition of fancy club-swinging in the lion's cage. The lions and tigers will be fed in the presence of the audience'.⁴⁹ Other physical culture (boxing) contests in the same performance included: a 20 round contest between Watty Austin and Dan Hyman for the featherweight championship of South Africa; a 20 round bantam weight contest between Tom King (of London) and Ginger Osborne (of Cape Town) and a 10 round amateur contest between two well-known amateurs for a valuable trophy.⁵⁰ *The Owl* reported on this bout to the effect that 'should both men be on their feet at the end of the 20 rounds, the fight would be declared a draw ... this practically meant that if the boxers wanted to win the [full] purse, they would have to go for a knock-out'.⁵¹ Osborne was the winner in the bantam weight duel

and Austin won his bout but only 'half the purse and the side wager ... [since] the police intervened and did not approve of the [knock-out winner takes all] decision'.⁵²

After, Fillis's departure, Burrows organised a 'huge athletic tournament' on 1 March 18, 1904 that included a world championship club swinging endurance match between himself and Charles Spinach. Burrows won the duel, after Spinach dropped out after 24 hours swinging. The new champion then left for St. Louis, presumably the Great Exposition, 'hoping for some profitable matches, either at wrestling or club-swinging'.⁵³ Part of the tournament included a 20 round boxing contest between Seaman Bourne, of HMS Gibraltar, and Arthur Douglas, a coloured boxer, born in the economically depressed part of Cape Town called Salt River.⁵⁴ The boxing historian, Chris Greyvenstein, described Douglas' boxing career as a pitiful one: from world champion to a lonely old age, 'almost totally paralysed, confined to his bed in a bare, little room and dependent on the kindness of an elderly woman'.⁵⁵

Another circus influence on physical culture in South Africa came from the strongman, William Pagel, a circus owner who featured a number of strongmen and a few strongwomen.⁵⁶ One of these strongwomen was a Bavarian girl with the ring name Claudia Alba, advertised as the 'Venus of strength, the world's most beautiful Amazon'.⁵⁷ As a publicity stunt, she pulled lorries with her teeth.⁵⁸ In 1928, she performed in the Empire Theatre in Johannesburg where she juggled 25 pound cannon balls while lifting with her teeth a 'fair sized artillery piece and swung with it from a trapeze and then balancing a 'chariot' on her chin and catching a 42.6 kilogram steel jacket on the nape of her neck'.⁵⁹

Another strongman in Pagel's Circus was Herman Goerner who was brought to South Africa through the efforts of Tromp Van Diggelen. Goerner stimulated an interest in weightlifting in South Africa by his feats of strength shows in the Pagel Circus during the 1920s.⁶⁰ This strongman visited South Africa again in 1936 where he challenged the Lithuanian weightlifting champion, Isaac Stein for a £1 000 purse in Pagel's circus.⁶¹ By then physical culture was a marketable exercise and the well-known Cape Town sport shop, Thurston's, had advertised dumbbells and Indian Clubs as early as 1904.⁶²

Physical Culture and Indian Club Swinging

In 1885, the *Daily Independent* reported on the official opening of a new gymnasium in Du Toitspan [Kimberley] where Indian Club swinging and boxing displays were held with piano music accompaniment.⁶³ Club swinging had developed to the stage that a 'Gymnastic Tournament and Indian Club-swinging Competition for the Championship of South Africa' could be held in 1892 in Kimberley.⁶⁴ In May 1897, there existed a National Sporting Club in Cape Town where the above-mentioned Australian, Tom Burrows, set up an Indian Club swinging world record of 36 hours.⁶⁵ Burrows, who billed himself as the King of Clubs, presented his historical narrative as a story of self-styled success. He reported that during his May 1897 visit to Cape Town, he swung a pair of 2 pound clubs for 30 hours without rest or stop. He then also set up a 36 hour record at the Alhambra Music Hall.⁶⁶ The Alhambra belonged to Harry Stodel, a Cape Town immigrant from London's East End who

made a living as show business entrepreneur and boxing promoter.⁶⁷ Next, Burrows, put up a 40 hours record, to be followed by a 42 hours swing.⁶⁸

Burrows appeared in Johannesburg in 1904, left for England and returned to Johannesburg the following year.⁶⁹ There he put on a 54-hour swinging display. He left Johannesburg for Cape Town to appear in the Tivoli and from there he planned to return home to Australia.⁷⁰ That year, 'Professor' Thomas Thobbs, from Uitenhage set up a world record of 43 hours and 16 minutes.⁷¹ The following year, Burrows challenged Thobbs to a contest at Fillis circus in Cape Town during the first week in March.⁷² Claims are also made that Thobbs set up a world record of 48 hours and 56 minutes in the Victoria Theatre in Cape Town.⁷³

Burrows also competed against a certain Frank Lloyd at the Empire Palace Theatre of Varieties in Johannesburg where they swung clubs without a pause for 66 hours and 15 minutes. His version (in third person narrative) of the account is as follows:

at the end Burrows was still as fresh as a daisy, putting in a tremendous finish, his clubs flashing round in a most brilliant style, as though to demonstrate that he could easily have lasted another four or five hours had arrangements permitted. During this display, lasting nearly three successive days and nights, Burrows, the veteran, and Lloyd, his younger rival, opened and ended their battle on the stage of the theatre, but moved about a good deal during the rest of the exhibition, travelling round the various circles and lounges in order to yield the stage to other "turns" introduced in order to break the monotony ... neither man missed one swing, even in ascending and descending the staircases, or during the taking of necessary refreshment Lloyd confined himself to long and short circles above the head, while Burrows, as usual, indulged in every possible combination. The speed was wonderfully fast all through, indeed, the minimum number of swings was declared to have been 100 to the minute! ⁷⁴

Occasionally, Burrows' club swinging displays would break the monotony by 'remarkable glides, neck rolls and cross over swings'.⁷⁵ This differs from that of Graeme Kent's report on Burrows' acts in London where

he was forced to transfer his efforts to private clubs and arcades, where the everyday life of the organisations would carry on around him as Burrows stood almost unnoticed in a corner, going through his act muttering to himself. His wife or assistants would feed him solicitously throughout on soups and jellies.... He set a new world record of continuous club swinging for one hundred hours but as soon as he had finished he started tottering about the stage in a delirious state. When people went to his assistance, he struck a close friend and knocked him to the floor. He had to be overpowered by members of the audience until he collapsed into a coma and was carried home on a stretcher.⁷⁶

In 1904 two physical culturists, Dick Heydenrick (from Cape Town) and Harry Elford (from Port Elizabeth) were reported as having broken the world club swinging record at the Mechanic's Institute in Port Elizabeth on 1 and 2 July.⁷⁷ By then club-swinging in Cape Town was an organised activity, according to English and American rules and a certain, H.J. Thomas, who was a referee at a previous encounter between Spinch and Burrows claimed that Burrows was the real 'world champion'.⁷⁸ On the whole however, club swinging on its own, did not have wide appeal to late nineteenth and early twentieth century South Africans who were increasingly being exposed to fast moving and spectacular sport activities, such as

physical culture displays, popularised by strongmen like Eugen Sandow, who declared: '[My] cause at heart ... was the spread of physical culture'.⁷⁹

Eugen Sandow in South Africa

Eugen Sandow toured South Africa between May 25 and September 18, 1904, stopped over at Lorenzo Marques (Maputo) for two performances and set sail for India, China and Japan.⁸⁰ The tour occurred during an important period when there was growing British imperial anxieties following the Boer War (1899–1902) in southern Africa, which prompted eugenic initiatives and a 'national efficiency' movement in Britain. Sandow supported this British eugenic effort to 'improve the British race' following the shock of Britain's difficulties during the War.⁸¹

Prior to Sandow's arrival, public displays by strongmen was not unknown in white and black society. One example is that of Kupido Kok, a cousin of the Griqua⁸² leader, Adam Kok. His reported feats included snapping the thigh bone of an eland; lifting a large pot of soap from the fire with his little finger and lighting his pipe with the fire-brand held by the remaining four fingers; lifting a 5,000 pound weight wagon and putting his thumb through a copper kettle.⁸³ However, such feats remained unnoticed in African colonial societies where whiteness mattered and was reinforced in physical culture by Sandow's white body – made whiter with powders and lighting.

As in America, Sandow left behind 'the seed corn for a revival of the strongman cult in South Africa ... through his stage displays and writings'.⁸⁴ The support he received from the South African medical, educational and organised sport fraternity also did much to popularise his work.⁸⁵ The earliest known account of a connection between Eugen Sandow and South Africa was when Tromp van Diggelen visited his consulting rooms in 1897 in England and remained 'inspired for the rest of his life'.⁸⁶ In 1956 Van Diggelen was still involved in both bodybuilding and weightlifting and he was one of the founder members of the British Amateur Weightlifting Association (BAWLA).⁸⁷ During his lifetime, Van Diggelen remained a popular figure in the coloured community and advertised his products in the local black press.

Sandow's South African tour was part of what became known as Sandowism. This meant that any future would-be strongmen, who depended on brute strength alone, fell by the wayside. Some were not strong enough, others lacked stage presence while there were those who possessed a great deal of muscular strength and skill but their stage performances were mind-numbingly dull.⁸⁸ Sandow was a professional sportsman who had no qualms about being a professional, unlike South African rugby and soccer federations. When English rugby and soccer teams visited the Cape colony in 1903, the *Veld* reported that: 'we can comfort ourselves with the reflection that amateurism is a very real article of faith to both the South African Rugby Board and South African Football Association'.⁸⁹ On the other hand, when the Cape Town Boxing Association was established in 1904, it started 'negotiations for obtaining the services of a first-class boxing professional'.⁹⁰ Towards the end of his tour, a newspaper reported that:

Sandow continues nightly to amaze, delight, and instruct the Tivoli crowds by his graceful movements, his statuesque poses, and his Samson-like exhibitions of strength

... [He] combines the strength of a Samson ... with the symmetrical grace of an Apollo.⁹¹

Undoubtedly then, Sandow's visit drew attention to an area – professional entertainment physical culture – that was neglected in the Cape Colony until then.⁹² He departed from England on 7 May 1904 and arrived in Cape Town by 25 May.⁹³ It was a colonial expedition where he returned to England on 19 September 1905 with 'a troupe of performers from 30 different nations with which he intended to astonish London and the provinces'.⁹⁴ It is assumed that his manager was Neil Lang.⁹⁵ His itinerary reveals his high mobility, visiting first and second order towns:

Johannesburg: May 30 – July 10

Cape Town: July 13 and August 2

Durban: August 8 -13

Maritzburg: August 15-16

Pretoria: August 19-23

Kimberley: August 26-27

Port Elizabeth: August 30 – September 2

Grahamstown: September 3 and 5

Queenstown: September 7-8

Kingwilliamstown: September 9-10

East London: September 12 -15

Depart from Johannesburg for Lorenzo Marques (Maputo): September 18. ⁹⁶

Sandow's physical culture narrative is entwined with business ventures, nationalist politics, Edwardian sexuality and sport coaching. In late 1898, Sandow toured Ireland for several weeks, thrilling crowds in Dublin and Belfast and adding further fuel to the Irish interest in physical culture.⁹⁷

At the time of his arrival in South Africa he had already made a name for himself in America with the assistance of a young entrepreneur, Florence (Flo') Ziegfeld, a 'born and highly accomplished liar'.⁹⁸ Through the lens of the New York theatrical photographer, Napoleon Sarony, Sandow's bodybuilding was defined through eroticism.⁹⁹ His physical culture programme conformed with beliefs promoted by sport scientists such as Dudley Sergeant, from Harvard University, that women are best suited for 'golf, horse-riding and tennis'.¹⁰⁰ Sandow's women performers were thus advertised as 'tall, slim, supple and muscular'.¹⁰¹ His shows also advertised nationalist holidays such as American Independence Day.¹⁰² The Sandow system was also used by South African soccer coaches.¹⁰³

Sandow's visit to South Africa also coincided with an interim period between the conclusion of the second South African War in 1902 and formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. It was a period where the negotiators for the Act of Union 'never had the courage to be logical and include the native and the coloured in their interpretation of democratic government'.¹⁰⁴

Sandow in Johannesburg and Pretoria

By 1904 Sandow's products had been advertised widely in mainstream media in Johannesburg and Cape Town.¹⁰⁵ The *Rand Daily Mail* announced Sandow's intended visit to Johannesburg on March 12, 1904.¹⁰⁶ He performed at the Empire Palace in Johannesburg from May 30 until July 10, 1904 – three weeks beyond his initial contract and at the Empress Theatre in Pretoria from August 19 to 23.¹⁰⁷ The Empire Palace was formerly known as the Globe and later newspapers incorrectly referred to Sandow performing there.¹⁰⁸ This theatre provided shows of extraordinary spectacular nature and hosted international physical culturalists such as George Hackenschmidt in 1909, a later world lightweight record holder.¹⁰⁹ In the period leading up to the First World War, it had become an important space for physical culture. For example, the South African Wrestling Association (SAWA) held its second meeting at the Hackenschmidt School of Physical Culture at the Empire Theatre Buildings.¹¹⁰ It was at this theatre that Sandow's show was advertised with great fanfare in 1904.¹¹¹ The report of his opening show reveals the scope of Sandow's popularity and spectacular appeal:

The Empire Palace was crowded to the doors and even the available standing room was fully taken up ... As the curtain rang up, this wonderful athlete was seen posing on a revolving pedestal, the very picture of health and strength. As the audience quiets down, the statue became animated and from a pose of muscular repose, the figure braced up, revealing all those phenomenal muscles of the arms and chest as rigid as steel. Then the pedestal revolved and his back was displayed. The gigantic latissimus dorsi stood out in great knots which caused renewed cheering. Sandow then went through various poses, common to all who have read his magazine and his grand and perfect physique compelled the admiration of all.

Next followed Sandow's feats of strength. He tore three packs of cards with apparent ease and the manner in which he lifted his left hand, a barbell weighing 242 pounds, was a wonderful instruction in the art of weightlifting. On the Roman column he exhibited his marvellous strength of his abdominal muscles ... His greatest feat was the 'Tomb of Hercules'. In this, Sandow supports on his chest the combined weight of eight men, as well as all the dumb-bells and barbells previously used in his performance ...

The other turns were excellent, especially the Salambos in the electrical demonstrations and later in their thought reading and mathematical knowledge. There are also some good speciality dancers, comedians and conjures but the turn of the evening is undoubtedly the world famed athlete in his display of human strength.¹¹²

Sandow's stay in the northern colony was at a time during the early post South African War (1899–1902) period characterised by increasing racism and segregation. For example, there existed an 'Immorality Law' that prohibited inter-racial sexual contact, with heavy fines for guilty offenders.¹¹³ No evidence could be found of any Sandow presence in black communities in the Transvaal.

Sandow was an innovative businessman, who, with his wife and Ms Edwards made a financial success in Johannesburg and Pretoria and his presence there was recalled in the newspapers after his departure.¹¹⁴ Sandow marketed his physical culture programme as being beneficial to a range of real-life carry-over situations. Thus, he advertised the pianist Otto Voss as benefitting from his training programme because

‘the weight of the arms is sufficient to get the required tones’.¹¹⁵ Another product he advertised in the Transvaal was a dietary supplement, called plasmon that was ‘virtually pure fresh milk in an enduring and concentrated form but thirty times more nutritious than new milk’.¹¹⁶ His ‘Course of Training on Physical Culture’ was advertised for the huge sum of 10 pounds.¹¹⁷

Sandow’s performances did not always meet with approval of commentators and was once criticised for being too effeminate.¹¹⁸ He socialised with the colonial sport elite in Johannesburg as witnessed by the elaborate description of his and his wife’s attendance at the dance ball of the Johannesburg Amateur Gymnastic Society at the Wanderers Club where about ‘450 people danced blithely through a programme of 18 dances and three extras’.¹¹⁹ The toast was made by E.J. Platnauer, who later edited the publication *Sport and pastime in the Transvaal*.¹²⁰ Lord Alfred Milner, who according to the historian Herman Giliomee ‘embraced the idea of British racial superiority ... calling himself a British Race Patriot’ also attended Sandow’s performances.¹²¹ His Johannesburg tour also elicited challenges from other entrepreneurs such as a Captain Taylor who advertised himself as having faced eight lions in their dens at the Bostock and Wombwell’s Circus. He posed the question: ‘Sandow has muscle but does he have the nerve to face a lion in its den?’¹²² Sandow’s presence was also a drawcard for other entertainment ventures. The Sheridan Theatre Company put on ‘an innocent skit on Sandow’ in His Majesty’s Theatre as part of a musical comedy – Little Christopher Columbus.¹²³ The Johannesburg YMCA also supported his performances.¹²⁴ There are also claims that Sandow put physical culture on a scientific footing in South Africa.¹²⁵

Sandow, Science, and Schooling

Sandow stimulated ideas in a post-South African war environment around physical education in schools in the Transvaal Colony and elsewhere in the country.¹²⁶ Sandow advocated the idea that the ‘moral standard becomes elevated as the body becomes scientifically developed’.¹²⁷ South African academics however remained of the opinion that physical culturalists did not contribute to the scientific development of human movement.¹²⁸ On the contrary, Sandow claimed that physical culture had developed into an exact science by 1904 and he even examined potential pupils medically.¹²⁹

To date however, physical education and sport science historians have ignored Sandow’s influence on their field of study in South Africa.¹³⁰ This neglect of Sandow’s contribution to physical culture and physical education in South Africa needs intervention since he claimed that he was ‘the originator of the campaign for national physical education [in Great Britain] ... persuading influential people and members of parliament to support me’.¹³¹ A School of Physical Culture opened in Johannesburg in 1904, claiming that it originated from Sandow himself. Sandow however denied the claim.¹³² The same year, an advert appeared for ‘Sandow system: Special classes for ladies only, conducted by Mr. J.A. Hill (trained pupil of Sandow)’.¹³³ Later, a Ms. Ethel Konss-Baylis joined the school as a special instructress.¹³⁴ Hill and J.H. Macdonald, a parliamentarian, also had the ‘Apollo

School of Curative Physical Culture that offered boxing, club swinging, wrestling, weightlifting and [cases of] dyspepsia, obesity and general lassitude treatment by our special system of exercises'.¹³⁵ In July 1905 MacDonald gave a display where he 'showcased a Sandow exhibition ... by lifting, straight arm above his head, a man weighing about 10 1/2 stone' (66.6 kg).¹³⁶ Further evidence of Sandow's stature in colonial society may be seen in his claim that he influenced the establishment of an inter-departmental education (Scottish and English) commission of enquiry, appointed by Edward VII, into the well-being of children in Great Britain.¹³⁷ The Cape Education Department published this syllabus emanating from this commission – the first of its kind – in the official *Education Gazette*.¹³⁸ Sandow was however critical of this official school curriculum – 'Model Course of Physical Exercises' – referring to it as a 'red-tape-military-drill fetish'.¹³⁹ He also listed his scientific objections in the social Darwinist atmosphere of the time and concluded that: 'When a good system of physical training is adopted throughout the schools of Great Britain ... a new race will begin to arise'.¹⁴⁰

Sandow left his mark after his departure from Johannesburg and in 1907 a report appeared about a 'Ms Pyechase Academy with a number of Sandow girls'.¹⁴¹ Eight years after he left the Transvaal, an advert for 'Sandow's Health and Strength Cocoa' still appeared.¹⁴² In 1963, advertisements for 'Sandow springs' still appeared in the media.¹⁴³ All in all, Sandow remained the standard for a long time to which future South African strongmen and women measured themselves.¹⁴⁴

Sandow in Cape Town

Sandow visited Cape Town between July 13 and August 2, 1904 after which he travelled to other parts of South Africa via Durban. Physical culture was a well-established practice in Cape Town by 1904 and the *Veld* periodical carried a full page article on

St Paul's gymnasium in Rondebosch that was started in August 1902.... under the instruction of two male sergeant instructors in Indian club swinging ... fencing ... horizontal bar ... parallel bars, vaulting horse, boxing, dumb-bells and other apparatus work. The members, number about 70, are divided into three classes: Seniors, Juniors and Ladies and meet five nights of the week.... By 1903 an independent ladies section, consisting of between 30-40 members, was established that met one evening per week ... where men are not allowed to attend ... The ladies participate in club swinging, fencing, parallel bar swinging, vaulting over the horse and boxing ... Their graceful girlish figures, in their smart costumes of short blue skirt, cream blouse and low-heeled shoes, sway and swing like corn before the wind ... The proceedings are varied by a sharp march or run around the room.¹⁴⁵

There were also physical culture practitioners elsewhere in the Cape Colony. The *Diamond Fields Advertiser* carried an advertisement in 1894 of a 'Swedish-Medico Gymnastic Institution ... staffed by a qualified medical doctor in Kimberley'.¹⁴⁶ In Cape Town, in 1904, 'Dr' A.T. Sanden, with offices at 12 Plein Street advertised his book, 'Strength', a book on advice for men on how to regain youthful vigour.¹⁴⁷ Sanden also gave advice on rheumatoid arthritis and devised an electric belt that 'renewed vitality, cures dyspepsia and improves women's health'.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, a

certain 'Dr' Williams advertised his 'pink pills ... [that] cured rheumatic cripples ... and anaemia.'¹⁴⁹ Cape Town newspapers announced on 13 July 1904 that Sandow, 'the perfect man' and the 'the universally recognised strongman of the world', will appear in the grand new Tivoli Music Hall with regular displays and a matinee show every Saturday.¹⁵⁰ By the July 13, seats for his performances at the Tivoli, were booked as far in advance for July 31.¹⁵¹

The Tivoli Music Hall or Theatre was a 'popular house and always packed [with few exceptions] ... where all the best overseas artists appeared at one time or another'.¹⁵² It was a venue for Cape Town's elite that opened in 1903 with the intention of 'supplying Cape Town with a continual stream of overseas musical and variety artists'.¹⁵³ The building no longer exists and was demolished in 1932.¹⁵⁴ Here Sandow made regular appearances until August 2, 1904.¹⁵⁵ His shows stood out amongst other appearances and was 'one of the most expensive displays since the theatre opened'.¹⁵⁶ The opening appearance was advertised as the 'modern gladiator' in Cape Town newspapers

When the curtain rises ... to a darkened house, Sandow is seen to be standing in a well-known pose on a pedestal ... with the well-known leopard skin around his loins. Slowly turns the pedestal ... [and] other poses follow, showing to the best advantage the wonderful muscular development of the man.... Nothing of these muscles of Sandow can of course be seen among the normal crowd.... Taking a 136 pound bar in hand slowly, surely and artistically, the great athlete raises it above his head. Lying on his side, a man sits on his ankle and is swung aloft gently and without effort. This undoubtedly striking prejudice was greeted with round after round of applause. His next feat was to raise a pair of 56 pound dumbbells while lying on the ground with four men standing on his chest and legs. A barbell weighing 212 pounds was then lifted from the ground and extended above the head with the left arm. Then Sandow laid down and balanced a 130 pound barbell on his knees while holding another barbell weighing 212 pounds at arms length. After this came an exhibition of finger strength. Fifty two cards were torn in half and quarters; 104 cards were torn in half and then 156.... Some feats on the Roman Column, a peculiar contrivance, which would take a good deal of description to convey any idea of its ingenuity, followed. Sandow was suspended from a steel pillar and without the semblance of an effort, raised himself with machinelike movement until his body formed a right angle. Then he dropped again, picking up a heavy barbell as though it was made of wood, repeated the feat. Still suspended, Sandow lifts a barbell, two 56 pound dumbbells and a couple of his assistants. This effort was greeted with the applause that it deserved. The final exhibition of strength consisted in supporting three big barbells, two cannon balls, two dumbbells and six men¹⁵⁷ on his chest. The curtain was then wrung down to unbounded applause.... The rest of the programme was well up to the usual standard.... Charles Ashworth was a very good tumbler and knock about dancer; Daisy Dormer, a comedian and dancer; Messrs Marb and Verity, a very clever pair of acrobats and George Bastow and Ruth Lytton gave a sketch entitled "The Lady and the Parson".¹⁵⁸

A number of these performers were also part of his Transvaal expedition.¹⁵⁹ With these performers, Sandow exposed Capetonians to physical culture that included spectacular entertainment consisting of body building, displays of strength feats and other crowd pleasing acts such as three pack card tearing.¹⁶⁰ Until then Capetonians have seen many strongmen perform with the impression that brute force is all that mattered in physical culture exhibitions. On the contrary, his appearances with a 14 person entourage proved to be spectacular feats. One of his most spectacular displays

of strength was the lifting of his 14 person team with weights and paraphernalia, weighing 3200 pounds. The media reported that 'Sandow's muscular development is certainly great, but his powers of volition are greater'.¹⁶¹ Sandow, who was always available for interviews with newspapers and took part willingly in any exploits required of him, made him more visible than other strongmen.¹⁶²

His appeal was so wide that his wife's views on physical culture was reported in the local press.¹⁶³ He also presented medals to appreciative local followers.¹⁶⁴ His shows met the early post-Victorian public demands for colourful and fast moving entertainment.¹⁶⁵ *The Owl* described one of his acts as follows:

[Although] the patrons of the Tivoli were not as numerous as during the week ... it was not by any means due to any lack of excellence. ... The faultless skill of a juggler Prince Kokin, the marvellous memory displays of the child, Historicus; the rapidity and accuracy of Madame Olivette's calculating and telepathic powers and the droll songs of comedian, Bastow stamped the entertainment as one of the best yet given in the Tivoli.¹⁶⁶

Later, the *Cape Times* reported on the:

Eccentric display of Miss Daisy Dormer, comedienne and dancer, whose quaint coon [*sic*] songs and dances are a source of much mirth and are executed with a singular amount of neatness, spirit and agility. Marba and Verity contribute a lively knockabout turn. Prince Kokin, the dexterous Japanese juggler, continues to elicit the unstinted admiration of Tivoli patrons by his smart, clean and clever balancing feats and nightly exacts heavy tributes of applause. Miss Madge Mayfield, winsome as ever, scores all along in her exquisite dancing and picturesque evolutions of flowing draperies. The comic sketch, The Lady and the Parson, by Miss Ruth Lytton (sporting lady) and Mr George Bastow (clerical tutor), although of a somewhat stereotyped character, is the cause of abundant merriment.¹⁶⁷

Sandow's shows were displays of 'grace of movement, harmony of colour and surroundings and great physical strength in its most refined and artistic aspect'.¹⁶⁸ According to a newspaper editorial article, '[Sandow] understood thoroughly the sweet use of advertisement and some may reasonably take exception to the somewhat theatrical nature of his displays'.¹⁶⁹ His physical culture training system was also a break with the past and he declared:

it was not desperate gymnastic contortions ... nor prolonged and violent muscular exertions ... [instead] the physical culture which has been my pleasure to teach now for many years ... is a cult of gentle light movements, occupying only a few moments time each day, and of such a nature that the frailest of delicate women may pursue it.¹⁷⁰

He arrived in Cape Town during a period of economic depression and the *Owl* newspaper stated: 'if the strongman Sandow could lift the [economic] depression from South Africa he would be hailed as a deliver'.¹⁷¹ Under these circumstances, entertainment in upmarket theatres, such as the Tivoli, was not easily accessible to Cape Town's poor. This was expressed by a reader of the *Cape Times* who complained that 'there were no seats in the local Opera House for less than six shillings'.¹⁷²

At the same time 'English high culture' with its roots in classical history was being punted in the mainstream media. Thus, the *Cape Times* reported: 'In looking at Sandow's marvellously developed body, one begins to realise something of that old-

time conception of what was perfect in the human frame and that high ideal of manly beauty which the Greek and Roman sculptors set themselves to portray in everlasting marble'.¹⁷³ Although Sandow marketed his programme 'for the rich and the poor' his main target audience remained the colonial elite. Sandow was thus invited by a newly established Olympic Sport Club, made up of old boys of English and South African public schools and universities, to deliver an address.¹⁷⁴

Sandow also obtained the support of the medical profession, where he allowed doctors to examine him on stage.¹⁷⁵ This was similar to what Sandow's manager in America, Florenz Ziegfeld, had done. Kent claims that: 'He [Ziegfeld] took every opportunity to have the strongman examined by publicity-seeking doctors, who would declare afterwards that Sandow almost certainly was the most perfectly developed man in the world'.¹⁷⁶

Sandow also directed attention to women during his South African visit and wrote on skin care.¹⁷⁷ His shows had a special appeal to women and one newspaper reported that one of his shows was: 'A full house, composed principally of ladies and children'.¹⁷⁸ He also encouraged women to think differently about 'tight lacing'.¹⁷⁹ Previously in America, Ziegfeld arranged for women, at a cost of \$300, for private interviews in his dressing room after his show.¹⁸⁰

Sandow's visit to Cape Town coincided with the death of Paul Kruger, the exiled president of the defeated South African Republic (then the Transvaal Colony). His visit could serve as a good divergence of any possible Afrikaner nationalist mobilisation around elevating Kruger to martyrdom status. Besides Kruger's heroic status amongst defeated Boers from the second South African War, he also had a folk-lore reputation for athletic skills. Unconfirmed reports did the rounds of him outrunning a saddled horse over 800 yards, outrunning an African chief with a rifle on his back and chasing off a lion.¹⁸¹ The *South African News* reported on Kruger's 'prowess in hunting and amazing health of body'.¹⁸² Sandow's tour also coincided with the St Louis fair where the Battle of Paardeberg, a battle during the South African War, was re-enacted in one of the Fillis circus shows in St Louis, America.¹⁸³ One of Kruger's aides during the war, General Piet Cronje, who was part of the Fillis circus in 1904 and was a Boer general during the actual Battle of Paardeberg expressed the prevailing mood amongst many of the defeated Afrikaner people: 'Kruger was one of South Africa's greatest characters but was sadly misunderstood'.¹⁸⁴ Sandowism could thus be a useful antidote to a broadly publicized Paul Kruger mythology.

Sandow's final performance was under the patronage of the Irish Association of South Africa and one of the items on the programme included a 'Farmer Giles' song.¹⁸⁵ The major reason for Sandow's success in his Cape Town venture was put explicitly by the editor of the *Cape Times*: 'the ultimate object of physical culture or strongman culture is to raise the average standard of the race'.¹⁸⁶ In this case, 'race' referred to English speaking whites.¹⁸⁷ Sandow sailed from Cape Town with the Kildonan Castle for Durban on 3 August.¹⁸⁸

After Sandow came the South African black strongmen: Milo Pillay,¹⁸⁹ Ron Eland, David Isaacs and others who have to date been 'marginalised by the colonial and post-colonial academy ... [and therefore a need arises for] new epistemologies that is embedded in their own histories, experiences and ways of viewing reality'.¹⁹⁰

It cannot be doubted that physical culture was part of a cultural colonisation process where individual efforts were intended to benefit select groups in society. Through the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century, white society was the major cultural benefactor of physical culture. Circuses were central in this process and offered spectators more than entertainment. Many circuses actively promoted physical culture under the symbols of empire,¹⁹¹ shaping the hearts and minds of coloniser and colonised. Although there was an absence of black circus performers, nobody can question that British circus history has a problematic past, with colonial narratives framing later performers of black artists.¹⁹²

Added to this, the visit of Eugen Sandow to South Africa enhanced the colonial dimensions of physical culture by being intertwined with historical, social and political ramifications. All of this shows there is sufficient data for scholars to create decolonised windows on Cape colonial society through the lens of physical culture. Scholars of sport should thus be exploring pathways that were previously overshadowed by 'historical great' moments such as the Basil D' Oliveira Affair and South Africa's rugby victory in the 1995 World Cup tournament. Through exploring physical culture in South African colonial society historians gain insight into unmapped social and cultural landscapes of late Victorian and early Edwardian societies where human bodies were no longer confined to homes and hidden by clothing but displayed in public.

Notes

1. Claude Smit, 'The Development of the Term "Physical Education"', *Physical Education*, 5, no. 3 (1943): 2.
2. Janice Todd, 'Reflections on Physical Culture: Defining Our Field and Protecting its Integrity', *Iron Game History. The Journal of Physical Culture* 13, nos. 2–3 (2015): 5.
3. Graeme Kent, *The Strongest Men on Earth: When the Muscle Men Ruled Show Business* (London: Robson Press, 2012): xi.
4. Chris Greyvenstein, *The Fighters: A Pictorial History of SA boxing from 1881* (Cape Town: Don Nelson, 1981), 85.
5. Vivian Bickford-Smith; Elizabeth Van Heyningen and Nigel Worden, *Cape Town: The Making of a City. An Illustrated Social History* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1998), 196.
6. 'Cape Town Gymnastic Society', *Cape Argus*, October 15, 1881, 3.
7. Greyvenstein, *The Fighters*, 11.
8. Prior to the 1890's the term, coloured, was used as a reference marker for non-white communities in Cape colonial society. From the 1890's onwards, coloured identity gradually became a distinct marker, separate from other non-white classifications such as African (also referred to as bantu and native), Malay, Indian and Chinese. The author is of that school of thought that rejects these terms as biological constructs but admit that they were and remain so as historical social realities. It has become more politically correct to use the collective noun, black, when referring to a non-white collective. These terms are thus used in this paper within this context.
9. Greyvenstein, *The Fighters*, 16; Scheffler, *Die Kulturele*, 141–2.
10. Vanessa Toulmin, 'Black Circus Performers in Victorian Britain', *Early Popular Visual Culture* 16, no. 3 (2018): 268.
11. Kent, *The Strongest*, 2.
12. Floris Johannes Gerhardus Van der Merwe, *Frank Fillis. The Story of a Circus Legend* (Stellenbosch: FJG Publikasies, 2007), 73.

13. 'Circus', *Cape Argus*, March 17, 1863, 4.
14. 'Loyal's Japanese', *Cape Argus*, June 4, 1878, A4.
15. Van der Merwe, *Frank*, 74.
16. 'Notice to the Public', *Lantern*, October 4, 1879, 14.
17. 'Bell's Great Circus', *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, August 31, 1881, 4.
18. 'Coloureds Not Treated Badly', *Cape Standard*, December 31, 1940, 7.
19. 'R. Bell's Grand Fete, Gala, and English Sports', *Cape Argus*, October 11, 1879, 1.
20. Van der Merwe, *Frank*, 2.
21. *Ibid.*, 74.
22. 'Bell's Great Circus', *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, August 31, 1881, 4.
23. Van der Merwe, *Frank*, 14, 77.
24. 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, February 20, 1897, 4.
25. Van der Merwe, *Frank*, 180.
26. Kent, *The Strongest*, x–xi.
27. 'Fillis's Circus', *Cape Times*, December 30, 1896, 4; 'Fillis Circus', *Cape Times*, January 16, 1897, 5; 'Fillis Circus', *Cape Times*, January 18, 1897, 5.
28. 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, December 5, 1896, 4.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1896, 4.
31. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1896, 4.
32. *Ibid.*, December 28, 1896, 4.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. Van der Merwe, *Frank*, 95.
36. Greyvenstein, *The Fighters*, 40, 57, 61, 103.
37. 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, January 23, 1897, 4; 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, January 26, 1897, 4; 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, January 27, 1897, 4; 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, January 28, 1897, 4; 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, January 29, 1897, 4; 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, January 30, 1897, 4.
38. 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, February 3, 1897, 4; 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, February 4, 1897, 4.
39. 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, February 5, 1897, 4.
40. 'Death of Mr. John Tobin', *Cape Standard*, November 1, 1938, 7.
41. 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, January 19, 1897, 4.
42. *Ibid.*, February 8, 1897.
43. Hermann Giliomee and Bernard Mbenga, *New History of South Africa* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 2007), 207.
44. 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, December 30, 1896, 4.
45. 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, February 16, 1897, 4; 'Fillis's Great Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, February 17, 1897, 4.
46. 'Indian Famine', *Cape Times*, February 12, 1897, 5.
47. 'Fillis's Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Times*, March 5, 1904, 6.
48. *Ibid.*
49. 'Fillis's Circus, Grand Parade', *Cape Times*, March 7, 1904, 6.
50. 'Fillis's Circus, Grand Parade', *Cape Times*, March 7, 1904, 6; 'Fillis's Circus and Menagerie', *Cape Argus*, March 5, 1904, 6.
51. 'Boxing', *Owl*, March 4, 1904, 33.
52. 'Boxing', *Owl*, March 11, 1904, 34.
53. 'Club Swinging', *Owl*, March 25, 1904, 33.
54. 'Boxing', *Owl*, March 18, 1904, 33; Greyvenstein, *The Fighters*, 11.
55. Greyvenstein, *The Fighters*, 109.
56. Caryl Birkby, *The Pagel Story* (Cape Town: Howard B. Timmins, 1948), 166.
57. 'Pagel's Circus', *Rand Daily Mail*, April 7, 1934, 9.

58. Birkby, *The Pagel*, 167; 'The Tivoli', *Cape Times*, July 13, 1904, 6.
59. 'Strongest Girls Alive', *Rand Daily Mail*, January 17, 1928, 11.
60. Webster, *European*, 11.
61. 'Pagel's Circus', *Rand Daily Mail*, February 15, 1936, 8.
62. 'Thurston & Co.', *Cape Argus*, February 29, 1904, 6.
63. 'Opening of the Du Toitspan Gymnasium', *Daily Independent*, August 24, 1885, n.p.
64. 'The Gymnastic Competition', *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, September 23, 1892.
65. Tom Burrows, *The Text-Book of Club-Swinging* (London: Athletic, 1908), 14.
66. Burrows, *The Text-book*, n.p.
67. Fletcher, *The Story*, 26; Greyvenstein, *The Fighters*, 122.
68. Burrows, *The Text-Book*, n.p.
69. 'Club Swinging', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 29, 1905, 9.
70. 'Club Swinging', *Rand Daily Mail*, September 15, 1905, 9.
71. 'Club Swinging', *Rand Daily Mail*, January 17, 1905.
72. 'Club Swinging', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 22, 1906, 10.
73. Felix Stark, 'Suid-Afrika Het Een Wêreldkampioen; 'n Knuppelswaaier', *Die Huisgenoot*, October 22, 1948, 36.
74. Burrows, *The Text-Book*, 15–16.
75. 'Club Swinging', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 29, 1905, 9.
76. Kent, *The Strongest*, 59.
77. 'Club-Swinging', *Cape Argus*, July 15, 1904, 6.
78. 'Club Swinging', *Cape Argus*, July 16, 1904, 6.
79. 'The Tivoli', *Cape Times*, July 29, 1904, 5.
80. 'The World's Press', *Rand Daily Mail*, September 19, 1904: 6; 'Sandow Entertained', *Rand Daily Mail*, August 24, 1904, 8.
81. Carey A. Watt, 'Cultural Exchange, Appropriation and Physical Culture: Strongman Eugen Sandow in Colonial India, 1904–1905', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 33, no. 16, 2015.
82. The Griqua people trace their origins to Adam Kok, a 'Hottentot', who was given captaincy status by the colonizing Dutch authorities at the Cape during the 1750's, Karel Schoeman, *The Griqua Captaincy of Philippolis, 1821–1861* (Pretoria: Protea Book, 2002), 10.
83. HB & L de W, 'Decorations and Medals -Acquisitions to the Africana Museum Collection', *Africana Notes and News* 19 (June 1970): 96.
84. Kent, *The Strongest*, 162.
85. 'Sandow and Physical Culture', *South African News*, July 19, 1904, 6.
86. Tromp Van Diggelen, *Worthwhile Journey: The Autobiography of Tromp van Diggelen* (London: William Heinemann, 1955), 49, 78.
87. Mendes, J. 'Show Us Your Muscles!' *Health and Strength* 85, no. 9 (1956): 25; William Pullum, 'The Arrival of Goerner', *Health and Strength* 80, no. 20 (1951): 24.
88. Kent, *The Strongest*, 58.
89. 'The English football teams', *Veld*, July, 1903.
90. 'Boxing', *South African News*, July 16, 1904, 4.
91. 'The Tivoli', *Owl*, July 29, 1904, 36.
92. 'The Cape Times', *Cape Times*, July 18, 1904, 4.
93. 'The Deserter', *Rand Daily Mail*, May 20, 1904, 7; 'About Amusements', *Rand Daily Mail*, May 25, 1904, 7.
94. 'Sandow Returns', *Rand Daily Mail*, September 20, 1905, 7.
95. 'Gossip from the Sports Field', *Rand Daily Mail*, 1925, 12 November, 13.
96. 'Empire New Company', *Rand Daily Mail*, May 31, 1904, 7; 'Sandow Departs', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 11, 1904, 7; 'Sandow's Send Off', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 12, 1904, 7; 'Sandow at Pretoria', *Rand Daily Mail*, August 18, 1904, 7; 'Mr. Sandow's Engagements',

- Rand Daily Mail*, August 4, 1904, 8; 'The World's Press', *Rand Daily Mail*, September 19, 1904, 6.
97. Conor Heffernan, 'Strength Peddlers: Eddie O'Callaghan and the Selling of Irish Strength', *Sport in History* 38, no. 1 (2018): 27.
 98. Kent, *The Strongest*, 146.
 99. Brauer, *Virilizing*, 41.
 100. 'Muscular Women', *Rand Daily Mail*, March 1, 1910, 8.
 101. 'His Majesty's', *Rand Daily Mail*, April 23, 1907, 8.
 102. 'The Empire Palace of Varieties', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 4, 1904.
 103. 'Physical Culture', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 9, 1904, 9. It was a system that was ignored by South African physical education historians, see Johan Willem Postma, 'Ondersoek na die wetenskaplike basis van die Europese strominge in die liggaamsopvoeding van 1900 tot 1940' (PhD diss., Stellenbosch University, 1945); Johannes Wilhelmus Willemse, 'Die invloed van die Sweedse stelsel van formele oefeninge op die ontwikkeling van liggaamlike opvoeding in Suid-Afrika' (Masters' thesis, Potchefstroom University, 1969).
 104. Louis Leipoldt, *The Mask* (Cape Town: Cederberg Publishers, 2000), 110.
 105. 'Free Exhibition', *Rand Daily Mail*, May 22, 1903; 'Fletcher's Retail', *Cape Argus*, July 9, 1904, 6; 'Toll & Courtis', *Cape Argus*, July 13, 1904, 3.
 106. 'Sandow Coming', *Rand Daily Mail*, March 12, 1904, 7.
 107. 'Empire New Company', *Rand Daily Mail*, May 31, 7; 'Sandow Departs', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 11, 1904, 7; 'Sandow's Send Off', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 12, 1904: 7; 'Sandow at Pretoria', *Rand Daily Mail*, August 18, 1904, 7.
 108. 'Old Johannesburg Music Halls', *Rand Daily Mail*, January 1, 1930, 12; 'Letters to the Editor', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 25, 1959, 4.
 109. 'Empire Palace', *Rand Daily Mail*, October 29, 1909, 6; 'Along the Sportways', *Rand Daily Mail*, 1961, August 9, 1961, 16.
 110. 'Wrestling', *Rand Daily Mail*, January 25, 1910, 9.
 111. 'The Empire Palace of Varieties', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 18, 1904, 6.
 112. 'Empire New Company', *Rand Daily Mail*, May 31, 1904, 7.
 113. 'The Immorality Law', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 24, 1904, 8.
 114. 'Gossip From the Sports Field', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 12, 1925, 13; 'Sandow Entertained', *Rand Daily Mail*, August 24, 1904, 8; 'Untitled article', *Rand Daily Mail*, August 19, 1904, 6.
 115. 'Muscle and Music', *Rand Daily Mail*, August 6, 1904, 15.
 116. 'A Hard Run Race', *Rand Daily Mail*, August 4, 1904, 8.
 117. 'The Empire Palace of Varieties', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 4, 1904, 6.
 118. 'The Empire', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 21, 1904, 5.
 119. 'Amateur Gymnasts', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 11, 1904, 3.
 120. E.J. Platnauer, ed., *Sport and Pastime in the Transvaal. Including Biographical Sketches of Transvaal Sportsmen* (Johannesburg: Geo Wunderlich, 1908).
 121. Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners. Biography of a People* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 2003), 233; 'Lord Milner at the Empire', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 24, 1904, 9.
 122. 'Sandow Has Muscle', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 16, 1904, 6.
 123. His Majesty's', *Rand Daily Mail*, August 8, 1904, 6; 'His Majesty's Theatre', *Rand Daily Mail*, August, 9, 1904, 8.
 124. 'The Empire Palace of Varieties', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 17, 1904, 6.
 125. 'The Cult of the Body', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 1, 1904, 4.
 126. 'The Course of Physical Exercises Officially recommended for Elementary Schools', *Rand Daily Mail*, October 1, 1904, 14.
 127. 'Body Building', *Rand Daily Mail*, May 30, 1904, 4.
 128. B.D. Lombard, 'Liggaamskultuur?' *Vigor* 5, no. 1 (1951):20.
 129. 'Physical Culture', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 15, 9; 'The Course of Physical Exercises Officially Recommended for Elementary Schools', *Rand Daily Mail*, October 8, 1904, 16.

130. See Francois Johannes Cleophas, 'Physical Education and Physical Culture in the Coloured Community of the Western Cape, 1837-1966' (PhD dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 2009); Johan Willem Postma, 'Onderzoek'; Willemse, 'Die invloed van die Sweedse stelsel van formele oefeninge op die ontwikkeling van liggaamlike opvoeding in Suid-Afrika'; Justus Potgieter, 'The Evolvment of Physical Education in South Africa' (Master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1972).
131. 'Obligatory Physical Education for Young England', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 25, 1904, 15.
132. 'Denial from Mr. Sandow', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 6, 1904, 7.
133. 'Sandow's System', *Rand Daily Mail*, August 20, 1904, 7.
134. 'Rand Academy of Music', *Rand Daily Mail*, August 29, 1904, 6.
135. 'Ju-Jitsu', *Rand Daily Mail*, May 26, 1905, 6.
136. 'The Volunteers', *Rand Daily Mail*, July 31, 1905, 4.
137. 'Obligatory Physical Education', 15.
138. Cape of Good Hope, 'General Notes', *Education Gazette* 4, no. 9 (October 14, 1904):161; 'Body Building', *Rand Daily Mail*, May 30, 1904, 4.
139. 'Obligatory Physical Education for young England', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 25, 1904, 15.
140. 'The Course of Physical Exercises Officially Recommended for Elementary Schools', *Rand Daily Mail*, October 8, 1904, 16.
141. 'About Amusements', *Rand Daily Mail*, January 22, 1907, 4.
142. 'The Food of the Family', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 20, 1912, 4.
143. 'Trade and Cash Swops', *Rand Daily Mail*, September 30, 1963, 15.
144. 'The Standard', *Rand Daily Mail*, 1912, January 23, 9; 'Vaudeville and Cinema', *Rand Daily Mail*, March 8, 1924, 4; 'New Indian Models Described in Detail', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 18, 1925, 7.
145. 'Physical Culture', *Veld*, September, 1903, 33.
146. 'The Swedish Medio-Gymnastic Institution', *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, October 6, 1892, 2.
147. 'Three Classes of Men', *Cape Argus*, July 7, 1904, 3.
148. 'Are you Rheumatic?', *Cape Times*, July 19, 1904, 6; 'Dyspepsia', *South African News*, July 13, 1904, 2.
149. 'The Danger of Anaemia', *Owl*, July 22, 1904, 13.
150. 'The Tivoli', *Cape Times*, July 13, 1904, 4; 'The Tivoli', *Cape Times*, July 14, 1904, 5; 'The Tivoli', *South African News*, July 13, 1904, 4.
151. 'Theatrical Notes', *South African News*, July 13, 1904, 5.
152. Jack Stodel, *The Audience is Waiting* (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1962), 79.
153. Jill Fletcher, *The Story of Theatre in South Africa. A Guide to Its History from 1780-1930* (Cape Town: Vlaeberg Publishers, 1994), 126.
154. Stodel, *The Audience*, 79.
155. 'The Tivoli', *Cape Times*, August 2, 1904, 4.
156. 'The Tivoli', *Cape Times*, July 14, 1904, 5.
157. *The South African News* states: "the weights amounted to some 700 or 800 pounds ... and there were four [not six as reported in the *Cape Argus*] full-grown men on his chest" 'Sandow at the Tivoli', *South African News*, July 14, 1904, 8.
158. 'Sandow at the Tivoli', *Cape Argus*, July 14, 1904, 5.
159. See 'The Empire Palace of Varieties', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 14, 1904, 6 for Ruth Lytton and George Bastow's appearance in Johannesburg. See also 'The Tivoli', *Cape Times*, July 29, 1904, 5; and 'Sandow at the Empire', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 16, 1904, 8 for Prince Kokin, the juggler and his wife appearance in both Johannesburg and Cape Town. Daisy Dormer was still performing in the Empire Theatre in Johannesburg in 1927, 'Old Favourites at the Empire', *Rand Daily Mail*, May 26, 1927, 5.
160. 'Sandow at the Tivoli', *South African News*, July 14, 1904, 8.
161. 'The Tivoli', *Owl*, July 22, 1904, 34.
162. Kent, *The Strongest*, 28.
163. 'Mrs. Sandow', *Cape Argus*, July 20, 1904, 4.

164. 'The Tivoli', *South African News*, July 26, 1904, 6.
165. Kent, *The Strongest*, 58.
166. 'The Tivoli', *Owl*, July 15, 1904, 37.
167. 'The Tivoli', *Cape Times*, July 29, 1904, 5.
168. 'Sandow and Physical Culture', *The Cape Times*, July 20, 1904, 9.
169. 'The Cape Times', *Cape Times*, July 18, 1904, 4.
170. 'The Tivoli', *Cape Times*, July 28, 1904, 5.
171. 'The Owl Opines', *Owl*, July 15, 1904, 35.
172. 'Amusements', *Cape Times*, July 14, 1904, 5.
173. 'The Tivoli', *Cape Times*, July 14, 1904, 5.
174. 'Olympic Sports Club', *Cape Times*, August 1, 1904, 9; 'Amusements', *Cape Times*, August 2, 1904, 5.
175. 'Sandow Demonstrates', *Cape Times*, July 19, 1904, 5; 'Sandow and Physical Culture', *South African News*, July 19, 1904, 6.
176. Kent, *The Strongest*, 151.
177. 'Sandow's Precepts', *Cape Times*, July 25, 1904, 9.
178. 'A Sandow Matinee at the Tivoli', *South African News*, July 18, 1904, 7.
179. 'Lecture by Sandow', *Cape Times*, July 18, 1904, 5.
180. Kent, *The Strongest*, 150.
181. 'The Late Ex-President Kruger', *Cape Times*, July 15, 1904, 7.
182. 'Paul Kruger', *South African News*, July 15, 1904, 5.
183. Van der Merwe, *Frank*, 134.
184. 'The Late Mr Kruger', *Cape Times*, July 18, 1904, 5.
185. 'The Tivoli', *Cape Times*, August 2, 1904, 4.
186. 'The Cape Times', *Cape Times*, July 18, 1904, 4.
187. Christopher Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians and Class* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1988).
188. 'Mr. Sandow's Engagements', *Rand Daily Mail*, August 4, 1904, 8.
189. Cleophas, F.J. Black, 'Physical Culture and Weight-Lifting History in South Africa', in *More than just Games: Sports in Africa, Past and Present*, ed. Todd Cleveland, Tarminder Kaur, and Gerard Akindes (Athens: Ohio University Press, forthcoming).
190. Lesley Le Grange, 'Decolonising Sport: Some Thoughts', in *Exploring Decolonising Themes in SA Sport History: Issues and Challenges* (Stellenbosch: Africa Sun Media, 2018), 15–22.
191. See Francois Johannes Cleophas, ed., *Physical Culture at the Edges of Empire* (Stellenbosch: Africa Sun Media, 2020), for notions of complexity of empire and physical culture.
192. Toulmin, 'Black Circus', 269.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on Contributor

Francois Johannes Cleophas is a senior lecturer in Sport History at Stellenbosch University, South Africa where he writes on physical culture and sport in Cape Town communities. Since 2011, he has published over 30 articles in national and peer reviewed journals and 9 book chapters. He is editor of a forthcoming publication: *Physical Culture at the Edges of Empire and Society*.